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Sighs of the German People: An Emotional History of Musical Sigh-Compositions during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648)

Thomas Marks
The Graduate Center, City University of New York

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Sighs of the German People: An Emotional History of Musical Sigh-Compositions During the Thirty Years War (1618–1648)

by

Thomas J. Marks

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music
in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
ABSTRACT
Sighs of the German People: An Emotional History of Musical Sigh-Compositions during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648)

by

Thomas J. Marks

Advisor: Janette Tilley

This dissertation is the first of its kind to offer a comprehensive account of a genre of German Lutheran sacred works titled Seufftzer or suspiria (sighs) that were published with increasing frequency during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). Drawing from recent work in the history of emotion, I approach emotion-terms from the mentalities of those who deployed them. In chapter two, I offer a historically nuanced definition of the word Seufftzer, which takes into account the emotional gesture’s largely sacred meanings. For German Lutherans in the early modern era, the sigh was not just an expression of some internal feeling state, but was rather a form of prayer that emerged especially during moments of hardship. Subsequent chapters of this dissertation illustrate how Seufftzer informed the creation of an entire musical genre with distinctly emotional implications. In chapter three, I examine the ways in which musical sigh-compositions drew from and contributed to a rich corpus of devotional sigh-prayer literature that conventionalized responses to certain taxing emotional situations such as the suffering experienced at the moment of death or the hardship of the Thirty Years War. Chapter four continues to scrutinize on the war’s effect on the creation of these sigh-compositions by focusing specifically on the relationship between music and the emotionality of true repentance. In this chapter, I develop the concept of “feeling agency” to describe the ways in which certain emotional states were believed to effectuate change in the world. By singing musical sighs and
feeling true repentance from their performance, early modern Germans believed that the harsh realities of the Thirty Years War could be curbed by means of God’s direct intervention in the world. The dissertation concludes with a study of a number of contemporary songs that describe the sigh of the dove and turtledove—a topos that was imbued with novel political connotations during the war. Since the time of St. Augustine, the sigh of the dove had been interpreted as a sonic indicator of the bird’s inherent spiritual sadness. During the Thirty Years War, Protestant Lutherans—especially religious exiles forced to leave their homelands because of the pressures of re-Catholicization—reinscribed the birds’ symbolic voices with confessional-political connotations that referenced the suffering of the Protestant church and all its persecuted members.
Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the generous support of a number of institutions and individual people to whom I owe my deepest and sincerest appreciation. First, I would like to thank The Graduate Center, CUNY for providing me with a teaching fellowship that supported me financially during the course of my graduate studies. Throughout my education, the staff and faculty of the Graduate Center Music Department were patient, caring, and attentive to my intellectual needs and interests; to them, I wish to extend a warm thank you. The completion of this dissertation would have been especially impossible without the close mentorship of my dissertation advisor, Dr. Janette Tilley. Over the past five and a half years, her encouragement and support in my educational journey has been unfaltering; there is not enough space in this dissertation to properly thank her for all that she has done for me. Additionally, I would like to recognize the mentorship of Dr. Anne Stone and Dr. Emily Wilbourne, who frequently donated their time to listen to early drafts of conference papers or talk with me about my research ideas and career goals. Special thanks extend, too, to the members of my dissertation committee—Dr. Emily Wilbourne, Dr. Scott Burnham, and Dr. Michael Marissen—who have been particularly helpful and generous with their time as they read drafts of my work and challenged me with their astute comments to think in new directions, hone my ideas, and clarify my prose.

In addition to The Graduate Center, CUNY, I would also like to recognize and thank the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD) for awarding me both a short-term grant to study the German language as well as a generous year-long research fellowship that allowed me to live in Germany and conduct the necessary work for this dissertation. Without the aid of the
DAAD, I would not have been able to access the resources needed to complete this research. For exposing me to new cultures, languages, peoples, and ways of living, I thank them.

During my time abroad, I enrolled as a temporary student at the Universität Osnabrück, where Dr. Stefan Hanheide acted as my sponsor and mentor; I would like to thank him for his willingness to sponsor my study abroad, his enthusiasm to meet and discuss my project, and the insightful comments and helpful directions he suggested I pursue with the research. Though the Universität Osnabrück sponsored my time in Germany, the bulk of my research was conducted at my host institution, the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) in Wolfenbüttel. The librarians and staff at the HAB were both patient and helpful; for their consistent support in navigating the library’s collection, I thank them. I am particularly indebted to staff of the HAB Stipendienprogramme, especially Dr. Elizabeth Harding, Dr. Volker Bauer, and Dr. Jill Bepler, for facilitating an experience that was comfortable, productive, and intellectually rich. My thanks extend, too, to number of additional libraries and archives across Europe with whom I was in close contact during my time abroad and whose collections and archives I personally visited. These institutions include: the Stadtbibliothek, Braunschweig; Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Dessau; Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt, Musikabteilung; Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky; Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern; Stadtbibliothek, Nürnberg; Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung in Regensburg; the Evangelisches Pfarramt und Kirchenchor St. Petri; and the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków.

To the long list of scholars that I have already thanked, I would like to add the names Derek Stauff, Lynne Tatlock, Amy and Stephen Burnett, Arne Spohr, Erika Honisch, and my Doktorgroßvater, Gregory Johnston, all of whom demonstrated profound kindness and
collegiality to me during the course of my research by freely exchanging causal conversations, research materials, and even their unpublished manuscripts. My friends and colleagues at the HAB and at The Graduate Center have also been enormous sources of both emotional and professional support throughout the writing of this dissertation. For their dedicated friendship, I wish to thank Klazina Botke, Hanna Mazheika, Antonius Baehr, Eelco Nagelsmit, Katja Jensch, Felix Kommnick, Nathan Pell, Elizabeth Fleming, Noel Torres, Natalie Oshukany, and Elizabeth Newton.

From the moment I decided to pursue the study and performance of music, my family has shown nothing but their utmost love and support. This dissertation would not exist without them. I grew up in a town of about 1,000 people that did not have much to offer in the way of music education. When I initially expressed interest in learning to play the violin at around age eleven, my parents and grandparents, without hesitation, offered to drive me to my weekly lessons about forty-five minutes away in the nearest city. They appeared at every one of my major music performances during high school and my undergraduate degree. They supported my move away from the Midwest to New York City in order to complete my doctorate. My sincerest thanks extend to my entire family, but especially to my parents, Brenda and Danny, and my grandparents Mary, Jerry, Ruth, and Harvey. You are all my strength and inspiration; thank you for believing in me.
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<td>A-Wst</td>
<td>Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Vienna</td>
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<tr>
<td>D-BSstb</td>
<td>Stadtbibliothek, Braunschweig</td>
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<tr>
<td>D-DElsa</td>
<td>Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Dessau</td>
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<td>D-DS</td>
<td>Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt, Musikabteilung</td>
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<tr>
<td>D-DSsa</td>
<td>Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt</td>
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<td>D-Hs</td>
<td>Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky</td>
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<td>D-Mbs</td>
<td>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München</td>
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<td>Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern</td>
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<td>Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Außenstelle Oranienbaum</td>
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<td>D-Wa</td>
<td>Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Standort Wolfenbüttel</td>
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<td>D-WE</td>
<td>Pfannenstielsche Bibliothek, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt, Weiden</td>
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CHAPTER 1

Hearing Emotion’s History in the Early German Baroque: An Introduction

As one may find many tears in sad people, so too [may one find] their uncountable sighs, which they let go to God in their melancholy and—more than one could count minutes in the hour—send so many heaven-rising sighs from their highly distressed hearts day and night to their loving Father. Indeed, as many say: so many steps, so many sighs. — Sigismund Scherertz, *Fuga melancholiae* (1630)

For the modern reader, the sigh likely elicits strong associations with various states of feeling. We sigh at the stress of work, the sadness of homesickness, the overwhelming beauty of a scenic landscape, the boredom of a Saturday afternoon, the longing to reunite with a lost lover, the fear of the unknown. The expressive gesture is the audible manifestation—the vocal trace—of emotion’s presence. For those living in seventeenth-century Germany like the Lutheran preacher Sigismund Scherertz (1584–1639), the sigh also marked the experience of a range of emotional states. As illustrated in this chapter’s epigraph, the sigh could accompany expressive gestures like tears at the onset of sadness or melancholy. But Scherertz is careful to note that the production of sighs during depressive stupors did not occur for the sake of the subject’s own cathartic release. Significantly for Scherertz, sighs were directed toward a distinctly divine destination for sacred purposes. The expressive vocal gesture was a potent communicatory device that bridged the distances between man and God. Afflicted with sadness, the heart sent its

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1 “Wie bey traurigen Leuten sich viel Thränen finden/ also sind offt ihre Seufftzer/ so sie zu GOtt in ihrer Melancholey abgehen lassen/ unzähllich/ und sendet manch hoch bekümmertes Hertz Tag und Nacht so viel Himmel steigende Seuffzter zu seinem lieben Vater/ und mehr als Minuten in denselben Stunden mögen gezehlet werden/ Ja/ bey manchem heisset es: *So viel Tritt/ so viel Seufftzer.*” This quotation is extracted from a later reprint edition of Scherertz’s original work. Sigismund Scherertz, *Fuga melancholiae* (Lüneburg, 1682), 219. The bold emphasis belongs to Scherertz.
affective states heavenward and “spoke” to God not with words, but with emotionally charged sighs that numbered more than even the minutes of the day.

Scherertz’s notion of the sigh was common amongst early modern Europeans. For reasons that will be outlined in detail throughout this dissertation, many believed that this emotional gesture carried the same potency as prayer when the capacity to speak had waned under the stress of hardship, the burden of melancholy, the weight of spiritual sorrow, the longing to see heaven. The sigh’s capacity to act as an affective form of communication had broad cultural effects across the continent. Theologians published devotional-books whose prayers they identified as sigh-texts; poets, similarly, brought to print their own rhymed, metered prayers, which they called sighs; engravers printed visual images that were included in books of emblems, which explored the potency of the sigh in Christian doctrine; and especially in Lutheran Germany, composers began to publish with increasing frequency a number of sacred works they titled Seuffzer or suspiria (sighs). This dissertation examines these extant musical sigh-compositions, interrogating the repertoire especially with regards to its unique emotionality. Specifically, then, this dissertation addresses these broad concerns by engaging with the particular history of the sigh and the musical works that referenced the gesture. What is a musical sigh, exactly? How did these pieces provoke performers to feel? What were the natures of those feelings? Broadly, though, this dissertation is concerned with the ways in which music acquired its emotional meanings in early modern Germany more generally. How precisely was music emotional? By what routes did it acquire its affective weight?

The sigh-composition is difficult to define in part because of the diverse and inconsistent forms that it took especially during the first half of the seventeenth century. These works survive in both print and manuscript and range in size from single, two-voiced occasional pieces; to
collections of few-voiced songs; to large concerted works for instruments and voices. Despite their musical diversity, they do share some consistent features: all are vocal works with sacred texts. With only a few exceptions that will be addressed as necessary throughout this dissertation, all were also written by Lutheran composers; and thus they appear to be distinctly Lutheran musical phenomena. Estimating an exact number of extant sigh-compositions is a difficult task, too, because of the diversity of the texts themselves and the various ways in which they were published and re-published. Some were brought to print individually to commemorate a particular event such as a funeral or wedding, while others were collected into lengthy editions comprising upwards of twenty-five to thirty pieces. From 1612 (the year in which the first sigh-composition appeared in print) to 1650, eleven collections of musical sighs were published that collectively contain approximately 200 songs. During that same period, about twenty individual pieces appeared, some of which were later reworked in collected editions. A small handful of other pieces were published that were not explicitly designated sigh-compositions but contained texts that were elsewhere identified as sigh-prayers. In less than four decades, sigh-compositions exploded into a popular musical category that early modern Germans continued to utilize well into the late seventeenth century.

Scholarship on this overlooked genre has been mostly limited to brief studies of individual works, and only a handful of modern editions have been brought to print. Stefan Hanheide, for example, has published a few of these critical editions, including Melchior Franck’s Suspirium Germaniae Publicum (1628) and Johann Hildebrand’s Krieges-Angst-Seuffzer (1645). While some of these pieces are easily accessible in newly published editions,

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2 This includes sigh-compositions by the Coburg composer Johann Diliger (1593–1647), who initially published a number of musical sighs and other individual occasional works and later collected them into larger editions.

others are only partially available in print. Two of the thirty pieces of Erasmus Widmann’s
*Piorum Suspiria*, for example, are available in modern score. Still other performing editions,
such as an undated publication of Johann Hermann Schein’s *Angst-Seufftzer* issued by Breitkopf
& Härtel, shortens the length of the original text by including only two of the piece’s original
seven verses. This dissertation cross-references these various editions against the original prints
and manuscripts to offer a fuller and more comprehensive account of the musical genre. A
majority of the works exist only in their original printed- or manuscript-form and have received
little or no critical scrutiny. I have located and examined as many of these compositions as
possible during the course of my research in an effort to provide an honest representation of this
musical genre and its emotional history. This dissertation, then, is the first of its kind not only to
bring these other previously unexamined compositions to light, but also to comprehensively
analyze them in conjunction with other extant sigh-compositions.

The emergence of the musical sigh in German Lutheranism coincided especially with one
significant historical event that changed all aspects of early modern Europe and drastically
altered its future course—the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). The exact nature of the
relationship between sigh-compositions and the war will be examined in detail especially in the
second half of this dissertation. The political ambitions that drove the three-decades of fighting—
which occurred almost exclusively in what is modern-day Germany, Austria, and Czech

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Berger (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2012); Johann Hildebrand, *Krieger-Angst-Seufftzer: Sieben Monodien und
sechs Choralätsze mit Basso continuo* (1645), ed. Stefan Hanheide (Osnabrück: Electronic Publishing Osnabrück,
2014). In addition to the prefatory notes that accompany these works, Hanheide has also published short articles that
explore the pieces’ historical contexts. Stefan Hanheide, “Melchior Franck: Suspirium Germaniae publicum—Eine
Kriegsklage aus dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg,” *Musik und Unterricht: Das Magazin für Musikpädagogik* 9 (January
4 In his edited edition of Erasmus Widmann’s work, Georg Reichert includes only two of the thirty pieces for two to
Georg Reichert (Mainz: Verlag B. Schott’s Söhne, 1959), 26–27.
Republic—were immensely complicated and are not at all easy to summarize. In fact, historian Peter Wilson utilizes close to one-thousand pages to explore the war’s convoluted history and its even thornier historiography in his recent comprehensive study, *The Thirty Years War: Europe’s Tragedy.*

While the war’s initial phase largely concerned internal disputes in the Holy Roman Empire between strong ruling houses on the one hand and local rulers of feudal territories on the other, it eventually exploded into an international affair. By the war’s third and final phase, the kingdoms of Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Sweden—following the earlier and unsuccessful involvement of Denmark—had entered the war. When the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, millions of lives had been claimed either directly or indirectly by the fighting, significantly diminishing the overall population of Europe.

Though the Thirty Years War was not exclusively a religious war, differences in faith within the Empire nevertheless contributed to some of the major tensions that plagued the relationships between imperial and local powers. These internal tensions were due in part to the

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7 Determining exact population loss during the war is a herculean if not altogether impossible task for modern historians. As Peter Wilson notes, no standardized census was in place that provided accurate representations of population sizes within the Empire’s households, a concept itself variously defined. Studies of population loss have relied instead on various tax- and church-records. Peter Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, 786–789. Previous demographic studies by twentieth-century historians have been problematized because of ineffective or biased methodologies. Günter Franz’s comprehensive account of demographic changes within the Empire is one (in)famous case. Franz, a staunch member of the Nazi Party, approached source material from a biased perspective that favored his political party’s particular propagandistic agendas. David Lederer, “The Myth of the All-Destructive War: Afterthoughts on German Suffering, 1618–1648,” *German History* 29, no. 3 (2011): 385–387.

8 Peter Wilson has offered a nuanced interpretation of the religious elements of the Thirty Years War in his article “Dynast, Constitution, and Confession: The Role of Religion in the Thirty Years War.” Among the astute observations that Wilson makes is the fact that actual fighting forces on the battlefield were often a mix of those belonging to Protestant and Catholic faiths. “Sir James Hepburn (1598–1636), a Scots Catholic,” he writes, “commanded a brigade under Gustavus Adolphus,” the King of Sweden and understood defender of the Protestant cause within the Empire. Peter Wilson, “Dynast, Constitution, and Confession: The Role of Religion in the Thirty Years War,” *The International History Review*, 30, no. 3 (September 2008): 491. When Lutherans fled Bohemia and settled in Saxony during the Emperor’s efforts to re-Catholicize the territory, they were not met with the support of the Protestant Elector Johann Georg, who viewed their behavior as rebellious to the Emperor and in violation of the Imperial constitution. “Johann Georg, although a Lutheran, regarded the exiles as defeated rebels.” Ibid., 487. From Wilson’s analysis, he concludes that “the war was a religious war in the sense that all parties included faith and church in the common good they sought to defend. However, this general objective had little bearing on decisions
various limitations of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, an agreement that recognized Lutheranism as an official religious practice, or “confession,” and established the doctrine of *cuius regio, eius religio* [who rules, his religion]—that is, the designated religion of a territory was determined by the confessional identity of that territory’s ruler. The imperial map that resulted from this dictum was a messy patchwork quilt of unequally sized territories and free imperial cities, each identifying as Catholic or Lutheran depending on the confessional identity of the overseer. Toleration of unofficial religious observances within these districts varied from place to place, an aspect of the faith-landscape that was further complicated by the increasing popularity of Calvinism—an unsanctioned and illegal religious practice within the Empire until the war’s end in 1648.

The event largely understood by modern historians to be the start of the long war—the defenestration of Prague—was initiated partially because of religious differences. When the Emperor sent a collection of ten, mostly Catholic, regents to Prague to oversee the shuttering of two local Protestant churches, the regents were met with the anger of locals who understood the act to be in violation of the 1609 Letter of Majesty, a document which allowed the free practice of both Catholicism and Protestantism in Bohemia. Locals requested that their perspectives be heard and considered. They were not. When these Protestants were refused the right to assemble to discuss their demands, two of the Catholic regents and one of their secretaries were thrown from the window of Prague’s royal castle, fifty feet above ground, in an act of open protest and for war and peace. The war was not a confessional war. The population did not divide neatly along sectarian lines, nor did faith dictate the choice of allies…The Thirty Years War was a holy war only for a minority of militants who did not necessarily hold this view throughout it.” Ibid., 512–513. In other words, though religion was often taken into consideration by those participating parties in the war, the actual policy decisions enacted were more concerned with defending the Imperial constitution and with upholding the authority of the Emperor. The war was, as Wilson stresses, not the inevitable product of religious strife within the Empire, but rather the avoidable result of a number of complex political events.
rebellion. When the boundaries between state and church were porous, skirmishes such as the defenestration were of both secular and sacred concern.

When the war finally broke out in Europe and grew in intensity especially throughout the late 1620s and 1630s, it cut deep into the daily lives of many German-speaking Europeans living within the Empire. While some locations avoided the harsh realities of warfare altogether, other areas like the Protestant city of Magdeburg—which was completely demolished during a 1631 siege—were harshly affected. Those who did not experience the direct destruction of immediate warfare faced other life-threatening effects, including persistent famine, high inflation, and disease. The millions of deaths of both soldiers and civilians during the war were more likely to be the result of a lack of food resources or the inability to control the outbreak of plague, infrastructural issues based on population influxes, rather than the direct violence of warfare.

When considered against this backdrop, it is no surprise that a portion of the everyday music composed for Germans during this time of hardship is consolatory in nature, offering musical texts that might encourage them to endure the burden of hardship with dignity, repent of

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9 Both the two regents, Wilhelm Slavata and Jaroslav Martinitz, and their secretary Philipp Fabricius survived the fall. For a comprehensive account of the defenestration of Prague and the historical events that preceded it, see especially the section headings “Prelude,” and “The defenestration,” in chapter seven of Geoff Mortimer’s recent monograph, Geoff Mortimer, The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Revolt in Bohemia, 1618 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 132–143. Though differences in faith guided the actions of those involved in the Bohemian revolt, the event was not accepted wholesale as a justified exercise of protest in the name of religious freedom. The Saxon Court Preacher Matthais Hoë von Hoënegg condemned the revolt, interpreting it along with his patron—the Elector Johann Georg I—as an open rebellion against the Emperor and the Imperial constitution. Peter Wilson, “Dynast, Constitution, and Confession,” 483.

10 Peter Wilson writes that, by the end of the siege of Magdeburg, more than 20,000 soldiers and civilians had been killed. The massive number of bodies could not be buried, and were thus put into the river to be carried away from the town. In the year following the siege, only 449 people lived in the city, whose population once numbered in the tens of thousands. Peter Wilson, The Thirty Years War, 470.

11 For a collection of ego-documents that shed light on everyday hardships, see Hans Medick and Benjamin Marschke, Experiencing the Thirty Years War: A Brief History with Documents (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2013).

12 Peter Wilson, The Thirty Years War, 789–795.
their sin, maintain their faith in God, and look expectantly toward their time of death when they might return to heaven and escape life’s suffering. Because the genre of the sigh-composition rose to prominence during this difficult time, this dissertation engages extensively with the repertoire of war and with secondary literature that examines musical life during the three decades of fighting. A majority of the scholarship on Lutheran music and the Thirty Years War exists in the form of short essays or individual articles that explore the impact of the war on musical life, performing forces in various courts, and music printing. Using extant letters, contracts, payment records, and personal diaries, Mary Frandsen and Kenneth Marcus, for example, have carefully reconstructed images of general musical life during the first half of the seventeenth century at the courts of Dresden and Württemberg respectively. Stephen Rose’s work, too, has outlined the ways in which music publishing practices were modified to accommodate the changes to daily life in Leipzig during the war. As mentioned previously, Stefan Hanheide’s work has brought attention to little-known repertoire written during and

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14 A number of scholars have been concerned with Catholic music composed during the war in other locations in the Empire. See, for example, Steven Saunders, Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637) (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Alexander J. Fisher, Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580-1630 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004); and Surrey Farnham, Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the end of the Thirty Years’ War (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).


specifically about the war. Derek Stauff, too, has devoted significant attention to the war’s effect on Lutheran repertoire in his doctoral dissertation, from which his recent article in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* was published.\(^\text{17}\) Though politics and the effect of the war on musical life are certainly topics that I address throughout this dissertation, the primary concern of the project is the emotionality of the sigh and the ways in which these emotions became integrated in music performance in the first half of the seventeenth century.\(^\text{18}\) Thus the war and its effects on daily life are one, but not the only, facet of the sigh-composition examined critically in this dissertation.

**Interdisciplinary Interventions**

What might it have meant to sing a sigh in the seventeenth century? The practice of singing sigh-compositions appears especially foreign to us in the modern era since we no longer perform musical works that we understand to be sighs, nor do we even conceptualize the sigh as a kind of performable text—the sigh is an expressive vocal gesture, not a script or score that one can perform. Such a facet of the sigh’s history, then, suggests an expired or obsolete emotional phenomenon. Once indisputably present, the affective event has since passed into obscurity and no longer holds the same significant cultural meaning in modern life. Thus, the methods needed

\(^{17}\) In his research, Stauff is interested in musical settings of biblical texts that might have been inflected with political meanings in light of historical events in Lutheran Saxony. Derek Stauff, “Lutheran Music and Politics in Saxony During the Thirty Years’ War” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2014). Derek Stauff, “Schütz’s Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich? and the Politics of the Thirty Years War,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 355–408. I am grateful to Derek for sharing his dissertation with me during my research.

\(^{18}\) These political inquires of this research project are in alignment with current emotions theorists and historians such as Sara Ahmed who, in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, explores how “emotions may involve ‘being moved’ for some precisely by fixing others as ‘having’ certain characteristics. The circulation of objects of emotion involves the transformation of others into objects of feeling.” Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 11. For Ahmed, people learn to define Others by means of the emotions that they performatively elicit. Others become Others by means of the affective bonds that attract and repel people toward or away from them. This dynamic process, in which “emotions are not only about movement, they are also about attachments or about what connects us to this or that,” is crucial to the ways in which emotions inform social and juridical discourses on nationhood, immigration, and (non-)normative sexualities. Ibid.
to uncover the emotional value of this gesture, and the emotionality that it might have afforded to music more generally, need to be able to account for the shifting meanings associated with the sigh over time. They need to consider not only the sonic qualities and performance contexts of the extant music, but also the historical dimension of the expressive gesture to which the music refers. The methods must be, quite simply, interdisciplinary and multifaceted in approach.

In this dissertation, two disciplines provide the primary lenses through which I examine the extant musical sources: musicology and the history of emotions. As I demonstrate below, scholars working within these disciplines have made space for critical inquiries about the emotionality of sound and its historical dimensions, but many have not yet attempted to perform such studies. In what follows, I offer a synthesis of a variety of theoretical and methodological tools from these two disciplines that best accommodates the questions I ask regarding the extant primary sources. The resulting discussion adumbrates not only the analytical strategies employed throughout this dissertation, but also the productive approaches that arise when the disciplines of musicology and the history of emotions “converse” with one another.

**Musicology**

Traditionally, one of the primary approaches with which musicologists in the twentieth century addressed the subject of emotion and music in German Baroque repertoire was by means of musical-rhetorical analyses. German musicologists of the early twentieth century—especially Arnold Schering and Hermann Kretzschmar—were largely responsible for propagating the notion of a fully autonomous theoretical “doctrine” of musical affections (*Affektenlehre*), replete with a set of stock musical figures that resembled the rhetorical figurations of eloquent oratory.¹⁹

This long-standing notion of a cohesive doctrine that composers used to regulate audiences’ emotional experiences was eventually refuted by George Buelow and others beginning especially in the 1980s. Contrary to previously perceived truisms about the unity of such a theoretical system, Buelow definitively claimed that “in no instance in the seventeenth century can one find any writer who advocates or establishes a doctrine—that is, a set of rules—for expressing the affections.”

While Buelow helped to dismantle the notion that a singular affective doctrine guided the aesthetic decisions of composers and their musical products, the author continued to advocate the usefulness of musical rhetoric as a lens through which to better understand how composers—as eloquent orators—manipulated the feeling states of their audiences more generally. In his 2001 contribution to the article “Rhetoric and Music” in the New Grove Encyclopedia of Music, for example, Buelow confirms from his reading of contemporary theoretical sources that “during the Baroque period the composer was obliged, like the orator, to arouse in the listener idealized emotional sates – sadness, hate, love, joy, anger, doubt and so on – and every aspect of musical composition reflected this affective purpose.”

Thus, for Buelow, there was not a direct one-to-one relationship between a stock musical-rhetorical gesture and the discrete, individual emotion it supposedly elicited. Rather, composers used rhetorical figures more generally as metaphorical devices that elicited a wide panoply of indeterminable emotions.

Dietrich Bartel, in his 1997 book Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music, also espoused such a general theory of rhetoric more in line with Buelow rather than early twentieth-century German musicologists working with the Affektenlehre. In his

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work, Bartel gathers a variety of definitions of musical-rhetorical figures from a number of theoretical treatises in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to provide a more nuanced understanding of rhetorical terminology. The various musical-rhetorical devices examined in his book and the contemporary intellectual trends that motived their usage comprised what Bartel understands to be a particularly German branch of music theory known as *musica poetica.*

Central to Bartel’s project, like those musicologists who published before him, is the prevailing understanding that the ultimate purpose of such a system—however nuanced—was to move audiences to experience desired affective states. Of the three parts that comprise Bartel’s monograph, the first solely concerns contemporary perceptions of music’s ability to move its listeners to feel. Introducing his book, for example, Bartel writes that

> It will be observed that the concept of the musical-rhetorical figures grew out of a desire to identify and define with rhetorical terminology those expressive musical devices which deviated from conventional compositional norms, that the musical-rhetorical concept developed into a specific means of representing and arousing the affections, and that toward the end of the Baroque era, an age in which such systematic and objective principles contradicted the increasing emphasis on “enlightened” individualistic and subjective musical expression, such a concept would experience its inevitable decline.

Though generations of musicologists engaged extensively with the emotionality of German Baroque music through rhetoric and *musica poetica,* musicologists began to reconsider the importance of the affections and emotional expression in this theoretical system near the turn of the twenty-first century. In her 2006 dissertation, Bettina Varwig draws attention to some of the earliest writings on musical rhetoric by Gallus Dressler (1533–ca. 1589), Nicolaus Listenius

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23 Bartel describes *musica poetica* as “both a genre and a discipline.” Ibid., 20. He further claims that this concept was propagated especially by a collection of German Lutheran theorists—religious confessional identity is a central concern in Bartel’s project. The author conspicuously marks this aspect in his book’s first chapter on Martin Luther’s thoughts about music. In service of the Lutheran church, the composer exercised his compositional prowess in an effort to reinforce the emotional content of Sunday sermons, proselytizing those in the congregation into modes of Lutheran orthodox feeling and belief. “The affections,” Bartel writes, “were to be portrayed and aroused by the Lutheran composer not primarily to delight the audience, or to faithfully reflect and represent the text, but rather, quite simply to preach the Christian Gospel.” Ibid., 8.

24 Ibid., x.
(b. ca. 1510), and Joachim Burmeister (1564–1629), noting how these theorists conceptualized *musica poetica* not as a system of gestures primarily designed to evoke or represent emotional states, but rather as a system of compositional strategies for formally combining sound to create a cohesive musical structure.\(^{25}\) According to Varwig, contemporaries were concerned less with the affective dimensions of musical rhetoric than they were with the system’s practical applications to the art of composition and formal design. The affections, while certainly a part of the discourse on musical rhetoric, were only of ancillary concern. Quoting Dietrich Bartel, Varwig notes that

> In a romanticized reading of its name, the discipline [*musica poetica*] instead seemed to imply some sort of “poetic” approach to music making through the use of affective figures. This misreading of the term as “an expression of text and affection” still informs current musicological discussion, even though a few scholars have attempted to clarify that *musica poetica* implied nothing more (or less) than a *Kompositionslehre*, or a theory of compositional instruction.\(^{26}\)

Elsewhere, Varwig reiterated her views that the musical-rhetorical tradition is one primarily concerned with the construction and composition of musical works instead of emotional expression, writing that “while the familiar maxim of ‘moving the affections’—now generally cited as the defining characteristic of ‘Baroque’ music—undoubtedly served as a general premiss for many of the writers, their specific concerns often focused less on aspects of affective expression than on vital techniques of musical construction.”\(^{27}\) For Varwig, musicologists’ prior concerns with the affective dimensions of the system have been misrepresentative of actual contemporary attitudes that were more concerned with musical aesthetics and compositional processes.


\(^{26}\) Ibid., 70.

Varwig’s voice is but one of several in recent years that have found *musica poetica* to be an inadequate or inappropriate framework for analyzing the musical and emotional lives of early modern Germans. More recently, John Butt has proposed one alternative analytical method for examining past emotional experiences that draws upon, but deviates from, Varwig’s recent work. In his article “Emotion in the German Lutheran Baroque and the Development of Subjective Time Consciousness,” Butt moves away from historiographical tendencies that focus on *musica poetica* by arguing for a more associative relationship between music and feeling. “If there is a universal connection between music and emotion,” he writes, “my guess is that this lies in the associative powers of music rather than in any specific content that somehow survives from one context to another.”

To analyze the nondescript feeling states into which music placed its audience, Butt focuses on “subjective time consciousness,” a concept grounded in the idea that individuals from different historical moments experience emotions differently in time. Variations in emotional experience through music, therefore, might be uncovered by analyzing how musical works manipulate the perception of time. His analytical model builds on Bettina Varwig’s exploration of rhetorical “repetition, rearrangement and formal patterning” and especially on the role of “the memory and expectations of the audience.” He compares the use of repetition and audience expectation in the music of Schütz and Johann Sebastian Bach, finding that the two composers have different temporal frameworks in which their music unfolds, an aspect that thus suggests two diverging ways in which these composers’ audiences experienced emotion in time.

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28 John Butt, “Emotion in the German Lutheran Baroque and the Development of Subjective Time Consciousness,” *Music Analysis* 29 (2010): 19. For Butt, music’s ability to evoke emotional experiences results from the piece’s ability to place audiences in a receptive feeling state without explicitly defining what that feeling might be. “In other words,” he writes, “although music might condition us to perceive or experience an emotion which we would not otherwise have had, the actual range of emotions concerned might be surprisingly varied according to circumstances.” Ibid.

29 Ibid., 24.
In the execution of this methodology, however, Butt tends to overemphasize historical conceptions of temporality without clearly demonstrating how the emotional effects of music relates to subjective time consciousness. While emotion lies at the periphery of his inquiry, only a vague image of how the music of Schütz and Bach gained their specific emotional efficacy emerges.

In addition to John Butt, Isabella van Elferen has proposed alternative analytical methods for examining the emotionality of early modern German music. In her 2004 article, “Affective Discourse in German Baroque text-based Music,” van Elferen details what she refers to as an “intermedial approach” for analysis, which attempts to “recover and describe the explicit and implicit conventions constituting Baroque affective expression.” Van Elferen, like Butt and Varwig, is critical of musical-rhetorical analyses that have merely resulted in “dictionaries or catalogues of musical word depiction,” and so proposes a new method comprised of “a more radical contextualisation of works, composer and traditions.” Van Elferen’s method is comprised of a three-step process that considers first the general philosophical discourses regarding the affections; next, textual representations of these concepts in German Baroque poetry; and finally musical settings of such poetry that aim to represent shared emotional discourses. The author acknowledges that her approach to affective discourse analysis is inspired by Stephen Greenblatt and the New Historicism movement, an essential part of which involves

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30 Isabella van Elferen, “Affective Discourse in German Baroque Text-Based Music,” *Tijdschrift voor Muziektheorie* 9, no. 3 (November 2004): 217. Van Elferen’s research is primarily concerned with early modern articulations of mystical love in German Lutheranism, a concept on which she elaborates in her larger 2009 monograph. Isabella van Elferen, *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music* (Lanham, MA: Scarecrow Press, 2009). One of her central concerns in the analysis of late German Baroque music by Buxtehude, Bach, and others is what she identifies as a Petrarchan influence on the poetry used by these composers.

31 Isabella van Elferen, “Affective Discourse in German Baroque Text-Based Music,” 218. In her book, van Elferen writes that her “analyses should generate not so much descriptions of the musical representation of individual words or lines, but rather an insight into the musical parameters that underpinned the sacred love discourse in the various works.” Van Elferen, *Mystical love in the German Baroque*, 230.
the simultaneous comparison of texts from a plurality of artistic media—van Elferen reads sources such as sermons, philosophical tractates, and treatises on poetry alongside musical texts in order to reveal consistencies and inconsistencies in cultural modes of representation across artistic media.  

While I find van Elferen’s avocation for a “radical contextualisation” to be a fruitful approach, the musical analyses that result from such a method fail to transcend the “dictionaries or catalogues of musical word depiction” she aims to avoid. In a short article published in *Bach* in 2004, for example, van Elferen examines the solo sections of Buxtehude’s third cantata in the *Membra Jesu nostri* cycle using her method of radical contextualization, arguing that the bitter-sweet aspects of mystical love appear in the composer’s music by means of “sharp dissonance and a slow speed [which] coincide with soft parallel thirds.” The appearance of “sharp dissonance” alongside “soft parallel thirds” was, as van Elferen contends, one of the ways Buxtehude chose to represent the contemporary concept of Baroque mystical love more generally. Elsewhere, van Elferen has made such similar observations. Analyzing the communal-emotional dimensions of the chorus “Hier liegen wir gerührte Sünder” from Carl Heinrich Graun’s *Der Tod Jesu* (1755), van Elferen contends that “the expressive octave leaps in the orchestral and vocal parts, the dotted rhythms of the instrumental parts, and especially the tutti choir accompany the progress from individually felt to collectively expressed emotions. The E flat major key [of the chorus] and the descending bass lines show that these emotions are sad.”

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32 “German Baroque poetry and prose expressing certain affective themes can be considered as signs originating from the historical contingencies of seventeenth and eighteenth-century German culture. The analysis of these signs should therefore focus in the first place on the understanding of the relationship between these contingencies and the way in which they were reflected discursively and artistically. It is the musicologist’s challenge to involve the non-textual expression of musical composition in such research.” Ibid., 230.

33 Ibid., 18.

34 Isabella van Elferen, “‘Ihr Augen weint!’ Intersubjective Tears in the Sentimental Concert Hall,” *Understanding Bach* 2 (2007): 93.
The designation of an E Flat major key with a descending bass as simply “sad”—an observation that is given no further attention—appears unjustified. Inevitably, such observations read as little more than descriptions of musical aesthetic features in the score, and thus fail to speak to the more complex emotional meanings such pieces would have acquired.

It is apparent that the usefulness of *musica poetica* as a tool for analyzing the emotionality of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German musical repertoire has faced a variety of criticisms in recent years. While scholars such as Bruce Haynes and Geoffrey Burgess have more recently examined the emotional implications of musical rhetoric from a performance perspective, the preceding survey of literature illustrates how traditional ways of conceptualizing the relationships between the affections and German Baroque music have been problematized (to say the least) by a new generation of music scholars seeking novel ways of exploring music’s emotional impact. To the growing number of voices reconsidering the usefulness of musical rhetoric as the standard method by which to analyze musical-emotional meaning, I wish to add my own voice, but for reasons that diverge slightly from those of Varwig, Butt, and van Elferen. While these scholars have proposed new methods of examining past emotional histories, they do so with a rather narrow definition of what actually constitutes music. Their studies have tended to focus heavily on literate music culture of church and court, eschewing more comprehensive analyses of musical texts that are more simplistic in nature or were more frequently practiced in domestic music-making. The complex and densely contrapuntal music of composers like Schütz, Buxtehude, Bach, and Graun remain foregrounded in studies of musical-emotional meaning, while musical texts of a much more conservative ilk are relegated to the peripheries of critical inquiry.

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While this dissertation builds on the alternative analytical models proposed by Varwig, Butt, and van Elferen, it deviates from their work in its more capacious definition of music—one that is inclusive enough to encompass not only the highly rhetorical musical works of well-known composers, but also simpler compositions of lesser-known individuals that may only feature strophic poetry, sparse textures, compact forms, or perhaps only words with a suggested tune to which they might be sung. I understand that these texts, like their more elaborate counterparts, could also be emotional for those contemporaries who wrote and performed them. As I will demonstrate, these pieces offer invaluable windows into how German Lutherans engaged emotionally with music and the routes by which such music came to be understood as innately emotional. Additionally, the liberal attitude toward what constitutes music utilized throughout this dissertation allows space for a consideration of the emotional values of even environmental “music” and sound, especially the (symbolic) voices of birds. Early modern Germans listened to the sounds of their environment and felt in relation to these sounds; these modes of hearing and interpreting the natural soundscape, when critically examined, disclose historically situated modes of feeling that do not necessarily present themselves in the elite musical work. The limitations of musical rhetoric as a mode of analysis in this dissertation, therefore, do not present themselves according to any reconsideration of primary texts (as in Varwig’s work), but rather by means of the fundamentally incompatible nature of this analytical method with the texts examined in this dissertation. Musical-rhetorical analyses cannot disclose

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36 I am inspired here by recent work in sound studies literature—especially those studies involving the early modern world—such as Bruce R. Smith, The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), and Alexander J. Fisher, Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). Part of my approach involves analyzing the ways in which historical actors listened to and interpreted the sounds, both real and imagined, of their environmental soundscapes.
any significant affective aspects of the extant corpus of sigh-compositions because, in large part, many of these pieces were not composed in a highly rhetorical style.

_History of Emotions_

In addition to a more broadly construed notion of music, this dissertation deviates from previous musicological studies in its explicit reliance on literature from the history of emotions, a sub-discipline of history that has burgeoned in recent decades.\(^{37}\) Historians working within this literature understand foremost that emotions have a history—they are not ahistorical categories or biological constants, but rather change and permute over time according to the particular milieus in which past actors experience them. Emotions historians understand, furthermore, that these feeling-experiences shape the very events of history itself: emotions are one crucial aspect of life that motivate historical actors to enact change in the world as they perceive it. As evident from the preceding discussion, musicologists have occupied themselves for generations with matters related to musical-emotional values in history. The idea of examining emotional meaning in music history, therefore, is not a fundamentally new concept for the discipline. What is new, however, are the types of questions that emotions historians have asked in recent years and the quite fruitful methods they have developed for answering such inquiries. While it is true that some musicologists—Bettina Varwig, Tim Carter, and Penelope Gouk, for example—have adopted approaches and methodologies from the history of emotions in their work, many have

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\(^{37}\) Histories of the history of emotions tend to identify the early origins of the discipline in the work of Johan Huizinga, Norbert Elias, and especially in the _Annales_ historian Lucien Febvre. After Febvre, more recent historians such as Carol and Peter Stearns, William Reddy, and Barbara Rosenwein have effectively aided in establishing the discipline as it known today. For more on the historiography of the history of emotions, see Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns, “Introduction,” in _Doing Emotions History_, ed. Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (Urbana, Chicago, Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 3–5. See also the first chapter in Jan Plamper’s comprehensive introductory text to the discipline: Jan Plamper, _The History of Emotions: An Introduction_, translated by Keith Tribe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Two very recent publications also offer critical introductions to the discipline. See Rob Boddice, _The History of Emotions_ (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), and Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, _What is the History of Emotions?_ (Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2018).
not yet examined what this body of literature might offer to the discipline.\footnote{Most recently, Bettina Varwig offered the keynote address at the Center for Early Music Studies conference in May 2018. Her paper, titled “Music in the Thirty Years War: Toward an Emotional History of Listening,” was a call for musicologists to examine the emotionality of music through the history of emotions. Her work draws from religious and medical literature to reconstruct emotional contexts into which aesthetic issues such as dissonance and the emotional reactions it spurred can be situated. Bettina Varwig, “Music in the Thirty Years’ War: Towards an Emotional History of Listening,” (paper presented at the international conference, Thirty Years of War: Henrich Schütz and Music in Protestant Germany, Center for Early Music Studies, Boston, MA, May 11–12, 2018). Tim Carter, furthermore, gave one of four keynote addresses at the 2013 conference, “Sourcing Emotions in the Medieval and Early Modern World,” conducted by the Australian Research Council’s Center of Excellence for the History of Emotions. Tim Carter, “From Conception to Delivery: Sourcing (Musical) Emotions in Early Baroque Italy,” (paper delivered at the conference Sourcing Emotions in the Medieval & Early Modern World, ARC Center of Excellence for the History of Emotions, Perth, Australia, June 27–29, 2013). The relationships between music and early modern conceptions of the soul’s medical spirits are Penelope Gouk’s primary focus in her book chapter: Penelope Gouk, “Music and Spirit in Early Modern Thought,” in Emotions and Health, 1200–1700, ed. Elena Carrera (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 221–239.} Conversely, though, emotions historians have also been reticent to comprehensively engage with sound and music as sources of emotion’s history.\footnote{While emotions historians in the early years of the discipline tended to exclude discussions of sound and music from their studies, more recent work has slowly begun to address this lacuna. In a collection edited by Susan Broomhall titled Early Modern Emotions, Alan Maddox and Jane W. Davidson offer a short essay on music’s emotionality in early modern Europe. The primary lens through which they conduct their brief survey, though, is through writings on the emotional force of musical rhetoric. Drawing from the work of Claude Palisca, Maddox and Davidson give an overview of theoretical writings by predominantly Italian authors at the turn of the seventeenth century, concluding from their survey that the objective of manipulating and moving audiences’ affections in the Baroque was “the only characteristic that meaningfully connects the disparate music of the period.” Alan Maddox and Jane W. Davidson, “Music,” in Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction, ed. Susan Broomhall (New York: Routledge, 2017), 176. While this observation holds some truth, such statements have been problematized (as detailed above) in regards to early modern German music and musica poetica. The lens through which Maddox and Davidson observe the emotionality of music in early modern Europe, then, is insufficient in light of recent conversations occurring within musicology.} This tendency to disregard the significant acoustic dimensions of historical life in the history of emotions likely stems from at least two causes: 1) the privileging of language as a source of emotional expression, and 2) unfamiliarity with music-research methodologies.

Historian William Reddy, one of the foremost scholars of the history of emotions, perhaps unintentionally set a precedent to focus on the expressive value of language in his early work with the concept of the “emotive,” a neologism used to describe the function of linguistic emotional utterances that “translate” internal feeling states into language through cognitive processing. In his history of the French Revolution—The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework
for the History of Emotions—Reddy attempts to synthesize recent emotions research from the sciences and humanities, providing a framework for examining how individuals perform emotive utterances within state institutions that impose “emotional regimes” on their subjects. Drawing from J. L. Austin’s theory of speech-acts, Reddy argues that emotives occupy a medial position between utterances that simply describe or relate matters as they are (what Austin calls “constantives”) and those that do things in the world (“performatives”). While one might consider emotionally expressive phrases like “I love you” to be constatives—in that such phrases simply describe a given state—Reddy argues, based his understanding of recent cognitive psychology, that such emotional phrases actually assist the subject in processing their own feeling states. They thus do not describe preexisting feelings, but rather give shape to the experience of those feelings in the act of speaking. By saying “I love you,” the subject comes to understand by means of the experimental medium of language their internal, unprocessed feeling-states as the love that they say they feel; love is experienced qua love through the process of voicing these feeling-states aloud through language. Emotive phrases, then, are not exactly

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40 Reddy coins the term “emotional regime” to describe the “normative order for emotions” that political regimes establish for their subjects and for themselves. William M. Reddy, The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124. Such regimes can be situated along a sliding scale that ranges from strict to tolerant. In a strict regime, Reddy asserts that emotional values are clearly communicated and heavily enforced—here, regulatory governments accept little deviation from overtly prescribed modes of feeling and enact harsh punishments for those who transgress emotional propriety. These harsh punishments, Reddy contends, increase the likelihood that those who perform emotives within these regimes will be more likely to actually feel what they express. Fear of imprisonment, for example, may demand that a subject voice his love for his king and actually experience this love since performing an insincere expression might lead to the subject’s imprisonment, or worse. “Such goal conflict, for many,” Reddy writes, “significantly increases the likelihood that required emotives will have the appropriate effect. The prospect of severe penalties, because of the goal conflict it induces whenever deviant emotions occur, renders the emotional enhancement effects of normative emotives soothing, even pleasurable. Many will find that the strict emotional discipline of their regime works well for them, shoring up a personal emotional management style that serves as the core of a coherent, rewarding way of life.” Ibid., 125. In more slack regimes, however, governing powers tend to tolerate a greater diversity of emotional experience, and therefore “may serve as an umbrella for a variety of emotional styles.” Ibid. Strict regulation of emotion in these regimes is typically reserved only for particularly conservative institutions like the church, and punishments for transgressing normative emotional behaviors are minimal.

41 “Emotives are,” Reddy writes, “translations into words about, into ‘descriptions’ of, the ongoing translation tasks that currently occupy attention as well as of other such tasks that remain in the queue, overflowing its current capacities.” Ibid., 105.
performatives in that they are not the actions they describe. For an emotive like “I love you,” the phrase is not the love itself, but rather the experimental means by which the subject comes to understand their feeling-state as love. But Reddy recognizes that such phrases do things in the world (that is, they act upon the feeling subject), and thus resemble performatives:

emotives are influenced directly by, and alter, what they “refer” to [i.e., the subject’s feeling states]. Thus, emotives are similar to performatives…in that emotives do things to the world. Emotives are themselves instruments for directly changing, building, hiding, intensifying emotions, instruments that may be more or less successful. 42

Though Reddy’s theoretical model does not address music or sound, it is certainly flexible enough to encompass such acoustic dimensions. As I demonstrate in chapter three of this dissertation, the experimental means by which language forms particular emotional experiences had real applications for early modern German composers, who articulated similar theories of expressive experimentation in sacred music performance more generally, and in psalm performance in particular. 43 Emotives should not, therefore, be confined merely to the realm of spoken language, but should be expanded to encompass the sung word as well, a quality that requires consideration of the emotive’s unique acoustic characteristics in addition to its semantic meaning. 44

Rather than conceptualizing the past as a series of emotive utterances performed within totalizing “emotional regimes” imposed by the state, medievalist Barbara Rosenwein counters Reddy’s work by introducing the concept of “emotional community” in her foundational text,

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42 Ibid.
43 See the chapter heading “Appropriating the Sigh-Prayers of Others” in chapter three of this dissertation.
44 In his recent history of emotions, Rob Boddice similarly advocates for a more expansive category of emotive which might incorporate not only the spoken word, but also bodily gestures. But even in this most recent critical survey of the discipline, Boddice, like other emotions historians, does not directly address the affective significance of sound or music. Rob Boddice, The History of Emotions, 67–68.
For Rosenwein, the emotional community is a theoretical concept that embraces a pluralistic approach to emotions in history, one that accounts for convergent and divergent coexisting “styles” of feeling. These communities, she notes, might be best visually depicted as a series of concentric and overlapping circles contained within a large, all-encompassing circle that represents the emotional community. An individual might migrate freely within this larger circle, moving from one internal circle to the next and performing particular sets of feeling rules within each. In a given day, for example, the historical actor might have been expected to experience and express joy in the church sanctuary, composure at one’s place of work, love in the family’s household, sadness in the graveyard, etc. Different emotional expectations exist according to the social circumstances of a given environment through which the historical actor must learn to comfortably traverse. But the various internal circles that comprise Rosenwein’s larger emotional community are not entirely bound by the purely material or geographical spaces of the church, home, workplace, market. Rather, as Rosenwein notes, the emotional community implicates a larger, discursively formed textual community “in which people have a common stake, interests, values, and goals. Thus it is often a social community.” Emotions are the products of relational encounters, which might occur discursively through indirect means such as textual circulation and more directly through social interaction.

Though Rosenwein explodes the strict boundaries of “regimes” proposed in Reddy’s work, arguing for a more discursive model and textual community, she nevertheless relies on

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46 Ibid., 24–25.
47 Rosenwein recognizes that these communities, therefore, resemble Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse or Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus in that such communities encourage individuals in particular groups to act and react in certain pre-conditioned ways. Ibid, 25.
linguistic emotional expressions as the primary means through which to study early medieval emotional communities. The first chapter of her 2006 book offers multiple laundry lists of emotion-terms in the original Latin and in English translations frequently encountered in classical texts by authors such as Cicero. Though Rosenwein tends to focus on the use of language as a tool of emotional research in her early work, she is cognizant that music and other cultural products can nevertheless contribute to emotions history research. In a 2010 interview published in the journal *History and Theory*, historian Jan Plamper asked Rosenwein if music and images might be viable sources for exploring the nature and makeup of emotional communities. “We all know,” Rosenwein responded, “that music is deeply connected to our emotional lives. Yet few of us have the tools or the methods to deal with emotions in music…I would love to see the integration of music, art, and more obvious historical sources in the exploration of emotional communities.” For Rosenwein, the problem with integrating music into the history of emotions is not a question of source material, but of fluency with music-research methodologies. Lacking the specific tools for music analysis and research, emotions historians have focused on other expressive gestures, especially linguistic ones, to uncover more about the emotionality of life in the past. This current study, then, is in part a response to Rosenwein’s call for the more systematic integration of music and sound into the history of emotions. Equipped with musicology’s analytical tools, I consider the sonic aspects of the emotional community and examine how musical texts circulate within such communities through performance.

As previously mentioned, this study must engage with the expressive gesture of the sigh in early modern Lutheran history as much as with the musical texts that referenced the gesture.

Explicit attention to the sigh as an emotional gesture in the history of emotions literature has often been eclipsed by more numerous histories of tears and crying. The subject of tears has received special attention within the history of emotions, especially with regards to the gesture’s often sacred and religious significance. The topic of sacred tears in history is taken up especially in the collection of essays Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination, edited by Kimberly Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley. In this collection, authors contribute a variety of perspectives on the theological importance of tears and the crucial acts they perform within a variety of religious faiths, including Islam, Western and Eastern Christianity, and Judaism. To some extent, I model this present study on such histories of tears and crying even as I move toward a more explicit engagement with the sound of tears and its accompanying sighs or groans—vocal gestures that have received little attention in the history of emotions literature.

Kristiina Savin’s essay, “Sighs of Desire: Passionate Breathing in Medieval and

49 Isabella van Elferen has examined the importance of tears in German Lutheran Baroque music. In her article, “‘Ihr Augen weint!’ Intersubjective Tears in the Sentimental Concert Hall,” van Elferen examines the act of collective crying in musical performance as part of the aesthetic of Empfandsamkeit. Shedding sentimental tears in a sacred musical setting performed a complex role—it demonstrated the virtuousness of the weeper, indexed the repentant state of the sinner’s soul, and reinforced a collective emotional experience whereby the tears of one audience member might encourage others to join in the emotive process. Isabella van Elferen, “‘Ihr Augen weint!’ Intersubjective Tears in the Sentimental Concert Hall,” 77–94.

50 Because the entire corpus of music examined in this dissertation is sacred, I have also had to extensively engage with the the religious dimensions of emotional experience in early modern Lutheranism. Thus, the work of John Corrigan and others have provided additional exemplary models on which to base this present study. Corrigan has encouraged those working within the discipline of religious studies to embrace the approaches and methodologies of the history of emotions in order to examine more critically the place of emotion in world religions. John Corrigan, ed., Religion and Emotion (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); John Corrigan, ed., The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); John Corrigan, “Religion and Emotions,” in Doing Emotions History, 143–162.


52 Other studies of tears include Tom Lutz’s book Crying: A Natural and Cultural History of Tears, which approaches the subject of crying and weeping from a variety of different disciplinary fields including sociology, anthropology, and literature in an effort to demonstrate the broad significance that tears hold to across the scientific and cultural spectrum of human life. Tom Lutz, Crying: A Natural and Cultural History of Tears (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

53 In musicological literature, Sarah Day-O’Connell has recently examined the emotionality of sighing in her article: Sarah Day-O’Connell, “The Composer, the Surgeon, His Wife and Her Poems: Haydn and the Anatomy of the English Canzonetta,” Eighteenth-Century Music 6, no. 1 (2009): 77–112. By juxtaposing an advertisement for
Early Modern Literature,” is one notable exception. In her work, Savin investigates the sigh as it was described in Latin and vernacular literary sources, especially monastic and private devotional literature, Italian secular love poetry, medical literature, and the plays of William Shakespeare. Though Savin’s work lays much of the fundamental groundwork for a more detailed critical study of the sigh and its emotional history, her comments on the relationship of the sigh to music or to its sonic qualities more generally are limited to only a few terse sentences about secular Italian musical repertoire. This dissertation builds on Savin’s work by affording more explicit focus to the sonic qualities of the gesture and its relation to the voice in early modern Lutheranism.

An Approach and Methodology

One especially significant approach that I have borrowed from the history of emotions, and that serves as a framing mechanism for the entirety of this dissertation, is the notion that

Haydn’s English canzonettas in a 1794 edition of the London Newspaper, The Sun, against an adjacent advertisement for the skills of the “eminent Surgeon, John Hunter, Esq.” Day-O’Connell is able to re-examine the role of the sigh not only in the music she analyzes but also the (gendered) bodies from which such sighs were expressed. As Day-O’Connell notes, the sigh is a concept which finds itself not just in the sung text or in its musical representation, but also in the body of the performer who, enacting both text and music, literally embodies the notion of the sigh as it is culturally understood. “Sighs are not just mentioned but performed,” she writes, “and performative sighs (traditional and extraordinary) direct attention, particularly in the company of body parts and symptoms, to the body that sings.” Ibid., 87. For those who would have consumed canzonettas in eighteenth-century London, the sighing body of the likely female performer “infuses the drawing-room canzonetta with a dissecting-room aesthetic; its beauty is the physical beauty of female bodies (or body parts) under observation.” Ibid., 93. Musical sighing in parlor-songs exposes the physicality of the singer’s heaving body to the observant audience, intimating somatic symptoms of a working biological system that, like a science, can be studied and controlled.

Savin notes that while the sigh is generally associated today with melancholic or depressive feeling states, its emotional qualities in medieval and early modern Europe were frequently associated with “hopeful longing and desire.” This emphasis on desire, she suggests, “hints at a historical change in the interpretation of sighs, and perhaps even a shift in emotional expression itself.” Ibid., 157.

Savin’s comments about the sigh in music are limited to the following: “In early modern musical theory and practice, especially opera, the terms suspirium and figura suspirans were elaborated and used to express and incite emotions. Also certain verbal expressions, as interjections, occur frequently, e.g. in the beginning of the madrigal Ohimè, ch’io cado, based on a sonnet of Petrarch (Monteverdi, 1624), and Ohimè, se tanto amate (compositions by Guarini and Monteverdi), where thousands of sweet sighs of love are contrasted to the final mortal sigh.” Ibid., 163.
emotion-terms must be understood according to contemporary rather than modern definitions, which may be anachronistic. Susan Karant-Nunn, in her emotional history of the Reformation, adopts such an approach when highlighting the variances in emotional styles between Protestantism, Catholicism, and Calvinism in sixteenth-century Germany.\footnote{Barbara Rosenwein recommends a similar strategy for studying the history of emotions, noting that historians must learn to question preconceived notions about emotional experiences, interrogating the meanings and values of affective concepts that might seem, to modern sensibilities, unchanging. As an example, Rosenwein critiques Darrin McMahon’s treatment of the term “happiness” in his book \textit{Happiness: A History}. Darrin M. McMahon, \textit{Happiness: A History} (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006). According to Rosenwein, McMahon’s project—which addresses happiness and its history from classical Antiquity to the present—too easily essentializes many varieties of happiness into an all-too-convenient term—one that ultimately fails to account for the nuances that happiness, in all its manifold translations and variances, implies. Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions,” \textit{Passions in Context} 1 (2010): 13–14.} Surveying sermons on Christ’s Passion, Karant-Nunn recognizes that the voices of early modern preachers illustrate dominant discourses surrounding emotion words, their collectively agreed-upon meanings, and their shared significances among members within the emotional community. Recalling her research approach, Karant-Nunn understands that it is of utmost importance to

listen to the labels of preachers themselves, as these have come down to us in printed form. Insofar as possible, their templates rather than ours must provide the vocabulary of sentiment. Their patterns of naming interior sensation became apparent as I read. The preachers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shared root metaphors, which, however, drew apart after the Reformation…These reveal not only contemporary esthetics of speech but may lead us deeper into an understanding of religious and moral culture in general.\footnote{Susan C. Karant-Nunn, \textit{The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11–12. Like Isabella van Elferen, Karant-Nunn relies on additional sources outside of the written word in order to analyze emotional values of the past. In particular, she cross compares literary sources with visual media in churches—“nonverbal signage of the decoration of sanctuaries”—which further discloses the emotional values of those people who populated such sacred spaces. Ibid., 12.}

In the manner of Karant-Nunn, I have let the voices of contemporary German Lutherans inform me regarding the definitions of and the emotional connotations associated with the sigh. I open this dissertation, therefore, with a thorough explication of \textit{Seufftzer} as it was related in the theological and devotional writings in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheranism.
concept of Seufftzer—which stands in stark contrast to our own twenty-first-century understanding—is the base on which I build the remainder of the dissertation; it is with this contemporary concept of the sigh (and not its modern equivalent) that I interpret and analyze the extant musical repertoire.

The subsequent chapters of this dissertation approach the repertoire of extant sigh-compositions from three respective angles: genre, communal performance, and politics. Rather than detail each chapter’s theoretical apparatuses in this general introduction, I will reserve such a discussion for the chapters themselves. By approaching the sonic dimensions of Seufftzer through a number of frameworks, this dissertation deliberately avoids offering a single, totalizing image of music’s emotional history in favor of a more complex and multifaceted one. The sigh and its musical incarnations were at times polysemous, embracing any number of meanings depending on those who heard and felt its effects. The approach used to address this emotional phenomenon, then, aims to accommodate this gesture’s complexity.

In order to explore the sigh-composition’s emotionality through genre, communal performance, and politics, I consult many different kinds of primary sources in this dissertation in addition to the extant musical texts themselves. Foremost among these sources are Lutheran sermons and private devotional books. Because the sigh-composition was a sacred music genre, the writings of Lutheran preachers have been invaluable in building a theological context in which to situate the musical repertoire. Additionally, I consult other media such as visual emblems, broadsheets, and single-sheet publications in conjunction with devotional literature. A number of the primary sources referenced throughout this study have been digitized and are readily available online through databases such as VD16 (Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen

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59 These concepts are not arbitrarily chosen, but rather have been selected according to particular features in the musical sources themselves.
Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts) and VD17 (Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts). I have included the VD16 or VD17 catalogue number of relevant sources in the footnotes and bibliographic citations. Though many of the sources consulted in my research are available online, a majority of the research for this dissertation was conducted at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. I have included the shelf-numbers of rare sources that exist only in the HAB in the footnotes of this dissertation.

Though sermons and devotional literature offer significant detail about Seufftzer and its various meanings, these publications typically disclose only the orthodox voices of authors with access to education and elite positions of privilege. To some extent, then, the direct experiences of lay people cannot be recovered due to the various limitations of the primary sources—what survives on the Seufftzer and its musical manifestations are predominantly the products of learned men, both preachers and composers, who worked within the institution of the church. But given the fact that so little scholarship has been conducted on this topic at all, the writings of more mainstream authors should not be discredited simply because of the privileged positions from which they speak. Though they offer only one side of what was surely a more complicated discourse, it is a side that has not received critical scrutiny, and thus has much to illuminate regarding modes of feeling in sacred musical practices. I have attempted to encompass, as much as possible, the voices of others who lived on the peripheries of the mainstream in order to present a better representation of the types of emotional discourse that unfolded around the topic of Seufftzer and music. Rare occasions where women wrote their own devotional material have been included in this dissertation in order to demonstrate how the emotionality of the sigh was conceptualized across the early modern European gender binary. Furthermore, I attempt to
illuminate lay audiences’ perspective on musical sigh-compositions through more indirect means. By examining the conventions of the sigh-composition as a genre in chapter three, for example, I illustrate how lay audiences’ emotional expectations dictated to some extent what composers supplied them—sigh-compositions reflect the preconceived emotional expectations of those lay people who consumed them.

**A Note on Vocabulary and Usage**

One of the most prevailing problems with which all historians of emotion must contend is the variance in linguistic terminology used by historical actors to describe feeling states. The very absence of the word “emotion” or any of its translations from the vocabularies of early seventeenth-century Europeans complicates matters further. As Thomas Dixon notes, the word “emotion” is derived from the French word *émotion*, and though the word came into use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, “it did not become established as the name for a category of mental states that might be systematically studied until the mid-19th century.”60 Prior to the widespread adoption of the word “emotion,” terms such as “affection” and “passion” were more frequently employed. While “passion” was utilized by such medieval authors as St. Thomas Aquinas to characterize the movement of the soul’s sensitive appetite in response to some object perceived through the senses, “affection” described the reaction of the soul’s intellectual appetite (that is, the will) to some object perceived through intellectual reason.61 The feeling-states that one experienced, therefore, were dependent upon the methods by which they were perceived by the soul—one through the sense and one through the rational will. But terms like “affection” or “passion” were rarely used to characterize the nature of Seufflzer in early modern Germany.

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61 Ibid., 339. For more on the differences of these two terms in Aquinas, see chapters one and three of Nicholas Lombardo, *The Logic of Desire: Aquinas on Emotion* (Washington D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011).
Instead, a constellation of feeling terms—examined more in detail in chapter two—was employed. The focus on emotion-words in this dissertation will not be concerned, therefore, with “affection” and “passion,” but with Seufftzer and the concomitant concepts used to describe it in the primary sources.

More generally, I use the word “affect” and “affective” throughout this dissertation not to refer to the medieval and early modern concept of the “affection,” nor to reference modern theories of affect. Rather, I employ the terms similarly to Ann Cvetkovich in her book Depression: A Public Feeling, who understands “affective” as a catchall term that includes colloquial uses of the words emotion, affect, and feeling. For Cvetkovich, “affective” is an ambiguous term that is productive in its ability to account for both the cognitive dimensions of emotional experiences as well as the sensorial effects these experiences have on the material body. The distinctions between closely related emotion-terms like “affect,” “feeling,” and “emotion” for Cvetkovich act as “points of departure for discussion rather than definition.” Similarly, uses of “affect” and “affective” in this present study are not ends to emotional analysis, but rather concepts that help orient and navigate readers through complicated discourses of feeling that always evade simplistic, reductive narratives.

I use Seufftzer throughout this dissertation in its seventeenth-century orthography rather than its modern spelling, Seufzer, in order to perform two related tasks. First, Seufftzer contains within itself multiple possibilities for emotional signification, while Seufzer is limited in its


63 Affective, she writes, is “a category that encompasses affect, emotion, and feeling, and that includes impulses, desires, and feelings that get historically constructed in a range of ways (whether as distinct specific emotions or as a generic category often contrasted with reason).” Ann Cvetkovich, Depression: A Public Feeling (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012), 4.

64 Ibid., 5.
modern translation only to a literal sigh. In early modern Germany, *Seufftzer* encompassed a number of vocal utterances not traditionally associated with its modern equivalent. For example, the Latin words *suspiria* (sigh) and *gemitus* (groan) were both translated as *Seufftzer* in early modern Germany; while Latin distinctions for these two different kinds of vocalizations exist, both words were easily essentialized through translation into one emotional category.\(^6^5\) This presents a problem of terminology with regards to the English translations of ancient Latin texts included in this dissertation. For these writings, the word *gemitus* will frequently appear as “groan” rather than “sigh” in the English translation. These distinctions, however, would not have been made by early modern Germans, who more readily translated the word *gemitus* into one single word, *Seufftzer*, that indicated both groaning and sighing. Thus the concept of *Seufftzer* is more ambiguous than its modern equivalent, *Seufzer*. Rather than parsing the messy conflations of *suspiria* and *gemitus* into *Seufftzer*, this dissertation embraces the ambiguity of the German term, recognizing that the inherent vagueness of terminology is a central facet of this affective gesture’s ontology.

Second, I use *Seufftzer* rather than *Seufzer* to evoke a contemporary understanding of the phenomenon, which could contain an inherently sacred dimension not implied in its modern, secularized form. As detailed throughout chapter two, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century discussions of *Seufftzer* diverge significantly from current characterizations of *Seufzer* due in large part to the specific theological meanings with which it came to be associated—namely, to the act of prayer and to the Holy Spirit. The modern notion of the sigh indicates an expressive

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\(^6^5\) This is especially apparent on the title-pages of early modern German publications. It is typical that a book’s title was named first in Latin and followed by a German translation that is longer and elaborates on the publication’s full title. Two examples that demonstrate the conflation of the words *gemitus* and *suspiria* into a single German word, *Seufftzer*, include: Siegmund Gerlach, *Suspiria Sancta Sanctorum: Das ist/ Hertzens- Seufftzer der Heyligen* (Frankfurt a. M., 1647), VD17 39:119833N; and Bartholomäus Beck, *Tergeminus Davidis gemitus. König Davids Dreyfacher Seufftzer* (Eißleben, 1630), VD17 39:102879A.
vocal gesture, but this current usage fails to account for the sigh’s function as a form of prayer, a facet of the gesture’s history that I wish to evoke through use of the word’s orthographical variant, Seufftzer. In general, then, I use Seufftzer throughout the dissertation to refer to an actual feeling state that was inseparable from prayer and seventeenth-century Christianity. I will refer to literary or musical texts that were labeled “sighs” by contemporaries as “sigh-prayers,” “sigh-compositions,” or “musical sighs,” reserving Seufftzer strictly for moments where I refer to the emotional phenomenon itself.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation is divided into two parts. In part one, I examine the nature of Seufftzer and its role especially in German Lutheran theology and devotional practice. Chapter two questions the ontology of Seufftzer and reconstructs an image of what this now-expired emotional phenomenon might have meant to Lutherans living in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. I perform in this chapter a chiefly historical inquiry, tracing the ontology of the sigh from the writings of medieval Church authors through to the writings of prominent German Lutheran theologians. In my study, I afford special attention to voice and vocality by examining the sigh’s relationship to the heart, prayer, and song. For early modern Lutherans, both the sigh and sacred-song performed similar devotional functions in that they communicated the pious Christian’s devotion to God through uniquely emotional media. The devotional practices of singing and praying, I ultimately argue, shared a similar affective basis in Seufftzer—the emotional gesture was the affective impetus that gave voice to both (nonverbal) prayer and song.

Chapter three continues to examine the relationship between Seufftzer, prayer, and song by offering a broad overview of the sigh-composition as a cohesive genre. I examine numerous
prayer-books in this chapter that were intended for use primarily in Lutheran private devotion. From this examination, I illustrate the number of recurrent situations—for example, at the moment of death—for which literary sigh-prayers were written. I demonstrate how the extant musical sigh-compositions drew from and contributed to the generic functions of their literary devotional equivalents; like the literary sigh-prayer, the musical sigh was intended for performance during a number of discrete devotional and emotional contexts. Drawing from recent work in the history of emotions, I suggest that these literary and musical prayers acquired their emotionality precisely through the discursive, generic circuits that existed between musical score, literary text, receptive audience, and creative author. By the time of the Thirty Years War, however, these circuits’ regular pathways were shorted by the war’s uncertainty. The sigh-prayer as a discursive genre responded to the vicissitudes of emotional life during the war, shifting and permuting to accommodate new modes of feeling for Lutheran audiences.

Part two tightens this dissertation’s focus on the relationship between the sigh-composition and the Thirty Years War, thus moving from a more general inquiry about the sacred affective nature of Seuffitzer in music to a more particular inquiry about the functional use of this music during times of war and hardship. In chapter four, I consider the role of repentance in a collection of sigh-compositions written especially for Lutheran communities’ observances of special Prayer- and Repentance-Days. Early modern Germans across confessional divides reasoned that God sent war to a region in an effort to turn its inhabitants away from their sinful practices; successfully establishing a repentant community, therefore, would abate God’s inflicted hardships. Creating truly repentant communities necessitated the widespread experience of emotions such as sorrow and remorse for sin. For this chapter, I introduce the concept of “feeling agency” to describe the ways in which the cultivation of these repentant emotional states
were believed to have causal effects in the world by means of God’s mediation. Music—and musical sigh-compositions in particular—promoted the experience of these emotional states, suggesting that music’s performance during the Days of Prayer and Repentance was not a means to escape the realities of war, but rather an exercise of agency and of defense and protection.

Chapter five of this dissertation considers the affective dimensions of one particular emotional topos—the sigh of the dove and turtledove—as it was frequently described in German Lutheran popular- and devotional-song during the Thirty Years War. The dove’s and turtledove’s sigh-vocalization had been interpreted since the time of St. Augustine as a sonic marker of spiritual sorrow. During the war, however, this sound acquired a new set of emotional meanings related to contemporary confessional politics. The birds’ sighs did not merely signify spiritual sorrow, but rather a politicized notion of sadness that resulted from the suffering of the Protestant church at the hands of its perceived enemy, the monolithic Catholic Church. In addition to appearing in devotional materials, sermons, and broadsheets, this emotional topos circulated widely in newly composed song-texts, which were especially prominent in communities of religious refugees who were forced to evacuate re-Catholicized areas of the Empire in the 1620s and 1630s. These musical texts, I argue in this chapter, enact the voices of birds they describe through their performance. By singing about the sighs of persecuted birds, Lutherans embodied the vocal qualities of their avian counterparts through their own sorrowful lamentations.

The end of the war in 1648 serves as a logical chronological terminus of this present study, though this should not imply that sigh-compositions ceased to appear in print after the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648 and the last of the foreign soldiers left German soil in the years that followed. On the contrary, composers continued to write musical sighs after the war’s end. Many of the sigh’s theological themes continued to appear in German music well into
the eighteenth century, including in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. This dissertation’s conclusion gestures toward the history of sighing in music after the end of the war, adumbrating the fascinating ways in which the genre continued to develop in German-speaking areas of the Empire before it ultimately disappeared into obscurity.
CHAPTER 2

“With Sighs Too Deep for Words”: Locating the Affectivity of Voice Between Song and Prayer

Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but that very Spirit intercedes with sighs too deep for words. And God, who searches the heart, knows what is the mind of the Spirit, because the Spirit intercedes for the saints according to the will of God.

–Romans 8:26-27

In a 2015 colloquy published in the Journal of the American Musicological Society titled “Why Voice Now?”, Martha Feldman opened with a brief introduction in which she described the voice as a relational phenomenon that “is at its most characteristic when it sounds.” Feldman asked readers to imagine the voice as

a zone without clear boundaries or strict divisions. Were we able to strip away speech, poetry, phonetics, morphology—all of language, in short—we might have the pure terrain

1 Rom. 8:26–27 (NRSV).
2 Martha Feldman, “The Interstitial Voice: An Opening,” in “Why Voice Now?,” colloquy, Journal of the American Musicological Society 68, no. 3 (2015): 658. The notion of voice as detailed by Feldman and the colloquy’s authors resonates with the work of recent voice theorists such as Adriana Cavarero and Mladen Dolar. Adriana Cavarero in her book For More Than One Voice, for example, considers the voice’s inherent capacity to reveal the uniqueness of the subject from whom it sounds. While speech might convey a particular semantic meaning to another listener, Cavarero understands that meaning is first conveyed through the particularities of an individual’s distinct vocal qualities, the sounding of which implicates the speaker in the politics of interrelatedness. Cavarero writes, for example, that “Meaning—or, better, the relationality and the uniqueness of each voice that constitutes the nucleus of this meaning—passes from the acoustic sphere to speech. Precisely because speech is sonorous, to speak to one another is to communicate oneself to others in the plurality of voices. In other words, the act of speaking is relational: what it communicates first and foremost, beyond the specific content that the words communicate, is the acoustic, empirical, material relationality of singular voices.” Adriana Cavarero, For More Than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression, translated by Paul A Kottman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 13. Mladen Dolar similarly understands the voice as that which “does not contribute to making sense” and “precisely that which cannot be said.” Mladen Dolar, A Voice and Nothing More (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006), 15. Emphasis is original. Voice for Dolar is a medium that must give form to speech, but is not speech itself; it is an ephemeral substance which appears at the subject’s intent to communicate, but which disappears and gives way to semantic meaning at the moment of its voicing.
of the thing we call voice. For what would we be left with? Resonance, timbre, phonation. The vocalize, the vowel, the scream, the sigh, the cry, the gasp, the om.³

For Feldman, the voice reveals itself at the precise point where all language falls away—only after it has been stripped of its semantic meanings can the voice qua voice be fully actualized as a sounding, acoustic phenomenon. But this concept of voice simultaneously, if tacitly, implicates a theory of vocal expression. In identifying a variety of ululations—including the sigh, the cry, the gasp, etc.—Feldman suggests that the production of the voice outside of its linguistic meanings relies on the compulsory presence and expression of certain emotional states. A scream might emerge from overwhelming fear or horror; the sigh could be the product of lovesickness or boredom; the cry could indicate inner happiness or depression.⁴ The voice for Feldman does not reveal itself in the semantic meanings implicated through language, but rather in the audible manifestations of emotional experience utterly stripped of its linguistic content.

The purpose of the present chapter is not to refute the notion of voice espoused in the colloquy, but rather to consider it within the particular historical and definitively sacred contexts of speech, song, and emotion in early modern Germany. Specifically, this chapter accomplishes this task by attending to the particularities of an emotional gesture that, though it no longer holds the same values today as it did in the past, was nonetheless a vital devotional-emotional concept

³ Martha Feldman, “The Interstitial Voice: An Opening,” 653. While the voice, she cautions, might not be reduced to any of these parts exclusively, it might be comprised of a complex interaction between some or all of these aspects together. The recent work of Jessica Holmes on deafness and the voice might problematize Feldman’s phonocentrism triptych of the voice as “resonance, timbre, phonation.” Jessica Holmes, “Singing Beyond Hearing,” in “On the Disability Aesthetics of Music,” colloquy, Journal of the American Musicological Society 69, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 542–543.

⁴ Jonathan Rée’s formulation of the voice as an expressive means for emotional experiences is congruent with Feldman’s remarks here. Drawing from the works of Francis Mercury van Helmont, Johann Conrad Amman, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Rée recognizes that an intimate relationship between the voice and emotional expression—and a subsequent inquisitiveness into the exact nature of this relationship—has existed in philosophical thought since at least since the seventeenth century. “The voice, it seems, is not only the centre of the world of sound,” he concludes, “but also the expressive secret of the soul.” Jonathan Rée, I See a Voice: Deafness, Language and the Senses (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999), 64.
for centuries of pre- and early-modern Christians—the sigh. This expressive gesture, itself
evoked in Feldman’s vocal ontology, discloses the presence of inner feeling states and presents
the voice as an entity devoid of linguistic meaning. But for generations of Christians, the sigh
implied an entirely different and additional set of connotations that, as this chapter demonstrates,
seem to add historical nuance the concept of voice discussed in the “Why Voice Now?”
colloquy.

The sacred dimensions of the Christian sigh are most explicitly recounted in the eighth
chapter of Paul’s epistle to the Romans, quoted above in this chapter’s epigraph. Here, Paul
describes the ability of the Holy Spirit to enter into the hearts of those Christians who were no
longer able to find the words necessary to verbalize their private prayers. In these instances, the
Holy Spirit interceded and replaced the lost language not with new words, but with literally
indescribable sighs that were “too deep for words.” Even as human language failed, these
affective gestures communicated to God all the inarticulate needs of the heart, since God himself
was capable of looking within it and interpreting those thoughts which could not be audibly
expressed. As already suggested in Paul’s formulation of the sigh, these affective gestures
necessarily existed past the peripheries of the spoken word. They cannot be situated against
language because they exist necessarily beyond it, exceeding the imperfections of human reason
and thought. Paul further suggests that the sigh lacks material presence and, especially, audibility
on Earth. Existing solely in the heart, the sigh need not actually sound or be audibly expressed in
the material world for God to “hear” its inherent vocality and interpret its content. Does (or even
can) this sacred notion of the sigh disclose a voice that “is at its most characteristic when it
sounds”? What exactly is the ontology of this voice? Of what is it made and what are its
purposes? What might it disclose about the affectivity of sacred music in early modern Germany?

I supply possible answers to these questions by focusing on two related tasks. First, the chapter seeks foremost to provide a rich historical account of the sacred sigh, which will be referred to in the second half of this chapter by its German name Seufftzer (see this dissertation’s introduction for a note on vocabulary and usage). The chapter begins by examining the writings of patristic authors such as Augustine and Cassian before demonstrating how these authors’ notions of Seufftzer were received, sometimes verbatim, into the theological works of sixteenth and seventeenth century Lutherans. At no point does this chapter claim that this history of Seufftzer is exclusive to early modern Lutheranism. Because all major religious confessions in early modern Europe shared an inherited history from the medieval Catholic church, similar articulations of the sigh’s ontology can certainly be found in Catholicism and Calvinism. As detailed in this dissertation’s introduction, though, there is no correlate musical expression of Seufftzer in coexisting confessional identities. Therefore, this chapter will focus exclusively on the reception of Seufftzer into early modern Lutheranism.

Simultaneously, this chapter also intervenes in voice literature by analyzing an early modern notion of voice as it disclosed itself through Seufftzer. Relatively few musicologists have considered the theological dimensions of the historical voice, and fewer have done so with an attention to early modern German culture. The work of Martha Feldman, Emily Wilbourne, 

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5 Martin Luther’s conception of singing voice—a combination of word and tone—has received the most scholarly attention in secondary literature. See, for example, Jochen Arnold, “‘…eine Regiererin des menschlichen Herzen’ – ein Versuch zu Martin Luthers Theologie der Musik,” in Singen, Beten, musizieren: Theologische Grundlagen der Kirchenmusik in Nord- und Mitteldeutschland zwischen Reformation und Pietismus (1530 – 1750), ed. Jochen M. Arnold, Konrad Küster, and Hans Otte (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2014), 21–22. Miikka Anttila, Luther’s Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 132-136. See also Johannes Block, Verstehen durch Musik: das gesungene Wort in der Theologie: ein hermeneutischer Beitrag zur Humnologie am Beispiel Martin Luthers (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2002), 24–28. One of the only sources to address the specific nature of voice in sacred contexts that I have found is Gerold W. Gruber’s essay “Voice and Voices in Oratorios: On
Suzanne Cusick, Bonnie Gordon, and others has been especially illuminating in its attention to the historical voice in dramatic and theatrical secular music in seventeenth-century Italian culture. But these historians’ work tends to eschew deep discussions of the sacred dimensions of voice in areas outside of early modern Italy. One exception, though, is Gary Tomlinson’s *Metaphysical Song: An Essay on Opera*. In the second chapter of his 1999 monograph, Tomlinson describes the special capacity of the voice and song in Renaissance humanism to inhabit the intermedial zone between the material world (that is, all that one is capable of experiencing through the human senses on Earth) and the immaterial world (or, the divine, ineffable perfection of God whose substance imperceptibly joins together all things in the known and unknown universe). Drawing from the Neo-Platonic thought of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), Tomlinson demonstrates that “both song and spirit traverse material and immaterial realms alike; they bring to perception otherwise invisible images of affect and ethos and operate on souls through the powers gained in this revelation.” Though Tomlinson addresses the sacred origins of the voice in the interstices between visible and invisible realms, he does so with a focus on its ultimate manifestation in opera and secular dramatic performance. While this chapter

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8 Ibid., 12.
draws from Tomlinson’s work, it differs in its explicit concern with the nature and function of voice in sacred musical practices—it examines voice through the affective concept of Seufftzer, situating it within a field of emotional experiences that ultimately aimed to facilitate communication between human and God.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that Seufftzer was an emotional gesture that mediated the liminal spaces between (nonverbal) prayer and song. The boundaries separating these two devotional practices were porous in early modern Lutheranism—prayer easily slipped into song, while song often doubled as prayer. Since Seufftzer were forms of nonverbal prayers, and since prayers were innately musical, both Seufftzer and music occupied similar affective registers through which the Lutheran might commune with divine audiences. Seufftzer was, in other words, the vocal gesture that made emotional communion with God in both prayer and song possible. Implicated within these interwoven relationships are early modern discourses concerning the heart, soul, and spirit, topics that require a (re)consideration of the voice’s materiality and ultimately its audibility on Earth. While these discourses are at times contradictory, they nevertheless disclose a richly complicated emotional gesture that, as subsequent chapters in this dissertation demonstrate, played a vital role in Lutheran musical life in the first half of the seventeenth century.

**Seufftzer in Early Christian History**

Some of the foremost texts from which Lutherans in early modern Germany derived their notion of Seufftzer were those by patristic authors of the early medieval church. One of the predominant attributes afforded to the experience of Seufftzer by these authors was its emergence

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9 In this regard, the voice is not limited by the movements of what Amanda Weidman calls the “internal choreography” of the vocal musculature. While the audible voice relies on the manipulation of the throat and larynx, the voice as it reveals itself through Seufftzer exists beyond the limitations of the body. Amanda Weidman, “Anthropology and Voice,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43 (2014): 41.
especially at moments when the human body and mind failed during times of hardship and tribulation. When a Christian’s capacity to speak—a signification of her human reason—was made impotent through extreme physical and spiritual duress, the heart’s inner cries for God’s intercessory aid functioned as a form of salvific and wordless prayer. In his commentary on the Book of Romans, Augustine of Hippo understands that spiritual and bodily hardships were not to be condemned by those who experienced them since God actually used these difficulties as a means to instruct and aid the Christian. By assailing the body with tribulations, God produced in Christians a desire to leave the confines of the material world and meet him in the afterlife.\footnote{“For tribulation, when it befalls a servant of God to test or correct him, seems sometimes futile to those with less understanding. But if one recalls ‘Grant to us the aid of tribulation, for the well-being of man is hollow’ (Ps. 59:13), he understands that God often helps us by tribulation; and well-being, which is sometimes unfavorable, is wrongly longed for when it entangles the soul with delight and love of this life.’ Augustine of Hippo, “Expositio quarundam propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos,” in \textit{Augustine on Romans: Propositions from the Epistle to the Romans, Unfinished Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans}, translated by Paula Fredriksen Landes (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 27.} If the Christian groaned and sighed to God during these difficult times, then a true desire to leave the imperfect world and eternally join God had been genuinely implanted in the heart of the suffering Christian. Quoting Romans 8:26, Augustine writes that Paul “says that the Spirit groans insofar as it makes us groan, rousing in us by love the desire for the future life, as it says: ‘The Lord your God tempts you, so that he might know if you love him’ (Deut. 13:3), that is, in order to make you know, for nothing is hidden from God.”\footnote{Ibid. Emphasis is original.} The Holy Spirit’s internal sighing and groaning is the impetus that gives rise to the Christian’s own internal groans. It is not, in other words, that the Christian directly expresses the groans of the Holy Spirit, but rather the Spirit’s groans generate sympathetic affective experiences. The Christian sighs because contained within her heart are the Holy Spirit’s sighs. Augustine’s quotation of Deuteronomy 13:3 provides a crucial piece of evidence for his argument; namely, that the physical or spiritual temptations the
Christian must undergo actually cause those who are afflicted to recognize if they truly love God. If they do, Augustine understands that they will feel sighs within themselves that resonate sympathetically with those of the Holy Spirit, since the “Spirit groans insofar as it makes us groan.” The absence of the Spirit’s sighs consequently indicates, then, the absence of the love of God. During times of distress, the only option available to Christians is to sincerely sigh and groan to God who, hearing these affective gestures as true prayers and expressions of love, intercedes on behalf of those who had lost all capacity to speak.

Elsewhere in his writings, Augustine demonstrates through biblical examples the ways in which such sighing groans were salvific for those who, in moments of duress, relied on God by crying out to him from the depths of their hearts. In his exegesis of Psalm 130, Augustine begins first by ruminating on the opening verse—“Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice”—and situates this verse in the context of the Old Testament prophet Jonah. Swallowed by a whale, Jonah cried out to God from deep within the inner cavities of the whale’s body where, even though he was fully smothered in the animal’s viscera, God was able to hear the prophet’s groaning voice and subsequently rescue him from harm. The effectiveness of the cry was, according to Augustine, based largely on Jonah’s devout heart: “we ought to say that, bursting through all things, it [Jonah’s cry] reached the ears of God, since the ears of God were in the heart of him who prayed.” Augustine interprets the “deep” out of which Jonah cried a step further than the literal whale’s belly by noting that the deep from which all humankind must cry is mortal life itself. All human bodies who are confined to suffering in the temporal world must cry out to God in their need in the same manner and with the same faithful

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12 Ps. 130:1 (AV).
heart as Jonah. “For this mortal life is our deep,” Augustine writes; “Whoever hath understood himself to be in the deep, crieth out, groaneth, sigheth, until he be delivered from the deep, and come unto Him who sitteth above all the deeps.” In Augustine’s understanding, the suffering experienced on Earth—the “deep” in which all cognizant Christian souls must suffer—actually produces salvific sigh-prayers. Only when human agency and reason have been made fully moot, and only after the capacity to speak itself has failed, does the Christian’s internal, wordless groaning ring clearly in God’s ears.

For authors in the early medieval church, the unspeakable sighs of the Holy Spirit were not mere theoretical gestures, but were rather incontrovertibly real affective phenomena felt in everyday devotional life. These unspeakable sighs that were contained internally within the heart could be outwardly expressed if such inward feelings were especially overwhelming. John Cassian recounts one particularly noteworthy observation of such an expression in his *Institutiones*, a work that comments specifically on the musical contexts out of which such unspeakable sighs emerged. Cassian spent a number of years in Egypt observing devotional practices of devout monks—his *Institutiones* offers recollections on the rituals practiced there, including prayer and psalm recitation. In the treatise’s tenth chapter of the second book, Cassian comments on the impressive silence with which those in Egypt practiced psalm recitation.

When they come together to celebrate the above mentioned Offices (which they call *synaxeis*) they keep such a strict silence that although such a huge number of brothers are

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14 Ibid.
16 In Egypt, a repertoire of twelve psalms were intoned by a soloist rather than a choir.
assembled, you might think there was no one there other than the one in the middle standing and singing the psalm. Especially when the prayer is being made, no one spits, nor hawks, no cough is heard, no sleepy sigh of indrawn or outward breath, neither groan nor murmur are emitted to disturb the standing monks, and no voice is heard save that of the priest who concludes the prayer; unless by chance an ecstasy has forced a sound from the lips, and the heart is taken unaware by the burning fervour of an irresistible and overwhelming spirit, the inflamed mind unable to contain within itself what strives to escape the imprisoning breast in groans too deep for words.17

Cassian in this passage describes the routes by which the internal and indescribable groan of the Holy Spirit is externalized by means of the voice’s expressive capacity. The monks’ inner heart-sighs—while they are indescribable and “too deep for words”—nevertheless manifest themselves unconsciously and accidentally in the form of literal, audible sighs that disrupt the otherwise silent atmosphere of the devotional practice. Wolfgang Fuhrmann, in his extensive study of the relationship between heart and voice in medieval Church history, understands Cassian’s passage as an account of an entire “vertraute Ausdruckstheorie [familiar theory of expression]” in which the inner sighs of the heart are pushed unconsciously out of the mouths of meditating monks into the external world.18 “This understanding of ‘affect,’ as something that is pushed out from within,” Fuhrmann writes, “is valid in our tradition at least until the Enlightenment of the 18th century and stands in stark contrast to the ancient [Greek] affect-theory.”19

While Cassian’s theory of expression certainly accounts for the ways by which internal emotional experiences are made external by the phonating voice, his description should be

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contextualized with the remainder of his chapter. According to his observations, the monks who experienced these ineffable groans were actually discouraged from giving full voice to their internal ecstatic experiences since they might either disrupt the concentration of those next to them or demonstrate a careless approach to prayer. Cassian continues from the quoted passage above:

Anyone who is so careless as to pray out loud, or produces from his throat any of the sounds I have described, or above all sets everyone yawning, is considered to have sinned in two ways: firstly he is at fault in his prayer, in that he has offered it to God carelessly, and secondly through his uncontrolled outburst he has interrupted the concentration of someone who might perhaps have been able to pray with greater attention. For this reason they bring their prayer to a speedy conclusion, lest, if we stayed long at it, superfluous spittle or phlegm might disturb the fervour of our prayer... Therefore they consider that it is more effective to make short prayers, but frequent ones. Frequent, because the more often we entreat the Lord the more closely we can cleave to Him; short, because thus we can frustrate the efforts of the devil who besieges us particularly while we pray.  

While Fuhrmann is correct to note that a “theory of expression” is present in Cassian’s writing, it must be recognized that an integral part of this expressive theory is actually a discouragement of the sigh’s outward expression. The potency of the affective gesture that Cassian describes lies actually in its inward retention—in the felt potential of these unspeakable sighs—rather than their expressed outward manifestation. In an effort to promote reverent stillness, the monks chose to make their prayers brief and frequent. Performing short prayers frequently throughout the recitation rituals kept the monks alert and engaged in the devotional process. In Cassian, an aesthetics of affective brevity in the performance of prayer is thus implied. Fleeting waves of intense and indescribable affective experiences formed the emotional-communicatory bonds between God and the pious Christians who “spoke” in prayer not through human language or with audible sound, but with the heart’s indescribable groaning and sighing.

Augustine must have been aware of Cassian’s *Institutiones* or was at least familiar with the Egyptian Christians’ approach to prayer since he similarly recommended the practice in his 130th *Epistola*. In the letter to a Roman noblewoman named Proba, Augustine recommends that Christians practice brevity in their prayers and model their behaviors on the Egyptians who kept their devotional rituals short, numerous, and emotionally charged.

It is said that the brothers in Egypt have certain prayers which they recite often, but they are very brief, and are, so to speak, darted forth rapidly like arrows, so that the alert attention, which is necessary in prayer, does not fade and grow heavy through long-drawn-out periods. By this practice they show quite well that, just as this attention is not to be whipped up if it cannot be sustained, so, if it can be sustained, it is not to be broken off too quickly. Prayer is to be free of much speaking, but not of much entreaty, if the fervor and attention persist. To speak much in prayer is to transact a necessary piece of business with unnecessary words, but to entreat much of Him whom we entreat is to knock by a long-continued and devout uplifting of the heart. In general, this business is transacted more by sighs than by speech, more by tears than by utterance. For, He sets our tears in His sight [Psalm 55(56):9] and our groaning is not hid from Him [Psalm 37(38):16] who created all things by His Word and who does not look for human words.21

For Augustine, prayer is best conducted through a “long-continued and devout uplifting of the heart,” the emotional labor of which produces sighs and tears in the pious Christian. For Augustine, prayer essentially is the sighing and crying that results from the heart’s devotion as evidenced in Psalm 38:9 and 56:8, which describe how both tears and sighs cannot be hidden from God who sees the true interior qualities of the Christian’s heart.22 Through one’s religious affective experiences, the individual effectively “transacts” his or her “business” with God by means of the heart’s affective stirrings.23

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22 “Lord, all my desire is before thee; and my groaning is not hid from thee.” Ps. 38:9 (AV). “Thou tellest my wanderings: put thou my tears into thy bottle: are they not in thy book?” Ps. 56:8 (AV).

23 Augustine’s avocation of sighing and tears as an effective form of prayer might appear contradictory to his general skepticism of the passions. The well-known passage recounting his mother’s funeral in book nine of the *Confessions*, for example, illustrates the patrician author’s strenuous emotional labor to quell his tears and control his sadness; it was only later after he lay in bed alone, remembering the psalm sung during the funeral, that he
Crucial for Augustine’s concept of prayer is painful desire and longing that accompanies, even produces, the heart’s affective sighs and tears. Augustine clarifies earlier in his 130th *Epistola* that this affective labor the heart must continually perform in prayer is its perpetual longing and painful desire for God. “We must always pray by that desire of the heart,” he writes; “But, to pray at length does not mean, as some think, to pray with much speaking. Continual longing is not the same as much speaking.” Such painful desire and longing was, as Kristiina Savin notes, an affective experience frequently understood in early Christian Church history as an indication of the sigh’s presence. In her exploration of the relationship between sighing and desire, Savin highlights the fact that “among the various bodily expressions of desire, sighing was one of the most celebrated during the Middle Ages and the early modern era. In the Christian devotion, sighs expressing the soul’s yearning for God and Heaven became a part of prayer and contemplation.”

Though Augustine’s affective model of prayer suggests a general distrust of the spoken word, the church father ultimately concedes that language is nevertheless necessary for those humans who pray in order to direct the heart toward specific affective experiences. Continuing from the quoted passage above in his 130th *Epistola*, Augustine concedes:

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Words, then, are necessary *for us so that we may be roused* and may take note of what we are asking, but we are not to believe that the Lord has need of them, either to be informed or to be influenced. Therefore, when we say “Hallowed be thy name,” we rouse *ourselves* to desire that His Name, which is always holy, should be held holy among men also, that is, that it be not dishonored, something which benefits men, but not God. Likewise, when we say “Thy kingdom come,” it will come inevitably whether we wish it or not, but we stir up our desire for that kingdom, that it may come in us, and that we may deserve to reign in it.26

Augustine makes explicit two tensional registers in which Christians experience the affective material of prayer. On the one hand, spoken verbal prayer is useless for God since it is not to the words themselves that God attends, but rather the indescribable affective stirrings produced within the heart. It is the feelings effectuated by language—not language itself—that function as prayer.27 But on the other hand, Augustine notes that language is necessary for humans to produce these internal feeling states. The spoken word prompts Christians in the temporal world to think on God and desire him with longing sighs—without language, Christians are unable to elicit the emotional experiences to which God attends. Augustine’s framework, then, places language in stark juxtaposition to the heart’s inner emotional experiences. While the two occupy distinct registers—one material and verbal, the other sacred and indescribable—both are necessary in order to successfully conduct a form of affective prayer pleasing to God. The successful experience of the sigh, then—as an affective mode of prayer—relies on the voice’s ability to “speak” doubly: first in the world through language, and again in the heart through indescribable affective sighs.

Implicated already in the writings of Augustine and Cassian is a concept of voice that complicates its expressive, material qualities. On the one hand, the voice disclosed itself in the

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sonic attributes of its performance. The literal sighs that emerged in the ecstatic bodies of meditative monks demonstrated in Fuhrmann’s terminology a “theory of expression” in which the heart’s internal content was brought out into the world by means of the body’s breath and adroit coordination of inner vocal musculature. The production of these literal sighs necessarily relied on the power of language to remind the meditating Christian to think on God and desire him with internal groans. But on the other hand, the writings of Augustine and Cassian also suggest an interior voice that was unknowable and comprised of distilled affect that had a distinct communicatory function. This voice—whose substance is wordless sighing itself—“sounds” by means of the presence of the Holy Spirit and functions in a realm entirely removed from the material and rational world in which the human body and mind must exist. This voice is inaudible on Earth; the only audience capable of hearing and interpreting its contents is God. The complete image of voice, then, as it manifests through the sigh catches itself in the irresolvable tensions between the immaterial and material world, mediating between the voice’s expressive qualities in the body and its inexpressibility in the form of an internal groan, which no human is able to describe in words.

_Seufftzer in Early Modern Lutheranism_

The pages that follow illustrate the reception of early medieval discourse on the emotionality of the sigh into sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheranism. Martin Luther’s ideas about _Seufftzer_, for example, are sometimes direct repetitions of those ideas found in the writings of Augustine.28 Theologians in the generations following Luther continued to take

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28 As a young monk at an Augustinian monastery, Luther would have been exposed to Augustine’s theological formulations and, under the influence of his supervisor Johann von Staupitz (1465–1524), would have been encouraged to study the works in detail. Philip D. Krey, “Luther, Martin,” in _Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia_, general ed., Allan D. Fitzgerald, associate eds. John Cavadini, Marianne Djuth, James J. O’Donnell, Frederick Van Fleteren (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 516. It is clear that Augustine’s writings greatly informed Luther’s own theological doctrine since the reformer himself frequently
inspiration from and expound upon the works of early church authors. The resulting image of Seufftzer in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany, then, is one that simultaneously drew from and contributed to a long tradition of affective devotion that had broader implications on the ontology of the voice in prayer and song in early modern Lutheranism.

One of the prominent consistencies between the sighs of the early church fathers and Luther’s Seufftzer is the affective gesture’s function as continuous prayer. Among other places, Luther confirms the efficacy of Seufftzer as prayer in his Table Talk, in which he described the charge of an “upright Christian” to be the continual offering of prayer without cessation:

“Though they [Christians] pray not always with their mouths, yet their hearts pray continually, sleeping and waking; for the sigh of a true Christian is a prayer.”

Like Augustine, who recognized that it is better to pray with continuous sighs and tears than extravagant speeches, Luther recognizes here that prayer need not always be performed with the mouth since, internally, prayers are offered without cessation from those who had cultivated truly Christian hearts. In the dedication of his 1523 Betbüchlein, furthermore, Luther again echoes Augustine’s trepidation toward verbose prayer, preferring instead a continuous stream of silent, affective prayers in the forms of continuous heart-sighs. He writes to the reader, explaining that “a good

credits Augustine’s contributions to his some of his theological innovations. The exact nature of such influence, though, is largely debated in the secondary literature. Eric L. Saak, “Luther, Martin,” in The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine, vol. 3, ed. Karla Pollmann, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1342. Eric Saak and others note, though, a general tendency in Luther’s engagement with Augustine’s theology—namely, that Luther relied heavily on the authority of the patristic author especially in his early career, but diverged from these writings after his break with Rome in order to develop his own mature Pauline-Augustinian inspired theology. Ibid., 1345.

prayer does not lie in many words, as Christ says in Matthew 6, but in many and frequent heartfelt sighs to God, which should be unceasing."

It is not surprising that Lutheran discourses of *Seufftzer* as a form of prayer also simultaneously implicated the heart since, in contemporary thought, the one could not exist without the other. Luther’s 1516 sermon on prayer as well as his 1519 exegesis on the Lord’s Prayer outlines some of the core conceptualizations of what he considered to be “true” prayer. Among these fundamental axioms are the lowly and sinful position of the sinner in relation to God; the effectiveness of prayer in fighting the devil and the world’s temptations; and the fact that true prayer must originate in the heart and not solely in human intellect. As already noted above, prayer was never a verbose speech based in one’s own will or knowledge, but rather “the best prayer,” as Luther confirms, “is one in which the heart speaks more than the mouth.”

For modern readers, discussions of the heart and the location of *Seufftzer* within it likely evokes immediate emotional connotations; the same was also certainly true for Luther, whose notion of the heart included both the believer’s inner feeling states (what he called the *affectus*) and their intellectual capacities, including the will, discernment, and reason (the *intellectus*). In

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31 Traugott Koch, *Johann Habermanns “Betbüchlein” im Zusammenhang seiner Theologie: Eine Studie zur Gebetsliteratur und zur Theologie des Luthertums im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 17–21. The importance of the heart is apparent in Luther’s tripartite division of prayer, outlined in his 1519 *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers*. In this early explication, Luther classifies prayer according to one of three categories: 1) the *oratio materialis* or *oratio sensualis*, which encompassed a false idea of prayer (conducted especially by priests) that was unsophisticated and proudly intoned; 2) the *oratio intellectualis*, another negative model, primarily concerned the logic of words and was generally carried out by those who were concerned more with the potential monetary gains of their displays of knowledge; and 3) his third model, the *oratio spiritualis*, the most genuine form of prayer which denoted the presence of the Holy Spirit in the devotee’s heart—a form of prayer whose outward expression matched the sincere inward condition of the Christian who prayed. Ibid., 22–23. Luther writes that in *oratio spiritualis* is conducted “mit andacht des hertzenn, do wirdt der scheyn in die warheit getzogen und das eusserlich yn das innerlich.” Quoted in Traugott Koch, *Johann Habermanns “Betbüchlein,”* 23.


33 Birgit Stolt, *Martin Luthers Rhetorik des Herzens* (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 51. See also Miikka Anttila, *Luther’s Theology of Music*, 109–110. Wolfgang Fuhrmann notes that this concept of the heart—the totality of a
his 1545 preface to the Psalter, Luther expounds on the affective qualities of the heart, famously relating the way in which it metaphorically resembles a ship tossed helplessly in a sea of life’s emotional states:

A human heart is like a ship on a wild sea, driven by the storm winds from the four corners of the world. Here it is struck with fear and worry about impending disorder; there comes grief and sadness because of the present evil. Here breathes a breeze of hope and of anticipated happiness; there blows security and joy in present blessings. These storm winds teach us to speak with earnestness, to open the heart and pour out what lies at the bottom of it. He who is stuck in fear and need speaks of misfortune quite differently from him who floats on joy; and he who floats on joy speaks and sings of joy quite differently from him who is stuck in fear. When a sad man laughs or a glad man weeps, they say, he does not do so from the heart; that is, the depths of the heart are not open, and what is in them does not come out.  

human’s existence comprised of both intellective and affective aspects—is a concept that has its origins “in the prophetic writings of Old Israel,” and thus probably inspired by preceding Egyptian epistemologies. Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Heart and Voice – A Musical Anthropology in the Age of Reformation,” in *Anthropological Reformations – Anthropology in the Era of Reformation*, eds. Anne Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzholz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 96. These intellective and affective capacities of the heart were processes by which the soul oriented itself toward objects. When a human perceives and understands a physical object according to the body’s senses, she knows it through carnal and worldly means; this form of knowledge relies on human *intellectus*. Steven E. Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis: A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson and Martin Luther (1509–16) in the Context of their Theological Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 112. But a second mode of understanding—the *intellectus theologicus et gratuitus*—is based in faith. It exists when one’s soul orients itself toward God and toward spiritual matters, relying not on human reason but on a faith in God. Ozment understands this form of *intellectus* as “soteriological” understanding of objects rather than the former “epistemological” framework. Ibid., 112. The *affectus* functions in a manner similar to *intellectus* in the way that it can be oriented toward either worldly objects or objects of God, the latter of which produces the *feeling* of faith based in the infallibility of God’s Word rather than its pure intellectualization through a human epistemological command. As poets and the saints in scripture name their love for others, they simultaneously name the object toward which their *affectus* orients itself: “by naming the affection which is engendered by an object,” Steven Ozment writes, “one names the object.” Ibid., 114. Faith for Luther came not from one’s own human reason, but from “an affective following of the Word of God.” Ibid., 115. By naming one’s love for God, the Lutheran identified the object of their love as God, and thus experienced a form of *affectus* based in spiritual rather than worldly matters. Luther’s description of the *affectus* as an orientation of the soul toward objects resembles more the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas than those of Augustine. Thomas Dixon has noted that Aquinas’ concept of the passions was a composite theory of the writings of Augustine and Aristotle, the former of which subsumed all forms of passions as types of good love or bad love (*bonus amor* and *malus amor*) and the latter of which described a natural tendency for objects to move toward or away from other objects. For Aquinas, hierarchical levels of the soul comprised of a higher rational level and the lower sensorial one are attracted to or repelled by particular sense-goods or sense-evils based on their natural inclinations—sensory love of objects moves the lower appetite while rational love moves the upper. These movements (*motus*) defined the inner action of the soul in the experience of the passions. Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions*, 43–45.

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As Susan Karant-Nunn notes in her illuminating history of emotions during the Reformation, the heart-metaphor acquired different emotional connotations in Protestantism than in Catholicism even as it was used ubiquitously across confessional discourses in early modern Germany.

Deviating from their Catholic counterparts, Protestants in late-medieval Germany conceptualized the heart as a non-physical entity. Luther and Calvin both sought alternatives to the physicality of Catholics’ construal, redefining the heart more as a metaphor for one’s sincerity and credibility. For Protestants in the Reformation, according to Karant-Nunn, “the heart as a term means meaning it. Meaning something equates to heartfelt sincerity.”35 Luther’s formulation of the heart as recounted in the preface to the 1528 Psalter illustrates this emphasis on sincerity. The laughing of a sad man does not disclose the true nature of his heart; since he is sad, he is incapable of genuine laughter, and thus his laughter is performed through disingenuous means rather than sincere expression. This discrepancy discloses a heart whose inner contents are inaccessible to the world. For God though, who is able to view the true inner contents of the heart, the Christian’s sadness is unable to be hid and no such discrepancy between that which is outwardly expressed and inwardly experienced is present. This anxiety between what is expressed and what is actually felt was, as demonstrated in chapter four of this dissertation, a crucial concern for Lutherans attempting to build communities of true repentance during the Thirty Years War.

Crucial to the function of Seufftzer as prayer is the Holy Spirit’s ability to actually inhabit the heart and produce its internal affective experiences and subsequently relay them to God. In his *Commentary on Romans*, Luther confirms that it is the Holy Spirit that intercedes on behalf of the Christian with “ineffable groanings,” noting further that these internal vocalizations might

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35 Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 249. This emphasis is original.
often result in unexpected outcomes: “even when we pray for eternal glory, in particular, that it may come to us soon…we do not know what we pray for, for it might turn out for our harm if it would be given to us speedily or in this or that way.” 36 According to Luther, God hears only the groaning and sighing of the Holy Spirit, “which no man can describe by words, and which no one can understand except God alone.” 37 Though the individual may pray for eternal glory, a simultaneous and indescribable sighing of the Holy Spirit communicates to God that which is actually best for the Christian and which is closest to God’s own will. Luther elaborates on this phenomenon in his exegesis of Isaiah 6:3. St. Augustine’s mother Monica, he notes, experienced unexpected comfort when, after her spirit repeatedly groaned for her son’s conversion to Christianity, he not only became a Christian but was later made a church bishop—Monica’s humble desire was answered with much more spectacular results than anticipated. 38 Luther similarly recounts his own experiences as reformer of the church by noting that his initial intentions were not to begin such a widespread movement against Catholicism since his “heart was much too timid.” 39 Nevertheless, the implications of his initial critique of the Catholic church were broader and further reaching than he ever expected, demonstrating once again the unpredictable outcomes of one’s sighing to God. “He to whom we pray,” Luther writes, “gives more than we, groaning, have need to pray for. So we groan and sigh and hope for little, and as we pray we confine ourselves to something small. Yet God hears in such a way that He grants far more than we dare to ask for in our prayer.” 40

36 Martin Luther, Commentary on Romans, translated by J. Theodore Mueller (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Classics, 1976), 126.
37 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
This discrepancy between what one wished and what ultimately resulted through Seuffzer illustrates a complicated aspect of the affective gesture’s sonic characteristics—namely, that internal Seuffzer were at once inaudible on Earth but clearly heard by God. Lutheran pastors especially lauded Hannah’s prayer in the Old Testament book of First Samuel as an exemplar of the ways in which her Seuffzer were silently performed. Barren her entire life, Hannah prayed fervently to God in 1 Samuel 1:9–13, asking through profuse tears that she finally conceive a son for her husband Elkanah. Crucially, though Hannah moved her lips during this prayer as if she were speaking, “her voice was not heard” since “she spake in her heart.”41 In his devotional prayer-book Meditationes Sanctorum Patrum (1591), the influential Lutheran preacher and theologian Martin Moller (1547–1606) lauds Hannah’s prayer for the emotionally charged though entirely inaudible manner in which she prayed her Seuffzer. Moller recognizes that, while it is good when Christians are able to enter the privacy of their chambers and pray with spoken words, this type of prayer is not always possible “if suffering and hardship is nigh.” During these moments—which occur especially in “great anxiety of mind, great pain of the body, in childbirth, in the fear of death, in fires and floods, and so on”—it is more appropriate to pray though heartfelt sighs and tears, which “go powerfully and strong through all the clouds, and are before God a great cry which God alone and no man can hear.”42 Moller notes

41 “So Hannah rose up after they had eaten in Shiloh, and after they had drunk. Now Eli the priest sat upon a seat by a post of the temple of the LORD. And she was in bitterness of soul, and prayed unto the LORD, and wept sore. And she vowed a vow, and said, O LORD of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid a man child, then I will give him unto the LORD all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head. And it came to pass, as she continued praying before the LORD, that Eli marked her mouth. Now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard: therefore Eli thought she had been drunken.” 1 Sam. 1: 9-13 (AV).
42 “Gut vnd fein ists wol/ wenn mans darzu bringen kan/ das ein Mensch mit warer andacht in seine Kirche oder Kämmerlein gehet/ seine Kny [=Knee] in wahrer Demuth beuget/ seine Hende vnd Hertz in zuversicht erhebt/ vnd also das Hertze vnd der Mund fein zusammen stimmet. Wenn aber die Noth vnd das Elendt darnach ist/ das du entweder zu den worten nicht kommen/ oder eusserliche geberden nicht brauchen kanst/ Als offt geschicht in grossen ängsten des Geswissens/ in grossen schmerzen des Leibs/ in Kindeßnöthen/ in Todeßängst/ in Fewerßnoth/ in Wasserßnoth/ in der Flucht vnd dergleichen/ So laß nur deine ernste/ hertzliche Seufftzer gehen mit Thrären/ vnd
specifically that Hannah, “who was troubled of heart, prayed only in her heart and cried; no man heard her voice, and [she] received more from than LORD than that for which she prayed.”

Moller provides additional detail on Hannah’s prayerful Seuffzer in another of his devotional prayer-books, *Thesaurus Precationum* (1603). He recognizes the inaudible qualities of Hannah’s prayer in the work’s preface, writing that while Hannah’s material voice was never heard, her heart gave words to prayer by means of its internal affective groaning.

Hannah knows well that God does not attend to the great, grand words of the mouth, but rather to the afflicted, groaning, faithful heart. It is therefore right to note the scripture through which her prayer is conveyed. She cried, she prayed for a long time, she spoke in her heart, her voice was heard by no one, her lips alone moved. From this it can be seen, that she was able to come slowly to proper prayer through suffering and sadness, [that she] sighed at one time, cried at another, and at the third time spoke alone to herself until she had rightly poured out her heart before God. Therefore, [through this] we are able to comprehend what is written first in the Psalms: “The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise [Ps. 51:17].” And as it is also written by the Prophets, where God speaks: “But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word [Isaiah 66:2].”

As an emotional phenomenon that implicated the presence of voice, the volume of *Seuffzer*—while it may have never been heard on Earth—always boomed thunderously in God’s ears. In his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, Luther writes that “the Holy Spirit is sent into our hearts. He does not whisper and does not pray but cries very loudly: ‘Abba! Father!’

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43 “Also die liebe Hanna/ welche von hertzen betrübet war/ Betete nur in jhrem Hertzen/ vnd weinete/ vnd jre Stimme hörte man nicht/ vnd erlangete mehr/ als sie vom HERRR gebeten hatte.” Ibid.

and intercedes for us, in accordance with the will of God, with sighs too deep for words.”

The world in which the Christian lives, he elaborates, is full of screaming, crying, and wailing; the devil especially roars with deafening volume in order to distract and dissuade the Christian from following God’s Word. But the devil’s roars are nothing compared to the sighs offered by the Holy Spirit; these are louder than any worldly tumult since they appeal directly to God, who is more powerful than the devil and louder than his screams. Here, the audibility of Seufftzer makes apparent the vocal gesture’s intermedial position between the material world and the sacred, immaterial realm. Though Hannah prayed silently and with profuse tears, her prayers were nonetheless answered when she became pregnant with the child for which she so earnestly longed. Though on Earth only her lips moved as if she was speaking, a simultaneous “sounding” of her unsounding voice registered in God’s ears by means of the Holy Spirit’s ineffable and indescribable sighing. In the heart, Seufftzer sounded as a tumultuous cry—a loud booming “Abba!”—that pricked God’s ears and demanded his attention.

Like early medieval Church authors, Lutherans understood that the nonverbal Seufftzer most effectively functioned during moments when the Christian, having lost all hope in her own agency and will, gave herself over to God and cried out to him with groans and sighs for his intercessory aid. In his treatment of Romans 8:26–27, the theologian Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) elaborates on the communicatory function of Seufftzer during such times of spiritual or physical tribulation. Gerhard confirms in his Scholae Pietatis (1622):

The Holy Spirit not only effects prayer and teaches the correct way to pray in our hearts, but he also represents us to God the LORD (Romans 8:26)...Several church-teachers have effectively clarified this, that the Holy Spirit effects prayer within us and likewise

45 Martin Luther, Luther’s Works, Vol. 26, Lectures on Galatians 1535, Chapters 1–4, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), 381.
46 “For the more these enemies press in upon us, accusing and vexing us with their cries, the more do we, sighing, take hold of Christ...When we have taken hold of Christ by faith this way, we cry through Him: ‘Abba! Father!’ And this cry of ours far exceeds the cry of the devil.” Ibid., 382.
internally intercedes for us when we are so confounded with spiritual assault [Anfechtung] and tribulation that we do not know for what and how we should pray, much in the same way a school-teacher intercedes for the young student for that which he should learn and grasp…Ambrose writes in his explication of this text [Romans 8:26]: The Holy Spirit acts for us not in human ways, but according the the manner of its nature. For since it speaks to God about divine things, it must necessarily follow that it speaks in such a way as God himself speaks, of whom it is a part; nobody speaks with their neighbor in a foreign tongue. The Spirit pours itself out over our prayers so that it shrouds our ignorance and our imprudence and asks God for what is useful for us. The Holy Spirit is our advocate and intercessor, as Christ attests in John 14:26, therefore it places our longings and desires in the heavenly chancellery with much more great prestige than we ourselves could do…In sum, it is indeed true that such mediation occurs with unspeakable sighs, and therefore we will not even be able to conceive or discuss how it occurs [zugehe].

Gerhard’s rich passage invites a number of observations about the nature of Seufftzer and the contexts in which it was frequently experienced. First, Gerhard’s quoted passage illuminates Seufftzer as the very means through which the Holy Spirit and God communicate with one another. In the same way that one would not speak with their German neighbor in the French language, the Holy Spirit would not communicate with God in a language unknown to him. Because the Holy Spirit speaks in Seufftzer, so too must God. Though humans converse with imperfect language, the Holy Spirit—who acts as interpreter and translator for the Christian—masks and shrouds these imperfections with indescribable Seufftzer, reformulating the words of prayer into the more perfect language with which God speaks. Here, Gerhard seems to draw

47 “Der heilige Geist wircket nicht allein in vnsern Hertzen das Gebet/ vnd lehret vns auch recht beten/ sondern er vertritt vns auch bey Gott dem HERRR. Rom. 8 vers. 26…Dieses haben etliche Kirchenlehrer erklärt effectivè, solcher gestalt/ daß der heilige Geist das Gebet in vns wircke/ vnd das Gebet gleichsam vns innerlich fürspreche/ wenn wir in Anfechtung vnd Widerwertigkeit also verwirret seyn/ daß wir nicht wissen/ was vnd wie wir bitten sollen/ gleicher weise wie ein Lehrmeister dem Schulknaben fürspricht/ was er sol lernen vnd fassen…Ambrosius in der Auslegung dieses Texts spricht: Der heilige Geist vertritt vns nicht auff menschliche weise/ sondern nach Art seiner Natur. Denn weil er mit Gott von Göttlichen Sachen redet/ so folget nothwendig/ daß er auff solche Art redet wie derselbe redet/ von welchem er ist/ vnd mit welchem er redet/ denn niemand redet mit seinem Mitbürger in frembder Sprache. Er geust sich gleichsam aus vber vnser Gebet/ daß er vnsere Vnwissenheit vnd Vnedachtksamkeit bedecke/ vnd was vns nützlich ist/ von Gott erbitte. Der H. Geist ist vnser Advocat vnd Fürsprecher/ wie CHristus bezeuget Johan. 14. v. 26 darumb bringet er vnser Verlangen vnd Begehren bey der himlischen Canteley an mit viel grössern Ansehen/ als wir selber thun können…In Summa, es bleibet wol dabey/ daß solches Vertreten geschehe mit vnausprechlichen Seufftzen/ darumb werden wirs nicht können so eigentlic ausdencken oder ausreden/ wie es zugehe.” Johann Gerhard, Schola Pietatis (Nuremberg, 1649), 684–685. VD17 27:727655N.
from sentiments similar to those expressed by Augustine in his 130th *Epistola* about the necessity of the spoken word for the human in prayer. For the patristic author, language was necessary only as a means to initiate affective responses in the heart since humans felt in relation to words. While these words were necessary for prayers, they were useless to God, who attended only to the affective stirrings that resulted from speech rather than the speech itself.

But second, Gerhard confirms that the presence of *Seufftzer* within the Christian’s heart is in part the result of *Anfechtung*, a term that, though difficult to translate, was an important theological concept in early modern Lutheranism that accounted for the “spiritual assaults” heaped on the suffering Christian. The purpose of these external assaults was to test and subsequently fortify the believer’s faith. Recognizing that the physical body and human reason are utterly fallible and easily destroyed, the Christian enduring the burden *Anfechtung* must learn to rely less on the world and more on God. As Alister McGrath notes, “For Luther, death, the devil, the world, and Hell combine in a terrifying assault upon believers, reducing them to a state of doubt and despair. *Anfechtung* is thus a state of hopelessness and helplessness, having strong affinities with the concept of *Angst*.” While *Seufftzer* emerged during these moments of suffering and hardship, the affective gesture was not understood as an expression of hopelessness. Dennis Ngien, writing on Luther’s interpretations of the seven penitential psalms, recognizes that the sigh’s experience during times of suffering—at the failure of language and

48 While the word is frequently translated as “temptation,” Ronald Rittgers chooses to translate the term as “spiritual assault.” I prefer Rittgers translation since it takes into account both the “spiritual” aspects of the phenomenon, which do not necessarily relate to the physicality of the human body, and their “assaultive” nature—that is, the active implementation of assault on the passive suffering Christian. Ronald Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 93, 98–99.

49 Paul Bühler, *Die Anfechtung bei Martin Luther* (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1942), 207.

the “end of words”—actually returns a sense of hope and comfort to the suffering Christian. “Just as the stirrings that go on in the hearts of lovers are beyond the scope of analysis and articulation,” Ngien writes, “so it is with the sighing of one’s encounter with God. The end of words is not the end but the beginning of hope, as words are replaced by sigh, which will surely be heard by God.”

51 This significant aspect of the ontology of Seufftzer reassigns a sense of agency back to those who suffer—an agency which is paradoxically removed at the precise moment Seufftzer emerges (consult chapter four of this dissertation for more about agency and Seufftzer). Though the material, bodily voice is stripped away from the individual during moments of suffering, the immaterial, affective voice as it manifests in Seufftzer continues to “speak,” resounding in inaccessible realms and registering in the ears of God.

For early modern Lutherans, it was precisely by means of the weight of suffering that one’s inner, indescribable sighs could sometimes spontaneously manifest in the form of audible sound and intelligible language. While Seufftzer was largely understood as an inward, internal gesture that resided in the heart, Luther and theologians in the seventeenth century were aware that in especially stressful moments of Anfechtung, the Christian might be compelled to verbalize short, spoken phrases aloud in response to the dangerous situation. Drawing from the writings of Augustine, Luther labeled these brief phrases Stoßgebete, or “arrow-prayers.”

52 In the Reformer’s sermon on the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel of John, Luther explains the process

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52 Anthony William Ruff recognizes in his entry on the Stoßgebet in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* that these arrow-prayers “can be seen as part of the effort to ‘pray always’ (cf. Luke 18:1, Eph. 6:18, etc.) and are related to contemporary interest in centering prayer…and other spiritual practices aiming toward reflective concentration.” While Ruff recognizes that such prayerful practices were of importance in the early Church (since even before Vatican II), today these short arrow prayers “are of little interest in contemporary piety.” Anthony Williams Ruff, “Quick Prayer (Arrow Prayer),” in *Religion Past and Present* (Brill Online, 2011). Accessed January 23, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_025807>.
by which these spontaneously ejected prayers manifest, which crucially relies on the Holy
Spirit’s presence in the constantly beating heart and its relation to the mouth and material voice.

Therefore wherever there is a Christian, there is none other than the Holy Spirit, who does nothing but pray without ceasing. Even though one does not move one’s lips and form words continuously, one’s heart nonetheless does beat incessantly; and, like the pulse and the heart in the body, it beats with sighs such as these: “Oh, dear Father, please let Thy name be hallowed, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done among us and everyone!” And when blows fall, when temptations thicken, and adversity presses harder, then such sighing prayers become more fervent and also find words. A Christian without prayer is just as impossible as a living person without a pulse. The pulse is never motionless; it moves and beats constantly, whenever one is asleep or something else keeps one from being aware of it.

Luther here recognizes that internal heart-sighs may be entirely unconscious, perpetually rising heavenward from within regardless of whether one is awake or sleeping, perceptive or imperceptive of their inevitable presence. The Christian’s entire life is thus filled with endless, inaudible sighing and prayer, a function of the heart that allows the Christian to fulfill Paul’s maxim prescribed in 1 Thessalonians 5:17, “Pray without ceasing.”

Crucially, Luther does not claim that these short sighs are literally spoken by the heart, but rather that they resemble short expressions such as “please let Thy name be hallowed” or “Thy will be done among us and everyone.”

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54 Some of Luther’s other writings seem to suggest that the performance of Seufftzer was not always a conscious act and could surprise the Christian unexpectedly. In his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, Luther writes that Moses’s experience at the Red Sea in the book of Exodus placed the Old Testament prophet “in extreme anguish” because he was being pursued by the Egyptian army and was flanked on all sides by impassable natural barriers. In this moment of hopelessness, God appeared to Moses and asked why he had called out to him. Moses was surprised since he had not cried to God for help with his voice. Nevertheless, God had heard the internal sighs of his heart about which Moses was entirely unaware. Martin Luther, Luther’s Works, Vol. 26, Lectures on Galatians 1535, Chapters 1–4, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), 383. Moses’ inner heart sigh, of which he himself was unaware, suggested to Luther that the Christian must learn to rely less on one’s immediate feelings and contextualize these experiences within God’s Word. The inner terror and fear Moses experienced was not the product of his faith, but his unbelief. Had Moses considered God’s Word in his moment of fear, he would have realized that “the Holy Spirit is granted to the afflicted, the terrified, and the despairing in such a way that He encourages and comforts them, so that they do not succumb in their trials and other evils but conquer them, though not without very great fear and effort.” Ibid.

55 1 Thes. 5:17 (AV)
everyone.” The theologian’s choice of texts here was likely not accidental, as the examples provided are obvious allusions to the Lord’s Prayer.

But Luther notes that “when temptations thicken, and adversity presses harder,” the inner sighs of the heart “also find words.” Here, the Reformer adumbrates the process by which the endless sighs that accompany each individual beat of the heart take outward, verbalized form. Sighs such as “Thy kingdom come” or “Thy will be done” necessarily exist within the heart of a true Christian who has cultivated unfaltering faith. But when faced with the pressures of suffering and the blows of the world, these sigh-prayers are pushed or ejected from the believer’s heart and find verbal expression in the mouths of those who suffered. A Christian who thus experiences a sudden moment of danger—a close flash of lightening and deafening clap of thunder, for example—might suddenly and spontaneously cry out in spoken words “Thy kingdom come!” in unconscious recognition of the peril in which they found themselves. In Luther’s example, the phrases of the Lord’s Prayer suggest that the Christian had internalized Christ’s instructions for the proper way to pray. Theoretically, though, if the heart had been filled with profane content, a person might be just as apt in moments of Anfechtung to suddenly exclaim blasphemous phrases. The manifestation of these verbal prayers directly relied, then, on the type of heart the individual had cultivated.

The emergence of Seuffitzer during moments of suffering and Anfechtung had implications on what contemporaries understood to comprise the affective gesture’s ontological substance, which many Lutherans believed was akin to rising, vaporous smoke. This is unsurprising since a number of passages in the Bible—including Revelation 8:3–4 or Psalm 141:2—equate the smoke of burning incense with the prayers offered by God’s followers.56

56 “And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And
Drawing from these and other sources, Lutheran theologians elaborated on the way in which Seuffzer, as vaporous prayer, rose to heaven and cut through the clouds like the pleasant smelling smoke of burning incense. Johann Arndt (1555–1621), for example, writes in the second volume of his hugely popular tome Wahren Christentumb:

Now those pious people who try to hold the Holy Spirit even a little and who seek not to hinder it, it will not be long before a little sigh ascends and this person will say: “Ah! dear God, you true God, have mercy on me.” As soon as one places frankincense, myrrh, and other herbs in the fire, so raises up a little cloud of smoke and gives off a pleasant smell, which cannot be sent without fire. As long as the fire of the Holy Spirit touches our heart, and that it not be hindered, so then the smell of a little sigh and prayer ascends…A devout sigh and prayer is therefore an assured test if the Spirit of God is within a person.57

For devotional authors such as Andreas Myhldörffer (1636–1714), it was the weight of suffering and Anfechtung that actually ignited the heart in fire, setting it aflame and producing smoke-prayers that pierced through the clouds and rose into heaven. In the opening engraving to his 1686 Himmel-durchdringende Herzen-Seufzer, Myhldörffer illustrates the steps by which the heart is first burdened with suffering, then cleansed in fire, and finally admitted into paradise.58

At the lowest level of the three-tiered engraving, pictured below in figure 2.1, the heart is situated in a stormy scene; it rests on top of a pile of thorns and is buried under a three crosses, a reminder that everyone—like Christ himself—must bear the burden of their own suffering and

the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel’s hand.” Rev. 8:3–4 (AV). “Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense; and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.” Ps. 141:2 (AV).


58 Andreas Myhldörffer, Himmel-durchdringende Herzen-Seufzer: Oder neue Geistliche Lieder (Nuremberg, 1686). M: TI 78. HAB.
afflictions. In the accompanying poem that clarifies the engraving, Myhldörffer writes regarding this first level of purification that the heart is weighted down on earth with much hardship, and though berated by lightening and thunder, will eventually be surrounded by roses when accepted into heaven.  

59 “Hier beschweret.
Wird mein Hertz gleich hier beschweret
    mit viel Kreutz/ mit Angst und Pein/
alles dieses lang nicht wehret/
    gar bald wirds vorüber seyn:
Wann mich hier die Dörner stechen/
dorten werd' ich Rosen brechen.” Ibid., verso of title page.
In the title-page’s middle image, the heart has moved from under the pile of crosses and is now situated atop an altar where, subjected to fire, it releases clouds of billowing smoke that rise toward the heavens as purifying prayers. In the preface to his devotional manual, Myhldörffer

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60 Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: TI 78.
61 In the prefatory poem that accompanies the title-page, Myhldörffer writes of this second level:
elaborates on the ways in which the heart is purified by fire, recognizing that it is impossible to set something aflame without first repeatedly striking a flint-stone. Much as one must forcefully hit the flint-stone in order to generate sparks, so too must God strike the heart through “some hard hits of tribulation, in order to extract the hidden sigh-sparks from the hearts of [his] children.” These sigh-sparks—the results of being struck repeatedly with hardships—necessarily produce the very heat energy that purifies the heart through fire and smoke and readies it for the garden of paradise, depicted in the engraving’s uppermost level.

In addition to its relationship with rising prayers, the smoky substance of Seufftzer evokes additional levels of meaning related to early modern theories of the body, voice, and especially spirit or pneuma, a material that Gary Tomlinson aptly describes as “an extremely subtle, vaporous, or airy substance; or perhaps it is no substance at all, a congealed nonsubstance.” In humoral theory, different types of spirits were responsible for mediating between the body and soul. The soul gave to the body its animate impulses, dictating where and how to move, breathe, think, and feel. But because the soul was immaterial, it could not act...
directly on the material body, and thus the spirit—the intermedial “airy substance” or “congealed nonsubstance”—necessarily acted on the body on the soul’s behalf. The body moved its legs, for example, first because the soul desired it, and second because the spirits—responding to the soul’s impulses—enacted the body’s motion.

As Richard Sugg has illustrated in his book *The Smoke of the Soul*, early modern Europeans considered the spirits to be “hot and vaporous” because of the way in which they were produced by means of the body’s ultimate heat source, the heart.65 This organ supplied the body with its vital warmth and, as a result thereof, heated the blood that pumped through it. Because the body’s blood was constantly warmed in the heart’s self-sustaining flames, the fluid substance gave off a kind of vaporous “smoke” or “steam” that circulated in the body’s veins, arteries, and organs, which was the body’s spirit.66 When the human expired in death, the heart ceased to give its warmth and, subsequently, stopped producing spirits, an occurrence that ultimately resulted in the separation of the soul from the lifeless and inanimate body. When viewed in this light, the smoke of *Seufftzer* and the spirits of the heart appear coterminous. Just as the heart’s heat warms its blood to produce the smoky vapors of spirit, so too does the fiery heart—ignited by the presence of the Holy Spirit—warm sacred offerings to produce the rising smoke-prayers of *Seufftzer*. Johann Arndt’s quotation above and Andreas Myhldörffer’s title-page engraving demonstrate, therefore, both the biblical and medical justifications for the smoky ontology of *Seufftzer*.

Further implicated in the discourse on the smoky vapor of *Seufftzer*, though, is the affective gesture’s effect on voice and ultimately on the production of song. In order for spirit to

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66 “It is not absolutely clear whether they [the spirits] should be imagined as smoking, or as steaming through the veins and arteries.” Ibid., 19.
form in the blood, early modern physicians recognized that it was first necessary to draw air into
the lungs where it was refined and joined with blood before being warmed in the heart. As
Bonnie Gordon has demonstrated in her study of the early modern voice in Italy, the body’s
reliance on breath, heat, and spirit were crucial to the ontology of voice in early modern Europe.
Drawing from contemporary medical theories, Gordon notes that “the voice was assimilated into
bodily processes through an analogy between the spirit, breath, and voice in which the latter
coalesced with the spirit…voice implied meaning and, like the material spirits themselves, was
animate.”67 Because singing necessary relied on breath, the voice as the product of breath was
heavily imbedded in discourses of the spirits. Singing brought more breath into the body, thus
increasing the amount of air supplied to the heart, resulting in the production of more spirits. A
singing body, then, was warmer than a body at rest because of the increased flow of air that
moved into and out of the lungs and heart. The converse was also true: a cold body that lacked
sufficient heart-heat could not produce a steady voice.68 The production of sung music by means
of the voice, then, necessarily relied on the presence of the heart’s life-giving warmth and the
movement of rushing air across the body’s penetrable boundaries.

Contemporary anatomy books offer some insights into the heart’s vital role in vocal
production. In the 1613 Catoptrum microcosmicum by the German anatomist Johann Remmelin
(1583–1632), the engraver Lucas Kilian (1579–1637) illustrated the close connection between
heart and voice in the book’s flap-sheet engraving by situating the mouth and heart in a direct, if

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67 Bonnie Gordon, Monteverdi’s Unruly Women, 21.
68 As Gordon suggests, this theorization was used to rationalize the gendering of men’s and women’s voices.
Women’s bodies were understood to be naturally cold and wet, while men’s bodies were hot and dry. The high-pitch
of a woman’s voice, then, was the innate product of her cool temperament; while the man’s deep voice was the
result of his fiery heat. Ibid., 22.
oppositional, relationship to one another. In figure 2.2 below, a gaping mouth is surrounded by visual representations of the larynx, trachea, teeth, and other anatomical structures. Significantly, the bronchial tube that descends from the mouth does not connect below to the lungs—the parts of the body which supply air to the vocal folds—but to the heart. For Remmelin, it is the heart that controls the voice.

David Hillman and Carla Mazzio understand this engraving to illustrate a number of juxtaposed opposites in careful balance with one another. The heart and mouth shown in this

Figure 2.2. Detail image of Lucas Kilian’s engraving in Johann Remmelin’s 1632 German edition of the *Catoptrum microcosmicum*.70

figure, for example, are situated directly in the center of the engraving’s *mise en page* between two human anatomical figures, one male and one female.\(^1\) “The illustration,” Hillman and Mazzio write, “is organized by a series of dominant oppositions: male and female, inner and outer, divine ethereality in the celestial sphere and monstrous embodiment in the nether regions.”\(^2\) The overall effect of these juxtaposed opposites is not one of volatile chaos, but rather sustained harmony; in pairs of opposites, the prolonged symmetry and order of the universe is maintained. In the case of the voice-heart dichotomy, the heart’s inner, inarticulate affect is juxtaposed against its outward, audible expression. That which is felt in the heart—a largely indescribable and, on Earth, inaudible mode of experience—is held in opposition to that which is expressed through voice in the mouth. As displayed in Remmelin’s engraving, the two sides of the heart-mouth dichotomy cannot be collapsed into one another. Rather, the inability to put *Seufftzer* into words and the audibility of *Seufftzer* for God and the Holy Spirit nevertheless speak to a larger harmony of profane language and sacred feeling—present since the time of St. Augustine—in which the voice’s embodied materiality and the ineffable, immateriality of *Seufftzer* are held together by means of an irreconcilable dialectical tension.

The heart as the general locus of both *Seufftzer* and the voice suggests a proximate relationship between the affectivity of the sigh and the actual production of the singing voice in musical performance. The poet-theologian Christian von Stökken (1633–1684) offers one particularly informative metaphor that demonstrates how *Seufftzer*—as the smoky vaporous substance that rises from the heart—indeed served as the affective impetus for the vocal

\(^1\) For a discussion of the gendered aspects of Remmelin’s anatomy book and how these relate to contemporary ideas of alchemy and kabbala, see Lyle Massey, “The Alchemical Womb: Johann Remelin’s *Catoptrum microcosmicum,*” in *Visual Cultures of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Timothy McCall et al. (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2011), 208–228.

instrument and the creation of sacred music. In his 1668 book of musical heart-sighs, *Heilige Hertzens-Seufzer*, von Stökken recognizes that *Seufftzer* are always the products of the “most inner base of the heart…which when they go through the mouth, they will be of full sonority as if we had nothing else in our hearts than a clavichord.”

Von Stökken elaborates further on this metaphor, situating it within a larger context of musical worship in the church. The author admonishes his reader, reminding him to

> Attend to [his] devotion, sighs, and inner movements [*bewegungen*] that God may be in the chapel of his heart so that a quiet heart-music will be sustained for God the almighty. In here, the reincarnate Holy Spirit of God is the Kapellmeister, the heart is our book, and the body is the chapel; in this chapel, the head is the tower, the tongue the bells, the sexton therein is the devotion of the heart which, like the person who supplies it [in church], sounds and rings the tongue; the eyes the window, the five senses the doors; the mouth the organ, and the organist the heart. Then when the heart is full, the mouth floweth over (Matthew 12:34). The breath is the bellows, without which almost no sighs from the heart can be let free. Then it is correct that Paul calls us God’s Temple (1 Cor. 3:15 and 1 Cor. 6:19), within which a holy Heman [the author of Psalm 88] directs the choir: Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits (Psalm 103:2).

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73 “…innersten Grunde des Herzens…die wenn sie durch den Mund gehen/ werden sie vollstimmig/ nicht anders aß hätten wir ein so genanntes Clavichordium in unseren Herzens.” Christian von Stökken, *Heilige Herzens-Seufzer* (Lübeck, 1668), XXViiij recto. VD17 7:686020L. Stökken’s collection of musical heart-sighs is divided into two parts. The first offers German translations of meditations from the enormously popular emblem book by Herman Hugo (1588–1629), *Pia desideria* (Antwerp, 1624). Stökken writes in his preface that he has modified the original content of Hugo’s emblem book to better accommodate lay audiences who might not have been as familiar with the obscure or specialized Classical references provided in Hugo’s original Latin print. Stökken further offers a taxonomy of sighing in the book’s preface based on the structure of Hugo’s original emblem book. He recognizes that three types of sighs exist: *gemitus* or *Trähnen*=Seufzer* (tear-sighs); *desideria* or *Andachts*=Seufzer* (devotion-sighs); and *suspiria* or *Hoffnung*=Seufzer* (hope-sighs). Not coincidentally, Hugo’s emblem book is divided into three parts that feature in their titles *gemitus*, *desideria*, and *suspiria*. The second part of Stökken’s book offers a collection of what he calls “Schluß-Seufftzer,” or concluding-sighs, which were intended for performance after the end of the sermon during church services. Tunes to a number of the texts provided in Stökken’s print appear at the end of the publication; the music is scored for two voices—one cantus line with text underlay and one bass line with continuo figures. Only those tunes which were not familiar to audiences appear in the print; familiar tunes to which Stökk en’s texts would have been sung appear only by their tune-names.

74 “Ich wil sagen/ er muß die innerlichen Andachten/ seufzer und bewegungen also regieren/ daß in der Capell seines Herzens Gott dem allerhöchsten eine stille Herzmusik gehalten werde/ da ist der von Gott wiedergebohrne Geist der Capellmeister/ das Herz ist unser Buch/ der Lieb ist die Capell; In dieser Capell das Häupt der Turn/ die Zunge die Glock/ der Küster dazu die Andacht des Herzen/ wie dasselbe beschaffen/ so leutet und lautet die Zunge; Die Augen die Fenster/ die fünf Sinnen die Thüren; der Mund die Orgel/ der Organist das Herz/ denn wes das Herz voll ist/ geht der Mund über/ Matth. XII, 34. Der Athem der Calecant, ohn welchen fast keine Seufzer aus dem Herzen können gelassen werden/ daß daher Paulus uns nicht unrecht Gottes Tempel nennt/ I. Cor. III, 15. I. Cor. VI, 19. darin ein geistlicher Hemanait das Cohr [sic] führet: Lobe den HErnm meine Seele/ und was in mir ist seinen heiligen Nahmen/ Ps. CIII, 2.” Christian von Stökken, *Heilige Herzens-Seufzer*, Xv verso–Xvj recto.
Von Stökken evokes here the relationship between heart and mouth, explicitly joining them with one another as in Remmelin’s engraving above. The organist—the heart in this metaphor—sits at the manuals of his instrument, which is the mouth. All voice that sounds from this mouth, in other words, is at the unequivocal control of the heart. A bad heart, like a bad organist, produces only dissonance and discord. While the body receives information from the external world via the eyes and five senses, it is also capable of sending its internal sounds outward into the world by means of the heart’s *Seufftzer*—what von Stökken recognizes as the continuous columns of rushing air, the Christian’s breath, that act as the heart’s bellows. These heart-sighs, then, are the spirituous substances that rise through the instrument’s pipes, producing music within chapel-body that is further accompanied by the ringing tones of the bell-tongue. The overall result is a sonorous, resonant, and musical body whose sound—though initially contained—ultimately spills out and flows over into the external world “as if we had nothing else in our hearts than a clavichord.”

In von Stökken’s metaphor, it is the energetic potential of airy *Seufftzer* that generates the body’s sacred music and ultimately its sonorous voice. As illustrated in this chapter more generally, though, this same *Seufftzer* acted as the Christian’s nonverbal and inaudible prayer that emerged especially during times of hardship and suffering. For early modern Lutherans, then, the affective basis for both the audible voice in song and the inaudible voice in prayer is the heart’s inarticulate *Seufftzer*. The act of prayer and the performance of sacred music both necessarily rely on the presence of *Seufftzer* in the Christian’s heart in order to effectively bridge the communicatory distances between humans and God.

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This shared affective basis for both prayer and song explains to some extent why both devotional acts were so inextricably intertwined in contemporary Lutheran thought. Executing a pleasing prayer was similar to performing an agreeable piece of music, and the sounds of prayer were themselves a kind of divine song that was agreeable to the attentively listening ears of God. Complete tractates on this relationship are rare in seventeenth-century Lutheran literature, but one work by Vincentius Schmuck—the third part of his Praxeos Ecclesiasticae titled De oratione Gratiarum Actione usu Musices (1628)—illustrates how prayer and song occupied two sides of the same devotional coin. The book offers a series of ten tractates that elaborate on the nature of prayer using the writings of Martin Luther. Of Schmuck’s ten tractates, the first eight are dedicated solely to prayer, while the final two give attention to music. For Schmuck, to pray was “to speak with God, and to know what is permitted to ask of him in such a speech, which one employs with supplication.” Similarly, music opened pathways of communication between the Christian and God, effectively serving as a form of prayer. The author opens his ninth tractate on music by asking “what are tunes, or Christian songs?,” to which he replies that Christian songs (as opposed to secular ones) have “nothing more in them than prayer or a statement of

76 Vincentius Schmuck, Tertia Pars Praxeos Ecclesiasticae: De oratione Gratiarum Actione usu Musices (Leipzig, 1628).
77 As Schmuck notes in the preface, the intended purpose of his collected quotations of Luther’s writings was to both provide general reading audiences with information about the proper way to pray and to offer pastors in particular ideas and questions on which to elaborate in their weekly sermons. Ibid., Bij recto.
78 “mit Gott reden/ vnd was man bedarff/ durch ein solch Gespräche/ welches man mit beten zu Gott anstellet/ von jhm bitten.” Ibid., 1. The way in which such conversations occur, he elaborates, take place by means of the ingestion of God’s Word. God speaks to the Christian by means of scripture—to read or hear his Word is to take in one side of a two-sided conversation. Having ingested God’s Word in the form of scripture, the Christian responds to God by replying with his or her own words by speaking through prayer, thus completing the conversational circle. Schmuck stresses that such a prayerful conversation cannot be a superficial one—for prayer to effectively function, it must not only be spoken with the mouth, but genuinely felt in the heart. Quoting Martin Luther’s song “Vater unser im Himmelreich,” Schmuck stresses that prayer should come from the deepest places of our hearts so that the sung words might ring true: “gib daß nicht bet allein der Mund/ hilff daß es gehe von Herten grund.” Ibid., 260.
praise to God or a reminder of a text from the Holy Scripture, and therefore singing is nothing other than praying, or thanking God, or the remembering verses of scripture."  

Other theologians made more indirect comparisons between the act of praying and singing, ones that nevertheless placed the two devotional practices in relation to one another and, thus, in relation to their shared affective basis in Seufftzer. Johann Gerhard confirmed this close symbiosis in the second part of his Postilla Salomonaea (1631), an extensive collection of sermons on the Song of Songs. Gerhard metaphorically compares the act of praying to musical performance throughout his lengthy sermon for the fifth Sunday after Easter. Drawing from a well-known and oft-circulated Latin aphorism, Gerhard remarks that:

A faithful, devout, and earnest prayer is a lovely voice, a beautiful music in the ears of God the Lord, for as the famous little verse says:

\[
\text{Non vox sed votum; non Musica chordula, sed cor;} \\
\text{Non clamor, sed amor clangit in aure DEI.}
\]

For God’s ears, nothing sounds more pleasing, 

Throughout when a Christian prays and sings.  

The act of performing prayer required, like executing a difficult passage of music, a well-trained voice. Just as a singer pleases her audience members with her beautiful voice, so too does the Christian please the ears of God with a deftly performed prayer.  

"If we want to know,” Gerhard

\[\text{79 "Was sind Lieder oder Christliche Gesänge?...D} \text{Jeweils Christliche Lieder nichts anders in sich halten/ denn gebet/ oder eine Dancksagung zu Gott/ oder erinnern vns eines Texts aus der H. Schrift/ derwegen ist singen nicht anders denn beten/ oder Gott danken/ oder sich eines Spruchs aus der H. Schrift erinnern." Ibid., 389.}\n
\[\text{80 "denn ein gleubiges/ andächtiges vnd ernstes Gebet ist eine liebliche Stimme/ eine schöne Music in den Ohren Gottes des HErns/ wie Davon das bekandte Verslein lautet:} \\
\text{Non vox sed votum; non Musica chordula, sed cor;} \\
\text{Non clamor, sed amor clangit in aure DEI.}
\]

Für Gottes Ohrn nichts lieblichr klingt/ 

Als wenn ein Christ betet vnd singt.”

Johann Gerhard, Postilla Salomonaea, Das ist/ Erklärung ertlicher Sprüche aus dem Hohenlied Salomonis...2. 

\[\text{81 Performing an appropriate prayer, though, like musical performance, required not just a theoretical knowledge,} \\
\text{but rather years of practical experience. Just as a musician is not able to perform the notes of musical score with} \\
\text{theoretical knowledge alone, so too is the Christian unable to perform proper prayer without the required} \\
\text{practical experience. Gerhard recognizes that “Wie es nun keinen Musicum machete/ wenn man schon die Regeln der Music} \\
\text{weis/ sondern es muß auch die Vbung darzu kommen/ ad Musicam non sufficit theoria, sed requiritur etiam praxis,} \\
\]

\[\text{81 "Performing an appropriate prayer, though, like musical performance, required not just a theoretical knowledge,} \\
\text{but rather years of practical experience. Just as a musician is not able to perform the notes of musical score with} \\
\text{theoretical knowledge alone, so too is the Christian unable to perform proper prayer without the required practical} \\
\text{experience. Gerhard recognizes that “Wie es nun keinen Musicum machete/ wenn man schon die Regeln der Music} \\
\text{weis/ sondern es muß auch die Vbung darzu kommen/ ad Musicam non sufficit theoria, sed requiritur etiam praxis,}}
\]
ultimately acknowledges, “how a virtuous prayer must be crafted and carried out so that it is for God’s ear a lovely voice, we must note what music is that it should be called pleasant and charming, since even this same [music] is also called a virtuous prayer.”

To understand what it means to perform a beautiful prayer, in other words, one need look no further than the musical and vocal arts, which provide perfect models.

Schmuck’s and Gerhard’s works illustrate the inseparable relationship between praying and singing, and thus open these devotional practices to be analyzed in relation to the sigh. 

*Seufftzer* was a form of ideal prayer, and prayer was a kind of divine music. It is these sounding sighs of the heart that resonate in heaven and register in God’s ears even when their audible presence cannot be detected on Earth. In von Stökken’s metaphor above, music and voice are the products of the heart’s upward-rising *Seufftzer*, its columns of wind energy that give acoustic form to affective prayer. It is these same sighs, though, which give impetus to the voice as it sings sacred music. The writings examined within this chapter suggest that the nexus at which prayer and music meet is in the emotional gesture *Seufftzer*. This sigh—an aspect of the voice which is heard in heaven but remains inaudible on Earth—provides the very emotional substance

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Also machete es keinen wahren Christen/ wenn man schon die Lehre vom Gebet weis/ sondern es muß auch die Vbung vnd das Werck selber darzu kommen/ daß man durchs Gebet seine Noth Gott fürtrage.” Ibid., 167.

82 „Wenn wir demnach wissen wollen/ wie ein rechtschaffenes Gebet müsse geartet vnd beschaffen seyn/ daß es für Gottes Ohren eine liebliche Stimme sey/ so müssen wir betrachten/ was darzu erfordert werde/ wenn eine Music lieblich vnd anmutig seyn solle/ denn eben dasselbe wird auch zu einem rechtschaffenen Gebet erfordert.” Ibid., 170.

83 Further implicated in Gerhard’s discussion of voice, prayer, and song—unsurprisingly—is the heart. Gerhard recognizes that the musicians of the Old Testament sang and played beautiful psalms to God in the Temple of Jerusalem, creating sonorous sounds of praise to God within the temple’s sacred space. Similarly, he writes, “wenn dein Hertz ein Tempel vnd Wohnung Gottes seyn soll/ so musust gleichfalls durchs Gebet deine Stimme zu Gott erheben/ ihn demütig anruffen/ für seine Wolthat ihm dancken/ vnd seinen heiligen Namen loben/ rühmen vnd preisen [if you want your heart to be a temple and dwelling place for God, then you must likewise lift up your voice to God in prayer, call to him humbly, thank him for his benevolence, and praise, vaunt, and laud his holy name].” Ibid., 168. Like the musicians of the Old Testament, Lutherans in the seventeenth century could create sacred sites of resounding praise in their own hearts—not unlike the musical bodily space von Stökken describes above—by skillfully practicing prayer, which “ist nicht ein blosses Mundwerck/ sondern ein Hertzenswerck [is not a useless work of the mouth, but a work of the heart].” Ibid., 172–173.
that makes both prayer and song possible. *Seufftizer* is the voice that “speaks” in song and that “prays” in music.
CHAPTER 3

*Seufftzer as Discourse Genre: Musical-Emotional Meaning in German Lutheran Sigh-Compositions*

As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?

—Psalm 42: 1–2

In his article “Äußere und innere Landschaft im Dreißigjährigen Krieg,” Peter Becker briefly addresses the proliferation of musical lamentations composed during the Thirty Years War. He recognizes that many of these works share themes about the hardships of contemporary life and the perpetual longing for peace, surmising further that they comprise a novel musical genre characteristic to the experience of the “landscape” of war.

Put in plain words, the war laments—from Melchior Franck’s *Suspirium Germaniae Publicum, Das ist: Allgemeine des betrübten Vaterlandes Seufftzerlein, Bey instehenden und gefährlichen Leufftzen* (1628), to Johann Erasmus Kindermann’s *Musikalische Friedens Seufftzer* (1642), and many others including Johann Hildebrand’s *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzern* [sic] (1645)—established a new genre that tells of the destruction of war and the people’s longing for peace.

Becker’s cursory remark about the establishment of a new genre invites a number of further observations and questions left unaddressed in the article. First, it should be noted that the three musical examples Becker references are all sigh-compositions. What Becker seems to identify here is not just a new genre of war lamentations, but particularly one of musical sighs—a

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1 Ps. 42:1–2 (AV).
discrete class of compositions that share similar title-designations and textual-thematic content.

But do these sigh-compositions actually comprise a discrete musical genre? If so, by what means does this genre cohere into a recognizable compositional category?

Genre theorist John Frow understands that genres are not a priori taxonomical classes into which texts can be situated—essential categories in an Aristotelian sense that exist apart from the various texts that contribute to them—but are rather the products of discourse that shape and constrain meaning.

Genre is a set of conventional and highly organised constraints on the production and interpretation of meaning…they shape and guide, in the way that a builder’s form gives shape to a pour of concrete, or a sculptor’s mould shapes and gives structure to its materials. Generic structure both enables and restricts meaning, and is a basic condition for meaning to take place.4

The meanings implicated by a particular genre emerge in part from that genre’s function as a mediator between text and recurrent social situation; in fact, Frow notes that genres might even be defined as “a relationship between textual structures and the situations that occasion them,” where situation refers here to a “recurrent form” of event that—when experienced repeatedly—constrains the ways in which actors approach similar future events.5 A string of letters from a passionate lover that express romantic sentiments might cause the addressee to expect these romantic sentiments from all future letters from the same author; the addressee learns to approach the epistolary genre in relation to past instances. Any deviations from the recurrent forms of these letters, though, would require the addressee to adjust these expectations and reconsider their approach to the situation.6

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5 Ibid., 13–16.
6 Performance studies theorist Diana Taylor uses the term “scenario” to refer to the recurrent situations in which an actor must repeatedly perform certain expected behaviors. For Taylor, scenario is also a “meaning-making paradigm” and a “portable framework [that] bears the weight of accumulative repeats. The scenario makes visible, yet again, what is already there: the ghosts, the images, the stereotypes.” Diana Taylor, The Archive and the
Because genres and the meanings they constrain are always discursively formed in the relationships between situation and text, their formal sedimentation into coherent structures must be contingent on actors’ particular historical circumstances. Frow recognizes that the notions of genre espoused by Hans Robert Jauss and Tzvetan Todorov “suppose that the order formed between and among genres should be regarded as a historically changing system rather than as a logical order…And this in turn means that the ‘internal’ organization of genre can be understood in terms of particular historical codifications of discursive properties.” Genres are not preconditions for textual composition, but rather arise as a result of social actions and discourses carried out in particular times and places. This inherently historical dimension has significant implications on the emotional meanings evoked through genre and its formation. If genre, as Frow argues, “works at a level of semiosis – that is, of meaning making – which is deeper and more forceful than that of the explicit ‘content’ of a text,” then part of the semiotic value that genre affords to texts must include the emotional meanings that circulates between it, audience, and author. Genres disclose, in other words, the emotional histories of past actors that produce them.

Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 28. While Frow’s “situation” is useful for considering the sedimentation of rhetorical, linguistic genres, Taylor’s “scenario” allows for the consideration of the body’s material performative role in the discursive formation of genre.


8 Theorists working in the past three decades have attempted to reorient the definition of genre away from a mere taxonomical system in which genre categories are predetermined to a definition that embraces genre’s more discursive and historically situated characteristics. William F. Hanks, for example, writes that while genre could be understood in a narrow sense as a chiefly formal endeavor disconnected from the historical particularities in which it is produced, it might be more aptly defined as “the historically specific conventions and ideals according to which authors compose discourse and audiences receive it. In this view, genres consist of orienting frameworks, interpretive procedures, and sets of expectations that are not part of discourse structure, but of the ways actors relate to and use language.” William F. Hanks, “Discourse Genres in a Theory of Practice,” American Ethnologist 14 (1987): 670.

9 John Frow, Genre, 19.
The recent work of Sarah McNamer examines the discursive processes by which genres form in relation to historical emotional meanings. Drawing from Jauss’ genre theories, McNamer analyzes the gendered dynamics of compassion as it was articulated in medieval meditation literature on Christ’s passion. She recognizes via Jauss that a text’s receptive audience approaches it with a “horizon of expectations” that informs its very creation. The author does not merely produce a text and impose it on a passive audience, but rather negotiates with the audience’s expectations in order to create an agreeable work—author, audience, and text are always situated within a network of interconnected relations. McNamer notes in regards to the processes by which genres form that the audience’s horizon of expectations “not only operates in the production of individual texts; new literary genres arise out of its hidden imperatives.” Because texts always contain a consideration of the receptive audience’s emotional horizons, the genre of literature to which these texts refer sediments around the continued reproduction of the emotional experiences it aims to elicit. A cyclical process is thus suggested between emotion’s role in genre formation and genre’s effect on emotional experience. On the one hand, audiences approach texts of a genre with an expectation that it will produce an anticipated emotional experience. At the same time, however, the genre in which the

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11 McNamer’s work draws from the history of emotions literature in order to uncover the historical particularities of compassion as it was experienced in the eleventh through the sixteenth century. She writes that her work “presents a new reading of medieval Christian compassion as a historically contingent, ideologically charged, and performatively constituted emotion—and one that was, in the broad period considered here (ca. 1050–1530), insistently gendered as feminine.” Ibid., 3. For McNamer, affective meditations on Christ’s passion, which were written predominantly by men for use by women, illuminates the audience’s particularly gendered horizon of expectations that contained an explicitly emotional dimension of compassion—a “feeling with” (compassio)—for Christ at his death. McNamer demonstrates that the prominent role of compassion in these medieval texts was not imposed on women by the male authors who created the affective meditations, but rather compassion’s emotional meaning was referenced precisely because the female readership anticipated its presence.

12 Ibid., 61.

text participates itself implicitly reflects its audience’s preexisting emotional horizon of expectations, which it aims to elicit. This cyclical nature does not imply generic stasis—a rigid structure that imposes strict limitations—but rather opens the genre as a space where internal transformations can be carried out in the negotiations between author, text, and audience. Genres and the emotional meanings they reference are “world” constructing, in that they have the ability to reflect and to shape (emotional) reality and truth.¹⁴

Returning now to Becker’s observations about the formation of a new genre of sigh-compositions during the Thirty Years War, I want to suggest in this chapter that these musical sighs did indeed participate in and give rise to a genre. But this genre was not narrowly defined by a set of shared musical characteristics. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, musical sighs exhibit a variety of diverse aesthetic features—some of these works are strophic songs for four voices, others are elaborate concerted motets, while still others are expressive monodic arias for solo voice and basso continuo. Rather, the sigh was discursively defined as a genre of prayer in which both literary texts and musical works participated. What affords generic unity to the musical texts, therefore, are the recurrent situations to which they respond and the emotional horizons of expectations they both reference and help to construct. One of the prominent discourses that established this set of expectations was Lutheran devotional literature. This chapter illustrates the forms and functions of prayer-book compilations of sigh-texts, illustrating the discursive formulations in which musical sighs participated and by which they were generically formed during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁵

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¹⁴ Frow notes that “different genres set up ‘worlds’ which are specific to them, although they may overlap with others.” John Frow, Genre, 18. These worlds that are reflected in genres are not mere conveyances of an a priori truth, but rather are “mediated by systems of representation: by talk, by writing, by acting (in all senses of the word), by images, even by sound.” Ibid., 18–19.

¹⁵ The close and overlapping connections between German Lutheran music and devotional literature has been explored, among other places, in the work of Janette Tilley, who has demonstrated how composers based their
employed throughout this chapter, then, is Isabella van Elferen’s “intermedial discourse analysis,” a methodical technique whereby musical texts are read against and in conjunction with a variety of different kinds of sources in order to understand the affective discourses in which they participated. Rather than treating written prayers and their musical equivalents as separate sets of genres defined by their own distinct and mutually exclusive formal characteristics, sigh-literature and sigh-music are placed in conversation with one another in this chapter in order to interrogate the shared emotional meanings that circulated between them via their generic participations in the practice of Lutheran prayer.

To date, no scholar has examined the generic discourses in which sigh-literature and sigh-music participated in early modern Lutheranism. Jean Leclercq, however, has briefly commented on the prominent place of sighing in French medieval monastic literature, positing the existence of a genre of literary sigh-prayers in his work. Analyzing what he calls “a whole literature of suspiria,” Leclercq describes a body of literature in which pious monastic authors recount frequent sighing and crying as manifestations of an intimate love of God. The most influential

dialogic musical compositions on Lutheran meditation practices advanced in devotional literature. Tilley notes, for example, that musical dialogues “achieve consolation not only through rhetorical means, but also by adopting techniques specific to devotion and personal piety. For seventeenth-century Lutherans, dialogue was a vital part of meditation, and could thereby act as a bridge between literary devices and pious acts.” Janette Tilley, “Meditation and Consolatory Soul-God Dialogues in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany,” Music & Letters 88, no. 3 (2007): 436. This chapter builds on Tilley’s work by considering the ways in which the rich genre of sigh-prayers in devotional literature helped to construct emotional meaning by shaping Lutherans’ situational approaches to and performances of musical sighs.

In her methodology, van Elferen urges musicologists to engage the emotionality of music through a variety of texts, both musical and non-musical. Inspired by Stephen Greenblatt and New Historicism, van Elferen asserts that “the historical understanding of emotions can similarly be deepened by the investigation of their cultural-historical circumstances. German Baroque poetry and prose expressing certain affective themes can be considered as signs originating from the historical contingencies of seventeenth and eighteenth-century German culture.” Isabella van Elferen, “Affective Discourse in German Baroque Text-Based Music,” Tijdschrift voor Muziektheorie 9, no. 3 (November 2004): 230. In other words, van Elferen recognizes that the cultural values associated with particular emotional states reveal themselves not only in the musical text itself, but in other contemporary cultural products including, but not limited to, poetry and philosophy. This chapter expands on van Elferen’s model by considering the specifically generic structures that give rise to culturally and discursively situated modes of feeling.

figure in this literature of sighing was the eleventh-century Benedictine monk John of Fécamp (d. 1079), whose devotional writings recount a longing to unite with God that is accompanied by effusive tears and sighs, “which are not signs of sadness, but of hopeful desire.” While Leclercq has commented on the existence of a “whole literature of suspicio,” his work differs from my own in a number of ways. First, the devotional literature Leclercq analyzes was written by Catholic monastic authors in medieval France; Leclercq does not demonstrate what influence, if any, this literature had on German devotional sigh-prayers of the early seventeenth century. Second, Leclercq essentially analyzes devotional literature that only mentions frequent sighing; the literary texts that he discusses are not themselves titled sigh-prayers, as the texts examined in this chapter. The title-designations that Lutheran authors gave to their literary works suggest a fully formed generic category that is only implied by the frequent mention of sighing in the literature Leclercq analyzes. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, many Lutheran sigh-prayers make no actual mention of the sigh itself, and thus suggest some other defining feature by which the texts participate in the generic category. Finally, while Leclercq’s work is concerned with the specifically literary components of sighing, this chapter concerns itself with the musical dimensions of the sigh-prayer genre in early-modern Lutheranism.

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What emerges out of the examination of this little-studied sigh-repertoire is an image of a genre that does not originate in the war, as Peter Becker would argue, but rather responds to it and permutes as a result. As this chapter makes apparent, the Lutheran sigh-prayer in both literary and musical form has a history that begins well before what modern historians mark as the war’s official initiation in 1618. But as the war waged throughout its three long decades, modes of experiencing and feeling the world also dramatically changed for populations of Germans living in Central Europe. As the recurrent situations from which early modern Lutherans approached the sigh-prayer genre shifted, the genre itself began to discursively reflect and construct modes of wartime lamentation and longing for peace. Put in other words, sigh-prayers did not originate in the war, but rather the genre’s liminal boundaries permuted to accommodate new emotional horizons of expectation. In the following analysis, the supple contours of the sigh-prayer’s generic structures can be seen reacting to an audience whose experiences demanded new emotional vocabularies to describe and construct life itself during the vicissitudes of war.

“Pray without ceasing”

As discussed in chapter two, internal and inarticulate Seufftzer could often be expressed verbally and audibly in the form of short, spontaneously exclaimed phrases. According to Luther, each beat of the Christian’s heart contained its own discrete sigh-prayer that resembled such truisms as “thy Kingdom come” or “let thy name be hallowed.” These prayers typically remained internalized, existing as only pure idealized forms of unvoiced dialogue with God that continuously “spoke” at each beat of the heart. But when faced with particularly challenging circumstances such as physical or spiritual suffering (Anfechtung), the Christian might spontaneously exclaim these phrases aloud, imperfectly translating the unspeakable sighs of the
heart into discrete verbal phrases. These verbal phrases—whether they took the form of a terse sentence, a brief vocal utterance, or a small collection of phrases—were the heart’s Stoßgebete, a form of prayer often used interchangeably with the words Seufftzer and Seufftzerlein (little-sigh).

Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Lutheran prayer-books appeared that provided verbal sigh-prayers in a variety of different forms, which could be spoken and practiced by the pious Lutheran in numerous types of recurrent situations. One of the major functions of these devotional manuals was to conventionalize the “spontaneity” of the sigh-prayer’s usage. The Lutheran might blurt out a Stoßgebet when faced with the sudden threat of violence, but the exact prayer performed at these critical moments was contingent upon the successful internalization of the sigh-prayer’s typical jargon and generic conventions, facets facilitated by the prayer-book’s continuous use. It is within this context that musical settings of sigh-prayers can be situated. The musical score, like the book of sigh-prayers, acts as a similar technology that performatively conventionalizes normative modes of emotional response and expression in the performance of prayer—modes that include the medium of music itself, which

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19 While spontaneous ejections of sigh-prayers might suggest the “translation” of the heart’s pure emotional expressions into discrete verbal phrases, Erving Goffman understands spontaneous vocal and verbal utterances differently. Imprecations (his example, “shit!”) or response cries (utterances such as “Ouch!”) are for Goffman anything but spontaneous. Whereas one might understand these linguistic reactions to particular events as “something blurted out, something that has escaped control…this impulsive feature does not mark the limits to which the utterance is socially processed, rather the conventionalized styling to which it is obliged to adhere.” Erving Goffman, *Forms of Talk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 98. In other words, the sudden expression of verbal phrases, like all of language, is subject to the expressive-linguistic social conventions for whom it is performed. The relationship between emotional expression and these “spontaneous” responses similarly relies on the conventionalized uses of ritual vocalizations. Goffman notes that “[w]hat comes to be made of a particular individual’s show of ‘natural emotional expression’ on any occasions is a considerably awesome thing not dependent on the existence anywhere of natural emotional expressions.” Ibid., 108. Spontaneous linguistic expressions, then, are not novel utterances of internal emotional states, but are rather (like imprecations and response cries) verbal phrases that participate in a discourse of conventionalized utterances deeply entrenched in socialized behaviors. These expressions, as John Frow notes, have implications on the affective dimensions of genre. Building on Goffman’s theories of imprecations and response cries, Frow recognizes that it is the conventionalized usage of these culturally determined emotional responses that implicate them within generic forms. “These expressions are, then,” Frow recognizes, “the very opposite of spontaneous: they are generically structured to display spontaneity.” Emphasis is my own. John Frow, *Genre*, 22–23.
becomes emotional in its discursive participation with and transformative contribution to the sigh-prayer’s generic structures.\textsuperscript{20}

Sigh-prayers in Lutheran devotional literature were often compiled into volumes of collected texts that recommended their continual use throughout the day in order to facilitate the maxim prescribed in 1 Thessalonians 5:17, “pray without ceasing.”\textsuperscript{21} Elaborate devotional prayers—which could involve lengthy texts and ritualized bodily gestures such as raising hands, bending knees, or prostrating oneself on the ground—could not easily be performed when Lutherans were otherwise occupied with more mundane activities. During these occasions, Lutheran preachers recommended the use of sigh-texts, which could be prayed quickly and performed without accompanying movements of the body. Devotional prayer-book authors such as Justus Gesenius prescribed in his \textit{Praxis Devotionis, oder Übung Christlicher Andacht} (1645) that “one should not let a single day pass without prayer, but [rather] keep the usual hours or times to pray in steadfast attention.”\textsuperscript{22} The exact means by which one could perform this demanding task was “through the short \textit{suspiria} and sighs, [and] through the arrow-prayers \textit{[Stoßgebettlein]}, which we call them (St. Augustine called them \textit{orationes brevissimas & raptim quodammodo jaculatas}, very short prayers ejected in a hurry).”\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{20} John Butt confirms that a discourse of musical affects existed prior to the adoption of the Italian style in baroque Germany that was principally distributed by means of sermonic and devotional speech. “Sermons and the teaching of theologians,” Butt recognizes, “might have been more significant in giving the young pupil some idea of the affective basis of music.” John Butt, \textit{Music Education and the Art of Performance} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 42.

\textsuperscript{21} 1 Thess 5:17 (AV).

\textsuperscript{22} “Keinen Tag soll man ohn Gebett lassen vorbeygehen/ sondern die gewöhnlichen stunden oder Zeiten zu beten genaw in acht nehmen.” Justus Gesenius, \textit{Praxis Devotionis, Oder Übung Christlicher Andacht} (Hannover, 1645), 69. H: Yj 56.12° Helmst. HAB.

\textsuperscript{23} „Darnach wird das allezeit vnd ohn vnterlaß beten verrichtet/ durch die kurzen \textit{Suspiria} vnd Seufftzer/ durch die Stoßgebettlein/ wie wir sie heissen. \textit{S. Augustinus} nennet sie \textit{orationes brevissimas & raptim quodammodo jaculatas}, gantz kurze vnd in der Eyle heraußgestossene Gebete.” Ibid., 70–71.
\end{flushright}
which these texts were to be prayed as the Lutheran moved between various localities during the day. For example, in his devotional book of sigh-prayers titled *Der Christen Betet allezeit, oder Anleitung andächtiger Seuffitzer und Gebete* (1631), Anton Büscher organized his repertoire of brief prayers to be spoken “when you wake,” “when you first see light,” “when it becomes brighter,” “when you stand up,” “when you lay out your clothes,” “when you work,” “when you go out,” “when you come back home,” etc.²⁴

The actual texts that Lutherans performed as they moved throughout their day could vary widely according to the particular devotional goals of the authors who supplied them. Wilhelm Alard’s collection of heart-sighs from 1634, *Precationes jaculatoriae: Das ist: Geistliche Schnellboltzen, andächtige fewrig Stoß Gebetlein, und kurzte Hertzen Seuffitzer,* provides a collection of sigh-prayers in the form of short, metric poems. Alard begins his collection of heart-sighs with a preface that situates his prayers within the tradition of Augustine’s and Luther’s *Stoßgebete.*²⁵ These prayers, Alard writes, were intended for those who were unsure about how or with what words they might pray; they thus serve as prayerful prompts for the devotionally “stuck” Lutheran who was unable to formulate their own words. In the opening section of Alard’s book—a collection of texts to be spoken “wenn man beten wil [if one wants to pray]”—the author provides an account of the theological function of *Seuffitzer* during moments when the capacity to pray had dissipated. Crucially, he relates this process in the form of a sigh-

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²⁴ These subtitled sections in the prayer manual read in the original German: “Wenn du erwachest,” “Wenn du das Liecht siehest,” “Wenns immer heller wird,” “Wenn du dich auffrichtest,” “wenn du die Kleider anlegest,” “Bey deinem Beruff,” “Beym Außgehen,” “Wenn du wiederumb nach Hause ghehest.” Anton Büscher, *Der Christen Betet allezeit/ oder anleitung andächter Seuffitzer und Gebete* (Lüneberg, 1631). As far as I can discern, only one exemplar of this books survives at the Herzog August Bibliothek with the shelf-mark: H: Yv 1533.8º Helmst. (1).

prayer addressed to the Holy Spirit. The function of Seufftzer as prayer is communicated in the very medium through which it is represented—that is, Alard describes the internal feelings of Seufftzer by means of his own newly composed sigh-prayer.

Ein Schwere Kunst ist beten recht/
    Wiewol sie mancher achtet schlecht/
O heilgr Geist/ diß ist dein Werck/
    Derwegn mich durch dein Gnade sterck/
Vn[d] lehre mich die Kunst recht betn/
    Vnd zu Gott ruffn/ in meinen Noten.
Meines Hertzn Gedancken du regier/
    Vnd in mir das Gebet formir.
So offt ich säufftze/ säufftz du mit/
    Vnd bey dem Vater mich vertrit/
Daß durch Christum/ vnd auff sein Wort/
    Mein Gbet im Himmel werd erhört/
Du selbst/ mit Vater vnd dem Sohn/
    Hör mein Gebet/ im höchsten Thron.
Jch wil doch nicht zu betn auffhörn/
    Biß man mich endlich wird erhörn:
Vnd meiner Bitte mich gewärhn/
    Auch was ich bittn thu/ mir beschern/
Amen.²⁶

Correct prayer is a difficult art, albeit one that most poorly regard; O Holy Ghost, this is your work, Of which, through your strong grace, You teach me the correct way to pray And to call out to God in my need. You control the thoughts of my heart And formulate prayers within me. As often as I sigh, so do you sigh with me And intercede for me to the father, That through Christ and his word My prayer can be heard in heaven; You yourself, with father and son, Hear my prayer in the highest throne. I don’t want to stop praying Until I am finally heard: Grant me my petition, And bestow to me that for which I pray. Amen.

The remaining collection of Alard’s Stoßgebete provide a repertoire of similarly structured verse sigh-prayers to be recited according to the social roles of those who perform them. Alard includes sigh-texts for brides and grooms, children, mothers and fathers, preachers, seamen, soldiers, etc. These prayers were further designated for performance during various kinds of recurrent situations including each Sunday and holiday of the Church calendar, times of hardship, and even while reflecting on Christ’s passion.

In the personalia of Lutheran funeral sermons—the biographical sections recounting the pious lives and “good deaths” of the recently deceased—preachers frequently affirmed that Lutherans practiced their short sigh-prayers at all moments of the day so that they might pray

²⁶ Ibid., 76–77.
without cessation. In a 1622 funeral sermon for Georg Hannemann, an organist from the small
town of Belzig near Potsdam, the pastor Joachim Crüger preached on the text from Psalm 31:
“Into thine hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O LORD God of truth.” Crüger
intentionally chose the text because of the high favor with which the deceased regarded the short
verse. He remarks in the sermon’s introduction that the Belzig organist frequently spoke this
phrase to himself and considered it his “quotidiana suspiria, daily little-sigh.” Not only was the
verse important for the funeral sermon because of its high esteem in the organist’s own
devotional practices, but the preacher further noted its relevance to the listening audience,
mentioning specifically its ability to provide comfort to the deceased’s widow who presumably
would have been aware of her husband’s propensity to perform his quotidiana suspiria. Similar
funeral sermons mention the esteem with which Lutherans regarded their beloved sigh-prayers,
as in Nicodemus Lappe’s sermon titled Quotidiana Christianorum vota & suspiriana (1634).
Written for the funeral of Elisabeth Kaufman, the sermon concerns the hymn Hertzlich lieb hab
ich dich O HERR. Lappe writes in the introduction that the deceased had developed “a particular
liking” for the hymn text, singing it frequently throughout her life and meditating on it in her
final moments; it was because of the deceased’s affinity for the song that it was chosen for
explication in the sermon.

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27 Ps. 31:5 (AV).
28 „Welche Wort/ weil sie sein gewesen fast seine quotidiana suspiria, teglich seuffzterlein/ wie auch der Wittib zu
Trost/ vns zu einem nützlichen Unterricht/ vnd diesem verstorbenen Erm Georgio Hannemann zum letzten
Ehrengedechtniß/ vor vns nehmen/ die selbige kürzlich erklernen/ den Verstand der wörter anzeigen/ auch hinzusetzen/ wie wir Lebendige vns solches zu Nutze machen sollen zur Lehre/ Trost vnd Vermahnung.” Joachim Crüger,
Suspiria Piorum Agonizantium. Das ist/ Seuffzterlein der Frommen mit dem Toderingenden (Wittenberg: Gorman,
1622), B verso.
29 „…so befinden wir/ daß/ nach dem sie eine geraume zeit an dem Christlichen Kirchengesang Hertzlich lieb hab
ich dich O HERR ec. ein besonder gefallen getragen/ den gern gesungen vnd singen lassen/ sie auch stets mit
Todesgedancken muß vmbgangen sein/ vnd wir bey so gestalten sachen nicht vnrecht thun/ wenn wir sie auß Ihrem
Munde richten/ wie stehet Luc. 19. V. 22. vnd wie es begehrt worden/ denselbigen Christlichen Kirchengesang
Gotte zu ehren/ der seelig verstorbenen zum wolmerckendem andenencken/ vnd vns selbst zum besten vor vns
nehmen/ vnd in der furcht GOttes behertzigen.” Nicodemus Lappe, Quotidiana Christianorum vota & suspiriana,
What is notable from these accounts is the way in which certain sigh-prayers became attached to particular individuals. These short texts—at least according to the idealized accounts of Lutheran preachers—were spoken or sung so frequently and with such affection that the prayers themselves became signifiers of a person’s unique identity. Though printed sigh-prayers were oftentimes generic phrases, the prayers might nevertheless be appropriated and imbued with unique value, functioning as metonymical parts for the totality of the whole Lutheran person. This process of personalization, as suggested in Crüger’s sermon, occurred performatively through frequent recitation and repeated use. Evoking a sigh-prayer in certain company might remind all of those present of the particular person with whom they associated the text. In the case of Crüger’s sermon, such an association had implications on the listening audience’s emotional states; by preaching on the *quotidiana suspiria*, the living could acquire a sense of comfort and assurance that the deceased, though gone from the Earth, had found their eternal dwelling in Heaven.

The daily practice of performing sigh-prayers was not exclusively confined to prayer-literature, but was also applied to musical sigh-compositions intended for performance in domestic house-devotional services (*Hausgottesdienst*). The habitual performance of and

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Das ist Tägliches wünschen und säufftzen eines frommen Christen Menschen/ Auß dem Gottseligen Gesang
Hertzlich lieb hab ich dich O Herr (Erfurt, 1634), Aij recto. VD17 1:028974Y.

30 The private *Hausgottesdienst* was a common practice for many German Lutheran households in the early modern era. At these devotional gatherings held in the *Hauskirche* (house-church)—a figurative term which linked the sanctity of a consecrated space of worship with the intimacy of individual families’ private dwellings—Bible verses, prayers, and hymns were periodically read and sung throughout the day. Services in the home were especially common during the morning just after waking and at night around the evening meal. Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 105–106. At the center of these devotional practices were *Gebetsbücher*, or prayer-books, which provided the fundamental corpus of spoken and sung texts for private Lutherans’ (and Catholics’) devotional practices throughout the early modern era. On the use of prayer-books in German Catholicism in the seventeenth century, see Guillaume Van Gemert, “Zur Katholischen Gebetsliteratur der Barockzeit. Stellenwert und Funktion der Verseinlagen in Nakatenus’ *Himmlich Palm-Gärten*," in *Gebetsliteratur der frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit: Funktionen und Formen in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, ed. Ferdinand van Ingen and Cornelia Niekus Moore (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 77–93. Each member of a family unit performed specific tasks during the private devotional ceremony. The *Hausvater* (father of the house), the presiding authority of a domicile, was primarily
meditation upon sigh-compositions within such services is evident in the first extant publication of musical sigh-prayers from early modern Germany—a collection of four- and eight-voice sacred songs by Melchior Franck titled *Suspiria Musica* (1612), of which only the cantus and alto part-books survive.\(^{31}\) Though the collection is incomplete, Franck later republished these short musical sigh-compositions in the first part of his *Geistlichen musicalischen Lustgartens* (Nuremberg, 1616), supplementing the pieces with twenty-three other sacred songs for four to nine voices.\(^{32}\) In the brief preface to *Suspiria Musica*, Franck emphasizes the necessity of daily meditation on Christ’s Passion, cursorily referencing 1 Corinthians 2 and quoting directly the words of Bernard of Clairvaux, “*Omnis Christiani lectio, sit Passionis Christi quotidiana*.

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meditatio [All lecture (i.e., learning) of the Christian can be (gained by) daily meditation on the passion of Christ].” The collection of musical sigh-prayers was the end result of Franck’s own meditative practices during the recent Easter season. “I have conducted myself in these recent Passion-times,” Franck writes in the work’s preface, “to mediate on something from the highly comforting historia of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ and, the same time, to produce in print these little-prayers as well as these same four-voice compositions.” As the composer performed his own regular meditations on Christ’s passion, in other words, he simultaneously finished and brought to print the texts and music of his own collection of original sigh-prayers with which his audience might also daily meditate on Christ’s passion.

The texts of Franck’s musical sighs resemble the structure and form of their counterparts in devotional literature. Like William Alard’s collection described above, Franck’s suspiria texts are short, metric verses of only a few lines meant to be sung with diligent regularity. The content of these sigh-prayers ruminate on a number of points in Christ’s passion narrative, which have been summarized below in table 3.1. Most of the prayers first begin with a descriptive account of an event from the Passion, which is subsequently followed by statements that personalize the event. In the collection’s fourth musical sigh-prayer, for example, the text’s poetic voice

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33 Melchior Franck, Suspiria Musica...Alitus, verso titlepage. Udo Sträter recognizes that Lutheran theologians began to look toward Catholic meditational practices outlined by people such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Ignatius of Loyola in an effort to bridge the schisms in contemporary theology between the theoretical concerns of Orthodox Lutheranism and the practical needs of individuals practicing quotidian devotion. An additional anxiety of those advocating meditation in Lutheran devotional practice was the problem of how God’s word might be internalized and practiced so that a theoretical knowledge of what one ought to think and feel was actually sincerely acted and felt. Meditation practices helped assuage this problem by asking Lutherans to receive the word spoken in the sermon and meditate on this message, internalizing it and actualizing it in their daily life. Udo Sträter, “‘Wie bringen wir den Kopff in das Hertz?’ Meditation in der Lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit, ed. Gerhard Kurz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 15–18.

34 “Hab ich mif/ bey instehender Passionzeit/ auch etwas von der Hochröstitlichen Historia deß Leydens vnd Sterbens JEsu Christi zu mediiren fürgenommen/ vnd also gegenwertige Gebetlein so wol deroelben Vierstimmige Composition in Truck verfertigen.” Melchior Franck, Suspiria Musica, Ej verso.

35 The author(s) of the texts are unattributed, but the preface’s language suggests that Franck is that author of both text and music.
meditates on the moment in which Jesus was hung from the cross and offered vinegar to drink; following this description, the narrative voice asks that the wounds Christ received when hung on the cross would not be made in vain, but rather serve as the curative balm through which the soul might be healed of its sicknesses.

HErr JEsu Christ ich ruff dich an/ Lord Jesus Christ, I call to you,
Der du dich hast verwunden lahn/ You who have been wounded
Am Stam[m] deß Creutzes auff geheneckt/ And hung on the trunk of the cross
Mit Gall vnd Essig auch getrenckt/ And given gall and vinegar to drink.
Ich bitt dich/ laß die Wunden dein/ I entreat you, let your wounds
Ein Artzney meiner Seelen sein. Be medicine to my soul.

Table 3.1. Summary of the contents of Melchior Franck’s Suspiria Musica (1612)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Voices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. “O Mensch bereit das Hertze dein”</td>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. “HErr JEsu Christ/ der du für mich am Oelberg”</td>
<td>Christ on the Mount</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. “HErr Jesu/ der du dich für mic him Garten”</td>
<td>Christ in the Garden</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. “HErr Jesu Christ ich ruff dich an”</td>
<td>Christ on the cross</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. “HErr Jesu/ der du bist für mich zum Todt”</td>
<td>Christ’s crucifixion</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. “HErr Jesu/ der du bist für mich geführt”</td>
<td>Christ’s crucifixion</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. “HErr Jesu Christe Gottes Lamb”</td>
<td>Christ’s crucifixion</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. “JEsu du Milter Pelican”</td>
<td>Christ’s blood</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. “HErr Jesu Christ bitt auch für mich”</td>
<td>Christ as intercessor</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. “Jch dancke dir HErr Jesu Christ”</td>
<td>Prayer of thanks</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. “Ach trewer Heyland Jesu Christ”</td>
<td>Prayer for comfort</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. “JEsu/ mein Hertz hat Wunden tieff”</td>
<td>Prayer of thanks</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The composer’s setting of the fourth musical sigh, the entirety of which can be found in appendix A of this dissertation, illustrates a close symbiosis between the brief prayer-text and the music to which it was sung. In example 3.1 below, the tenor and bass lines have been supplied from the first part of Franck’s Geistlichen musicalischen Lustgartens. The opening address of “HErr JEsu Christ” is set with long rhythmic values, emphasizing the phrase’s invocative call to Christ.36 Many of the pieces in this collection of sigh-compositions open with a similar musical

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36 Early modern Germans frequently capitalized the first two letters of words referring to the name of God or Jesus. It is common to see, for example, both the H and the E capitalized in the word HErr (Lord), the J and the E in JEsu
gesture. In the following measures, the singers literally “call out” to Jesus by means of the high registers in which they are asked to sing. Additionally, these lines feature modest word-painting at “ich ruff” (I call), where cantus, altus, and tenor parts jump to the upper limits of their ranges in mm. 5–6 and repeat a similarly high statement of the text again at mm. 9–11.


\[\text{(Jesus), or the G and O in } \text{G}0\text{t} \text{ (God). The word } \text{Herr}, \text{ furthermore, often appears in all capitalized letters, } \text{HERR}, \text{ or even sometimes with an extra } \text{R}, \text{ as in } \text{HERRR}. \text{ The additional letters and added capitalizations have the effect of emphasizing the overall importance of these names beyond normal proper-noun capitalization practices.} \]
As the above example suggests, the music was likely intended for audiences of amateurs who would have sung and performed this repertoire at home during their private devotional services. The upper parts move homorhythmically with each other and contrapuntal relations between voices are relatively conservative, excluding the brief overlapping suspensions between cantus and altus parts in mm. 54–56 and again in mm. 68–70 (see appendix). In general, this type of vocal writing is characteristic to the remainder of the collection’s eleven other sigh-prayers. Though the pieces are written for choirs of voices, the title-page of Franck’s *Geistlichen musicalischen Lustgartens*—the collection in which these musical-sighs were later republished—suggests that these compositions could be “so wol voce als instrumentis zu musiciren vnd zu gebrauchen [performed and used with the voice as well as with instrument],” further facilitating their use in a variety of devotional contexts.\(^{37}\)

The sigh-composition’s blatant simplicity, uncomplicated harmonic and melodic content, modest texture, and uncomplicated counterpoint resonate with the precise qualities that contemporaries valued in the literary sigh-prayer genre. These prayers were not elaborate, nor could they be, since lengthy texts could not easily be memorized or spoken to oneself throughout the day. Instead, sigh-prayers were valued precisely because they were simple, brief, and could be easily performed without any specialized knowledge. Like their literary equivalents, musical sigh-compositions were brief, simple, and could be easily internalized in order to facilitate frequent performance and economical affective experiences. Fleeting feelings of devotional intensity during the performance of these sigh-compositions were as prayerfully effective as fully enraptured moments of religious ecstasy that might be inspired from more grandiose performances of complex musical compositions. Just as God attended to the affective stirrings of

\(^{37}\) See the cantus title-page of Melchior Franck, *Geistlichen musicalischen Lustgartens erster Theil*, (Nürnberg, 1616).
the heart as they were experienced during the performance of grand works, so too did he attend to the more modest affective experiences that occurred while singing humble sigh-prayers. The musical sigh, like the prayer genre to which it referred, participated in a shared aesthetics of brevity that aimed to elicit affective communion with God not through acoustic grandeur or polyphonic complexity, but through terseness, precision, and economy of linguistic and musical expression.38

**Appropriating the Sigh-Prayers of Others**

Not all sigh-prayers were newly written in the seventeenth century. As mentioned above, Lutherans often prayed and meditated on sigh-texts from much older sources, especially the Bible. By far, one of the most frequently cited sources of preexisting sigh-prayers were the psalms. According to Johann Döling’s 1628 funeral sermon *Euthanasia, Oder Christliche* ...

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38 While many short, musical sigh-compositions were intended for private meditational use in the early part of the seventeenth century, some evidence suggests that the ubiquitous presence of musical sigh-prayers in early modern Lutheranism led to the genre’s adoption in certain church liturgies by mid-century. In the collection of musical sigh-texts by Christian von Stöcken titled *Heilige Herzens-Seufzer* (1668), discussed in more detail in chapter two, the poet includes a section of what he calls “Schluß-seufzer” in the second half of his compilation. Von Stöcken recognizes that these closing sigh-prayers were a “new manner in sermons [neue Art im Predigen],” and that he consciously fashioned his own texts after the exemplary models of two contemporaries. The first was Tobias Clausnitzer (1619–1684), whose collections of Passion sermons each conclude with a brief, verse prayer that, though not explicitly identified as a sigh-prayer, is likely the “Schluß-Seufzer” to which von Stöcken refers. Tobias Clausnitzer, *Passions-Blume/ Oder Trauriges Schau-Bild/ der ganz mitleidigen Natur/ über dem hoch-schmerzlichen Leiden und Sterben/ Unsers gereutzigten Herrn Jesu* (Nürnberg, 1662). VD17 12:194772E. The second, though, was “the ingenious [Johann] Dilherr, the world-famous teacher in Nuremberg, who used these poetic sighs in the conclusion of the sermon, and which were also set to music in the same place by an organist [den Geistreich Dihherren/ den Welberrühmten Lehrern zu Nürnberg/ jder so wol in/ alß zum Beschluß der Predigt sich dieser Poëtischen Seufzer gebraucht/ die auch von einem Organisten daselbst in die Music versezzet worden].” Christian von Stöcken, *Heilige Herzens-Seufzer* (Lübeck, 1668), XXX recto. VD17 7:686020L. Von Stöcken’s description of the Schluß-Seufzer refers here to a form of liturgical music practice in seventeenth-century Germany that has received little recognition in the secondary literature. These prayers were not simply composed for speaking or reading at the conclusion of sermons, but they were musicalized and performed with the help of the church organist. What is suggested here is a kind of musical cross-pollination between private devotional services on the one hand and official liturgy on the other—between the local nuances of everyday devotion and the institutional ritual of orthodoxy. The performance of musical “Schluß-seufzer” in the church was a “new manner” of ritual by the time von Stöcken published his book in 1668, but as this chapter has demonstrated, the regular performance of musical sighs in private house devotional services existed well before its movement into the official liturgy. Devotional musical practices at the local level effectively changed corporate liturgical practices, thus demonstrating the ways in which individuals negotiated with powerful institutions to better reflect the changing devotional needs of those members who comprised it.
Sterbkunst Auß dem Geistreichen Seufftzerlein des lieben Davids, the words of David were especially suitable sigh-prayers because of the conspicuous presence of the Holy Spirit in psalmist’s writings. Döling notes that, as the eighth chapter of the New Testament book of Romans makes clear, the Holy Spirit communicates with God on behalf of the Christian with sighs that cannot be described in words. Similarly, “David also indicates even this same thing in his own person, especially when he writes: ‘The Spirit of the Lord has spoken through me, and his speech is carried out through my mouth. (2. Samuel 23).’” Because David speaks through the Holy Spirit, and because the Holy Spirit speaks only with indescribable Seuffzer, then the words of David themselves must be comprised of the same affective stuff as that of the Holy Spirit. Other Lutheran preachers confirmed the status of David’s texts as forms of sigh-pryaers. The East-Frisian preacher Michael Walther called the entire book of Psalms itself a “Librum suspiriorum, a sigh-book through which pious Christian-doves let fly many thousand sighs.”

Anna Maria Schwendendörffer’s collection of devotional prayers offers some insight into the ways in which German Lutherans considered the words of the Bible, and the book of Psalms in particular, exemplary sigh-texts inspired by Holy Spirit. In her Andächtige Hertzens-Seuffzer/ Durch die gantze Bibel außgezeichnet (1637), Schwendendörffer culled and collected select verses that she understood to be examples sigh-prayers from both the Old and New Testament, publishing them along with various other prayer- and song-texts in her devotional manual. As

39 Johann Döling Euthanasia Oder Christliche Sterbkunst Auß dem Geistreichen Seufftzerlein des lieben Davids (Greifswald, 1624). VD17 23:623136L.
40 “Eben dasselbe bezeuget David von seiner eigenen Person insonderheit/ wann er spricht: Der Geist des HErrn hat durch mich geredet/ vnd seine Rede ist durch meinen Mund geschehen/ 2. Sam. 23.” Ibid., B ij verso–B iij recto.
42 Anna Maria Schwendendörffer, Andächtige Hertzens-Seufftzer/ Durch die gantze Bibel außgezeichnet (Leipzig, 1637). VD17 7:683747B.
she relates in her prefatory poem, the purpose of collecting the Bible’s sigh-prayers into one convenient book was to provide a collection of texts that might be “practiced” daily—memorized and internalized—so that the Lutheran would have in their time of death a repertoire of prayers on which they could rely for comfort.\footnote{So dir/ O Leser guthertzig/ Diß Büchlein auch beliebet/ Der/ welche nicht geringschätzig Hiel Gottes Wort vnd vbet/ Für jhren Schatz es achten thet/ Solchs auch vor jhrem Ende/ Wie es allhie verfasset steht/ Durch jhre fleissigen Hände Beschreiben/ vnd zum Druck/ so viel Jhr Sprüch sie hat erwehlet/ Befördert/ sie dirs gönnen wil: Doch kürzlich dir erzehlet/ Eh noch die Tugendreiche diß Büchlein gedruckt erlangte/ Sie GOtt heimholt ins Paradiß/ Gleich hiedurch sie abdanckte Jhrem Herrn Vater/ dem sies zu- Geschrieben noch im Leben. Jhr SchwanLiedlein auch singen thu/ Es wir viel Trosts dir geben.” Ibid., 4.} Throughout her manual, Schwendendörffer exhibits a clear preference for Old Testament texts; only eight pages in the entire book feature quoted verses from the New Testament. Of the ninety-six pages that comprise Bible quotations, about fifty percent (48 pages) contain quotations of the Psalms, demonstrating the compiler’s understanding that these texts were in fact model forms of sigh-prayers. Additionally, Schwendendörffer’s treatment of the Psalm texts differs from that of the other quoted Bible verses. While many quotations—such as Genesis 49:18 or Nehemiah 13:31—are short or fragmentary, several of the Psalm passages are significantly longer, spanning multiple pages and even appearing in full quotation.\footnote{“I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD.” Gen. 49:18 (AV). “Remember me, O my God, for good.” Neh. 13:31 (AV).}
In addition to the Psalms and other verses of the Bible, Lutherans often prayed sigh-prayers that were direct quotations of the affective meditations of early medieval church authors.\(^{45}\) In one collection of such sigh-prayers—the *Medulla Meditationum & Suspiriorum S. Patrum* (1620)—the compiler Martin Hammer explicitly recognizes the intensely emotional content of the included texts.\(^{46}\) The pious language with which these authors spoke to God was, Hammer reasons, predominantly the result their societal seclusion and intense, endless meditation. Such vocabulary was nearly impossible to reproduce in contemporary society; Hammer therefore deferred to the emotional authority of those voices who came before, reproducing their texts in this manual so that those in the present day might be moved by the intense affectivity of these historically distant sigh-prayers:

> But I have retained in this entire book the words and manner of speaking of the holy patriarchs; the beautiful manner of speaking occurs in the writing of these holy patriarchs, who had such beautiful thoughts in their solitude and [when] with God and our savior Jesus Christ; they could speak so devoutly that one must themselves take joy in their hearts. So it is likewise, such devotional texts, sighs, and heartfelt words go deeper to heart and are more moving for the devout person who prays than when one in today’s times wants to formulate such prayers.\(^{47}\)

Hammer does not claim that those who prayed from this book will experience the same emotional conditions expressed in the sigh-texts. Rather, it is because of the inherent affective intensity of these prayers that those who read them in the present day will be moved to feel their

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\(^{45}\) In her recent study of Reformation prayer-books, Chaoluan Kao attributes the inclusion of meditational writings of medieval church fathers in early modern prayer compilations to the humanist tendency to return to the source, *ad fontes*, of Christianity, a practice that emphasized reading the Bible and the works of medieval church authors in their original languages. Chaoluan Kao, *Reformation of Prayerbooks: the Humanist Transformation of Early Modern Piety in Germany and England* (Vandenhoec & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 2018), 61–63.


\(^{47}\) “ich aber in diesem gantzen Büchlin der heiligen Altväter Wort vnd art zu reden behalten/ ist vmb der heiligen Altväter schönen art zu reden geschehen/ die in jhrer Einsamkeit offt gar schöne gedancken gehabt/ vnd mit Gott vnd vnserm Heylande Jesu Christo/ so andächtig reden können/ daß einer sich drob von Hertzen erfrewen muß/ So gehen ingleichen solche Andachten/ Seufftzen vnd herzliche Wort einem andächtigen Beter tieffer zu Hertzen/ vnd bewegen mehr/ als wann einer heut bey Tag für sich solche Gebetlein *formiren* wolte…” Ibid., B iiiij verso–B v verso.
own emotional experiences, a process by which the heart became properly oriented toward affective devotional communion with God. In Hammer’s second prayer in his collection, for example, the Lutheran preacher provides a lengthy quotation of the thirtieth chapter from the pseudo-Augustinian Meditations. The devotional text, titled a “Sigh to the Holy Trinity from Augustine’s [sic] Meditations” is a proclamation of the Christian’s utter reliance on and unaltering, “sweet love” for God in the form of the Holy Trinity. As evident from the length of this prayer, this text was not likely intended to be spoken from memory as the Lutheran moved from place to place throughout their day; rather the designation of this prayer as a Seuffzer is due to the affective states it continually elicited and the emotional language with which it describes the Christian’s devout love of God.

Schwendendörffer’s and Hammer’s collections demonstrate the way in which Lutherans considered the internalization of preexisting sigh-prayers as a practice that placed the words of highly pious authors into the mouths of those individuals for whom such eloquent expressions of piety did not come naturally. Unable to find the words themselves for emotionally effusive prayer, the Lutheran might pray the heightened words of medieval church authors in order to successfully engage their hearts. This process of textual appropriation was not exclusive to speaking or praying particular sigh-texts, but was characteristic to the emotional experiences

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48 See footnote eighteen above.
49 Martin Hammer, Medulla Meditationum, 11–15.
often associated with contemporary musical performance as well, evident especially in the singing of psalms. In chapter eight of Michael Praetorius’s first book of the *Syntagma Musicum* (1614/1615), titled “On the virtue and benefit of psalmody for appropriation to oneself,” the author elaborates on the cognitive processes by which one feels specific emotions during psalm performance and in the performance of “all ecclesiastical music” more generally. Since psalm-texts were frequently recognized in Lutheran devotional literature as examples of sigh-prayers, Praetorius’ theory of emotional expression can offer some insight into the possible ways in which Lutherans achieved certain emotional experiences through musical sigh-prayer performances. Drawing from St. Athanasius’ *Epistola ad Marcellinum*, Praetorius explains that when pious Christians hear or sing the words of a psalm, they are likely to appropriate these words as their own, imagining that they themselves had composed them. The performer, in essence, becomes the psalmist. “In sacred songs,” Praetorius comments, “it is remarkable that the one who sings thinks that he is singing his own words, on account of his piety; and whoever sings thus, [sings] as if that which he is singing had been of his own composition, and as if the words were his own, and thus directs his mind to God.”

The cognitive emotional processes that follow further complicate this process of appropriation. In the act of assuming the psalm-texts as one’s own, the singer comes to recognize the distance which separates the original psalmist’s devotion from that of her own personal lived experience. A singer who intones the pious words of David in the psalms, but who is not herself

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51 Paul R. Kolbet examines the Athanasius’ process of psalm recitation and the ways in which those who pray are able to attain by means of appropriation knowledge of Christ. Kolbet notes that, for Athanasius, “Since Christ’s life echoes throughout the Psalms, the one reciting them both benefits from the power provided by his example, and internalizes that example through daily vocalization.” Paul R. Kolbet, “Athanasius, the Psalms, and the Reformation of the Self,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 99, no. 1 (Jan. 2006): 94. For more on the broader practice of medieval “subjectification” of psalm texts, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, *Hertz und Stimme: Innerlichkeit, Affekt und Gesang im Mittelalter* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 96–100.

a devout Christian, realizes the dissonance between what is sung and what is lived; subsequently, the performer is moved to feel appropriately in relation to these cognitive resonances or dissonances. In a complicated double gesture, the Christian both becomes the psalmist while simultaneously comparing themselves to the psalmist whom they imagine themselves to be.

A man who hears sacred songs, and believes that they speak of him, is either pricked and rebuked by his conscience, or hearing of hope in God and of the reward of believers, exults in none other than his own reward, and begins to give thanks to God, etc., and to sing the words of God as if his own.

In summary, each psalm was conceived by the Holy Spirit in such a form of words, and so regulated, that in it we perceive the changes of our own emotions, and we believe that all this pertains to us, and that it is our very own. Thus it happens that, being mindful of our own emotions, we change them for the better. For those things which are sung in the psalms may be our patterns and models.\(^{53}\)

Such appropriations of the emotive texts reveal to the singer through the music’s actualization \textit{in performance} the accuracy or insincerity of their own religious experiences, confirming the legitimacy of their textual appropriation or highlighting the necessity for emotional work and change. Conceptualizing musical sigh-prayers as prompts for emotional experience, then, is a productive way for considering the relationship between performed prayer and the affective states it aimed to elicit—a relationship that is critically contingent on the experimental processes involved in performing such generic texts through music.\(^{54}\)

\(^{53}\) Ibid., 73.

\(^{54}\) This theory of textual appropriation is similar to the modern emotional theory of “priming,” a concept that historian William Reddy describes as a process by which “thought material” becomes active in one’s conscious. “A highly activated thought is one that easily pops into attention,” Reddy writes; “Some thought material becomes ‘chronically activated,’ such as, for example, those negative evaluations of the self that are common among persons suffering from depression.” William Reddy, “The Question of Romantic Love in Early Modern Historical Research,” in \textit{Amor docet musican: Musik und Liebe in der Frühen Neuzeit}, ed. Dietrich Helms and Sabine Meine (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012), 28. The extent to which these thoughts become chronically active is largely based on their evaluative and experimental nature. Reddy provides an example of the picture of a human face scowling; individuals can experience the image in relation to the emotion anger through repetitive association and enculturation. Thus, when shown the image of a scowling face (called the “primer”), thought material activations associated with the experience of anger (the primer’s “target”) occur. Ibid., 30. Verbal primers offer similar activations of thought material. Speaking culturally predetermined phrases such as “I’m happy to meet you” or “I love you” illustrate the largely experimental process by which such thought activation occurs: “we prime ourselves,” Reddy writes, “by pronouncing certain emotional words, to see if the appropriate response follows.” Ibid., 31. By uttering emotional phrases, the individual does not necessarily express these emotions—happiness or love—but
One of the most musically complex compositions from the first half of the
seventeenth century is a setting of Psalm 121 from 1633 by the organist and composer Julius
Ernst Rautenstein (c. 1590–1654). The work, titled *Christlicher vnd Fürstlicher TAVFF Seuffzer*
(Christianly and Princely Baptismal Sigh), is a concerted motet for four voices (CCAT), two
unspecified treble instruments, bassoon, and basso continuo.\(^5\) The piece was written during a
period of time in which the composer was employed as an organist at two churches in
Quedlinburg, a city nestled at the base of the Harz mountains in present-day Saxony-Anhalt.\(^6\) As
indicated on the handwritten title-page, the work was composed for the baptism of Prince
Christian II of Anhalt-Bernburg’s sixth child, “Bogislai” (or Bogislaw), who was born 7 October
1633 and died shortly thereafter on 7 February 1634.\(^7\) The manuscript parts, housed at the
Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt in Dessau, are bound together with a collection of fifty-five
congratulatory epistles on Bogislaw’s birth. These letters are arranged chronologically from 10
October 1633 to 29 January 1634, and are followed by Rautenstein’s manuscript parts. Included
after the composition are the corresponding envelopes in which the congratulatory letters were
sent; many of the envelopes still bear original wax seals. The manuscript’s title-page indicates
that the composition was “aus den. 121. Psalm D[avid] in Vnterthänigkeit *componiret vnd

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\(^5\) Julius Ernst Rautenstein, “Christlicher vnd Fürstlicher TAVFF Seuffzer,” manuscript, 1633, D-ORB, Abteilung
Bernburg A 1 Nr. 3.

\(^6\) Most of Rautenstein’s compositional output, including the *TAVFF Seuffzer* discussed in this chapter, was
occasional music, much of which is now lost. A. Kirwan and L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht, “Rautenstein, Julius Ernst,”

\(^7\) Kamill Behr, *Genealogie der in Europa regierenden Fürstenhäuser* (Bernhard Tauchnitz: Leipzig, 1854), 120.
Currently, a team of researchers at the Herzog August Bibliothek is creating a digital edition of Christian II’s
personal diaries, which he kept periodically from 1621 to 1656. See Arndt Schreiber et al., eds, “Digitale Edition und
Kommentierung der Tagebücher des Fürsten Christian II. von Anhalt-Bernburg (1599–1656),” Herzog August
musiciret am 14. Novemb: Anno M. DC. XXXIII [on the 121st Psalm of David, composed and performed in subservience on 14. November 1633].” The recognition that this work was musiciret on 14 November suggests its live performance, an aspect of its history confirmed by the fact that the music does not appear in score format, but rather in individual performing parts copied by a single hand. The music manuscript’s inclusion in the bound book of other commemorative paraphernalia suggests that it functioned as a memorial device for the birth and baptism of the Prince’s son. Re-reading the collection of letters and examining the musical notation, the person who engaged with the book would be prompted not only to think on the birth of the young Bogislaw, but also on the sound of the musical sigh-prayer that was performed at his baptism.

Psalm 121 provides a first-person account of the psalmist’s recognition of God’s unaltering ability to preserve, guide, and protect him. Such a text would have been appropriate to commemorate the baptism of the Prince’s infant son who, embarking on his new journey in life, would have required God’s continual guidance and protection. The musical setting of the sigh-prayer (the entirety of which appears in appendix A of this dissertation) features alternating sections of purely instrumental interludes titled symphonia and concerted sections of choir with instruments labeled concerto. The composer utilizes subtle word-painting and rhetorical techniques to both aurally depict textual themes while simultaneously introducing musical ideas that are developed throughout the sigh-composition. In the Cantus 1 opening melodic gesture, Rautenstein sets the words “Ich hebe meine Augen auf [I will lift up mine eyes],” for example,

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58 Psalm 121 reads: “I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help. My help cometh from the LORD, which made heaven and earth. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved: he that keepeth thee will not slumber. Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep. The LORD is thy keeper: the LORD is thy shade upon thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night. The LORD shall preserve thee from all evil: he shall preserve thy soul. The LORD shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore.” Ps. 121 (AV).
on a rising eighth-note figure that is subsequently imitated in all voice parts. The effect produces a surging wave of ascending melodic lines that turn inward and around themselves, spinning upward to mimic the movement of one’s gaze being directed high “zu den Bergen,” toward the hills.

C 1

Jch he-be mei-ne Aug-en auff zu den

C 2

auff, Jch he-be mei-ne Aug-en auff zu den Ber-gen,

A

zu den

T

Jch he-be mei-ne Aug-en auff,

Inst. I

Inst. II

Bsn.

B. c.
As elaborated in Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum*, the emotionality of a text like Psalm 121 arises in the act of appropriation—that is, in making the Psalm one’s own through performance or, in Rautenstein’s case, through composition. Like the collection of letters with which the manuscript is bound, Rautenstein’s *TAVFF Seuffzer* acts as the composer’s own personal congratulatory epistle on the baptism of the young prince—by appropriating the sigh-prayer of the psalmist, the words of the pious author become those of Rautenstein himself.  

59 Though Rautenstein’s work was written in 1633, earlier examples of sigh-compositions that feature the texts of medieval church authors exist. Johann Andreas Herbst, for example, wrote one collection of sigh-prayers that feature the seven prayers of St. Gregory on the passion of Christ. This work, like Melchior Franck’s own set of
psalmist that offers the assurance of God’s protection throughout life, but rather by means of the compositional process, it is Rautenstein who assures God’s protection for the newly baptized. The rather tragic irony of this example, though, surfaces when examined in the context of the young prince’s short life-span. At only four months old, the member of the royal family to whom the sigh-composition was dedicated expired. The commemorative book and the musical sigh-composition on the prince’s baptism thus becomes an additional reminder of his short life. His baptismal *TAVFF Seufftzer*, along with the other congratulatory epistles evoke memories of the prince’s celebrated birth and his premature death—a moment that was, in early modern Lutheran life, similarly marked by the presence of *Seufftzer* and the practice of sigh-prayer recitation.

**Lutherans’ Final Heart-Sighs**

As evident in a number of Lutheran funeral sermons published in the first half of the seventeenth century, pithy sigh-prayers—either newly composed or drawn from much older sources such as the Bible—were often one of the last vocal expressions spoken by the dying Lutheran. These prayers, with their terseness and brevity, were specifically constructed so that they could be performed up to the final moments of death even as the body’s capacity to speak failed. Martin Moller’s frequently republished *Manuale de praeparatione ad mortem* (1593) is a representative example of the ways in which these short prayers were intended for use in the Lutheran’s final moments in life. The structure of Moller’s *Manuale* is dialogic; a pious Lutheran asks questions and receives answers about the proper way to die a “good death.”

Lutherans conceptualized the moment of death as one of the final tests of their faith since both physical and spiritual hardships assaulted the Christian’s body and soul. Physically, the body might be beset by unfathomable pain that could potentially cause the Lutheran to cry out in anger and blaspheme God in their final moments, jeopardizing the state of their soul’s final resting place. In order to avoid such a calamity, the dying Christian had to be tested throughout all moments of their death. The faith of the individual had to be continuously scrutinized to...
collection of sigh-prayers appear in chapter eight of the manual along with other appropriate prayers and songs to be sung or spoken near the moment of the soul’s exit from the world. A section heading in chapter eight, offered by one of the interlocutors, reads: “tell me also some short sighs that one likes to use when the sick are very weak, have little breath, and cannot speak, especially such words so that one can command the soul to God.”\textsuperscript{61} The content of the rather brief prayer-texts that follow encourages the dying Lutheran to accept their end and affirm their resolute trust that God will take hold of their soul as in, for example, Moller’s fourth sigh-prayer, “LORD Jesus, take up my soul,” or his eighth, “I want to leave and be by Christ.”\textsuperscript{62} It is evident from the devotional manual’s organizational structure that Moller intends the prayers to be spoken only moments before the individual’s final breath on Earth; the sigh-texts are preceded by a number of longer prayers and songs to be spoken or sung by those attending the death and are followed by prayers of consolation to be spoken by family members of the recently departed.

\textsuperscript{61}“Erzehle mir auch etliche kurze Seufftzen/ die man gebrauchen mag/ wenn der Krancke sehr schwach ist/ Wenig Odem hat/ Nicht reden kan/ sonderlich solche Wörtlein/ damit einer seine Seele GOtt befehlen sol.” Martin Moller, \textit{Manuale de praeparatione ad mortem} (Görlitz, 1601), 121 recto. VD17 39:156175R

\textsuperscript{62}“III. HERR Jesu/ Nim meinen Geist auff…VIII. Ich habe lust abzuscheuden/ vnd bey Christo zu sein.” Ibid., 121 recto–121 verso.
loved one. The sigh-prayers, situated between longer prayers and comforting hymns, serve as transitional texts that punctuate the final stages of life.

In Lutheran funeral sermons, preachers often provided rich accounts of the uses of sigh-prayers as they were (ideally) practiced by pious Christians at the time of their deaths. In his sermon on the death of Martinus Copus titled *Suspirium de profundis* (1615), Aaron Burckhart described in detail the dying man’s final vocal utterance, a sigh-prayer extracted from the book of Jeremiah.

I took my leave, and came again to him in the evening after my afternoon sermon. There I found that he increasingly spoke with even more difficulty, all the while the gruffness [Heischrighkeit] and the material in his chest increasingly accumulated, and I was able to discern that [he] didn’t want to come up from his death-bed. I reminded him of his received absolution and holy communion, all of which he took and remembered. And although he did indeed want to talk with me—for his reason and understanding were still right—his strong congestion would not allow it, and so he had to begin to push it out with all his power and strength. Ah! It lasted so long. I said to him that he should think on [King] David’s dear little sigh in Psalm 13: “LORD how long, LORD how long, etc.” He lifted up his arms and his hands and said his *suspirium de profundis* [sigh from the deep]:

63 Lukas Lorbeer notes that Moller’s provision that music should be sung at the deathbed is the oldest known recommendation for such a practice in writings on early modern Lutheran death rituals. Lukas Lorbeer, *Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder*, 584. Preceding his list of hymns appropriate to be sung for the dying Lutheran, Moller writes: “Es gibt die Erfahrung/ das man durch schöne Gesenge/ wenn sie mit andacht gesungen werden/ viel trawrigkeit vnd schwermuth aus dem Hertzen weg singen/ Dagegen auch viel schönes Trostes hieniein singen kan/ das die Hertzen dabei frölich vnd gutes muths werden/ Erinnern sich dadurch der Himlischen Engel Musica/ welche wir dort werden halten helffen/ vnd sampt jhnen Gott preysen/ in ewigen Frewden. Man sol sich aber nach dem Patienten richten/ vnd jhm singen/ was er haben wil.” Martin Moller, *Manuale De Praeparatione Ad Mortem*, 119 verso–120 recto.

64 Other examples of prayer manuals written for the dying that feature short sigh-prayers include the anonymous *Suspiria Hominis Moribundi Extrema, Das ist: Hertzensseuffzerlein eines sterbenden Christen* (Dresden, 1616), VD17 7:709646R; Georg Waeyger, *Morientium Spiritualis Thesaurus, Christliche trostwichtige Betrachtungen/ Hertzliche Seuffzer und Andachten* (LiegNit, 1617), VD17 14:681275V; and the anonymous *Ars Bene Moriendi: Darinnen begriffen/ Allerley schöne/ außerlesene Sprüche/ Hertzbrechende Seuffzer und Stoßgebetlein* (1638), VD17 12:103266T.

65 While some of these accounts are surprisingly detailed, it should be remembered that Lutheran funeral sermons’ *personalia* are less factual accounts of actual events. Cornelia Niekus Moore has written about this general tendency for these publications’ biographical sections to act more as sets of instructions or idealized models for the living on the proper way to exit the world while maintaining steadfast faith even in the pains of death. Nevertheless, these stylized accounts of Lutherans’ final moments on earth are illuminating in the ways that they indirectly prescribe the use of the sigh-prayer, a facet of the death-ritual on which Niekus Moore has surprisingly little to say. On the development of the *personalia* section in Lutheran funeral sermons, see especially Cornelia Niekus Moore, “The Magdeburg Cathedral Pastor Siegfried Saccus and Development of the Lutheran Funeral Biography,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 79–95. See also Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).
“God you will not forget me.” [Jeremiah 14:9]. These words were the clearest and comprehensible I could remember and understand from him; and because he could speak no further with any more clear words, I recommended that he [pray with] devout internal sighs of his heart, and should sigh with David—“The troubles of my heart are enlarged: O bring thou me out of my distresses [Ps. 25:17, AV].” And that he should heed the example of Moses, who could not even utter the smallest word when in tribulation and distress, but even so God said to him “Why do you cry out to me?” for his sigh was to him a pleasing cry that thundered loudly in his ears.66

Notable tropes on the use and experience of Seufftzer (as outlined in chapter two of this dissertation) are present in the description of Copus’ final moments. Toward the end of his struggle with death, Copus lost the capacity to speak due to accumulating fluid in his chest and lungs. The pastor attests that Copus’ final phrase, or at least that which was most audibly distinguishable, was the brief sigh-prayer from Jeremiah 14:9, “God you will not forget me.” When no longer able to speak long prayers at the moment of death, short spoken phrases sufficed in order to preserve the dying man’s faith in God to the very end of life. Copus’ exclamation of Jeremiah 14:9 was followed shortly thereafter by the complete loss of linguistic capacity, at which point the dying man was instructed to pray with “devout internal sighs of his heart.” Though the man’s speech had failed, he was nevertheless able to continue to “voice” his prayers internally, affectively communicating with God who heard the movements of his heart as loud cries in heaven even as his body deteriorated on Earth. Addressing his audience, Burkhart notes

that the choice of sermon’s text—Jeremiah 14:9—was appropriate not only because it was one of the last sighs ever prayed by the dying man, but also because Copus frequently spoke the phrase to himself throughout his life.67

It is unsurprising given the prominent place of the sigh in the last moments of the Lutheran’s life that a number of the extant musical sigh-prayers from the seventeenth century commemorate the deaths of early modern Lutheran men and women. While sigh-prayers were intended for use during the transition from life death to death, musical sigh-prayers were written in memoriam of those who had died. The earliest surviving musical sigh-composition written for a funerary occasion is the Angst-Seufftzer (Fear-Sigh) (1623) by the Leipzig Thomas cantor, Johann Hermann Schein (1585–1630).68 The title-page of this occasional work, composed for the death of Elisabeth Grieben, indicates a rather direct relationship between the deceased’s final moments on earth and the composition itself. The title-page’s opening phrase—Angst-Seufftzer/ Welchen zu ihrem lieben Gott auff dem Creutz Bettlein augenblicklichen hat abgehen lassen (Fear-Sigh, which to her [Elisabeth’s] loving God was quickly let go on the deathbed)—suggests

68 While Gregory Johnston writes that “no original print of the work seems to have survived,” a copy of this print is in fact preserved at the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. Johann Hermann Schein, Angst-Seufftzer/ Welchen zu ihrem lieben Gott auff dem Creutz Bettlein augenblicklichen hat abgehen lassen (Leipzig, 1623), (PL-Kj, Mus.ant.pract. S 447). Gregory Johnston, “‘Der Schein trügt’: A Reappraisal of Johann Hermann Schein’s Funeral Lieder,” Schütz-Jahrbuch 20 (1998): 99–100. An undated, modern edition of this composition was published sometime in the twentieth-century by Breitkopf & Härtel in their series on the choral works of cantors at the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig. The performance edition omits verses three through seven and features several editorial additions including dynamic expressions and articulation marks. Johann Hermann Schein, Angst-Seufftzer (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel). A four-voice setting of this musical sigh was, among many of Schein’s other occasional works, later included in the 1627 edition of the composer’s Cantional, oder Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession. Johann Hermann Schein, Cantional, Oder Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession (S.I., 1627), 275 verso–278 recto. VD17 39:148641Y. Arthur Prüfer identifies Schein’s Angst-Seufftzer as number 154 in the 1627 Cantional. Arthur Prüfer, Johann Hermann Schein, (1895; repr., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1889), 61–62. Gregory Johnston has noted that Schein actually modified the Angst-Seufftzer when he included it in the Cantional, changing the number of voices from five to four. Gregory Johnston, “‘Der Schein trügt’,” 99-100. The work appears in a subsection of the hymnal titled “PsalmenLieder,” where it is identified as “The 42nd Psalm.”
that the words provided in the composition were in fact the very same issued by the mouth of Elisabeth as she expired on her deathbed on 31 December 1622. But the poetry does not provide a direct quotation of the deceased’s final sighs, an aspect especially apparent in light of the fact that the strophic text of the occasional song is an acrostic on her own name (the first letter of each verse spells “ELISABET”). It is highly unlikely that, in the final moments of her life, Grieben was able to issue an eloquent sigh-prayer that ingeniously spelled her name; instead, it is likely that Grieben spoke the psalm from which the poetry is paraphrased—Psalm 42—during her final moments on Earth. Nevertheless, Schein’s paraphrase adopts the psalm’s first person singular “ich” throughout, suggesting that it is not only the psalmist who speaks, but also Elisabeth Grieben herself. This rhetorical technique, known as prosopopoeia, effectively allows the composer to appropriate both the subject position of the deceased and that of the psalmist. Though the poetry reads as if it is the voice of Elisabeth on her deathbed, appropriating the words of the psalmist in Psalm 42, it is ultimately always the authorial voice of Schein representing the voices of those who are no longer capable of speaking for themselves.

69 The title-page of the composition indicates that Grieben died on 31 December 1622 and was buried only a few days later on 3 January 1623.

70 The composer frequently wrote acrostic poems on the names of the deceased in many of his funerary occasional compositions. Stephen Rose, “Schein’s Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig,” *Early Music History* 23 (2004): 256. Lukas Lorbeer notes that there were generally two categories of music performed at funeral services. One was comprised of pre-existing hymns supplied in hymnbooks while the other consisted of newly composed compositions whose poetry featured more personal commentaries on the deceased. The most common poetic form featured in music of the latter category (not only the music of Johann Hermann Schein) was the acrostic. Lukas Lorbeer, *Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitsslieder in deutschen lutherischen Gesangbüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 631.

71 Gregory S. Johnston defines prosopopoeia as “an oratorical device whereby abstractions or inanimate objects are invested with human qualities or abilities—in short, personification.” For Lutheran funeral compositions, this often entailed the personification of the recently deceased. The dead were made “living” again by means of the persuasive funeral oration (whether sermonic or musical-rhetorical) that supplied, albeit representationally, the words of the recently deceased; the intended effect on the listening audience was often to give comfort to those who consumed the texts, ensuring the living that those who had died in fact achieved their ultimate resting place in heaven. Gregory S. Johnston, “Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz’s Musikalische Exequien (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693),” *Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991): 187–189, 198.
When read as a first-person account of Grieben’s final moments in life, the sigh-composition effectively reimagines and performatively reenacts her death as a “good” and peaceful one.\(^\text{72}\) The deceased, via the poetic voice of Schein and the psalmist whom he paraphrases, struggles throughout the seven-verse strophic text with the temptations of *Anfechtung* before finally, in the concluding verse, resolves to remain steadfast in her faith, accept her inevitable death, and die peacefully with full trust in God (the full text of this sigh-composition appears in this dissertation’s appendix A). The relationship between this prose poem and Psalm 42 is made immediately conspicuous in the opening lines of Schein’s poetry. The first verse’s reference to the deer thirsting for fresh water and its concluding question are clear allusions to Psalm 42:1–2, “As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?”\(^\text{73}\)

Ein müd vnd mattes Hirschelein/
Nach frischem Wasser schreyt allein/
Damit sein Hertz zu laben/
Gleich also auch in meiner Noth/
Schreyt meine arme Seel zu Gott/
Wolt gern erquickung haben.
Nach Gott mein Seele dürst allein/
beym lebendigen Gott zu seyn/
Wenn werd ich denn da stehen?
Da ich mög Gottes Angesicht/
Jn seinem glantz vnd frewdenliechtt/
Mit meinen Augen sehen?

A weary and weak little deer
Alone cries out for fresh water
With which it can cool its heart.
So too in my time of need
Does my poor soul cry out to God
In order to have refreshment.
For God alone does my soul thirst
To be by the living God.
When will I stand there?
There, would I like to see,
In his splendor and joyful light,
God’s face with my eyes?

\(^{72}\) Another *Seufftzer* composition—an occasional piece by the Coburg composer Johann Dilliger (1593–1647)—also features a text that is a paraphrase of Psalm 42. Johann Dilliger, “Suspiriosum ad aquam vitae desiderium,” in *Musica poenitentiaria et consolatoria: Oder Buß vnd Trost Musica* (Coburg, 1630). RISM A/I: D 3080.

\(^{73}\) Ps. 42:1–2 (AV).
The composer’s funeral sigh-composition is a cantional Lied, a strophic musical setting of poetry for four or five voices with the melody in the top cantus voice. Though some musical settings of sigh-prayers dedicated to the dead are more elaborate motets, many feature simplistic musical forms and sparse textures similar to that of Schein’s Angst-Seufftzer. The piece (see appendix A for the complete musical score) is divided into two sections separated by a repeat; in the first section, the harmonic language is predominated by major and minor triadic sonorities around D, while F major triadic harmonies appear in the second half of the piece. Only in the song’s final measures does the harmonic language quickly shift away from its central emphasis on F back to the piece’s original D minor harmonic basis. The piece’s five vocal parts are similarly uncomplicated; melodic lines, including the primary tune in the cantus 1 part, have a limited ambitus of approximately an octave. The bass voice provides the harmonic foundation for the above parts; sparse continuo figures appear especially in the piece’s opening measures, suggesting that the performance of this piece was intended to be accompanied by the organ or other continuo instrument. The performance context of this exact work is unclear, but it was likely sung within the liturgy of the funeral service itself, a facet of the work’s performance practice suggested in other funerary sigh-compositions. The title-pages of two musical sighs by the composer Leonhard Sturm, for example, relate that the pieces were immediately sung after the devlivery of the funeral sermon.

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74 Stephen Rose notes that the texts to these occasional pieces could be in either Latin or German, but the vernacular was privileged after about 1620 perhaps due to Martin Opitz’s new approaches to the German language and its poetic potential. The vernacular language, furthermore, made occasional music more widely accessibility for audiences outside of the learned sphere of the University, for whom Latin would have been the preferred language. Stephen Rose, “Schein’s Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig,” 256–257.
75 An example of more musically elaborate sigh-compositions composed in commemoration of a deceased Lutheran is Wolfgang Carl von Briegel, Davidischer Hertzens-Seufftzer (Gotha, 1655), RISM A/I: B 4493.
Like Melchior Franck’s collection of sigh-compositions examined above, Schein’s funeral work (and others like it) participates in a shared aesthetic of brevity with their literary counterparts. Lutherans’ final heart-sighs could not be long or elaborate because, as the material body failed, the Lutheran lost the capacity to speak and pray aloud. Instead, short texts were prayed internally, allowing the Christian to communicate with God even as their capacity to speak waned. The sigh-composition discloses the intimate moment of death when, turning inward away from the world, the Lutheran prayed a potent text with her devout heart. The works evoke the final prayerful moments of those who died for those who remained on Earth. Just as sigh-prayer texts became associated with particular individuals, so too do these brief compositions discursively attach themselves to the Lutherans for whom they were composed. The sigh-composition, like the sigh-prayer, were reminders of exemplary deaths that taught listening Lutherans how to perform the ends of their own lives.

**Sigh-Prayers of War and Peace**

This chapter has, thus far, illustrated some of the ways in which sigh-compositions responded to a set of recurrent situations, including daily affective meditation, the emotionality of ancient pious authors, or the difficult hardships preceding death. But this landscape of emotional expectations that these compositions helped to construct was complicated beginning especially in the late 1620s by the increasing hardships of the Thirty Years War. While examples of literary sigh-prayers existed well before the war began in 1618, the outbreak of fighting and especially the crescendo of destruction that arose during its most intense period prompted the sigh-prayer genre’s modulation; devotional authors and composers began to produce texts that addressed the new and previously unimaginable experiences caused by the war and its
accompanying stressors. When Martin Hammer, for example, wrote the preface to his *Medulla Meditationum & Suspiriorum S. Patrum* (referenced above) on 28 December 1619—only about a year after the war’s outbreak—the compiler’s societal tensions were already palpable enough to warrant comment in his collection of patristic prayers. Chastising the various competing “sects” that populated the German nation—including the Calvinists and the Jesuits—Hammer rhetorically questions

> Which crevice of the world is not full of war and war-cries? Our beloved Fatherland the German Nation burns from shouts of war and turmoil, and the Holy Roman Empire stands rightly on thorny feet or toes intermingled with iron. All hearts therefore are full of fear and terror; trade and mercantile, domestic nourishment and industry are difficult and almost unfeasible. Inflation, plague, and dangerous illnesses never cease, and it is therefore right that the people on Earth should fear for their lives.

Then it is correct to say: *Optimus orandi Magister necessitas*, Adversity teaches us to pray.\(^78\)

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\(^77\) Authors of individual broadsheets, pamphlet publications, and devotional works began to compose their own sigh-prayers that responded, either directly or indirectly, to a new mode of wartime existence. The anonymous author(s) of a 1620 broadsheet *Hertzliches Seufftzen vndn Wehklagen/ auch Christlicher Trost vnd endlich Göttliche Hülff vnsers vielgeliebten Vatterlandes/ werther Teutscher Nation* (Heartfelt Sigh and Lamentation, also Christianly Comfort and Final Help of God of our Dearly Beloved Fatherland, the Worthy German Nation) described—in sometimes in unapologetically polemical language—the aggressions carried out on the German nation and the subsequent need for strength and perseverance through such trials. The broadsheet criticizes the Pope and identifies him as not only the war’s aggressor, but the Antichrist. The publication features an image of Germania with outstretched arms situated between two pillars; atop each pillar sits a turtledove that hold sheets of fabric in their beaks, each of which ties to the other in the center of the image directly above Germania’s head. Behind Germania are scenes of war that lay waste to land that are paired with scenes of rebuilding and reconstruction. *Hertzliches Seufftzen vndn Wehklagen/ auch Christlicher Trost vnd endlich Göttliche Hülff vnsers vielgeliebten Vatterlandes/ werther Teutscher Nation* (1620), VD17 1:089667X.


Da solt es nu billich heissen: *Optimus orandi Magister necessitas*, Noth solte vns lehren beten.” Martin Hammer, *Medulla Meditationum*, A vii verso – A viii verso. One partial purpose for Hammer’s collection of sigh-prayers was to supply German Lutherans with a repertoire of prayers that might “dempffet es Gottes Fewerbrennenden Zorn [cool God’s fire-burning wrath]” and “wird viel vnruh des Hertzens gestillet/ oder doch je zum wenigsten gelindert [still the discomfort of the heart, or at the very least diminish it].” *Ibid.*, B recto–B verso.
By far, one of the most popular volumes of newly composed, wartime sigh-prayers that spoke to the new affective experiences of generations of Lutherans was the Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer (1633) by Josua Stegmann (1588–1632). The Hertzen-Seufftzer enjoyed numerous editions throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Several of the manual’s iterations—including the first edition—no longer survive. The earliest extant version of Stegmann’s book was published in 1627 and appeared under the title Christliches Gebetbüchlein/ Auff die bevorstehende Betrübte/ Krigs/ Theurung und SterbensZeiten gerichtet (Christian-Prayer-Book, Established during the Current and Troubled Times of War, Inflation, and Death); the only extant copy of this particular print is housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. While the title-page of this 1627 edition makes no mention of sighs, subsequent editions of the book explicitly refer to its enclosed contents as sigh-prayers; the now-lost 1628 edition was titled Suspiria Temporum, Das ist: Andächtige HertzenSeufftzer (Suspiria Temporum, That is: Devotional Heart Sighs). Shortly before the author’s death, Stegmann oversaw the expansion and revision of his prayer book that was posthumously published in 1633 under the title Ernewerte Hertzen=Seufftzer (Renewed Heart-Sighs).

Marian Szyrocki notes that several subsequent reprint editions of this version of Stegmann’s prayer-book have only slight variances in orthography and punctuation—the content of the manual remains, in other words, relatively consistent after the 1633 edition.

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79 Stegmann worked for the majority of his career as professor of theology at the then newly founded University of Rinteln. For a biography on Josua Stegmann, see Hans Zappe, Alle singen sein Lied: Impressionen vom Leben und Wirken Josua Stegmans (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1964). For a concise (if dated) history of the now permanently shuttered University of Rinteln, see Franz Karl Theodor Piderit, Geschichte der Hessisch-Schaumburgischen Universität Rinteln (Marburg: Elwert, 1842).

80 Josua Stegmann, Christliches Gebetbüchlein/ Auff die bevorstehende Betrübte/ Krigs/ Theurung und SterbensZeiten gerichtet (Rinteln, 1627). A: 1251.1 Theol. (1). HAB.

81 For an (incomplete) publication history of Stegmann’s prayer manual, see Marian Szyrocki, “‘Himmel Steigente HertzensSeufftzer’ von Andreas Gryphius,” Daphnis 1, no.1 (1972): 42–43.

82 Ibid., 43.
true of some of the editions Szyrocki examined, it should also be noted that the book continued to be liberally adapted throughout the war and even well after it ended in 1648. An edition of the book printed in Oldenburg in 1645 is heavily modified and substantially truncated. The editor explains the reasons for creating such an edition on the title-page: “many devout and prayer-filled hearts wished that this book did not have so many long, poetic texts, and so [one] can find here the following truncated prayers.”83 Later editions provide imaginative adaptations of Stegmann’s work. The well-known poet Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) published his own revised, reworked edition the book in 1665, while Friedrich Fabricius (1642–1703) published an edited collection of Stegmann’s songs with suggested tunes to which they could be sung in 1688.84 The extent to which Stegmann’s prayer manual was adapted for particular readerships discloses a publishing practice characterized by piecemeal construction. Stegmann’s manual was not a book designed for cover-to-cover reading. Instead, its value arose out of its capacity to speak to many different audiences who, jettisoning that which was unnecessary and retaining that which was useful, liberally adapted the work to fit their community’s immediate and particular devotional needs during the war.

Though Stegmann is understood to be the original author of much of the book, several of the songs included in the manual—such as the Lutheran hymns “Wie Schön leuchtet der Morgenstern” and “Ach Gott und Herr/wie gross und schwer”—were written not by Stegmann, but by his contemporaries.85 As a whole, then, Stegmann’s devotional manual is best understood

as a compilation of new and old texts that address topics relevant to the experience of war. In the prayer titled “Gebet zu Kriegszeiten [prayer for times of war],” for example, the theologian begins by recounting how unimaginable it was for previous generations to conceive of the full destructive force of war. In the present, though, war’s atrocities were all too real and its terrible power—which caused the obliteration of churches, large swaths of land, and once-impenetrable cities—had become known to all in Central Europe. The remainder of his prayer offers a profuse outpouring of expressive petitions for God’s mercy. Stegmann’s rhetorical prowess reveals itself in the way that he utilizes repeated, fragmentary supplications that both emphasize the immediacy of suffering and the urgency with which it needed to be resolved.

Look [God] at our great suffering of heart, our heartfelt sadness, our sad lamenting, our lamentable misery, our miserable adversity, our adverse grief and our grief-ridden adversity. We plead, we search, we knock, we lament, we howl, we cry before your countenance, we earnestly call [out], we imploringly call, we unceasingly call. Hear us, hear us, hear us; help us, help us, help us; save us, save us, save us. Hear our humble, our fearful, our imploring prayer, our whimpering and our lamentation. We ask you, we ask you imploringly, do not abandon us.

This moving text encompasses the full emotional gravity of the sigh-prayer, which functioned as a form of heartfelt dialogue with God during times of especially challenging Anfechtung. Just as the sigh-prayer at death could be prayed when the capacity to speak had dissipated due to the body’s failure, so too could these sigh-prayers be offered during times when the ability to form the words for prayer was no longer possible because of literally inconceivable hardships of war.

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86 Josua Stegmann, Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer (Lüneberg, 1633), 348–354. A digitized edition of this print is available through the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek with the shelf-mark: 037/Th Pr 2515.
The engraved title-page of the 1633 Lüneberg edition of Stegmann’s prayer-book provides two images that depict the ways in which these heart-felt prayers were to be performed.\textsuperscript{88} Situated at the top of the right-facing engraving is a scene from Genesis 8:15–21 in which Noah emerges from the arc after the great flood and builds an altar for God on which he demonstrated his thanks through burnt offerings. As the biblical passage recounts, God was pleased by the smell of these offerings and made a covenant with man, saying “I will not again curse the ground any more for man’s sake; for the imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done.”\textsuperscript{89} This scene is depicted in the image’s foreground while, in the background, Noah’s arc is situated under a rainbow, a sign of God’s covenant.

Opposite of this engraved title-page on the left-facing page is another engraving that situates Stegmann’s book of sigh-prayers in its contemporary context. Depicted here is a grim scene of war in which a company of marauding soldiers harass, pillage, and set fire to a settlement of what appears to be innocent townspeople. In the bottom left corner of the image, a sword-wielding soldier demands a bag of money from a pleading couple while in the opposite corner, one child flees from the carnage while another lies dead. Buildings in the background are set aflame and those within rush to save their material objects from destruction. Above this fiery scene, an angel wielding a flaming sword demonstrates the wrath of God exacted on the community. In the top left corner of the image, a man lifelessly hangs out of a burning building while a woman cries aloud with an open mouth; behind her, a steady stream of smoke rises upward to heaven. As illustrated in chapter two, the substance of Seufftzer was often considered

\textsuperscript{88} The source has been digitized by the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg and can be viewed at the permanent URL: https://sbaoz2.bib-bvb.de/00/bvnr/BV010809436
\textsuperscript{89} Gen. 8:21 (AV)
to be akin to vaporous smoke, the fragrant smell of which was pleasing to God. Like the image
of Noah who offered burnt incense to God, the woman situated in the upper left corner of the
facing page offers her own incense in the form of heartfelt sigh-prayers. Unlike Noah, her
vaporus sigh-prayers rise to heaven from the burning building from which she hangs. Her time of
need arises through the immediate physical threat of fire that threatens to claim her life. Out of
this moment of physical duress, her sigh-prayers rise upward to heaven as smoke. The
juxtaposition of Noah against this scene of carnage prompts the viewer to make a correlation
between themselves in the present day and their Biblical predecessors. Just as Noah’s incense
prompted God to think on his covenant to never again destroy his people for their sins, so too
does the rising smoke of sigh-prayers—the product of wartime suffering and hardship—prompt
God to remember his promise not to completely destroy civilization.

Throughout the war, Lutheran composers living throughout Central Europe set a number
of Stegmann’s sigh-prayers to music, moving the texts out of the devotional manual into a
distinctly sonic medium. The Eilenburg organist Johann Hildebrand (1614–1684), for example,
included four prose prayers from Stegmann’s manual in his Kriegers-Angst-Seuffzter (1645). The
first part of Hildebrand’s collection contains seven monodic arias for solo voice and basso
continuo; the first six of these are each labeled “Kriegers=Angst=Seuffzter [War-Fear-Sighs],”
while the seventh is identified as the “Göttliche Friedens=Vertröstung [Divine Promise of

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90 Early seventeenth-century musical settings of Stegmann’s sigh-prayers abound. In his collection of occasional
pieces titled Musica Oratoria et Laudatoria, for example, Johann Dilliger set ten of Stegmann’s sigh texts to music.
Johann Dilliger, Musica oratoria et laudatoria, oder Bet vnd LobMusica (Coburg, 1630), RISM A/I: D 3079.
Melchior Franck’s Votiva Columiae Sioneae Suspiria (Coburg, 1629), RISM A/I: F 1742, is a collection of musical
settings of Stegmann’s texts (for more on this collection, see chapter five). Johann Staden, in his collection of
prayers composed for private consumption in house-devotion services, set three of Stegmann’s prayer-texts. Johann
Staden, Hertzen-Trosts-Musica (Nuremberg, 1630), RISM A/I: S 4245. Two manuscript settings of Stegmann’s
sigh-prayers by Christian Völckel are also extant. Christian Völckel, “Zu einem Glückslichen Fried und
Freidenreichlichen Neüen Jahr” manuscript, 1637, D-DSa, HA VIII, 15/1. A photocopy of this source exists in D-DS,
Mus.ms.1577.
Peace].” Four of the seven monodic arias are settings of prose quotations from the Bible—these are extracted from the books Jeremiah and Psalm 77 (*Seufftzer I*), Job (*Seufftzer II*), Ezekiel (*Seufftzer IV*), and again Jeremiah (*Friedens=Vertröstung*).\(^{91}\) No author attribution is given for the prose texts of the remaining three monodic sigh-compositions. In his recent critical edition of Hildebrand’s collection of *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer*, Stefan Hanheide surmises that these unattributed texts must have been written by the composer himself since Hildebrand also worked and published as a poet.\(^{92}\) Hanheide notes that “it is probable according to the poetic ambitions of the composer that the texts come from him even though he is not named as the author.”\(^{93}\) But while secondary scholarship has tended to assume Hildebrand composed the texts of these *Seufftzer*, the words for the unattributed monodic aria texts were actually from Josua Stegmann’s *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer*. It is more likely that Hildebrand wrote the texts for the pieces included in the second part of the collection—a “Zugabe,” or appendix—which features six strophic cantional pieces for four-voices (CATB) dedicated to particular members of the Eilenburg citizenry. A summary of this full collection is provided below in table 3.2.

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\(^{91}\) In Hildebrand’s first *Seufftzer*, the composer only recognizes that his text was extracted from Jeremiah 10, but the concluding verse of this number, “Die Rechte des HErren kan alles endern,” is a quotation from Psalm 77.


\(^{93}\) “bei den dichterischen Ambitionen des Komponisten ist es naheliegend, dass die Texte von ihm selbst stammen, wenngleich er als Autor nicht eigens genannt ist.” Johann Hildebrand, *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer: Sieben Monodien und sechs Choralsätze mit Basso continuo* (1645), ed. Stefan Hanheide (Osnabrück: Electronic Publishing Osnabrück, 2014), IX. The assumption about Hildebrand’s textual authorship is based in part on the much earlier musicological work by Carl von Winterfeld who, in his 1845 study, wrote that in Hildebrand’s *Seufftzer* compositions “Man fühlt es dem Tonsetzer an, wie schwer dasselbe auch auf ihm lastete, seine Seufzer kamen ihm aus dem Herzen, die Zeit hat sie ihm wahrhaft ausgepreß [“one feels of the composer how hard he was burdened; his sighs came out of his heart, which the times truly squeezed out of him.”] Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kust des Tonsatzes, II. Theil* (Leipzig: Breitkop & Härtel, 1845), 441. For Winterfeld, Hildebrand’s sigh-compositions reflect both through textual and musical means the composer’s individual experience of the war and his inner subjective emotional states.
Table 3.2. Summary of the contents of Johann Hildebrand’s *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer* (1645).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical Seufftzer</th>
<th>Textual Source</th>
<th>Scoring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I. *Krieges=Angst-Seufftzer*  
“Ach meines Jammers” | Jeremiah 10: 19; Psalm 77:10 | T, B.c. |
| II. *Krieges=Angst-Seufftzer* | Job 7:3, 13–14; Job 19:21 | A, B.c. |
| III. *Krieges=Angst-Seufftzer*  
*Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer,*  
| V. *Krieges=Angst-Seufftzer*  
*Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer,*  
“Gebet zu Kriegszeiten,” and “Gebet zu Kriegszeiten/ ein anders/ vmb den lieben Frieden.” | A, B.c. |
| VI. *Krieges=Angst-Seufftzer,*  
first part | *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer,*  
“Kräftiges Stoßgebetelein Gott zum erbarmen zu bewegen.” | A, B.c. |
| VI. *Krieges=Angst-Seufftzer,*  
second part | *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer,*  
“Kräftiges Stoßgebetelein Gott zum erbarmen zu bewegen.” | A, B.c. |
| *Göttliche Friedens=Vertröstung* | Jeremiah 33:6–9 | B, B.c. |
| **Zugabe** | | |
| I. Herrn Paul Hartwig,  
“Höchster GOTT in der Noth.” | Unattributed, likely Hildebrand | CATB |
| II. Herrn George Papen  
“HErr JEsu/ starcker Gott.” | Unattributed, likely Hildebrand | CATB |

94 Josua Stegmann *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer* (Lüneberg, 1633), 238–239 and 454–459. The second half of the piece is not a direct quotation of any specific part of Stegmann’s manual, but may be rather a liberally adapted setting of the prayer for times of sickness indicated in the table above.

95 Ibid., 348–349 and 372–373.

96 Ibid., 261–262.

97 Ibid., 265 [sic, =263]–164 [sic, =264].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical <strong>Seufftzer</strong></th>
<th>Textual Source</th>
<th>Scoring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. Herr Johann George Friedrichen</td>
<td>Unattributed, likely Hildebrand</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Warum[m] toben die Leute so sehre?”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. <em>Ein anders/ das Homo nihil, auff eben diese Melodey.verteutscht.</em> Meister</td>
<td>Unattributed, likely Hildebrand</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Mühlpforten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ach! wie kurtz ist die Menschliche Freude.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Meister George Lehmannen</td>
<td>Unattributed, likely Hildebrand</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mitten in der Krieges Noth.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Das sursum corda</em></td>
<td>Unattributed, likely Hildebrand</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Himmel auf seufftze mit begier.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hildebrand’s fifth *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer* for solo alto and basso continuo is a representative example of the way in which the composer selected and modified texts from Stegmann’s prayer-manual, setting them with expressive musical topoi in a declamatory, speech-like manner. The way in which Hildebrand has modified and combined two prayers from the *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer* is illustrated below in table 3.3. In the left-hand column is an extract of the original text as it appears in Stegmann’s 1633 *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer* (it should be noted that, in both of the indicated prayers below, the prayers continue past the quoted portions); the right-hand column features the text as it appears in Hildebrand’s fifth *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer*. A complete translation of Hildebrand’s sigh-composition appears in appendix A of this

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98 Stefan Hanheide has noted that the monodic arias for solo voice and basso continuo feature highly expressive musical rhetorical gestures that draw from lament topoi commonly featured in contemporary Italian music. Hanheide compares these works to other laments such as Monteverdi’s *Lamento della ninfa*, demonstrating how the composer consciously drew from expressive Italianate idioms to represent the text’s often harsh and grim sentiments, which detail the hardships of war, Germany’s dearth of food, the presence of pervasive suffering, and the continuous desire for peace. Stefan Hanheide, “Die *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer* von Johann Hildebrand aus dem Jahre 1645: Lamento-Stil im Dienste der Friedenssehnsucht,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 90 (2006): 19–32.
dissertation. In the left column, bolded text indicates material that is directly quoted in the
musical composition; underlined text indicates slight alterations of Stegmann’s original prayer.

Table 3.3. Comparison of texts between Josua Stegmann’s Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer and
Johann Hildebrand’s Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stegmann’s Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer</th>
<th>Hildebrand’s Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Ach Gott/ wir habens nicht gewust was**<br>Krieg für ein Vbel/ was Vnfriede für eine<br>Plage sey/ Nun aber erfahren wir recht/ daß<br>Krieg ein Vbel vber alles Vbel/ eine Plage<br>vber alle Plage ist/ weil darinnen alles zugleich<br>auffgehet/ da gehet Muth weg/ da gehet Gut<br>weg/ da gehet Blut weg/ da gehet alles weg/ da muß man sein Brodt mit Beben vnd<br>Sorgen essen/ da muß man sein Wasser mit<br>zitter im elend trincken/ da höret man nichts<br>auff allen Strassen/ als Weh/ Weh/ Ach/ Ach/ wie sind wir so gar verstöret?**<br>[
| Ach Gott! wir habens nicht gewust/ was<br>Krieg vor eine Plage ist/ nun erfahren wir es<br>leyder allzsehr/ das Krieg eine Plage über<br>alle Plagen ist/ denn da gehet Gut weg/ da<br>geht [sic] muth weg/ da gehet Blut weg/ da<br>gehet alles weg/ da muß man sein Brot mit<br>Sorgen im Elende essen/ da muß man sein<br>Wasser mit zittern/ da höret man<br>niehts als auf fallen Strassen/ Weh! Ach!<br>wie sind wir so verderbet! O du Gott des<br>Friedes/ gönne uns doch wieder deinen<br>Himmlischen Frieden/ laß Kirchen und<br>Schulen nit zerstöret/ laß den Gottesdienst<br>und gute Ordnung nicht vertilget werden/<br>hilff uns mit deinen ausgestreckten Arm/<br>beschere uns ein Ortlein/ da wir bleiben/ ein<br>Hüttlein/ darinne wir uns aufhalten/ ein<br>Räumlein/ da wir sicher seyn/ und deinen<br>Namen dienen können/ daß wir in Friede<br>deinen Tempel besuchen/ in Friede dich<br>loben und preisen/ in Friede selig sterben<br>mögen.**

99 Stegmann, *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer*, 348-349. The text is quoted from his first “Gebet zu Kriegszeiten.”
100 Ibid., 372–373. The text is quoted from his fifth “Gebet zu Kriegszeiten,” subtitled “Ein anders/ vmb den lieben<br>Frieden.”
Hildebrand preserved much of the original content of the first quoted portion of the “Gebet zu Kriegszeiten.” He made few alterations to the text, omitting only a small number of words that are mostly repetitious or rhetorically decorative iterations of themes. But the composer more liberally adapted the second prayer for peace. The original text features a number of petitions for peace that Hildebrand cut in his musical setting (including “wende ab deinen Zorn/…,” “Gib deiner lieben Christenheit den edlen güldenen Frieden/…,” etc.), an act that effectively condenses what was a more elaborate supplication into a terse and economical prayer. One of the most striking alterations to the text, though, appears near the end of Hildebrand’s musical composition. The prayer as it appears in Stegmann’s manual offers a plea for a small peaceful place where God’s devout followers might continue to celebrate and praise him through church services (“im Frieden deinen Gottesdienst verrichten/ im Frieden dich loben vnd preisen mögen”). In Hildebrand’s setting, however, the text’s narrative voice also requests a little place in which to have a holy and peaceful death (“in Friede dich loben und preisen/ in Friede selig sterben mögen”).

Given that the words featured in the first part of Hildebrand’s collection are extracted from Stegmann’s popular prayer book and the Bible, it is necessary to re-conceptualize this collection of compositions not as a personal expression of the composer’s subjective wartime experience, but rather as a text participating in and discursively producing a musical sigh-genre anchored in private devotional literature. One of the features that Hildebrand’s set of sigh-compositions share with Stegmann’s manual is its piecemeal construction. Just as Stegmann

101 The luxury of having a peaceful death was not always available to early modern Germans during the Thirty Years War. Death during war could often be quick and unexpected, thus preventing Lutherans from adequately performing the death rituals they rehearsed for their lives’ entireties. For more on requests for a peaceful death during the Thirty Years War, see Benigna von Kruisenstjern, “Seliges Sterben und böser Tod: Tod und Sterben in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,” in Zwischen Alltag und Catastrophe: der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe, ed. Benigna von Kruisenstjern and Hans Medick (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 469–496.
combined a number of new and preexisting texts for his manual, and just as this manual was later adapted in various editions to suit the particular needs of the community for whom it was intended, so, too, does Hildebrand selectively chose and carefully combined a number of prayers from both the Bible and the *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer*.

The formal and textual integrity of these prayers is preserved and in some cases amplified in Hildebrand’s musical treatment. Formally, the composer’s fifth *Seufftzer* is divided into two parts separated by a repeat (the first seven numbers of the collection are all identically structured in this manner). This repeat serves as the division marker between the musical setting of Stegmann’s first prayer for wartime (mm. 1–41) and his second prayer for peace (mm. 42–84). The prayers, then, offer structural dividing points within the piece, while the music helps to bind the two distinct texts together. Because the text is prosodic rather than poetic, Hildebrand employs a declamatory vocal style with a sparse monodic texture. Natural stresses in speech are mimicked rhythmically, as in example 3.4 below. Here, the alto voice sings the text “da gehet Gut weg, da gehet Mut weg, da gehet Blut weg, da gehet alles weg” (all good goes away, all courage goes away, all blood goes away, everything goes away). Each iteration of the phrase contains a rhetorical repetition of “da gehet…weg.” Hildebrand emphasizes the textual variations in these repetitious statements by setting each of the newly introduced terms (“Gut,” “Mut,” “Blut”) on half-note durations, which are preceded by a series of three eighth-notes that imitate the natural stresses of speech. The repetitious rhythmic pattern is heightened by the climactic rise in pitch—as the alto voice anxiously repeats the phrases again and again, it moves from C4 to G4 over the course of five measures, a gesture mirrored in the basso continue line by an ascending sequence that rises from its lowest point on the note A in m. 23 to a fifth higher on E in m. 27. Disclosed in these musical settings, then, is a performance practice of spoken prayer, one that
reflects the ways in which Lutherans’ performed their sigh-prayers even as it simultaneously instructs them how to properly and emphatically do so.


Hildebrand does not merely represent natural modes of declamation in his musical setting of the sigh-prayer; he additionally emphasizes his own alterations to the original text. As noted above, the final words of the prayer as they appear in Hildebrand’s collection are not part of the original as it was published in Stegmann’s manual—the petition for a holy and peaceful death is the creative contribution of the composer himself. Hildebrand draws attention to this final petition for a peaceful end to life in his musical setting by employing similar rhetorical strategies as those highlighted in example 3.3 above. The composer’s setting repeats the word “selig [holy]” three times in example 3.4 for rhetorical emphasis by means of a rising sequence which culminates high in the alto’s vocal register (mm. 78–80). Following this climactic rise, an elaborate melisma on the word *sterben* (to die) follows in measure 81, once again emphasizing the final amended supplication for death by means of a dramatic vocal flourish. The bass line accentuates the climactic rise in the alto line, mimicking the ascent in pitch from its harmonic foundation on the note A (m. 78) to its highest note E (m. 82) at the piece’s concluding cadence.
Example 3.4. Johann Hildebrand, “V. Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer,” *Krieges-Angst-Seufftzer* (1645), mm. 73–83.

These musical gestures on the added text serve an important structural function since they act as cadential elaborations to the prayer’s newly added concluding phrase. Repeated declamation of words, surges in the melodic line to the upper ranges of the voice, and harmonic movements through triadic harmonies on A minor, C major (m. 80), D minor (m. 81), E major (m. 83) collectively offer the piece a musical finality even as they highlight the composer’s creative additions to the original text. Here, music and text act again in conversation with one another. The composer frames his musical setting through the sigh-prayer’s horizon of expectations as Stegmann’s text is simultaneously transformed by the musical medium into a novel iteration of its generic form—the sigh-prayer is discursively made musical.

Stegmann’s manual was not the only source of prayers that provided composers during the Thirty Years War with a set of texts that might specifically comment on war and, increasingly near the war’s end, on peace. Newly composed poetic texts and preexisting sigh-prayers extracted from the Bible were often recontextualized to better suit contemporary wartime...
experiences. Georg Neumark’s peace-sigh, *Hertzliches Friedens-Seufftzen* (1645), demonstrates the extent to which preexisting texts that were understood to be examples of sigh-prayers could be (musically) adapted to fit the emotional conditions of war. This piece’s complete text has been translated and included in appendix A of this dissertation. The text of Neumark’s occasional piece, like Schein’s *Angst-Seufftzer* described above, is a psalm paraphrase. In the work’s preface, dated New Year’s Day of 1645, Neumark indicates that his peace-sigh is a metric adaptation of Psalm 85, and that his reasons for setting this particular text to music were not only to honor his patrons in Königsberg, but also “to lament the miserable condition of this dear Fatherland, and to sufficiently sigh after the heavenly treasure of precious peace, on which one frequently meditates.”

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102 The only known surviving copy is held in Seehausen (Altmark) at the Evangelisches Pfarramt und Kirchenchor St. Petri (D-SEH). The song is bound together with a number of other occasional texts, some of which are musical. Page numbers are handwritten in the corners of each recto page. Georg Neumark, *Hertzliches Friedens-Seufftzen* (Königsberg, 1645). RISM A/I: NN 510a. Neumark composed this peace-sigh during his time in Königsberg where he studied law and, according to John H. Baron, likely met the poet Simon Dach and composer Heinrich Albert. Neumark is best known today for his song repertoire, which often features a solo instrumental obbligato. John H. Baron, “Georg Neumark,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed 14 May, 2018, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

103 During the course of researching and writing this dissertation, Peter Tenhaef published a modern edition of this piece in his essay, “Georg Neumark: Poetisch-musikalische Werke aus seiner Königsberger Zeit,” in *Dichtung und Musik im Umkreis der Kürbishütte: Königsberger Poeten und Komponisten des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Peter Tenhaef and Axel E. Walter (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016), 264–269. In Tenhaef’s description of the piece, however, the author affords little attention to its classification as a sigh-composition. Instead, he offers only a very brief commentary on the text’s trochaic meter. This choice of meter, Tenhaef writes, is somewhat unusual and outdated. The trochaic meter was not advocated by Martin Opitz in his seventeenth-century reformations to German poetry, and is more in line with sixteenth-century Humanist tendencies to imitate ancient Greek poetic meters. Ibid., 325.

104 This sigh-composition was later republished in Neumark’s compilation of occasional songs, *Fortgepflanzter Musikalisich-Poetischer Lustwald* (Jena, 1657), VD17 39:119998V. In this later compilation, the text of the peace-sigh is slightly altered from the original version printed in Königsberg in 1645. In the 1645 print, handwritten corrections to the text of this sigh-composition are written into the song’s verses. The suggested edits to the text match exactly the textual variations printed in the later 1657 compilation. The written comments therefore reveal the hand of either Neumark himself—who used the 1645 sigh-composition to make the editorial changes to the piece for subsequent republication in 1657—or the observant hand of one who was familiar with both editions of the song and who wished to perform from the alternative version of the text.

Neumark’s description of the occasional sigh-composition draws upon the conventional emotional horizons of the genre that began to appear especially by the war’s end. As detailed in chapter two, the sigh in early Christian Church history was often understood as an expression of desire for heaven and for a reunification with Christ. As Neumark’s prefatory comments suggest, the composer too understands Seuffitzer as an experience of painful desire. But this longing is not necessarily for heaven, but rather for a restored peace on Earth. Neumark’s specific language in the prefatory comments—the fact that he sighs for peace [“nach dem Himmels=Schatze dem edlen Friede satsam seufftzen möge”]—highlights peace as the object for which the composer and his contemporaries desirously long. Other musical sigh-compositions written late in the war adopt similar sentiments. The Musicalische Friedens-Seuffitzer by Johann Erasmus Kindermann (explored in more detail in chapter 5), for example, features a collection of texts on themes of repentance and peace, the most exemplary of which is the setting of the Da pacem Domine.

Like the verbal prayers that they resembled, these occasional musical compositions responded to recurrent types of situations where Seuffitzer was understood to surface in the

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107 Stefan Hanheide has written about musical representations of the word Friede (peace) during the Thirty Years War. In his article, “Zur Semantisierung des Friedens in der Musik um 1648,” Hanheide examines some of the ways in which composers musically represented the word “peace” in music published near the end of the war; the author’s analytical approach focuses on musical rhetoric and the figurenlehre. Hanheide identifies three frequently recurring musical tropes for the word “peace”: 1) the elongation of note values, 2) the use of rests and echo effects, and 3) the use of triple meter. Stefan Hanheide, “Zur Semantisierung des Friedens in der Musik um 1648,” in *Der Frieden—Rekonstruktion einer europäischen Vision*, ed. Klaus Garber, et al. (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001), 1111–1131. Elsewhere, Hanheide examines a larger collection of musical texts from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries that address topics of peace. Three of the chapters from this monograph focus on compositions written during the Thirty Years War. Stefan Hanheide, *PACE: Musik Zwischen Krieg und Frieden, Vierzig Werkporträts* (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 2007), 27–42.
Christian’s heart as an affective experience. As examined in chapter two, *Seufftzer* functioned as a form of affective prayer especially during times of tribulation and during moments when the Christian, longing to leave the imperfect world, desirously and painfully yearned to reunite with Christ in heaven. Before the height of the war, these experiences were most frequently associated with meditations on Christ’s Passion and the sighs at death, themselves expressions of the Lutheran’s dissatisfaction with human life and their willingness to enter eternally to paradise. But during the war, these emotional approaches typically associated with the genre modulated in both prayer literature and musical compositions. For composers such as Johann Hildebrand, the hardships of physical and spiritual suffering often felt at death became refocused around the hardships of the contemporary war. For composers like Georg Neumark, the emotional expectations with which he and his audience approached the sigh-composition were modified to address particular wartime contexts. Sighs of desire—the painful result of longing for Christ—were expressed textually and musically in the composer’s occasional work as desirous sighs for peace, articulated in his paraphrased setting of Psalm 85.

When one views the sigh-composition in light of its longer emotional history—a history deeply imbedded in practices of prayer and use of devotional literature—it is evident that this music continued to draw from audiences’ emotional horizons even as these expectations changed throughout the Thirty Years War. These fluctuating conventions mark the discursive shifts in the sigh-compositions’ generic structure, indexing audiences’ new modes of feeling that emerged according to the particular circumstances that necessitated their arrival. As these compositions reflected new modes of feeling, they also simultaneously contributed to newly conventionalized musical-emotional vocabularies with which to describe the otherwise indescribable circumstances of the Thirty Years War. They provided, in other words, scripts for those
Lutherans who did not yet have the vocabulary to express in prayerful song the experiences of their hearts—experiences that gained affective structure through musical performance itself. In this discursiveness, the sigh-composition as a musical genre was not a rigid category capable of encompassing only one type of affective experience, but was rather flexible enough to both reflect and shape modes of emotional experiences encompassed in the concept of Seuffzer.
CHAPTER 4

Singing Sighs of Repentance: Communal Emotions, Feeling Agency, and Musical Performance in Lutheran Emotional Communities

I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears. –Psalm 6:6

O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name. –Daniel 9:19

Communities define their collective emotional goals and expectations through discursive negotiations. Quotidian interactions with others help to adumbrate both the community’s feeling rules and the subsequent punishments for those who choose to perform too far beyond acceptable emotional propriety. Historian of emotions William Reddy has commented on the necessity of such communication between members of a community, understanding it to be an essential objective of any society.

Every community therefore teaches emotions through its emotional speech and practices. Such teaching can occur only in face-to-face interactions; it cannot be conveyed by a rule book. One’s status is powerfully influenced by one’s ability to learn these lessons and reflect back to others emotional reactions that conform to the prevailing style.

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1 Ps. 6:6 (AV).
2 Dan. 9:18-19 (AV).
3 For Arlie Hochschild, emotional appropriateness is assessed according to the individual’s understanding of the social context in which he or she lives: “The social guidelines that direct how we want to try to feel may be describable as a set of socially shared, albeit often latent (not thought about unless probed at), rules.” Arlie Hochschild, “Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure,” American Journal of Sociology 85, no. 3 (November 1979): 563. These “feeling rules” manifest in moments of “emotive dissonance” when an individual recognizes that their social circumstances require one emotion, but they feel a different emotion (e.g., an individual is joyful at a funeral when she is expected, according to convention, to be sad). By measuring one’s current emotion against a social ideal, one is able to determine if the emotion felt matches that which is expected or if emotional work is required to modify it into something more appropriate.
While emotional scripts might dictate the ways in which an individual should perform and express their emotions, these documents cannot communicate fully the value of a community’s emotional expectations since such negotiations must occur in face-to-face interactions; members test their emotions in front of an audience, evaluating other performers and allowing themselves to be evaluated by those who listen. This act demands subtle adjustments and modifications on the part of the individual as they perform. Based on the reactions of observing community members, the emoting individual learns through trial and error the behaviors considered appropriate and inappropriate to the community.\(^5\) The range of one’s emotional vocabulary, then, is in some respects dependent on, in Reddy’s words, the “domain of effort” employed in a particular community to define and clarify those emotions which it holds to be of utmost importance and those which it understands to be taboo.

For communities of Germans throughout the Thirty Years War, the domain of effort employed by city and state authorities to promote the experience of “true repentance” was tremendous and unfaltering. For reasons that will be further elaborated below, governing officials throughout Central Europe—regardless of religious confession—employed various strategies to encourage its citizens to feel sincere repentance, an effort that subsequently promoted the cultivation of emotional communities or perhaps even “emotional regimes” governed by remorse and deep spiritual sorrow for their collective misdeeds.\(^6\) Officials’ efforts were not unnoticed by musicians and composers: repeated calls for repentance resulted in the

\(^5\) Performing one’s emotions too far outside the boundaries of affective propriety, Reddy writes, is to be expected in any emotional style that a given community might employ. These creative improvisations, though, can be corrected by a community’s repeated efforts to educate and correct the behaviors of those who contravene social expectations. “Vigilance and repetition – and also tolerance of a certain amount of deviance – are vital features of emotional styles; so are harsh sanctions – including gossip, avoidance, and banishment – for those who deviate too far (even if their actual behaviors transgress no law).” Ibid., 31.

\(^6\) For more on William Reddy’s concept of the emotional regime, see chapter one of this dissertation.
generation of a number of musical sigh-compositions whose explicit or implicit purposes were to remind performers and listeners of their myriad sins. Several pieces, such as Melchior Franck’s *Suspirium Germaniae Publicum* (1628), from which this dissertation takes its title, explicitly indicate that its performance context was related to Nuremberg’s observances of special repentance services known as *Buß- und Bettage* (Days of Prayer and Repentance) and *Betstubden* (Prayer-hours). Other pieces—such as the Saxon composer Samuel Seidel’s setting of the seven penitential psalms, *Suspiria musicalia cordis ardentissima* (1650)—implicitly indicate their relation to the cultivation of communal repentance by means of the texts they feature. The geographical location in which a number of these musical sigh-compositions were written is of further significance: the works are often related to observance of the Days of Prayer and Repentance in Saxon cities such as Leipzig and in the free-imperial city of Nuremberg. As pieces that were tied to the cultivation of repentance in particular localities, these musical sighs serve as ideal lenses through which to examine the communal dimensions of historical emotional experience and the performative modes by which they were communicated to and disseminated within a community.

As a temporal space where bodies met, musical performance was an ideal site of emotional learning and pedagogy, a place where members of a community could relate important feeling rules to one another through face-to-face interactions. How, then, might the emotional goals of the communities who promoted repentance during the war be reflected in musical *Seuffitzer*? And how do the works composers created effectuate a community’s ultimate emotional goals? The following pages address these questions by first illustrating the emotional

dimensions of the concept of “true repentance” as it was articulated in Lutheran theology. The concept’s emotional dimensions are rarely recognized in modern parlance, but for seventeenth-century Lutherans, the experience of spiritual sorrow and remorse were crucial results of successful cultivating true repentance. Following this, the chapter focuses on the establishment of special repentance services throughout Lutheran territories and the crucial role that music played in these observances.

This chapter argues that musical performance played a fundamental role in the specifically collective experience of true repentance during the Thirty Years War. The performance of a sigh-composition served as one event in which the emotional dimensions of repentance could be collectively communicated to and theoretically experienced by performing members. Cultivating repentance was not merely a private project during the Thirty Years War, but rather was a city- and state-wide effort in which all participating members were encouraged to share a similar existential attitude and thus experience similar emotional states. Composers played a significant role in the attempted cultivation of this communal condition by employing a variety of musical strategies, examined in detail below. At no point do I claim to know in this chapter whether the emotional experiences of private individuals were ever truly cultivated. In fact, as Sigrun Haude has convincingly demonstrated, governmental efforts to impose social reform and order through mandated prayers and repentance services were sometimes ineffective; locals especially in rural areas often ignored official mandates, mixing religious practices with magic and superstition to create a form of piety characteristic to the members of their particular community. But emotion need not be relegated exclusively to the realm of the private and

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internal, as recent studies have demonstrated. Instead, I understand that aspects of repentance’s emotionality are revealed in the discursive processes of past historical actors whereby inner experiences were always held in relation to larger communal projects to which composers and musicians actively contributed.

This chapter further argues that the performance of music, and musical sigh-compositions in particular, functioned in early modern Germany as an exercise of what I term “feeling agency,” a concept developed throughout this chapter. Feeling agency is a way of acting in the world by means of emotional experiences, broadly construed; it is not that one is encouraged to act by means of one’s emotional drives, but rather that the emotional experiences themselves enact change by direct or indirect means in the material world. One might, for example, believe the sudden onset of a thunderstorm to be the product of her own stormy rage—the angered state of existence at a particular time causes the threatening weather. A certain sense of control, then, is afforded to those who attempt to cultivate moods or emotions in order to bring about particular results. The same angered person might therefore seek out ways to make herself angry during a drought in order to bring the refreshing rain of a thunderstorm to her arid environment.

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9 See, for example, Christian von Scheve and Mikko Salmela, eds., Collective Emotions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). See also Carla Petievich and Max Stille, “Emotions in Performance: Poetry and Preaching,” The Indian Economic and Social History Review 54, no. 1 (2017): 67–102. It should be noted that, in addition to this recent literature on the study of collective emotions, seventeenth-century German Lutherans also recognized music’s effect on communal feeling. In his tractate, Ein nützliches Tractätlein vom lobe Gottes/ oder der Hertzerfrewenden Music, Laurentz Schröder describes how the communal singing of hymnody often moved him (and, he attests, the others around him) to feel rapturous joy. In his passage on the ability of music to alter one’s feeling-states, Schröder writes “Ach ja/ freylich ist dem also: den lieber/ was kan doch ein gläubiges/ Christliches Hertz vnd Gemüth/ ehe vnd mehr rühren vnd bewegen/ als ein frewdiger Kirchengesang? Ach/ wenn einer da sitzet/ mitten in einer Volckreichen Gemeine/ vnd höret/ wie viel tausend Christliebende Menschen ihre Stimmen erheben/ vnd mit einen Mund vnd Hertzen/ Gott mit Psalmen vnd Lobgesängen ehren/ loben vnd preisen/ wem wolt en da nicht mit Augustino, dessen obgedacht/ die Augen ubergehen? Ich muß bekennen/ (vnd werdens viel/ neben mir/ für ihre Person thun müssen) daß mir mannmahl mein Hertz für frewden springet/ wenn ich höre/ wie die Christliche Gemeine/ Jung vnd Alt/ Klein vnd Groβ/ Mann vnd Weib/ ihren Gesang/ so andächtig/ hertzlich vnd einmütig verrichtet. Vnd daß alles vmb so viel desto mehr/ weil vnser Gesang heutiges Tages/ viel herlicher/ lieblicher/ anmutiger vnd vollkommener/ als bey den Alten/ vnd also mehr Kraftf vnd Nachdruck hat.” Laurentz Schröder, Ein nützliches Tractälein Vom Lobe Gottes/ oder der Hertzerfrewenden Musica (Copenhagen, 1639), 161–163. VD17 7:700518S.
The closest modern-day equivalent to the notion of feeling agency is “magical thinking,” a concept in which causal relationships between two unrelated objects or events are formed—for example, a person who sneezes at the exact moment a light-bulb burns out understands the cause of the light-bulb’s expiration to be the sneeze itself. But the definition of feeling agency suggested in this chapter differs from magical thinking in a number of ways. Definitions of magical thinking tend to exclude emotions. In their survey of recent literature on magical thinking, Karl Rosengren and Jason French understand that “an individual’s thinking can’t merely be wrong, confused, irrational, driven by emotions, based on inaccurate knowledge, or different from our own or the conventional wisdom to be labeled magical thinking.” Feeling agency, though, is based solely on the causal relationships between states of being that promote emotional experiences and changes in the material world.

Additionally, though, the notion of feeling agency espoused in this chapter considers the particular historical dimensions of emotional experience. It does not rely, as magical thinking, on modern theories of psychology or anthropology; rather, it is a flexible concept that is capacious enough to encompass modes of feeling and emoting specific to distant historical cultures. Feeling agency in seventeenth-century Lutheranism thus requires some distancing from modern notions of agency, which might emphasize the self’s autonomy and its ability to enact change within the world through direct, active intervention. As will be illustrated throughout, cultivating a sense of true repentance relied crucially on the denial of the self and its capacity to act. It was necessarily the product of the heart’s fundamental reorientation away from the world toward God and was thus a passive state of being from which the emotional experiences of profound spiritual sorrow and remorse of sin resulted.

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As it relates to this study of music and repentance, feeling agency concerns communal emotional experiences and the ways in which these could potentially alter the outcome of war. It required the establishment of a community in which all participating members were encouraged to cultivate a mode of existence from which sorrow and remorse would result. By cultivating emotional communities dominated by these feeling states, Lutherans believed that the harsh effects of war—plundering, famine, fire, inflation, and the like—could be diminished if not eradicated altogether by means of God’s intervention in the world. When Lutherans fundamentally reoriented their hearts and experienced spiritual sorrow and remorse across the emotional community, God would reduce the hardships he inflicted on his people. Seen in this light, the musical scripts that promoted the communal experience of repentance were not merely aesthetic works to be enjoyed by a listening audience, but were rather potent weapons against the harsh realities of war. By singing musical sigh-compositions and being moved to feel repentant as a result of these performances, Christians practiced a form of agency in which their emotional labors were believed to have causal effects on the circumstances of their present conditions. The sincere emotional states experienced in conjunction with musical performance indicated to God that a radical reorientation of singing Christians’ sinful lives had occurred—an act that could ultimately protect a community during times when no other mode of defense seemed available.

The Emotionality of True Repentance

Though Martin Luther deemphasized the emotionality of repentance in his reformations to the Catholic sacrament of penitence, theologians in the generations following Luther nevertheless continued to discuss the devotional concept in relation to its affiliated emotions.¹¹

¹¹ For the late medieval Catholic church, private acts of repentance and absolution of sin were conducted primarily by means of the sacrament of penitence. In this practice, Christians who were guilty of post-baptismal sin confessed their misdeeds to a priest and performed a series of penitential acts in order to receive absolution. In Catholic theology, that weight of *culpa*—the debt of sin inherited by humans at birth through the fall of Adam—was
One of the most active proponents of this form of “true repentance” in the early seventeenth century was Johann Arndt (1555–1621), whose devotional books Wahren Christentumb (1606) and Paradisgärtlein (1612) are largely regarded in the secondary literature as two of the most significant texts in the budding Frömmigkeitsbewegung (pietistic movement) within Lutheranism near the turn of the century. As private devotional manuals, Arndt’s Wahren Christentumb and Paradisgärtlein brought Lutheranism (quite literally) into the hands of readers who were

vetted at the moment of Christ’s crucifixion; original sin had been made clean by the sacrificial deeds of Christ on the cross. The sacrament of baptism was necessary to affirm the Christian through spiritual cleansing in the salvific actions of Christ’s crucifixion. But poena—the penalty of sin—was not exclusively circumscribed to that which was inherited; all sins, including those committed after one’s baptism, were punishable by God. The problem in Catholic theology thus presented itself: if the culpa of sin had been paid through the crucifixion of Jesus, how were the penalties of post-baptismal sins to be paid after one had already been baptized in Christ? The Catholic Church developed the sacrament of penitence to provide a solution to this problem. Devotional acts for the absolution of the poena were often assigned in the form of prayers, including repetitions of the “Hail Mary” or “Our Father.” Popular expressions of penitential deeds, though, often manifested in the form of pilgrimages, processions, and fasting. Along with this confession of sin, physical suffering was understood as a supplementary means by which the individual could purge his or her penalties for sin. By instigating a temporary suffering on earth, Christians could replace the more eternal suffering in the afterlife. Ronald Rittgers, “Embracing the ‘True Relic’ of Christ: Suffering, Penance, and Private Confession in the Thought of Martin Luther,” in New History of Penance, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 377–379. In the place of physical suffering, the Catholic Church also offered indulgences to those who wished to avoid such punishments for sin but nevertheless receive absolution for their misdeeds; these replacements became one of the most fundamental antitheses for Luther’s reformed theology.

Martin Luther’s revisions to the sacrament of penitence were grounded firmly in his understanding of the teologia crucis. For Luther, enduring earthly suffering as a means to reduce the penalties of sin was incompatible with his understanding of the role of suffering in Christian existence. Rather than a tool by which one’s time in purgatory might be curtailed, suffering the punishments of sin was a necessary aspect of Christian living which tested the faith of the individual by requiring her to rely less on the earthly condition of the body and more on the promise of salvation as indicated in God’s Word. Ronald Rittgers understands Luther’s concept of suffering as a “divine summons to faith.” Ibid., 386. In addition to his reconfiguration of the role of suffering, Luther coupled his understanding of penance with other fundamental reforms that radically challenged and subsequently changed the sacrament of penance from a performed deed to a kind of a consolatory therapy. The Reformer removed the authority of the priest to intercede on behalf of the soul’s eternal salvation during the confession of sin, abandoned the sacrament’s obligatory status, and deserted the Catholic practice which demanded a sorrowful expression of guilt and an interrogation of the sinner’s conscious. Ibid., 390. In its place remained a practice that was largely consolatory in nature—sins might still be confessed to local pastors or even theoretically to other lay parishioners, but this was now done solely for the benefit of the spiritual health of those who chose to practice it.

The widespread reception of Arndt’s books and the many editions which they enjoyed throughout the seventeenth century attest to their enormous popularity. From 1605 to 1740, over ninety different editions of Arndt’s Wahren Christentumb were published in German alone. The book was translated in several different languages, including Czech, Dutch, and English. Based on the popularity of Arndt’s books, Martin Brecht notes that the theologian “wurde zum erfolgreichsten deutschen Erbauungsschriftsteller des Protestantismus.” Martin Brecht, “Das Aufkommen der neuen Frömmigkeitsbewegung in Deutschland,” in Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achten Jahrhundert, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 149–150. Of Arndt’s Paradisgärteiln, Brecht identifies it as the second most popular devotional prayer book in Lutheran Germany after Johann Habermann’s Christliche Gebet für alle Not und Stende der gantzen Christenheit (1565). Ibid., 141.
uninterested in the highly specialized theological debates characteristic to early seventeenth-century Orthodox Lutheranism. The extensive role that repentance plays in Arndt’s devotional manuals, when coupled with these works’ ubiquity in the homes of many early modern Lutherans, make them appropriate lenses through which to examine the emotional dimensions of a state of Christian existence that was promoted in nearly all Lutheran communities in Central Europe during the Thirty Years War.

In the first book of *Wahren Christentumb*, Arndt stresses the fundamental ways in which a Christian must change their inherent nature in order to fully orient themselves toward God and live in true Christianity. Humans, he writes, must metaphorically die to the world and fundamentally reject the pleasures it offers to the flesh, a process that cannot occur through mere performed gestures. Simply abstaining from sin, in other words, while maintaining a love of worldly goods is not an indication of a sincere repentance. In order to actuate the drastic alteration of one’s essential nature, the Christian who aspires to live within true Christianity must “go into one’s self, and change and better the most inner base of the heart, turning away from love of self to love of God, from the world and all worldly lusts to a sacred, heavenly life.”

This inward turn into the heart indexes an inward-outward dichotomy of which Arndt is constantly aware and to which he continually draws the attention of his readers. For true repentance to occur, it must be the result of the inner processes of the heart—that is, through the heart’s scrutiny and preparation for a more essentially Christian orientation toward life and the afterlife. Outward, performed acts, therefore, must be the secondary result of the Christian’s

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inner labor: “this is correct repentance, when the heart is purified inwardly, washed and changed, broken and bettered, after which follows outward repentance.”

One result of this *mortificatio carnis* is the experience of remorse of sin and spiritual sorrow, emotional states only accessible after a sincere dissatisfaction with the world and its pleasures has been achieved. Arndt is careful to distinguish between the particularities of spiritual sorrow and its more profane counterpart, worldly sorrow. Through his explication of 2 Corinthians 7:10—“For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death”—Arndt warns his readers that the kind of sorrow experienced in relation to worldly objects does not lead to the cultivation of true repentance since worldly objects exist in Christian life only as temporary materials that pass into nothingness.

To experience sorrow for these items is ultimately moot and cannot be productive since all worldly things are made worthless at the time of death. “A child of the world acquires his goods with great work,” Arndt writes, “holds onto them with great fear, and loses them with great pain: this is worldly sadness, which wages death.”

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Darumb diß die rechte Busse ist/ wan[n] das Hertz jnnerlich gereiniget/ gewaschen geändert/ zurissen vnnn gebessert wird/ darauf die eusserliche Busse folget.” Ibid., 60-61.

15 “Nun ist die Busse nichs [sic] anders dann durch wahre Rewe vnd Leydt der Sünde absterben/ vnd der Gerechtigkeit leben durch den Glauben.” Ibid., 89.

16 2 Cor. 7:10 (AV).


18 “Ein Weltkindt erwirbet seine Güter mit grosser Arbeit/ besitzet sie mit grosser Forcht/ vnnn verläst sie mit grossem Schmertzen/ das ist der Welt Traurigkeit/ die den Todt wircket.” Ibid., 229.
True spiritual sadness, on the other hand, extends from fear of God and abhorrence of one’s sin. When the Christian learns to scrutinize herself as the sinful being she naturally is, Arndt recognizes that she should be able to find more reasons to be sorrowful than to be joyful at her own actions. Christ’s own distress for the city of Jerusalem serves an exemplar. “Why did the Lord cry over Jerusalem, who persecuted and killed him? Their sins and blindness were the reason of his crying. The greatest reason [for us] to lament is also sin, and the unrepentance of the people.”¹⁹ This abhorrence of sin cannot result from the power of the individual’s reason alone; it relies additionally on the inner workings of the Holy Spirit, who affords the Christian the ability to recognize her imperfections and grow to feel sorrowful of them. The contemplation of one’s sins asks the Christian to think and meditate on the ultimate sacrifice that was made for the sake of their imperfection—the crucifixion of Jesus. While considering their unworthiness, Christians should remember that the payment for their misdeeds was ultimately offered by Christ’s grisly death on the cross; such a realization, Arndt writes, is likely to evoke the type of emotional experience characteristic of true spiritual sorrow, and thus help to initiate true repentance.²⁰

For Arndt, sorrow experienced in relation to one’s eternal well-being is a precondition for living a sincere Christian existence. Crucially, it is this very sorrow that makes one, by definition, a Christian. Without the proper cultivation of these repentant and sincere emotional states, one belongs to Christ in name alone.


Live thou now in godly sadness and constant remorse…do not mourn thereupon, but mourn because you have been named a Christian and cannot live as you should, that you bear the name of Christ yet do not do so many Christian deeds. It is good and beneficial, that the world troubles you, so that you may take joy in God.\textsuperscript{21}

This existential condition of Christian life characterized by perpetual spiritual sorrow has been explored elsewhere in the work of Gary Kuchar, who has noted its significance for early modern English poets in his monograph, \textit{The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in Early Modern England}.\textsuperscript{22} Arndt’s attitudes toward repentance, though, illustrates the relevance of spiritual sorrow for those Lutherans in Central Europe who, because of the particular historical circumstances of the Thirty Years War, would have understood the concept with a different sense of immediacy and urgency in ways dissimilar to their English contemporaries. It is necessary to remember, then, when calls for repentance were issued throughout Lutheran communities in early modern Germany that these exhortations were not merely commands to abstain from sin, but were rather charges for Christians to fundamentally change their inherent nature and cultivate communities in which inhabitants experienced perpetual spiritual sorrow and remorse for their essential imperfection.

Expressive gestures such as sighs and tears play a significant role in the cultivation of true repentance. The presence of sighing and tears in the act of repentance draws from a long medieval Christian tradition known as \textit{compunctio}. Overwhelmed with feelings of sorrow and remorse for the misdeeds she has committed, the penitent Christian in \textit{compunctio} experiences a cognitive excess, overwhelming her and forcing the sudden onset of tears and sighs. These

\textsuperscript{21} “Lebestu nun in Göttlicher Trawrigkeit vnd stätter Rewe…trauwe nicht darumb/ sondern darumb trauwre/ daß du ein Christ genennet bist/ vnd kanst nicht so Christlich leben/ als du soltest/ daß du Christi Namen trägest/ vnd thust doch nicht viel Christlicher Wercke. Es ist dir gut vnd heilsam/ daß dich die Welt betrübet/ dann so erfreuet dich Gott.” Ibid., 222. Emphasis is my own.

\textsuperscript{22} Kuchar understands the existential condition of Godly sorrow to be the result of \textit{kenosis}, or an “emptying out” of the Christian’s old, worldly nature, which subsequently leaves room within for the Christian to be filled again with a new godly condition. “Godly sorrow,” Kuchar writes, “is thus bound up with the work of the negative in two closely related senses: it destroys the old, worldly person, clearing the way for a regenerate soul; and in doing so, it renders palatable the abyssal difference between human and divine, even as it draws them together.” Gary Kuchar, \textit{The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in Early Modern England} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 8.
emotional gestures were understood to be at once the product of one’s personal recognition of sins, but also a gift from God himself, a *donum lacrimarum*; compunctious tears and sighs are performed for God even as they come from him.\(^{23}\) Karen Wagner has demonstrated the emotionality of these gestures in the medieval church by examining penitential rituals described in various church *ordines*. In her work, Wagner stresses the importance of the physical and outward manifestation of tears and sighs in the repentant process. Medieval *ordines* relate that the efficacy of repentance relied not only on the cultivation of inner sorrow for one’s sins, but also the outward expression of such sorrow through observable emotional gestures. Wagner writes that “divinely inspired contrition is both acknowledged and nourished by its physical expression through groans, sighs, and tears. Only when this sorrow is demonstrated physically can a verbal form of confession be accepted.”\(^{24}\) In order for the Christian’s confessions to be confirmed as genuinely repentant, the sinner was required to demonstrate the sorrow they professed through an expression of tears and sighs, which were themselves gifts from God. The prominent role given to crying and sighing leads Wagner to characterize the medieval theological concept of *compunctio* itself as an emotion.\(^{25}\)

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\(^{24}\) Karen Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages,” in *New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Boston: Brill, 2008), 208. Christopher Swift additionally notes that a social dimension was implicit in the shedding of these penitential tears. Rehearsing and subsequently performing tears of contrition not only guaranteed the salvation of the individual soul who cried, but “during tearful petitioning of God for relief from famine or plague, emotive devotional displays were mediated by networks of communal and interpersonal expectancy. In this case, the true expressions of remorse were not only crucial for the individual remission of sin, but, more importantly, for the salvation of the entire community.” Christopher Swift, “A Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears,” in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), 81.

\(^{25}\) Wagner writes that “the emotion of remorse, or *compunctio*, was almost always defined with the example of tears…” Karen Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*,” 210.
Sighs and tears also play a role in Johann Arndt’s conceptualization of true repentance, but one which differs in a slight though significant way from that of his medieval predecessors. In the preface to *Paradisgärtlein*, Arndt’s devotional book that effectively translates his model of true Christianity into a series of performable prayers, the theologian provides a five-step model for prayer in which the completion of each step (or *gradus*) draws the Christian progressively closer to God. In this framework for prayer, sighing and tears occupy a crucial medial step in the devotional process. At the first and lowest level, the Christian searches the heart and sincerely apologizes for all sin found therein.\[^{26}\] It is not enough, Arndt explains, that Christians merely ask for forgiveness, but they must also seek to better themselves internally. This recognition and the conscious effort toward edification leads to the second level of Arndt’s model: offering a sincere prayer conducted in both the heart and mouth, that is, in will and deed.\[^{27}\] It is only after sin has been recognized and prayer sincerely offered that intense emotional expressions related to true repentance can occur. Arndt commends his readers at the third level to “pray with loud and strong sighs like Hannah in 1 Samuel 1 and with precious tears like Mary Magdalen, whose tears were prayers without words.”\[^{28}\] This brief statement, which is not given further clarification, is followed by the fourth level: “Pray with great joy and celebration of the heart like the Virgin Mary in her Magnificat.”\[^{29}\] Finally, Arndt instructs his reader at the apex of his model to “pray out of great fiery love.”\[^{30}\] The progression from recognition of sin and expression of regretful


\[^{27}\] “Das ist der andrer Grad/ Beten mit dem Hertzen und Munde/ und mit heiligen Leben.” Ibid.

\[^{28}\] “Der dritte Grad ist/ Beten mit lauter kräftigen Seufftzen/ wie Hanna/ I. Sam. 1. und mit heissen Threnen/ wie Maria Magdalena/ deren Threnen ihr Gebet waren ohne Wort.” Ibid.

\[^{29}\] “Der vierdte Grad ist/ Beten mit grossen Freuden und Frolocken des Hertzens/ wie die Jungfrau Maria in ihrem Magnificat.” Ibid.

\[^{30}\] “Der fünffte ist/ Beten aus grosser feuriger Liebe.” Ibid.
sorrow to ecstatic joy and finally to deep love completes the devotional process, bringing the Christian from a state of sinful ignorance to complete emotional engagement with Christ in love.\textsuperscript{31}

Though sighs and tears occupy a medial position in the overall framework, it should be noted that these gestures mark the point of initiation of an outward, emotional intensification that occurs after the inward work of steps one and two are completed. In this devotional structure, the sigh and the cry located in step three emerge as causalities of the contemplation of one’s myriad sins and the desire to correct these impurities through genuine prayer. Only after Christians have gained the capacity to recognize their sins and reorient their hearts toward God are they able to approach God with the necessary emotionality, sighing to him as Hannah in 1 Samuel and crying with wordless prayers.\textsuperscript{32} While medieval church practices necessitated the presence of crying and sighing in \textit{compunctio} as authenticating gestures of repentance, sighs and tears for Arndt are much less integral. They only hold significant meaning as the passive products of a more fundamentally active internal change in the heart and recognition of sin.

\textbf{Days of Prayer and Repentance}

In the first half of the seventeenth century, no other more pressing occasion existed that demanded the cultivation of true repentance than the Thirty Years War. The myriad hardships

\textsuperscript{31} The culmination of the prayerful process in the feeling of love for God produces at least two results. First, it causes God to reveal himself to whoever prays, and second, it ultimately makes available God’s heavenly paradise: “Wirst du den weiter mit grosser Freude und hitziger Liebe anklapproffen/ so wird dir dein Liebhaber die Thür seines himmlischen Reichthums aufthen und sprechen: \textit{veni & vide}: Komm her und sihe.” Ibid., B 3 recto-verso. On the role of love in medieval repentance, and the ways in which Martin Luther \textit{deemphasized} these emotional qualities in his efforts to reform penitential practices, see especially chapter four “From the medieval ‘Love of God’ to the ‘Faith’ of Luther – A Contribution to the History of Penitence,” in Berndt Hamm, \textit{Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm}, ed. R. J. Bast and Berndt Hamm (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 128–152. See Isabella van Elferen’s work for more information on the importance of mystical love in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lutheran theology: Isabella van Elferen, \textit{Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music} (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2009), 121-129.

\textsuperscript{32} See chapter two for more on Hannah’s sighs.
that resulted from the war were largely perceived to be the result of God’s wrath exercised against a sinful (and sinfully ignorant) population.\textsuperscript{33} It was widely understood in many communities within the Empire—not only those ascribing to the Lutheran faith—that latent evil had brought the wrath of God to Central Europe in the form of war and its accompanying atrocities. When the anonymous pamphlet \textit{Nötige Erinnerung zu warer Reu unnd Buß} appeared for use in the city of Nuremberg in 1627, for example, the text unequivocally identifies the cause of destructive fires in the area to be the result of accumulating sin.

\begin{quote}
Are we not so diligently allowed to ask here: why the beloved God, who is a God of peace and an enemy of sin, so passively watches such highly destructive and soul-rotting nuisances? It is indeed continuously shown to us and clearly made known: our sin is the reason that a disastrous fire is in the neighborhood and has broken out again, and the fires now strike us even more.\textsuperscript{34}
\end{quote}

By inflicting Germans with war, plague, pestilence, plundering and robbery, and fire, the hand of God attempted to bring his followers into submission, encouraging them to repent from their sinful ways. But it should be understood that those who experienced God’s punishments were not to curse him for these afflictions. Rather, they were to consider such hardships as ultimate

\textsuperscript{33} Early modern Germans justified this reasoning by means of certain key passages from the Bible that described war as a result of God’s anger at sinfully unrepentant populations. In 2 Kings 17:7-8, for example, the Israelites were delivered into Assyrian captivity because of their worship of false idols and their conscious disregard of God’s law. Though prophets tried to intercede through frequent warnings of their misdeeds, the Israelites remained obstinate and subsequently enraged God, causing him to punish them for their sins by means of the Assyrians and Babylonians. God’s punishment on Germany in the form of a similar crippling war was further interpreted by many to signify the end of the world. In Matthew 24:6, Jesus warns his disciples that the beginning of the end of the world will be marked by constant turmoil between warring nations. The hardships of war during the first half of the seventeenth century not only indicated God’s displeasure toward his subject’s unchristianly behavior, but it also marked what was the beginning of the end of the world itself. A renewed wave of Millennialism consequently took hold in German society. Anton Schindling, “Das Strafgericht Gottes. Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Erfahrungsgeschichte und Konfessionalisierung,” in \textit{Das Strafgericht Gottes: Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges}, 2nd ed., ed. Matthias Asche and Anton Schindling, (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2001), 45–46.

\textsuperscript{34} „Dörrfen wir auc nit sorgfältig hierüber fragen/ warumb doch der liebe Gott/ solchen hochschädlichen vnd Seelen-verderblchen Vnwenen zusehe/ der ein Gott deß Friedens vnd ein Feind der Sünden ist: Denn es wird vns stetigs angezeigt vnd deutlich vermeldet/ vnsrer Sünden schuld sey es/ dz das Vnglucksfewr in der Nachbarschaft Bin vnd wider angangen/ vnd die Flamm nun mehr vns auch Berühret.” \textit{Nötige Erinnerung zu warer Reu unnd Buß} (Nuremberg, 1627), Aj verso–Aij recto. VD17 23:238093N.
acts of love and grace. God inflicted hardships for the purpose of causing Christians to repent and turn away from the very behaviors that would lead to their soul’s eternal damnation. In sending physical suffering on Earth, God expressed his love for the Christian by causing them to turn away from sin and thus be saved from the more permanent suffering of their soul in hell.

The emphasis on repentance during the war had at least two effects on those who lived in Central Europe. First, it generated a complex social structure in which the individual behaviors of some had larger implications on Christendom as a whole. The sins committed by a few ignoble people in one town might cause God to inflict war and pestilence across a widespread area, potentially harming thousands of innocents for the sinful deeds of only a few. Christians thus had a social responsibility to each other to act according God’s Word in order to avoid sin and its subsequent punishment. Second, the real threats posed by the misdeeds of the sinful prompted a widespread counter-effort by local authorities for social reform. As Martin Sallmann writes, repentance was for early modern Germans during the war “the only means with which to cool God’s anger and ward off his judgment.” Establishing communities dominated by repentant emotional attitudes had the potential to demonstrate a population’s sincere desire to love God, a gesture that might ultimately restore peace and order both locally and throughout the Empire. Thus, city authorities began to implement with increasing regularity the observance of *Büß- und Bettage* (Days of Prayer and Repentance) or *Betstunden* (Prayer-hours) in order to remind inhabitants to cultivate spiritual sorrow and remorse for their sins.

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The theological justifications for observing Days of Prayer and Repentance in early modern Germany reside, among other places, in certain key passages of the Bible, one of the most common of which is the third chapter of Jonah. The Old Testament prophet, after escaping from his captivity in the whale’s viscera, received a message from God to go to the city of Nineveh, a city that God would destroy unless the citizens repented from their evils. Jonah informed the citizens of God’s anger against them and, to counter this, the king of Nineveh commanded the region’s inhabitants to remove their clothes and wear humble sackcloth; all members of the community, including the animals, were to fast and repent from their myriad sins. The citizens’ actions were successful, as Jonah 3:10 confirms: “And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he said that he would do unto them; and he did it not.”

Based on this and other biblical accounts of repentant acts, those in early modern Germany employed similar strategies for conducting their own Days of Prayer and Repentance. Typically, citizens were directed to cease work and fast for the day, abstaining from food and water; only those who were ill were exempted from these regulations. Citizens were further required to attend a special church service where the local preacher delivered a sermon on the topic of repentance. Specially mandated prayers were performed at these services along with a repertoire of hymns designated particularly useful for cultivating repentant attitudes. The practice of celebrating regular days of fasting and prayer in the Empire began sporadically at first. Occasional ceremonies were conducted throughout Germany during the early modern period as offensive responses to perceived threatening situations. For example, the first Protestant day of

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37 Jon. 3:10 (AV).
repentance was observed in 1532 in Strasbourg. A campaign against invading Turkish forces had been conducted in nearby areas, prompting the Emperor to order a day of fasting and repentance for the city in response to the mounting political hostilities.\(^{39}\) These moments of unrest—along with natural catastrophes and economic problems—were some of the most frequently cited reasons for holding such occasional repentance services.\(^{40}\)

Similar to the formal Days of Prayer and Repentance were more miniature services called prayer-hours, or *Betstunden*. Maike Neumann understands these repentance observances to be “the smallest form of the Prayer-Days” for which no consistent liturgical form exists.\(^{41}\) Rather, their structure depended on the particular needs of the community that employed them. Like Days of Prayer and Repentance, these shorter prayer-hours were typically conducted at least once a month (and as frequently as twice a week) in response to some immediate threat to the community such as war, persistent famine, or natural disaster.\(^{42}\) Though inconsistent in form, some typical elements of these smaller services might include the reading of a particular prayer, select readings from the Bible, and usually the performance of at least one or two hymns; more elaborate services might include a full sermon. Typically, fasting was not a requirement of the prayer-hours due to the service’s short length.\(^{43}\)

Days of Prayer and Repentance were not exclusive to Protestant Lutheran territories in the Empire, but were also held throughout Reformed-Protestant and Catholic areas of Central Europe. In the city of Basel, citizens held the first Day of Prayer and Repentance in 1620 as news


\(^{40}\) Ibid., 268.

\(^{41}\) “Die Betstunden sind die kleinste Form des Bettages.” Maike Neumann, *Der Buß- und Betttag*, 112.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., 113.

\(^{43}\) Ibid.
of the war spread and as signs of its presence began to appear closer to home. Catholic communities were similarly encouraged to repent and pray for their sins in order to appease God’s wrath. In the Baden-Württemberg city of Rottweil, citizens there were encouraged to pray the psalms, especially the penitential psalms, three times a day. For such a practice, the efficacy of prayer was believed to reside not necessarily in the content that was prayed, but in the intensity and quantity of its execution; the more prayer was performed by the citizens of Rottweil, the city leaders assumed, the more effective the prayer was in protecting the city from outside threats and God’s ultimate punishment for sin. This practice differed notably from Protestant equivalents, for which the quantity of prayer was understood to have no overall effect on the efficacy of repentance.

A certain relationship between the cultivation of true repentance and the concept of feeling agency thus suggests itself when one considers the emotional dimensions of the

46 In his study on music and plague in Renaissance Europe, Remi Chiu describes the perceived efficacy of complete participation in communal prayer services in Catholic communities. Chiu describes community-wide efforts to reduce plague in a city by encouraging a complete participation in ritual prayer processions, as in the city of Rottweil, the majority of which contained distinctly musical components. According to Chiu, “[n]umbers mattered” in these ritual plague processions. Successfully deterring the plague required the full participation of the entire community all performing simultaneously as one. The quantity of people performing prayer simultaneously effected the success of the performed ritual. Remi Chiu, Plague and Music in the Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 99. Chiu recognizes that the exact content of the prayers sung and performed in these public rituals were often less important than the performative act of the ritual itself. Drawing from theories of ritual by Umberto Eco, Chiu writes that “If the primary function of the liturgy is precisely to ‘seize’ and direct bodies in motion, and to enjoin individual bodies into a corporate mass, then it matters little what names are invoked as long as a steady pulse and a call-and-response momentum are maintained. It may be that, marching among a throng through narrow, winding streets, one heard little more than the repetitive music of the chant.” Ibid., 107.  
47 Jörg Mertin, “Kirchengeschichtliche Aspekte zum Thema Buße,” 268. In her survey of prayer literature from early modern England, Cynthia Garrett writes that “Luther emphatically rejected the Catholic idea that prayer recited in Latin can be effectual even when it is not understood, and he insisted on prayer in the vernacular so that the pray-er can both understand and feel the prayer… English prayer manuals embrace this view, regarding emotional appeals to God as effective not so much because they move God to like emotion but because they demonstrate to God the intensity of the pray-er’s feelings and thus validate their sincerity.” Cynthia Garrett, “The Rhetoric of Supplication: Prayer Theory in Seventeenth-Century England,” Renaissance Quarterly 46, no. 2 (1993): 344.
penitential Lutheran process and the ways in which these were promoted throughout the war.

With a set of discrete emotional states and expressive gestures associated with true repentance, Lutherans might recognize the devotional concept’s successful cultivation at the onset of these emotional experiences—ones previously inaccessible to the unrepentant who too much loved the transient world. With the reorientation of the Christian’s heart toward a new existential outlook on the world, in other words, an entirely new set of emotions emerged in the wake of these radical shifts of thought that, as illustrated above, could have equally radical effects on the way that God worked within the world. This feeling-process, whereby previously inaccessible emotions emerge as never before, affords considerable power to those who recognize and reflect on these feelings and subsequently seek out ways to effectuate them on a widespread scale.

Lutherans could change the condition of their world indirectly via God’s Will through concerted emotional labor—that is, cognitively working to experience those emotions that were so vital to the community. These conscious manipulations and evocations of socially acceptable emotions—acts of feeling agency—had broad implications on the safety of the community, the harmony of the Empire, the overall state of the world, and the ultimate fulfillment of God’s Will for his repentant followers.

**Performing Repentance with Musical Sigh-Compositions**

Two forms of musical evidence exist in the surviving sources that speak to the ways in which Lutheran communities utilized sound and music to foster and effectuate repentant feelings in special repentance services. First, ordinances and mandates issued by local authorities consistently recommend musical texts—typically psalm paraphrases and hymns—that were to be sung; additionally, those who wrote these mandates often prescribed other ritual sonic
performances, such as ringing certain bells at specific moments. Second, local composers responded to the calls of repentance with their own newly written musical works, a number of which were identified by their creators as musical sighs. By examining the relationship between these musical sigh-composition and the continual efforts of city authorities to instill repentance in their citizens, a complex dynamic emerges between communal emotional experience and governmental power. In Seuffzer, spiritual sorrow and remorse is not cultivated by means of the sole subjective views of the composer who labors to effectuate emotional change, but are rather the result of a confluence of multiple relational processes involving the Church-State, the composer as civic employee and as private citizen, and ultimately the community of individuals who would have performed the texts.

One of the strategies composers used to promote an emotional community of spiritual sorrow was to make accessible and widely available the prescribed texts issued by local authorities that were to be read and prayed during the repentance services. This strategy was employed by composers such as Erasmus Widmann in his 1629 collection of musical sighs, *Piorum Suspiria.* The collection of songs for three and four voices is divided into three parts. While the second and third parts provide three-voice settings of texts in Latin and German intended for performance at communion and weddings, part one features four-voice strophic pieces that expound on themes of repentance and the war. The opening number, a “Nürnbergisch

48 During the 1637 repentance services in the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneberg, for example, the sounding of the bells on Thursday afternoon, the day following the Buß- und Betttag, signaled to the citizens that the fast had ended and they were again allowed to eat and drink again. Von Gottes gnaden Augustus Hertzog zu Braunschweig vnd Lüneburg...Die für Augen schwabende grosse Gefahr und Noth...haben uns bewogen...einen Fast: Buß: und Betttag...uff bevorstehenden Donnerstag post Reminiscere, wird sein der 9. folgenden Monats Martii...anzuworden ([Braunschweig?], 1637). VD17 23:679195K.
“Gebet,” is comprised of thirty-eight verses and is followed by a twelve-verse “Rothenburgisch Gebet.” In the preface to the collection, Widmann explicitly recognizes that these opening songs are paraphrases of two “comforting and beautifully formed prayers, which were ordered to be prayed in the churches in Nuremberg and Rothenberg [ob der Tauber] in these troubled times.”

The textual source of these songs has not been identified in the secondary literature. The source of the prayer for Rothenberg is unknown, but I have identified the text from which the “Nürnbergisch Gebet” was paraphrased as a lengthy prayer published in a 1628 booklet printed in Nuremberg titled Vermahnung zu warer Reu vnd Buß/ sampt einem Andächtigen Gebet vnd Ordnung/ wie es bey angestelter Wochentlicher Betstundt/ in der Statt Nürnberg vnd dero Gebiet/ gehalten werden soll (Admonishment for True Remorse and Repentance, along with a devotional prayer and ordinance for how such weekly prayer-hours should be conducted in the city of Nuremberg and the surrounding areas). This hand-held booklet, intended for use during Nuremberg’s prayer-hours, contains all the texts necessary for celebrating the city’s repentance service, including prayers, suggested Bible readings, hymns, and even the mandate that first established the observance of the prayer hours, dated January 26, 1628.

51 Vermahnung zu warer Reu und Buß/ sampt einem Andächtigen Gebet und Ordnung/ wie es bey angestelter Wochentlicher Betstundt/ in der Statt Nürnberg und dero Gebiet/ gehalten werden soll (Nuremberg, 1628). (D-Nst), Will. II. 227.8º. A number of surviving copies of this this hand-held pamphlet exist, suggesting that the publication was likely printed and circulated widely for private use by individuals or families during the repentance services. Near-identical copies of the publication also survive from 1630 and 1631, indicating the continued efforts of city authorities to establish a communal tenor of repentance and sorrow. Only slight differences in orthography and formatting exist between the various prints of the Vermahnung; the content remains consistent from year to year. Though there is no surviving copy of the document from 1629, it is not implausible to assume that one was printed during this year as well.
52 The mandate in the 1628 Vermahnung opens by describing the recent onslaught of plague, inflation, bad weather, murder, robbery, plundering, and other such hardships that afflicted Nuremberg and the entire German nation. Characteristic to contemporary understanding about the nature of these hardships, the authors of the document understand these tribulations to be the product of God’s wrath exacted on a sinful German population who holds no regard or remorse for their own sinful misdeeds. According to the town council, establishing days of prayer and repentance within the city and the surrounding areas was essential in order to cultivate a community of repentant
The prescribed prayer in the *Vermahnung zu warer Reu vnd Buß* (hereafter *Vermahnung*) begins with a statement of thanks and praise for God’s goodness as it has been poured out on the community of praying sinners. The prayer recognizes that, though God has granted the citizens of Nuremberg numerous blessings, they continually take his word for granted and ignore his gifts of daily bread. The entire community, the anonymous author writes, must be ashamed at the consistent sins and misdeeds they commit and the way in which they flagrantly disregard God’s word. The narrative voice of the prayer recognizes explicitly that though the sword of God’s hand inflicts hardships on his people, they are content with their punishments since they have rightly earned them as the result of their sin.  

53 Those who pray ask that true repentance be granted to them, indicating that repentance is not merely something one must cultivate, but is rather something that God must also grant—it must be experienced, but by means of God who offers it freely through grace to those who sincerely ask for it.  

54 In addition to this blessing of true repentance, the prayer also requests strength through suffering and spiritual temptation so that those on Earth do not speak ill of God’s Will, even if it manifests itself in the form of war

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Christians who were capable of recognizing their sins and directing their lives properly toward God. The mandate outlines that citizens were to quit their work and go to one of Nuremberg’s primary churches every Friday afternoon where, in addition to the normal observance of Vesper services, each citizen was also to participate in the special prayer-hour. The document makes clear the fact that every member of the community—from full citizens, to visitors, to journeymen, and even to young children—was required to observe the special services; only those who were too frail or ill were allowed to remain at home where they were expected to conduct the prayer-hours themselves. The document states that all banquets and celebrations conducted after wedding ceremonies were to be suspended in order to prevent guests from gluttonous drinking, eating, and unruly dancing. Additionally, theatrical performances carried out in guest-houses were forbidden during times when the citizens were to practice repentance.  

Ibid., 1–5. A second ordinance from the town council issued on 1 February 1628 provides further details regarding the punishments for those who failed to follow the instructions. *Ob wol ein Edler/ Ehrwester Rath/ dieser deß Heiligen Reichs Statt Nürnberg/ in Christlicher erinnerung ihres Oberkeitlichen Ampts…ihr höchstes mißfallen/ wider die grausame erschröckliche Sünd deß verdamlichen Gottslästerns…durch Veruff- vnd Anschlagung scharpffer Verbott/ auch abstraffung etlich erfundener Verbrecher/ treueyfferig sehen/ vnd im Werck verspüren lassen* (Nuremberg, 1628). VD17 75:707659M.


and plague. Because such hardships come from God, they are not to be cursed. It closes with a final plea to hold those who pray in love and grace and to lead them away from the trials of water and fire into which God has also led them.

Below in table 4.1 is a comparison of the first four verses of Widmann’s sigh-composition and the corresponding portion of the prescribed prayer for Nuremberg published in the *Vermahnung*; Widmann’s excerpted “Nürnbergsch Gebet” appears on the left while the corresponding section of the prayer is on the right. The entire text of Widmann’s song text appears in English translation in this dissertation’s appendix B. The similarities between the two texts are apparent especially in Widmann’s direct quotation of certain key-words in his paraphrase. These words have been emphasized in bold below in order to highlight the similarities between texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Widmann’s <em>Nürnbergsch Gebet</em></th>
<th><em>Vermahnung</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>Almächtiger</strong>/ güttiger <strong>Gott</strong>/</td>
<td>O <strong>Allmächtiger</strong>/ <strong>Ewiger</strong>/ Barmhertziger/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ewiger</strong> Vatrr vmn <strong>HERRE</strong>:</td>
<td><strong>Waarhafftiger</strong> <strong>Gott</strong>/ vmn <strong>Vater</strong> vmners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O starrcker Retter auß der noht/</td>
<td><strong>HErrn</strong> Jesu Christi/ ein <strong>HErr</strong> Himmels vmn der Erden: <strong>Wir</strong> arme elende <strong>Sünder</strong>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mächting von gwaßt vmn Ehre:</td>
<td><strong>kom[m]en für</strong> deine Göttliche Majästet/ vmn <strong>sagen dir</strong>/ von grund vmner Herzen/ Lob/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wir</strong> Menschens bloß/ Vnd <strong>Sünder</strong> groß/</td>
<td><strong>Preiß</strong>/ Her vmn <strong>Danck</strong>/ für deine grosse vmn <strong>vnaussprechliche Wolthaten</strong>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kommen für</strong> dich mit schalle/</td>
<td><strong>schen dir</strong>/ durch von grund vmner Herzen/ Lob/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vnd sagen dir Danck</strong> für vmn für/</td>
<td><strong>für</strong> deine grosse vmn <strong>vnaussprechliche Wolthaten</strong>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmb dein <strong>Wolthaten</strong> alle.</td>
<td><strong>für</strong> deine grosse vmn <strong>vnaussprechliche Wolthaten</strong>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>Die du bißher so vättlerlich</strong></td>
<td><strong>die du vns bißhero</strong>/ so reichlich vn[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Erzeyget hast vns allen</strong>/</td>
<td><strong>Vätterlich erzeigest hast. Sonderlich aber</strong>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vnd auß lauter Gnad/ <strong>sonderlich</strong></td>
<td>daß du <strong>vnß nicht allein</strong> zu vernünffigen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zu deinem wolgefallen</td>
<td><strong>Menschen</strong> geschaffen/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vns nicht allein/ zu Menschen</strong> sein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erschaffen vmn formieret:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vnd mit verstand/ vmn allerhand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schönen Gaben ornieret.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>Sondern auch/ als durchs Teuffels Neid</strong></td>
<td><strong>sondern auch alß wir durch</strong> des Teuffels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wir in Sünder todt waren :/:</strong></td>
<td><strong>neid in Sünden todt waren/ dich vnsers</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the above quoted text, Widmann adheres closely to the original content of the prescribed prayer, and the same can certainly be said of the remaining thirty-four verses. Few liberties are taken in the poetic rendering of the text, and the content of the original prayer is closely preserved. Though there are minimal artistic liberties, Widmann’s re-working of the prescribed prayer for the city of Nuremberg nevertheless indicates one of the various roles that composers adopted in the promotion of communal repentant emotions during the war. Rendering the prescribed texts of mandated prayers into the musical medium afforded new aural and performative dimensions to what was likely a prayer intended to be only spoken or read silently in the repentance services themselves. By reconfiguring the mandated prayer into music, Widmann offered an accessible form of prayer that could easily be performed in the home during private devotional practice; the prayer is thus moved out of a strictly liturgical context for which it was originally intended and into the informal private devotional home-settings of musicking

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55 Erasmus Widmann, Piorum suspiria, M iij verso.
56 Vermahnung zu warer Reu und Buß, 13–15.
Lutherans. The composer’s sigh-composition offered his contemporaries yet one other alternative method by which to internalize the content of the prescribed prayer.\(^5\)

As evidenced in Erasmus Widmann’s rendering of the *Vermahnung* text, musical performance played an important role in the observance of Nuremberg’s repentance services in particular. In addition to the contributions of works by composers such as Widmann, the *Vermahnung* itself demonstrates music’s fundamental role in the city’s attempts to build a repentant emotional community. Along with other prayers and suggested scriptural readings published in the booklet, the full texts of fourteen hymns and musical responses appear in the publication along with the titles of five additional hymns that might be supplemented during the services. The inclusion of the hymns’ and psalms’ full texts suggest audience participation—this music was not merely to be sung by the church’s musical ensemble, but rather collectively performed by all members of the singing congregation. The presence of this music in the *Vermahnung*, then, effectively identifies the document as more than just a set of abstract rules or regulations. Rather, the *Vermahnung* is a devotional program that demanded embodied actualization—a musical script that required performance.

The hymns provided in the publication are primarily psalm paraphrases with a few additional sacred songs interspersed. These musical selections are organized into four different

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\(^5\) Though the citizens of Nuremberg might be able to merely read the mandated prayer as it was printed in the *Vermahnung*, Widmann’s edition of the text allowed for a freer circulation of content through oral performance, potentially reaching even a broader audience of Lutherans who were not literate and could not read the printed prayer in the *Vermahnung*. Young boys who were educated in Latin grammar schools would have received a basic education in music, learning how to appropriately identify elements of musical performance such as pitch, rhythm, and mode. With access to musical knowledge, these young boys were frequently required to interpret and read musical notation during private devotional services for the other members of the family who were musically illiterate. Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 109. In cases where no musical notation was provided and only a suggested tune appeared, the singing Lutheran must have relied on memorization and prior musical knowledge in order to perform the provided text. Whether notated or not, these musical practices illustrate the highly oral rather than textural musical culture within the early modern Lutheran home. For more on the musical education of youth in early modern Germany, see especially John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
sections, each of which conclude with a short response and a brief Collect that summarize the theological topic of each hymn-grouping. The full musical program is reproduced below. The organization of these hymns into different categories illustrates the various liturgical themes on which church leaders focused during each particular prayer-hour.

I. Die Teutsche Litaney

Erhalt uns HErr bey deinem Wort
Da pacem Domine, In German
Psalm 124, Wer G0tt nicht mit vns diese zeit
Psalm 12, Ach Gott von Himel [sic] sih darein
Collect: “Vmb Hilff in allerley wiwertigkeit [sic].”

II. Psalm 51, O HErre G0tt begnade mich
Psalm 51, in another melody. Erbarm dich mein O HErre G0tt
Another song, Wenn wir in höchsten nöthen sein
Collect: “Vmb Gnad vnd Hülff in widerwertigkeit.”

III. Psalm 124, Wo Gott der HErre nicht bey vns helt
Another, Allein zu dir HErr JEsu Christ
Psalm 130, Auß tieffer noth schrey ich zu dir
Collects: “Vmb Vergebung der Sünden/ vnd ablassung der verdienten Straff” and “Vmb sterckung vnd Sieg wider die Sünde.”

IV. Psalm 46. Ein feste Burg ist vnsrer Gott
A sacred song. Mag ic Vnglück nicht wider stahn
Another. Gib fried zu vnsrer zeit O Herr
Collect: “Vmb schutz vnd erhaltung der Kirchen.”
Blessing, “Zu Segnen das Volck [for the blessing of the people].”

The following hymns and psalms are optional substitutions for those provided above:

Psalm 31. Jn dich hab ich gehoffet HErr
Psalm 67. Es wöll vns Gott genedig sein
Psalm 137. Am Wasserflüssen Babylon

58 “God give peace in your land” Answer: “Luck and Healing in all places.” The text is taken from the German Verleih uns Friede (Da pacem Domine).
59 “For help in various tribulations.”
60 “For grace and help in tribulations”
61 “For the forgiveness of sins and the removal of deserved punishments. For fortification and victory over sin.”
62 “For the protection and preservation of the church.”
This list of hymns provided in the *Vermahnung* were likely chosen based on preexisting models of repentance services conducted in other Lutheran territories throughout the Empire. For example, the Elector of Saxony Johann Georg I recommended the weekly observance of regular prayer-hours in a 1619 ordinance. Significantly, all of the musical texts listed in the Saxon ordinance, including the German Litany, also appear in the 1628 Nuremberg *Vermahnung*. A similar ordinance for the observance of special prayer-hours published in the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneberg in 1623 lists a total of eight hymns that were to be performed; seven of the eight indicated musical texts also appear in the 1628 Nuremberg *Vermahnung*. Some of the consistent hymns that were sung at each of these services include the unequivocally Lutheran and highly polemical *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* and *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*, congregational songs that had served as anthems for the Protestant cause since the early days of

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63 Though the explicit goal of his ordinance was not directly associated with the cultivation of repentance, the theme is implicit in the prescribed prayers and hymns included in the document. For example, the prescribed prayer to be spoken during one of the three weekly observances of the prayer-hours opens with one such recognition of sin: “Wir arme elende Sünder/ bekennen für deinem Allerheiligsten Angesicht/ daß wir leider mit vnsern Vätern geschundigt/ daß wir mißgehandelt/ vnd Gottloß gewesen/ mit vnsern vielfeltigen schweren Sünden auch/ deinen gerechten Zorn/ vnd allerley Straffen/ ja den endlichen vntergang/ wol verdienet haben.” *Ordnung. Wie der Durchlauchtigste/ Hochgeborene Fürst und Herr/ Herr Johanns Georg...in seiner Churfürstlichen Gnaden Landen/ mit den Betstunden/ auff eine zeit/ und biß auff andere anordnung es wolle gehalten haben.* (Dresden, 1619), no pagination [2 verso - 3 recto]. VD17 14:016659V

64 The musical selections included in the ordinance are: *Die Litaney, Wo GOTT der HErr nicht bey vns helt, Erbarm dich mein O HErre GOtt, Aus tieffer noth schrey ich zu dir, Wenn wir in höchsten nöthen sein, Erhalt vns Herr bey deinem Wort, Ein feste Burgk ist vnser GOtt, Wer GOtt nicht mit vns diese zeit, and Es wolt vns Gott gnedig sein.* Ibid., no pagination [2 recto-2 verso]. Other portions of the service were structured around significant sonic markers, especially the sounding of bells. Preachers were, for example, expected at the sound of the prayer bell to “jhr Seufftzer zu GOTT schicken/ Ein Vater vnser benet/ vnd also jhres theils an schuldiger Andacht/ nichts erwinden lassen sollen.” Ibid., no pagination (2 recto).

65 In 1623, hymns cited in the document include *Erbarm dich meiner O HErre GOtt; Aus tieffer Noth; Allein zu dir HErr JEsu Christ; Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen seind; Wer GOtt nicht mit vns diese zeit; Wo GOtt der HErr nicht bey vns helt; Ein feste Burg ist vnser GOTT; and HErr GOtt dich loben wir. Only HErr GOtt dich loben wir does not appear in the 1628 Nuremberg *Vermahnung. Unser Freundliche Dienst zuvor/ Würdiger und Wolgelarter Günstiger guter Freundt...Herr Friederich Ulrich/ Hertzog zu Braunschweig unnd Lünneburg ([Wolfenbüttel?], 1623), no pagination, VD17 23:640558D.*
the Reformation. Paraphrased selections of the seven penitential psalms also appear frequently in repentance ordinances, especially *Erbarm dich mein O Herre Gott* (Psalm 51) and *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir* (Psalm 130). From the shared repertoire of musical texts, some consistent themes emerge that indicate which topics were of utmost importance to early modern Lutherans for the cultivation of communal repentance. The shared hymns highlight especially the preservation of the Lutheran faith, exemplified by the performance of two of the most identifiably Lutheran anthems in the early modern era; pleas for God’s mercy during times of suffering; and repentance from sin, a theme emphasized in the inclusion of the paraphrased penitential psalms.

The musical selections sung at the repentance observances in the city of Nuremberg were not idiosyncratic, but rather participated in a broader musical network that joined together Lutheran territories throughout the Empire by means of a shared musical repertoire. While the citizens of Nuremberg attempted to establish a dominant community of repentance within their own city walls, they ultimately did so by placing their musical practices in dialogue with previously established repentance observances in nearby territories. The implications of singing such a repertoire of musical texts stretched beyond the needs of just one local community. Rather, by singing from the core repertoire of repentant hymns, those in Nuremberg identified themselves as part of a larger project—one based centrally around the cultivation of a particular

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66 In Alexander Fisher’s history of music in the bi-confessional city of Augsburg, the author notes how music was used as a form of resistance during the shifting tides of confessionalization. Augsburg, a city that was hospitable to both practicing Protestants and Catholics for much of the sixteenth century, became a hostile environment for Protestants after the issuance of the Edict of Restitution by Emperor Ferdinand II in 1629, an act that granted power back to the city’s Catholic authorities; the Edict eventually led to the expulsion of several Protestant preachers from the city. During this time of shifting power, Fisher notes that “a chronicler reported that three nights in a row ‘three angles’ (children, perhaps?) sang *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* and *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*, two of the most confessionally inflammatory Protestant chorales, in front of a city gate. By the time city guards arrived, the perpetrators had disappeared.” Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 281.
set of emotional experiences including remorse and spiritual sorrow—that joined the citizens of
German-speaking Central Europe with one another. This is a unique quality to music’s role in the
liturgical practices of these repentance services. While the specific content of prescribed prayers
and sermons varied enormously from location to location, a semi-consistent repertoire of musical
texts circulated within and between various Lutheran communities, effectually binding them
together in the shared goal of cultivating spiritual sorrow throughout Central Europe.67

Erasmus Widmann’s musical sigh-compositions were not the only ones of their kind to
find inspiration in the 1628 Vermahnung. Another sigh-composition by composer Melchior Franck, who lived and worked in the nearby city of Coburg, was also the direct product of
Nuremberg’s calls for repentance. The exact circumstances under which Melchior Franck
composed his Suspirium Germaniae Publicum (1628)—a collection of two musical settings for
six voices and basso continuo and for four voices, respectively—have been preserved thanks to a
series of handwritten letters rediscovered by Heinz Zirnbauer in the 1950s.68 The documents
detail an exchange between Franck, members of the Nuremberg town council, and two of
Nuremberg’s organists—Johann Staden (1581–1634) and Valentin Dretzel (1578–1658). The
letters begin first with Melchior Franck’s dedication of the work to the city council members.
Dated 22 February 1628, the initial address indicates that the composition was completed and
sent to Nuremberg only about a month after the city mandated the first observance of the
repentance services on 26 January 1628. In his address to the town council, Franck writes:

67 Louis Peter Grijp and Dieuwke van der Poel have examined some of the ways in which particular song
repertoires helped to reinforce group identities in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Song melodies, they
write, became signifiers of one’s belonging to a group since “some tunes were particularly known in certain groups,”
which include religious confessions or local sects within these confessions. Louis Peter Grijp and Dieuwke van der
der Poel, Louis Peter Grijp, and Wim van Anrooij (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2016), 4-6.

68 Heinz Zirnbauer, “Drei unbekannte Briefe des Coburger Hofkapellmeisters Melchior Franck,” Jahrbuch der
As it is seen in every time, the beleaguered and persecuted priceless Christianity—as often as it was put into trouble and dangerous affliction like all the blessed Kings and Prophets in the Old Testament, as well as God’s church in the New Testament—had no better defense and weapon than devout prayer and true repentance-tears. So is it the same today by these impending very dangerous and troubling times that no better means to avert such great disasters and religious dangers than true Christian repentance and a sincere, fervent prayer, *Preces enim & lacrimae sunt arma Ecclesiae* [Prayers and tears are the weapons of the church]. To this end, an honorable and admirable E. E. E. has advised in the same Christianly and praiseworthy manner in the churches the [observance of] Repentance and Prayer Days. For this reason, I have determined to set the two accompanying beautiful texts in two different compositions to be used in the present time for comfort and to dutifully dedicate them to the honorable and admirable E. E. E., my high-favorable Lords and powerful Patrons; and in addition [to this], to humbly ask to look on me most graciously, and to let it be practiced in the churches and schools, and will want furthermore to be and remain my ever attentive Lords and mighty help. So do I herewith God commit most truly an almighty, merciful protection and shield [to you]. Dated Coburg on the 22nd of February, 1628. 69

Franck’s dedicatory letter is rife with language emphasizing the emotionality of repentance and its relevance to the current circumstances. Just as kings, prophets, and the church itself responded to persecution in the Old and New Testaments with prayer, so too should Germany’s persecuted Protestant church respond similarly with repentant prayers to God during the present “dangerous times.” In fact, the best defense against such hardships is “true Christianly repentance and faithful, fervent prayer” since (drawing from the Latin aphorism) prayers and tears are the weapons of the church. This emphasis on tears as weapons alludes to

Datum Coburgk am 22 Febr.: Ao 1628
Quoted in ibid., 199–200.
the tradition of *compunctio* and the *donum lacrimarum* described above. Tears and sighs, both emotional expressions for God and a simultaneous gift from him, function as wordless forms of prayer that communicate the inner desires of sincere Christian hearts and act as the best “weapons”—that is, an exercise of feeling agency by which to defend the church and to effectuate change in the world.

Additional letters found along with Franck’s dedicatory remarks indicate that five days after the composition was received, it was given to Johann Staden and Valtin Dretzel for testing and censorship. In addition to examining the pieces for content, the organists were further charged with deciding an appropriate monetary reward for the composer’s contributions.

Responding to the request for censorship on 27 February 1628, Christoph Buels wrote on behalf of the two organists that no censorship was required of Franck’s music, and that the composer was to receive a modest payment for his labors. In the secondary literature, scholars have been predominantly interested in the fame afforded to Franck as well as the payments he received for the work’s composition. To be sure, the high regard with which the composer’s contemporaries spoke about his music and reputation is indicative of the renown Franck had already accumulated even within his lifetime. Furthermore, the exchange of letters certainly reveals much about the process by which musical compositions underwent censorship by local experts. But when read in relationship to the emotional goals of Nuremberg’s city council, the series of letters uncovers an

70 “Es berichten hierauf Johann Staden vnd Valentin Dretzel beede Organisten, zu St. Sebald vndnnd Laurentzen, inn vnterhänigem gehorsamb, daß obgedacht dedicirtes suspirium Germaniae publicum, 2 ½ bogen haltendt, vngefahr 3 Reichsthaler zu trucken kosten möchte, vnnd bedürfftte diese sein Franckens composition, allß eines alten berümbten Meisters, der inner 24 Jarn, mancherley unterschiedliche opera inn truckh Kommen laßen, vnnd im gantzen Teütschlandt bekannt were, keener sonderbaren censur, sondern würde hierjmen Ihrer Hr. einem Edlen Hochweisen Rath, der Großg: remuneration halben, das thuen vnnd laßen, vnterhänig anheimbstellt. Der vberschickhten Exemplarien sein 40 gewesen, der eins fl 15 u. 20 Rf möge werth sein.” Quoted in ibid., 201.

71 Stefan Hanheide has written extensively about this piece and the process by which it was censored and published. See Stefan Hanheide *PACE: Musik zwischen Krieg und Frieden* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 32–37; Stefan Hanheide, *Friedensgesänge 1628–1651: Musik zum Dreissigjährigen Krieg. Werke von Johannes Werlin, Sigmund Theophil Staden, Melchior Franck und Andreas Berger* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2012), XLIV–XLIX.
aspect of the composer that is only tacitly implied. The fact that Franck’s work was unscathed by censorship suggests that its textual and musical content adhered appropriately to the emotional expectations of the community for whom it was written.

As already discussed above, the dedicatory letter unambiguously aligns the composition with the tradition of *compunctio* since it elaborates on the efficacy of tears as prayers and as protective measures for defending the Church and its members. Thus Franck’s monetary reward for his composition, and the work’s evasion of any censorship, speaks additionally to the composer’s adept ability to intuit a community’s emotional needs and supply it with appropriate musical texts that promote their emotional goals. When viewed especially in tandem with Widmann’s songs, Franck’s work attests to the kinds of emotional labors composers enacted when city officials sought to establish communities of sincere repentance. While the monetary gains of these composers cannot be overlooked, the impetus to provide emotional scripts for citizens seeking to experience repentant emotional attitudes indexes a more general expectation of the seventeenth-century composer to utilize his skills on behalf of the community and serve as mediator between state authorities and performing citizens. Equipped with the musical skills necessary to sway performers’ and listeners’ emotions, Franck and Widmann offered the citizens of Nuremberg musical works that, when sung, might cause performers and listeners to meditate on their myriad sins and experience a form of communal repentance that might save their city from possible destruction. But what textual and musical elements of the work itself might have caused Franck’s censors to look favorably on the composition with such high regard? How, in other words, did Franck so adroitly intuit the emotional needs of a community and provide them with a musical work that promoted appropriate emotional experiences?
One possible answer to this question relies to some extent on the texts the composer featured in his sigh-composition. Prominent attention is given throughout Franck’s work to the Old Testament Prophet Daniel’s repentant prayer as recorded in Daniel 9:4–19. Significantly, two other contemporary sigh-compositions feature this text. A setting of Daniel 9:4–7, 19 appears in the Nuremberg composer Johann Erasmus Kindermann’s *Musicalischer FriedensSeuffitzer* (1642), a collection of eight pieces for two to four voices and basso continuo (with one piece that includes an obbligato violin duet). In the preface to Kindermann’s collection, the composer writes that his musical sighs were written to move the hearts of those who had gathered in Nuremberg for recent peace-negotiations in the city. Additionally, a setting of Daniel 9:18–19 appears in *Musicalischer Seelenlust, erster Theil, darinnen ausserlesene, und aus heiliger, göttlicher Schrifft gezogene Glaubens-Seuffzerlein* (1634), a collection of sacred madrigals by the St. Thomas church cantor in Leipzig, Tobias Michael. Magdalena Walter-Mazur suggests that several of the numbers in this collection, including the setting of Daniel’s repentant prayer, were likely composed for Leipzig’s mandated repentance services.

Daniel’s prayer recounted in the ninth chapter of the Old Testament book was a popular text on which Lutheran pastors expounded in their repentance sermons (*Buß-Predigt*) during Days of Prayer and Repentance. In the beginning of the ninth chapter, Daniel divines from the

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“book of numbers” that the city of Jerusalem would be destroyed by God within seventy years. In response to this recognition, Daniel begins to fast, adorning himself in sackcloth and ashes and offering to God a prayer in which he recognizes both his personal sins and those of his contemporaries. This prayer must have been especially useful for the city of Nuremberg since, in addition to the musical settings by Franck and Kindermann, two Nuremberg preachers published compilations of meditations and sermons on Daniel’s prayer. Cornelius Marci published his *Sieben Hertzens-Schrey, auß dem Buß-Gebet Danielis* (Seven Heart-Cries from the Repentance-Prayer of Daniel) in 1640, while his colleague Johannes Saubert brought to print in the same year an impressive collection of twenty-nine sermons delivered from 1631 to 1640 on the entirety of Daniel’s repentant prayer titled *Buß- vnd GebetSpiegel Danielis*.75

Sermons and devotional writings on the ninth chapter of Daniel frequently recognize the prophet’s prayer as an example of a sigh-prayer. This is related in some regards to the prominent use of the interjectory word *ach* that appears in Luther’s German translation of the Bible. The opening verse of Daniel’s prayer begins in verse four: “Ach! lieber HERt/ du grosser vnd schrecklicher GOTT/ [Ah! dear Lord, you great and terrible God].” German Lutherans understood the placement of *ach* at the beginning of this prayer especially as a linguistic symbol of the heartfelt emotional expression of Daniel’s inner devotion and sincere repentance. The contemporary linguistic meanings of *ach* itself were especially associated with one’s expression of sincere spiritual sorrow for sin. In Andreas Wenzel’s funeral sermon on the third chapter of 2 Samuel, the preacher writes that the word *ach* “demonstrates the remorse and pain of committed misdeeds, which is the beginning of virtuous repentance and is an admittance to faith, through

which the [spiritual] fruit itself in new obedience and good works can be seen.” Here, Wenzel’s concept of repentance is similar to Johann Arndt’s in that the outward expression of *ach* is the product of more crucial inward repentant processes—faith and good works “can be seen” outwardly as the result of one’s inner “remorse and pain of committed misdeeds.”

Daniel’s frequent use of an expressive *ach* was the subject of an entire sermon in the Nuremberg preacher Johannes Saubert’s *Buß- und Gebet-Spiegel Danielis*. In the fourth sermon of his collection, Saubert describes at length the etymology and function of *ach* and relates the vocal gesture more generally to contemporary repentant practices. The Lutheran pastor recognizes that the linguistic presence of *ach* indexes a movement of the heart and the presence of *Seuffzer*. Performing an etymology of the word from the original Hebrew, Saubert writes

> So Daniel begins and speaks: Ah! In Hebrew, this [word] reads *annà*, which—as often as it appears in the Bible—precedes the words of other speeches, and so this means the same as the Latin and German interjection “O” or “Ach.” It is also a sign of a heartfelt sigh or movement of the emotions, in which he [Daniel] prays.77

The presence of “O” or “Ach” at the beginning of long speeches, according to Saubert, is an indication of the inner workings of the heart, which manifest themselves first in a loud interjection before codifying into discrete verbal expressions.78

Like Johann Arndt in *Wahren Christentumb*, Saubert expresses concern regarding the genuineness of his contemporaries’ repentant prayers. He articulates an anxiety that results from

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78 Lynne Tatlock argued in a paper delivered at the 2017 Renaissance Society of America meeting that the *ach* functions similarly in Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg’s *Passionsbetrachtungen* (1672). I am greatful to Dr. Tatlock for sharing her unpulsed paper with me as I researched material for this chapter.
a comparison of that which is outwardly performed through *ach*—a discernable and observable quality—and that which is only internally but actually felt, an aspect of a person’s character not always immediately apparent. Quoting Isaiah 29:13, Saubert notes that many of his contemporaries did not express genuine piety and repentance in their own prayers.⁷⁹ Instead, he writes that his listeners tended to pray while distracted with other thoughts that actually prevented them from fully engaging the heart in their devotional practices. But the preacher cautions those who pray in word only, asking them to learn from Daniel’s example and reorient their prayerful practices toward a genuine inner feeling of repentance. One of the most direct ways of accomplishing this task was to begin one’s prayer with an interjectory and expressive “*Ach*” or “*O*” in order “to awaken the heart with sighs and to suppress within it all other distracting thoughts.”⁸⁰

Who ever is of sound mind, learn today this art from the Prophet Daniel, and let him say his whole life—that he should always apply this—to begin each prayer with a heartfelt sigh and a stirring of feeling. Then just as an organ is heard first when the bellows have been churned, pedaled, or pulled, so too are our spiritual organ-works (prayer and praises to God) better granted when offered with inner sighs [and] begun with a heartfelt Ah! and O!, which with God’s help can be from these causes awoken and conveyed.⁸¹

In this quoted passage, Saubert relates the praying body to the sounding organ, a metaphor addressed earlier in this dissertation in relation to Christian von Stökkken’s *Heilige Hertzens-

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⁷⁹ Is. 29:13 (AV) reads “Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men.”


Seufzer (see chapter two). For von Stökken, the heart was like a pipe-organ that supplied beautiful music in the church sanctuary. Without bellows and moving columns of air, the organ could not produce sound or music; similarly, without internal sighs and emotional energy, the heart could not produce prayer. In Saubert’s metaphor, the *ach* functions as the organ’s bellows; the verbal interjection is the source of energy that flows through the heart-instrument, causing the internal prayers to take audible form and resonate as sonorous music.

As a vocal gesture closely linked with the emotional expression of one’s inner repentant experiences, the *ach* receives special treatment in musical settings of the text by Melchior Franck, Johann Kindermann, and Tobias Michael. One particularly significant moment for expressive sighs of *ach* in Daniel’s prayer was Daniel 9:19, which begins with three interjections of the emotive expression: “Ach HERR, höre, ach HERR, sei gnädig, ach HERR, merke auf und tu es [Ah, Lord, hear. Ah, Lord, be gracious. Ah, Lord, take heed and do].” In Franck’s *Suspirium Germaniae Publicum*, this moment of *ach* in verse nineteen is highlighted by means of responsorial singing between the solo tenor and the full choir. Prior to this moment in the piece, these two textures—solo voice with continuo and full choral ensemble—have been kept mutually exclusive from one another. Sections of purely choral texture (mm. 1–24 and mm. 59–67) are interrupted by a large section for solo voice and continuo (mm. 25–58). At the moment of Daniel’s expressive *ach*, however, tenor and choir are joined together for the first time. The solo tenor voice sings Daniel’s first “Ach, Herr höre” (O, Lord, hear) and the choir immediately responds to the tenor with a repetition of the same text. The harmonic relationship between the solo tenor’s statement of the text and the choir’s, furthermore, indicates the dependence of one texture on the other. The tenor’s statement of “Ach Herr höre” begins first in an F sonority with a

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82 Dan. 9:19 (AV).
major triad and cadences only two measures later in a C sonority with a major triad. The choir immediately responds homophonically, moving from a D minor sonority before concluding the phrase on a plagal cadence to F major. A movement then from F to C, and from D back to F harmonically completes the first statement of Daniel’s repeated *ach* expressions. Similar harmonic resolutions follow as the tenor first states the phrases “Ach Herr, sey gnädig” and “Ach Herr, mercke auff und thu es,” each of which are immediately repeated by the full choir.

This responsorial moment, with its dependent harmonic relationships between the solo tenor and the choir, demonstrates the pedagogical methods by which the soloist—who acts here as Daniel, the biblical voice of authority— instructs his singing congregation in the appropriate ways to perform their repentant emotional expressions. The choir is both textually and musically dependent on the model of repentance demonstrated in Daniel’s pious words. As detailed in chapter three of this dissertation, sigh-prayers were often texts written by more pious individuals (such as Old Testament authors or medieval Church fathers) that could be appropriated as one’s own. By singing a psalm, for example, one learned to sing a psalm-text as if she herself had written it. In Franck’s setting of Daniel’s prayer, the choir “learns” how to pray through repetitions of the prophet’s text, effectively appropriating Daniel’s words as their own and more perfectly completing these ideas through the resolution of the phrase’s harmonic progression in the final cadence—what is begun as a singular expression of repentance is brought to more perfect harmonic fruition through the collective efforts of the singing congregation.

Johann Erasmus Kindermann’s setting of Daniel’s repentant prayer, though it was published more than a decade after Franck’s setting, nevertheless draws attention to this same moment of *ach* in the music through significant shifts in harmonic language and musical texture. Kindermann’s three-voice setting is constructed largely of sections of paired voices that sing contrasting musical material against the third voice (all of which are supported by the basso continuo). But this responsorial texture becomes unambiguously homophonic at the significant
moment in Daniel’s prayer where his profuse use of *ach* begins. No longer do voices or pairs of voices compete with one another, but all parts homophonically state Daniel’s series of expressive sighs, a musical moment that is further accentuated by the piece’s rising harmonic sequence.

**Example 4.2. Johann Erasmus Kindermann, “I. Ach, lieber Herr,” from *Musicalische FriedensSeufftzer*, mm. 37–46.**

![Musical score example](image)

The most striking treatment of Daniel’s expressions of *ach*, though, appears in the Tobias Michael’s setting of the prayer, “Neige deine Ohren,” in his *Musikalische Seelenlust, erster Theil*. At the moment of the expressive *ach* beginning in m. 27, the piece’s stable structure

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begins to collapse into an abundant outpouring of expressive statements of “Ach Herr,” which are liberally repeated in all voices (example 4.3). The composer’s rhetorical prowess makes itself evident in the way that the music literally reenacts the sound of *ach*. Each of the voices’ statements of the short interjectory phrase are interrupted by frequent rests, requiring singers to breath in between short durations of phonation. Coupled with this are the numerous exhalations of breath created by the words “Ach” and “Herr,” both of which require the singer to twice perform in immediate succession the aspirated guttural “h” consonant. Part of this music’s sonic texture, then, is filled not just with the sounds of indicated pitches, but also with the rushing flow of air as it passes in and out of singers’ bodies during phonation. It is within this flowing rush of air—the sonic representation of *Seuffzer* itself—that the musical pitches of Michael’s piece are imbued with the affectivity of Daniel’s prayer. As Johannes Saubert related in his sermon on the *ach*: just as the organ is not able to produce pitch without its wind-powered bellows, so too is prayer inaudible to God unless it is driven by the expressive power of a heartfelt sigh.
Example 4.3. Tobias Michael, “Neige deine Ohren,” *Musikalische Seelenlust, erster Theil*, mm. 25–30.\(^{85}\)

At each of the three expressions of “Ach Herr” in Daniel’s original repentant prayer, which occur again in mm. 30–34 and in mm. 34–37, Michael sets the text in the same expressive manner—the singers produce the sounds of Seuffitzer on the text “Ach Herr” before converging into a homophonic declaration of the rest of the verse.

Another one of the topics that pastors throughout Lutheran Germany frequently stress in their sermons on Daniel’s repentant Seuffitzer is the way in which the Old Testament prophet addresses both his own sins as well as the sins of his entire community. In the tract by the Nuremberg preacher Cornelius Marci, the significance of Daniel’s ach (what Marci labels his “heart-cry”) is extended past the prophet’s own personal experience to the larger community for whom he prayed. In Marci’s understanding, Daniel sighs “to God, the loving Lord, a deep heart-sigh: Ah! And gave thereafter this spoken address at hand to the terrible and true God to admonish the whole of the community of God.”86 It is not only the prophet’s own sins for which he prays, but rather those of the entire community. Such an understanding of this prayer would have been appealing to those in seventeenth-century Germany who wished to build communities of repentance during the war. As leaders stressed again and again the necessity for all citizens to cultivate a sorrowful Christian existence, Daniel’s admonishments for the sins of his entire community would have been an appealing example of how one person might take responsibility for acknowledging both personal sin as well as the misdeeds of those around him.

In Melchior Franck’s treatment of Daniel’s text, this communal aspect of repentance is emphasized in the way that the composer merges the Prophet’s repentant prayer with another text relevant to Lutherans during the Thirty Years War—the Latin responsory Impetum inimicorum

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ne timueritis, a text based on chapter four of the First Book of the Maccabees. Rather than present both texts in simple succession, Franck interpolates the words of Daniel’s prayer into the middle of the Latin text at a strategic location. The two texts as they appear in Franck’s composition read:

*Impetum inimicorum ne timueritis.*
*Memores estote quomodo salvi facti sunt patres nostri,*
*et nunc clamemus in caelum:*

 Do not be afraid of the enemies’ attacks.
 Remember how we were saved
 By our father,
 And now, let us cry to heaven:

 HErr, wir ligen für dir mit unserm Gebet, Nit auff unser Gerechtigkeit,
 Sondern auff deine grosse,
 Barmhertzigkeit.
 Ach HErr höre, ach HErr sey gnädig,
 ach HErr mercke auff und thu es
 und verzeuch nit um dein selbst
 Willen mein Gott, denn deine Stad
 und dein Volck ist nach deinem Namen genenet.

**et miserebitur nostri Deus noster.**

 And our God will have mercy on us.

Franck sets the opening line of Latin text for the entire choral ensemble. All voices sing in a rousing and almost militaristic triple meter and proclaim their steadfastness against those enemies who persecute them in mm. 1–24. Following this opening choral introduction, a solo tenor accompanied by basso continuo delivers the second and third line of the Latin text. At the words “et nunc clamemus in caelum,” the tenor’s vocal line ascends to the upper limits of its ambitus, culminating on a high F on the word “caelum,” an obvious instance of word-painting. The ascending, triumphant vocal line is repeated twice and concludes in its second statement

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87 Lutherans during the war frequently identified with the Israelites in the first and second book of Maccabees. This is especially true in relation to the Swedish King Gustav Adolf, a leader largely viewed as the protector of the Protestant faith during the war. When he was slain in the Battle of Lützen in 1632, numerous lamentations were published that explicitly aligned the dead king with the death of Judas Maccabeus and, by extension, the German Protestants with the resilient Israelites. See, for example, the lamentation on the death of Gustav Adolf, *Wehklage/ 1 Maccab. 9. V. 21. Vnd alles Volck Israel trawret vmb Juda lange zeit [sic]/ vnd klaget jhn sehr/ vnd sprachen: Ach daß der Held vmbkommen ist/ der Israel beschützet vnd errettet hatte* (Berlin, 1633). VD17 1:669258H.

88 The English is provided from the King James Version of the Bible.
with a clear cadence in a major-triad sonority on C. This vocal line is immediately followed by verses from Daniel’s repentant prayer. By interpolating the prayer into the piece at the exact moment when the tenor sings “and now let us cry to heaven,” Franck essentially identifies Daniel’s sigh-prayer as the very text with which performers cry aloud to God. The opening lines of the prophet’s prayer, furthermore, are set falsobordone, a kind of homophonic choral recitative that requires the voices of the entire singing congregation to collectively proclaim the prayer’s opening lines (example 4.4). By setting this text falsobordone, Franck further emphasizes the verse’s first-person plural “wir.” The singers declaim through recitation the fact that it is “we”—the singing citizens of Nuremberg—who lay out repentant prayers before God. Though the words set in this example are Daniel’s alone, the music asks all voices of the singing community to declare their sins, effectively relocating Daniel’s private words of the prayer into the public sphere and thereby making his emotional experience part of communal discourse through its sonic performance.
Example 4.4. Melchior Franck, *Suspirium Germaniae Publicum, mm. 59–63.*

Johann Erasmus Kindermann employs similar techniques to stress the communal dimensions of repentance in his own setting of Daniel’s sigh-prayer. In the piece’s opening measures, the relationship between the three vocal parts is predominantly responsorial. The bass voice begins by proclaiming Daniel’s interjectory phrase “Ach, lieber Herr” (O, dear Lord), which contains within the first measure a striking diminished forth on the word “lieber.” Following this vocative call to God, the two upper parts respond to the bass voice with a quotation of the first half of verse 5, “wir haben gesündiget” (we have sinned), shown below in example 4.5. After this opening exchange between the lower and two upper parts, the bass voice continues with the words of Daniel 9:4, “du großer und erschröcklicher Gott,” to which the upper voices immediately respond again with the words of Daniel 9:5, “wir haben gesündiget.” One final phrase follows with the bass voice’s continued prayer of Daniel 9:4: “der du Bund und

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Gnad helst denen, die dich lieben und deine Gebot halten,” after which the two upper parts again confirm their sinfulness with the words of Daniel 9:5, “wir haben gesündiget.” The words of Daniel’s repentant prayer here are assigned consistently to the bass voice, which acts in this scenario as the pious prophet himself who prays to God for repentance on behalf of his contemporaries. The upper two parts act as the commenting congregation, singing repeatedly in the collective first-person plural “wir” and affirming their own continually sinful existence in light of Daniel’s pious expressions. Daniel’s piety, in other words, teaches those who listen that they too are sinners, causing them to repeatedly recognize their collective misdeeds and join with him in his heartfelt sigh-prayer.

Example 4.5. Johann Erasmus Kindermann, “I. Ach, lieber Herr,” Musicalische FriedensSeufftzer, mm. 1–4.\(^\text{90}\)

Feeling Agency and the Efficacy of Seufftzer

For early modern Lutherans who lived in emotional communities of repentance, the significance of this music’s performance stretched beyond the mere aesthetic domain. According to some sources, song in general was understood to possess the innate ability to demonstrate the

\(^{90}\) Johann Erasmus Kindermann, “Musicalische FriedensSeufftzer,” 123.
devout and repenant attitudes of those who performed it, an act that ultimately encouraged God
to spare those who sang from the dangers of war. One pamphlet recounting the 1633 siege of
Leipzig speaks to contemporaries’ recognition of the protective value of musical performance
during times of immediate threat. The document relates that Leipzig was directly attacked by a
violent barrage of fireballs from the Imperial army that destroyed large portions of city,
including a number of private houses and even part of the St. Nikolai Church.91 The author of
this account is certain, though, that what prevented the town from being entirely destroyed was
the collective efforts of all those people, young and old, who gathered regularly at around seven
o’clock and “sang useful and comforting spiritual songs” and prayed penitential psalms for about
three hours at both of the city’s prominent churches.

Then it was without doubt that the deeply affectionate God in high heaven greatly
enjoyed the diligent prayer by young and old people of both the male and female sex, for
such devotion and fervent calling, pleading, and begging by young and old should have
been, that not only the daily sermons and prayer-hours had been attended in great
numbers, but also the people next to their small, untrained children in the evenings
around seven o’clock and “sang useful and comforting spiritual songs” and prayed penitential psalms for about
three hours at both of the city’s prominent churches.

91 “...haben die Käys. [Armee] zwischen 1. Vnd 2. Vhr angefangen in die Stadt/ Granaten vnd Fewerballen zu
werffen/ vnd damit biß Montags/ war der 12. dieses/ so hefftig/ grausam vnd vnauffhörlich continuiret, daß man in
der gantzen Stadt in allen Gassen vnn Orten/ auch in den Collegiis gnugsam zu wehren gehabt/ vnd seynd solcher
Fewerballen vnn Granaten/ deren viel in der Luftz zersprung/ über dritthalb hundert/ meisten theils in solcher
grosse vnd schwere in die Stadt geworffen worden/ daß derselben viel anderhalb Centner vnd drüber gewogen/ vnd
an der Kirchen zu S. Niclaß/ in den Collegiis der Universitet, vnn an vielen Häusern/ sonderlich der Niclaßgassen/
Reichs= vnn Catharin=Strassen/ auch am Marchte/ überauß grossen Schaden gethan/ jedoch darfür dem
Allerhöchsten billich von Hertzten zu dancken/ durch desselben Güte/ Gnade vnd Barmhertzigkeit/ selbe Nacht vnd
folgenden halben Tag über/ von denen hierzu bestelten Personen allzeit gedämpft vnd geleschet worden. Kurtz
Jedo eygentliche Warhaftige Beschreibung der dritten Bloquir- Belägerung und Einnehmung der...Stadt Leipzig
([Leipzig?]), 1633), B verso. VD17 3:635144P. Three decades after the 1633 siege, the citizens of Leipzig
constructed a large tin cannonball with a fiery, streaming tail and hung it from the ceiling of the St. Nikolai Church.
Hans Medick interprets this gesture to be an act of commemoration and a reminder of God’s ability to punish sin: “It
reminded the faithful every time they attended church of the horrors of the past war but also brought to mind the
disciplinary rod of God that continued to menace them as it took on symbolic form in the fiery tail of the comet.”
Hans Medick, “The Thirty Years’ War as Experience and Memory: Contemporary Perceptions of a Macro-
Historical Event,” in Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives, ed. Lynne Tatlock
(Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 45.
and comforting songs, and the preachers there also continuously read a penitential psalm and church prayer.\textsuperscript{92}

Along with the prayers of the pastors there, the performance of song encouraged the experience of repentant feelings, an emotional state that ultimately preserved the city of Leipzig from the hostile attacks waged against it by its aggressors. Such passages speak to the contemporary value afforded to musical performance as a means of protecting a community from the hardships of war. Prayer and song—when coupled with the sincere emotionality of their performance—were believed to be the true weapons of the church, \textit{preces enim et lacrimae sunt arma Ecclesiae}. Song’s capacity to cultivate repentance within the performing community was, in the case of Leipzig, one of the factors that was believed to have ultimately spared its musicking citizens from utter destruction. When faced with the question: what is there to be done during times of immediate danger? The answer at least for those in Leipzig was: pray and sing together so that repentance might be felt in the whole community.

Though the above account is fairly vague about the type of music performed during the siege, it appears that by the late 1630s, one song in particular had earned some renown for the way in which it was sung by the citizens of Leipzig during the attack. In a 1639 compilation of sacred songs titled \textit{Andächtige Hertz- und Seelen-MUSICA}, Johann Wilschius included some 150 songs by the most popular authors of the day.\textsuperscript{93} Number fifty-one in the collection is Balthasar

\begin{quote}

\textsuperscript{93} Johann Wilschius, \textit{Andächtige Hertz- und Seelen-Musica} (Northausen, 1639). I have only found one exemplar of this collection, which is housed at the Braunschweig Stadtbibliothek (D-BSstb) with the shelf-mark: C 872 (8º). The songs included in the collection were written by such authors as Wilhelm Alard, Josua Stegman, Sigismund
Schnurr’s eight-verse *O Grosser Gott von Macht*. A short phrase printed below the title informs the reader of this selection’s performance history: “Ein geistlich Lied/ welches in der Belagerung A. 1633. zu Leipzig ist gesungen worden [A spiritual song, which was sung at the siege of Leipzig in the year 1633].” Wilschius’ comment that this particular tune was “sung at the siege of Leipzig” raises questions about its role in the efforts of Lutheran Germans to exercise feeling agency during times of immediate danger. Was this song actually performed during the siege? And why was it, in particular, understood to be effective in promoting repentance and protecting the community under attack?

Schnurr’s eight-verse sacred song is a poeticized account of the destruction of Sodom as recorded in the eighteenth chapter of Genesis—an account in which Abraham prays, asking God to search the city in order to find even a handful of righteous inhabitants that might allow him to spare it. Ultimately, no repentant citizens are found within, and the city was destroyed. Rather than a straightforward account of the city’s annihilation, Schnurr’s song rhetorically assumes the narrative voice of Abraham. Each of the poetic verses begins first with a four-line address to God that recognizes a different aspect of his nature. As the song unfolds, Abraham appeals to these characteristics, entreating God to search the city again and again in an effort to find repentant inhabitants. In verse one, he asks God to look for just fifty of such individuals; this number is decreased in each subsequent strophe until verse seven, where Abraham asks God to find even a mere ten people who are worthy of saving. Unable to find them, Abraham asks God in the final...
verse to think at least on the city’s innocent children; but even they cannot persuade God to spare the city. In 1633, Johann Matthaüs Meyfart (1590–1642) added a ninth verse to this hymn, which is now primarily known from Johann Sebastian Bach’s setting of it in the final choral of his cantata Schauet doch und sehet (BWV46).95

As the narrative voice asks God again and again in each verse to search the community for even a handful of repentant sinners, those who actually sing the text learn to recognize themselves as the people for and about whom Abraham prays. The patriarch’s repeated pleadings for God to spare the sinful community of Sodom implicate, in other words, both those in the historical city and those living in seventeenth-century Germany. By performing this song during a siege, the citizens of Leipzig effectively identified themselves as a new Sodom filled with sinful inhabitants who, through their lack of repentance, caused God to send destruction to the community. Singing this song impressed upon its performers the urgency of situation and the immediate need for repentance. As fireballs crashed into the St. Nicholas Church, the singing community would have understood that their numerous sins were the ultimate cause of and reason behind the current and impending destruction. In order to prevent further damage to Leipzig, the communal experience of repentance that the citizens of Sodom lacked was desperately needed.

Whether or not this song actually was sung during the siege is a more difficult question to answer. What is evident in extant sources is that O Grosser Gott von Macht seems to have been an important musical text to the people of Leipzig even before the siege of 1633. The eight-verse version of the song by Schnurr, for example, appears in a 1631 print listing those people who were to attend the Leipzig Convention—a meeting of Protestant leaders from Central Europe in

95 Stefan Hanheide, Friedensgesänge 1628–1651, XLVIII.
Leipzig that convened by request of Johann Georg I, elector of Saxony, to discuss strategies to uphold the Imperial constitution and defend those in Protestant areas of Central Europe against the Emperor’s increasing aggression. The song was published in the print in order that, according to the title page, “God will be called, so that He might graciously take away from us the well-deserved afflictions of war and bloodshed, and will want to give and grant to so many Christians the high-honorable, desired peace.” Furthermore, *O Grosser Gott von Macht* was published in a 1632 print by Leipzig printer Gregor Ritzsch (1584–1643). The theme of repentance is once again indicated on the publication’s title-page, which reads: *Ein Andächtiges Buß=Lied/ Aus der Vorbitt Abrahams für die Sodomiter/ Gen. 18. Ob vielleicht das Väterliche Hertz Gottes sich noch wolte bewegen lassen/ das wolverdiente Verderben von vns abzuwenden* (A devotional Repentance-Song from the supplication of Abraham for the Sodomites, Genesis 18, So that perhaps the fatherly heart of God will want to be moved in order that our well-deserved ruin might be averted). The music notation preserved in the document is a single vocal line—a *discantus* in C1 clef—under which the first verse of the song is printed (example 4.6). Johannes Zahn surmised that, since the designation *discantus* appears along with this tune, other vocal parts were likely printed but are no longer extant. The song’s remaining seven subsequent verses appear in print underneath the musical notation, and the ninth verse of this

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96 Peter Wilson notes that, though only Protestant leaders were invited to the Leipzig Convention, the meeting’s aim was not exclusively religious in nature. No specific confessional language appears in the meeting’s resulting manifesto. Peter Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe’s Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 465–467.
97 “GOtt angeruffen wird/ daß Er die wolverdienten Landstraffe deß Krieges vnd Blutvergiessens gnädiglich von vns abwenden/ vnd den von so viel Christen gewünschten hochedlen Landfrieden dermaleins wiederumb geben vnd verleihen wolle.” *Außschreiben Deß Durchleuchtigsten/ Johann Georgen...An die Sämptlichen Evangelischen Stände/ so den 4. Febuarii Anno 1631 zu Leiptzig erscheinen sollen* (1631), title-page. VD17 14:004469D
99 Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, sechster Band* (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag Bertelsmann, 1893), 150.
song by Meyfart is handwritten at the end of the document, suggesting that this song was performed even after it was published in 1632 and after Meyfart had later penned the verse in 1633.

Example 4.6. Melody from *Ein Andächtiges Buß=Lied*.\(^{100}\)

![Example 4.6. Melody from *Ein Andächtiges Buß=Lied*.](image)

Significantly, the tune featured here was written four years earlier for the homophonic setting of *O Grosser Gott von Macht* that appeared in Melchior Franck’s 1628 composition, *Suspirium Germaniae Publicum*. Because no quotation of this particular tune appears to exist prior to Franck’s 1628 sigh-composition, he is most likely its composer.\(^{101}\) The tune featured in Ritsch’s 1632 print appears in the cantus voice of Franck’s four-voice setting shown below in example 4.7.

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\(^{100}\) This tune is transcribed from *Ein Andächtiges Buß=Lied* (Leipzig, 1632).

\(^{101}\) An anonymous manuscript setting of “O Grosser Gott von Macht” for voice and basso continuo that features the same tune is preserved in the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv – Standort Wolfenbüttel (D-Wa) with the signatur: 1 Alt 22 Nr. 227. Though the arranger is not listed, the manuscript once belonged to the musically literate Duchess Sophie Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, herself a composer.
Example 4.7. Melchior Franck, *Suspirium Germaniae Publicum*, mm. 114–134.\textsuperscript{102}

Based on these sources, it is impossible to determine whether those in Leipzig sang Franck’s exact setting of *O Grosser Gott von Macht* as the city endured its third siege (though circumstantial evidence might suggest such a reading). What is important to note is that the text of this song was understood by contemporaries to be an expression of repentance and was, at

\textsuperscript{102} Melchior Franck, “Suspirium Germaniae Publicum,” 108.
least according to Franck, an example of a musical sigh-composition. Its supposed performance during the 1633 siege of Leipzig confirms the contemporary understanding that singing such musical texts during occasions that demanded immediate repentance had real implications on the outcome of the war. By demonstrating the experience of sincere spiritual sorrow of sin through musical performance, a community might be able to cool God’s wrath and thus persuade him to reduce the hardships he sent. This phenomenon attests to early modern Lutherans’ understanding of the efficacy of music in general, and emotional sigh-prayers in particular, to enact change within the world by means of the emotional conditions it elicited in its performers and listeners—to function as a kind of feeling agency when no other immediate course of action was possible.

But this type of feeling agency must be qualified within the Lutheran theological context out of which it emerged. Though humans elicit an emotional condition by means of the texts they sing, it is essential to note that Lutherans understood that it was ultimately God who enacted change in the world. The diminishment of wartime hardships is not the product of direct human will or reason since these are always inferior to the will of God. Rather, change in the world is enacted always and directly by God, who acts according to the passive existential states of his followers. The ability of humans to effectuate change though song in this situation, then, ultimately lies in the indirect routes by which performers fundamentally reorient their hearts in the process of repentance. Music is an exercise of feeling agency to the extent that its performance encourages the experience of spiritual sadness, the successful cultivation of which was believed to reduce the hardships of war through the exercise of God’s grace. Musical sigh-compositions were thus performative spaces where communal repentance might be practiced and tested—a microcosm that reflected the macrocosm of the repentant community to which the
Lutheran ultimately belonged. In face-to-face performances, Lutherans learned through such exemplary models as the prophet Daniel the proper ways to experience and express their collective spiritual sorrow. While the songs themselves did not literally act in the world, they nevertheless assisted in completing the crucial internal tasks necessary for repentance, proving to God that those in the collective community were—unlike the citizens of Abraham’s Sodom—worthy of salvation from imminent destruction.
CHAPTER 5

The Sighs of Doves and Turtledoves: Singing the Politics of Suffering in Popular- and Devotional-Song

The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle[dove] is heard in our land.
–Song of Songs 2:12

O deliver not the soul of thy turtledove unto the multitude of the wicked: forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever.
–Psalm 74:19

The study of historical attitudes toward birdsong has become a topic of inquiry in recent decades, especially within musicological literature. Elizabeth Eva Leach, for example, explores the ontological qualities of medieval music through contemporary theoretical attitudes toward birdsong in her fascinating study Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages. In it, Leach argues that the melodious tones of birds were not and could not be considered music in the formal sense because they were not created by the mind of a rational, thinking being.1 Kate van Orden, too, analyzes the use of bird metaphors in the Parisian Chanson of the late sixteenth century, highlighting the ways in which the libidinal imagery of birds often featured in French poetry were transmitted through the musical medium into the homes of a newly burgeoning class of nouveaux nobles.2 Outside of musicology, historians such as Bruce Thomas Boehrer have illustrated how birds such as the parrot acquired new meanings in early modern Europe as political balances shifted and new ways of interpreting the world emerged.

during the Reformation. Once associated with the dignity and power of the Catholic church, reformed-minded thinkers effectively transformed the parrot into a symbol of stupidity; like the Catholic people and institutions with which it became associated, the bird was the object of Protestant derision, a symbol for Catholics’ excessive luxuriousness and their ability to only mimic the Latin language without fully understanding the meanings it communicated.

Collectively, these and other studies demonstrate that the sounds of birds and the ways in which historical listeners interpret them disclose much more about the cultural values of human music-making practices than the sonic qualities of actual birds. Building on such recent work by Leach, van Orden, and Boehrer, this chapter engages with the sound of one particular family of birds that, like the parrot in sixteenth century Europe, was heavily implicated in early modern European confessional politics—the dove and turtledove. Like Boehrer’s project, this chapter is concerned with the ways in which these (symbolic) birds had to “evolve” and “adapt” to the changing attitudes of those who gauged their importance. But like Leach’s and van Orden’s work, this chapter is particularly concerned with the sonic connotations of the birds’ “voices.”

How did the sounds of these birds disclose the ways in which they, and the early modern Europeans who metaphorically resembled them, adapted to the vicissitudes of their volatile social and political climates? The voice of the dove and turtledove offers a particularly interesting case for such a study because of the explicitly emotional states with which it was

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4 Ibid., 97–98.
5 Boehrer draws from Michael Randall analysis of toads in the French Renaissance. Randall writes that “symbolic toads, like real ones, must adapt to their environment or die;” the values and meanings assigned to symbolic animals, in other words, must permute along with the shifting attitudes of those who interpret them. Michael Randall, “On the Evolution of Toads in the French Renaissance,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 126.
6 I use “voices” in quotation marks here to recognize that voice is an anthropomorphic category assigned to animals rather than something they naturally possess.
associated in medieval and early modern Europe. Unlike the parrot, the dove and turtledove could not “speak” human language. Nor could these birds “sing” pleasant melodies like the nightingale. Instead, people heard (and perhaps still hear) these birds’ voices as painful groans, lamenting coos, and melancholic sighs.

The sigh-like quality of these birds’ voices played at least two significant roles in the history of Seuffzer. First, the sighing of the dove and turtledove marked the birds’ voices as inherently prayerful. Like the heart’s sighs, these birds offered endless prayers to heaven through their unceasing groans, illustrating their “natural” piety and devotion to God. Second, the birds’ vocalizations indicated their innate emotional temperament—the dove and turtledove were considered to be in states of perpetual mourning and sorrow. The origins of these birds’ emotional connotations are as old as (if not older than) the Old Testament, which offers numerous examples of the mournful qualities of doves’ and turtledoves’ voices. When, for example, King Hezekiah became ill and anticipated his death—an account told in Isaiah 38—he remembered in verse 14: “Like a crane or a swallow so did I chatter: I did mourn as a dove: mine eyes fail with looking upward: O LORD, I am oppressed; undertake for me.” But for German Lutherans during the Thirty Years War, the birds’ sighs were inflected with new emotional meanings. Though the dove- and turtledove-sigh was always a multivocal gesture, evoking numerous meanings at any one moment, this chapter argues that these bird vocalizations indexed one novel mode of emotional experience for German-speaking Protestants that was inextricably intertwined with contemporary confessional politics. The sigh of the dove and turtledove reminded Lutherans in Central Europe of the persecution they faced by their perceived enemies, the aggressive Catholic Church and its agents.

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7 Isa. 38:14 (AV).
In this chapter, I not only examine discourses about the dove and turtledove sigh, but I also analyzes popular- and devotional-songs (a number of which are identified as musical sigh-compositions) that reference the voices of doves and turtledoves, placing these texts in conversation with contemporary prayer-books, sermons, and visual media. It is not my goal to question whether contemporaries considered the sighs of doves and turtledoves to be ontologically musical. Leach has already engaged considerably with medieval theorists’ writings that addressed such concerns, and—to some extent—those in early modern Germany inherited similar theoretical attitudes toward the non-musical sounds of birds. Rather, this chapter interrogates the ways in which song and discourses about real or symbolic environmental sounds disclose historically situated modes of feeling.

The extant musical texts that reference the sighs of doves and turtledoves elucidate some of the performative means by which emotion embedded itself within particular communities during the war. In the act of singing music about these birds’ sorrowful natures, performers’ voices became metaphorical representations of the dove’s and turtledove’s sighs themselves. Singing their lamentations, Lutherans populated their own sonic environments with sorrowful voices in the same manner as the very birds about which they sang. Just as one could hear doves and turtledoves sighing in nature, so too could one hear the metaphorical sighing of German Lutherans through their performed musical laments. Given the sonic medium through which affective discourses about the dove- and turtledove-sigh were communicated, this chapter argues

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8 For example, Vincentius Schmuck notes in his *De oratione Gratiarum Actione usu Musices*—a collection of writings from Luther and the Bible organized into tractates on prayer and music—that while birds are pleased to sing the entire day without fully giving attention to the significance of their songs, they differ from humans because of humans’ rational capacities to understand language. Schmuck writes that, compared to birds, “wir menschen aber wissen/ was wir singen/ vnd warumb wir singen/ vnd ist der Mensch nicht Ehren werth/ der nicht bedencken wil/ warumb vns G Ott mit einer deutslichen Sprache vnd vernemlichen Stimme begnadet hat/ daß wir auch damit alle lebendige Thier vberreffen.” Vincentius Schmuck, *De oratione Gratiarum Actione usu Musices* (Leipzig, 1628), 393–394.
that extant music referencing the birds’ sighs performatively enacted the novel, political mode of emotional experience with which the dove and turtledove sigh became associated during the war.\(^9\) Singing about the sighs of these birds effectively reinforced new political modes of feeling by reminding Lutherans of the saddened state of their persecuted Church and, by extension, all the oppressed members who comprised it.

**The Voices of Doves and Turtledoves**

The dove’s and turtledove’s symbolic importance in Christian church history stems largely from the prominent role the birds play in the Bible’s narrative. At key moments in the New Testament—at the baptism of Jesus, for example—the Holy Spirit chooses to appear and represent itself in the form of a dove.\(^{10}\) The Old Testament, too, is filled with various anecdotes about the dove and turtledove, including the flood story recounted in the eighth chapter of Genesis, in which Noah releases a dove from the ark to find proof that the floodwaters had begun to recede from the Earth. Though explicit recognition of these bird’s vocalizations in the Bible is rare, medieval exegetes from the early Church frequently commented on the birds’ lamenting sighs. These exegetical writings play a significant part in the ways in which early modern Lutherans later interpreted the bird vocalization and imbued it with its own novel, contemporary meaning.

The writings of St. Augustine are particularly rich sources from early Church history that illuminate the emotional qualities of the dove-sigh and the ways in which it related to an

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\(^{10}\) “And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him.” Matt. 3:16 (AV). It is no surprise, given the importance of the dove in early Christian church symbolism, that the entirety of Gregorian chant repertoire was believed to have been transmitted to Pope Gregory the Great via the mouth of a dove. For more on the Pope Gregory I myth, see Leo Treitler, “Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant,” *The Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (1974): 333–372.
essentially Christian existence. For the patristic author, the dove sigh was a symbol of shared communal love for one’s fellow Christians, an aspect most explicitly visible by the Holy Spirit’s decision to reveal itself at Jesus’ baptism in the form of the dove. But additionally, the sigh of the dove was a marker of its inherent sorrowful nature—the product of its piety and its painful longing to leave the world and return to Christ. Augustine’s sixth tractate of his *Expositions on the Gospel of John* addresses both of these aspects, beginning first with an explication of the bird’s symbolic relation to the Holy Spirit as it made itself present at Jesus’ baptism. The scene is recounted in John 1:32–33:

> And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him [Jesus]. And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.11

Seeking to understand why the Holy Spirit chose to appear in the form of the dove, Augustine considers another moment in the New Testament where the Holy Spirit made itself known, the first Pentecost (Acts 2:1–13). The Spirit’s appearance to Jesus’ disciples who had gathered after his crucifixion caused them to speak diverse foreign tongues. Augustine notes, though, that Christ’s disciples were charged to preach to all nations and were therefore blessed by the Holy Spirit with the gift of many languages. Though the disciples were all linguistically divided within the same room, the Spirit’s appearance indicated their unity of purpose as one spiritual body.12 The dove, then, was a symbol of simultaneous diversity of talents but unity of cause. Augustine applies this same logic to the crowd of listeners who had gathered to hear his own lecture on the first chapter of John. He questions his audience’s motives, reasoning that their zeal to commune

11 John 1:32–33 (AV).
12 “Thanks be to God, it was to the nations the apostles were sent; if to the nations, then to all tongues. The Holy Spirit signified this, being divided in the tongues, united in the dove. Here the tongues are divided, there the dove unites them.” Augustine of Hippo, *Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel of John*, translated by Rev. John Gibb and Rev. James Innes (E-book: Aeterna press, 2014), 62.
together must indicate their piousness, inquisitiveness, and their love for one another in Christ. These shared emotional bonds signified the presence of the same Holy Spirit who had chosen to reveal itself at Jesus’s baptism in the form of a dove. It was this shared communion between members of the Church body which led Augustine to encourage his audience to recognize their mutual Christian love, writing “let our love mutually sigh towards God; for the note of the dove is a sighing or moaning.”

But in addition to communal love, the dove’s groaning and sighing might also indicate a second aspect of Christian existence—namely, the painful longing to reach heaven and unite with Christ for eternity. Augustine elaborates on this aspect in the same tractate on the Gospel of John by explicating the story of Noah’s ark in Genesis 8:6–12. Near the end of the flood, Noah released a raven from the boat to find land. The raven never returned to the ship, so Noah instead sent a dove to accomplish the same task. The dove became tired in its search and returned to the ship for a brief period of rest, after which it was sent out a second time. It later returned to the ark carrying an olive leaf, indicating that the floodwaters had begun to recede. The raven for Augustine is emblematic of all those who enjoy the sensuousness of earthly life too much. The fact that the bird failed to return to the ark indicated its selfish behavior; it sought to find comfort in the world and, as a result, drowned in the water. For Augustine, the raven represents “he with whom it is well in this world, or rather he who thinks it is well with him, who exults in the joy of carnal things, in the abundance of things temporal;” appropriately, the sound emitted by these individuals is “the cry of the raven; for the raven’s cry is full of clamor, not of groaning.”

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13 Ibid., 57. The dove and its vocalizations were linguistically linked in the Latin language by the verb gemere which, depending on its context, can be translated as meaning either “to groan, moan, sigh” or, when used in reference to the dove, “to coo.” William Harmless, Augustine and the Catechumenate (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 221. Consult the note on vocabulary in this dissertation’s introduction.

14 Augustine of Hippo, Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel of John, 58.
Unlike the ravens, who sought to gratify their own pleasure, the dove returned twice to the ship, proving its loyalty to the task with which it was charged and its desire to find a safe haven when weary. Doves then, and the people who resemble them, recognize that their inhabitation of the Earth is what separates them from eternal rest and, ultimately, from God. The earth for these people is not a site of sensual enjoyment, but rather a place to be temporarily endured until they are able to once again return to heaven. Doves seek out Christ as if “sojourners in a foreign land” and mourn longingly to return to the place from which they came.\textsuperscript{15} While those who live too much in the world cried clamorously as ravens, those who longed to return to God’s kingdom mournfully groan and sigh like the dove, yearning for “perpetual blessedness” by means of an eternal reunification with God in the afterlife.\textsuperscript{16} In one terse statement, Augustine summarizes the different natures of these two birds: “Who are ravens? They who seek their own. Who are the doves? They who seek the things that are Christ’s.”\textsuperscript{17}

This exegetical interpretation of the dove’s sigh as a sonic symbol of the bird’s inherent sorrow and painful longing to return to Christ in heaven was also applied by some medieval authors to the voice of the bird’s closely related cousin, the turtledove. While the dove is featured prominently throughout the Bible, the turtledove appears less frequently. But one location where the bird’s presence was noted by medieval exegetes was the Song of Songs. The dialogic structure of the Old Testament book, in which a lover and his beloved exchange often sensual poetic words with each other, was frequently interpreted throughout Christian church history to be an allegorical conversation between Christ and his bride, who represented either the

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 57.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 58.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 63.
The physical qualities of the bridegroom and especially the bride are frequently compared throughout the Song of Songs to those of the dove, effectually identifying the bird as a term of endearment offered from one lover to the other. In Song of Songs 2:14, for example, the bridegroom explicitly identifies his lover as a dove, addressing her directly with the vocative “O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely.” But the voice of the turtledove also makes an appearance in chapter two, in which the beloved asks her lover to “rise up” and “come away” with her, since “the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle[dove] is heard in our land.”

In his sermon on Song of Songs 2:12, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) considers the significance of the turtledove’s voice in this passage. He questions what conditions must have changed in the mentalities of contemporary listeners to such an extent that the turtledove’s voice, while not being new to the story, is no longer just a symbol of love. He wonders if the way people understand these symbols has changed over time, with different interpretations emerging from different periods. He reflects on the complexity of allegorical readings, which have been common in Christian history since Origen, and how they have evolved over the centuries.

Allegorical readings of the Old Testament book had been common in Christian history since Origen (ca. 184–ca. 254), a third-century theologian whose training in Jewish exegetical practices and Greek philosophy led to the first highly influential allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs in both the Christian East and West. E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 20. Origen’s work is preceded by only one other allegorical interpretation by Hippolytus of Rome, a fragmentary and incomplete work that was contemporaneously understood in the medieval Christian church to actually be the writing of Ambrose. Origen’s novel contribution to Song of Songs exegeses survives in two sources—the Commentary and Homilies—both of which are Latin translations of the original Greek by Rufinus and Jerome respectively. Ibid., 25-26. In his writings, Origen understands the bride-bridegroom relationship to be an expression of the love between Christ and either the corporate church or the individual soul. E. Ann Matters stresses that in early church history, the Bride as representative of the corporate church was the more important of the two interpretive frameworks since “it shows Origen’s involvement in the complex developing theological framework of ecclesiology” in which the church “is pre-existent, visible in the Old Testament and among the Gentiles, on earth, and, in its mystical fulness [sic], the body of Christ.” Ibid., 31. Robert Kendrick notes that, by the thirteenth-century, there were four common ways to interpret the relationship between the lover and his beloved in the Song of Songs. These included 1) Christ with the Christian soul (“tropological approach”), 2) Christ with the Church (the “ecclesiological view”), 3) Christ with his Mother Mary (“Marian exegesis”), and 4) Christ with Mary Magdalen (the “Mary Magdalen-based view”). Robert Kendrick, “‘Sonet vox tua in auribus meis’: Song of Songs Exegesis and the Seventeenth-Century Motet,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1994):103.
though once ignored, was suddenly heard. Thinking through this quandary, Bernard reasons that before humans became aware of Christ’s message, they were comfortable to live in the world and enjoy its sensual pleasures; that is, they had no reason to lament their sinful condition since they felt content with the circumstances in which they lived. But, Bernard writes, “when the promise of the kingdom became known, then men realized that they had no lasting city here [on Earth], and they began to seek with all their longing the one that is to come.” Recognizing that the temporal world was not their true desire, Christians grew dissatisfied with the impermanence of material life and its pleasures; they sought instead Christ, desiring to return to him in eternal paradise and growing sorrowful of the fact that this goal could never be achieved while in human, bodily form. Bernard continues, noting that this new experience manifested itself in the outward expression of mournful groans and sighs.

Now meanwhile a holy soul ardently desires the presence of Christ, he endures the deferment of the kingdom painfully, he salutes from afar with groans and sighs the homeland he longs for—do you not think that anybody on this earth who behaves like this is in the position of the chaste and mournful turtle-dove? …Why should the absence of Christ not move me to frequent tears and daily groanings?

It was in relation to these groans and sighs of the sorrowful, yearning Christian that the voice of the turtledove became relevant since “usually the voice of the turtle-dove does not sound very sweet, but it suggests things that are sweet…With her voice more akin to mourning than to singing, she reminds us that we are pilgrims.” Of note here is that the voice of the turtledove as Bernard understands it in this passage did not suddenly appear, as if the bird had returned from a long migration, but rather that the sound was consciously heard for the first time after Christ’s message had made listeners aware of their irreconcilable separation from him.

21 Bernard of Clairvaux, On the Song of Songs III, translated by Kilian Walsh and Irene M. Edmonds (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979), 123.
22 Ibid., 123–124.
23 Ibid., 122.
Bernard’s homily demonstrates how the development of new affective experiences change the way in which historical people listened to their sonic environment. The sudden recognition of the turtledove’s voice signified for Bernard a new widespread cognitive experience characterized by a novel discontent of the world, a desirous longing for heaven, and a persistent sadness that was ultimately the product of one’s earthly separation from and endless pilgrimage to Christ. The shift in emotional experience from one of satisfaction to one general discontent had a significant effect on the way in which people heard their landscape’s aural characteristics—namely, they began to consciously hear the turtledove’s voice as a reminder of their own groaning and sighing for Christ.

Bernard’s conception of the voice of the turtledove as a marker of spiritual sorrow closely matches that of Augustine’s understanding of the dove-sigh. Both forms of bird vocalizations serve as sonic symbols of the Christian’s painful dissatisfaction of the world and perpetual pilgrimage to reunite with Christ in heaven. Though two distinct sounds, the sigh of the dove and the sigh of the turtledove both served as symbolic indicators of the same emotional experience. But Bernard’s description of the turtledove’s voice in particular highlights one important difference between it and the dove upon which those in the seventeenth century would later capitalize—that is, the turtledove’s life-long fidelity to its partner. The bird had been identified as a symbol of chastity long before Bernard penned his homilies in the twelfth century. In the anonymous second-century text *Physiologus*, for example, the turtledove is described as a chaste and faithful partner even in widowhood: “if it happens that her [the turtledove’s] husband is caught by the hawk or the bird-catcher, she unites with no other man but is always desiring him
[her husband] and is every moment longing for him.”

St. Ambrose too, in his *Hexameron*, encourages all widows to model their behavior on the turtledove by living of chastity and remaining faithful to their deceased husbands.

Like his predecessors, Bernard too elaborates on the sexual purity of the turtledove, noting how the bird:

- is content with one mate; if he is lost it does not take another, thus arguing against man’s tendency to marry more than once…During its widowhood you may see the turtle-dove fulfilling with unflagging zeal the duties of holy widowhood. Everywhere you see it alone, everywhere you hear it mourning; you never see it perched on a green bough—a lesson to you to avoid the green but poisonous shoots of sensual pleasure. Rather it haunts the mountain ridges and the tops of trees, to teach us to shun the pleasures of earth and to love those of heaven.

Implicit in Bernard’s writings and those that preceded them are contemporary gendered conventions that understood the turtledove to be female and her deceased partner to be male. The exemplary behaviors of Christian chastity and spousal fidelity comes not from the behaviors of the male bird, but from the way that the female behaves after the death of her life-mate. She does not take another husband, but mourns perpetually, refusing to drink clean water and making her home only in the branches of dead trees. The gender expression of the turtledove is thus congruent with that of the Church as interpreted in the Song of Songs bride-bridegroom allegory. Just as the Church is Christ’s faithful and monogamous bride, so too is the female turtledove faithful and monogamous to her male spouse. When understood in light of this gender-

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25 Quoting Virgil’s *Aeneid* throughout, Ambrose writes “Chastity belongs to the turtledove; grace, to the pigeon. It is related that the turtledove, when widowed by the loss of her consort, was ‘utterly weary of the bridal-bed’ and even of the world itself, for the reason that ‘her first love, turning traitor, cheated her by death.’ He was regarded as unfaithful from the point of view of perpetuity and as dour in respect to beauty in that he had created more pain as a result of his death than sweetness from his love. Therefore, she renounces any other marriage alliance and does not break the laws of chastity or her pledges to her beloved, reserving for him alone her love, for him alone cherishing the name of wife. Learn, women, how great are the joys of that widowhood which even birds are said to observe.” Saint Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, translated by John J. Savage (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 210.

dichotomy, the sighing laments of the turtledove—indeed the turtledove’s voice itself—can only be a gendered feminine voice. The bird’s sighs express a particular mode of emotional experience performatively confined to the realm of womanhood. Only a bride’s painful lamentation for her deceased bridegroom can be compared to the emotional experiences of the turtledove’s perpetual sighing for her own lost spouse.

**Dove- and Turtledove-Sighs in Seventeenth-Century Germany**

In the first half of the seventeenth century, many of the qualities of the dove and turtledove sigh on which Augustine and Bernard elaborated were further developed in a number of private devotional manuals by both Catholic and Protestant authors that circulated throughout Central Europe. One of the earliest of these that most explicitly relied on the dove-sigh topos was Robert Bellarmine’s 1617 Latin devotional work, *De gemitu columbae, siue de bono lacrimarum usu libri tres* (The Groans of the Dove, or Concerning the Value of Tears in Three Books).27 Though the Latin devotional-book was published in Italy by a Roman Jesuit priest and intended for Catholic audiences, it was made available to German-speaking audiences in Central Europe through translation only a year after its first publication.28 The preface of *De gemitu columbae* gives some context to the manner in which the author began to work on the book and where he found inspiration for its particular source content.29 Searching for the “true way to eternal life,”

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28 Robert Bellarmine, *De Gemitu Columbae, Das ist/ vom Seufftzen der Dauben* (Augsburg, 1618). A digitized version of this print is available through the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Asc. 439.
29 *De gemitu columbae* was written near the end of Bellarmine’s life during a time in which he published several other private devotional manuals on a variety of topics ranging from effective methods of prayer to the proper way to die. The authors increasing attention to devotional works near the end of his life is described in Christian David Washburn, “St. Robert Cardinal Bellarmino’s defense of Catholic Christology against the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity,” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 2005), 119. Christoph Benke identifies *De gemitu columbae* as a collection of meditations that participate in a long tradition of the “gift of tears” literature. Benke notes that, though *De gemitu columbae* is Bellarmine’s only contribution to the gift of tears literature, the topics addressed within his book are rather conventional when compared with similar writings in the tradition’s long history. But the manner in which each theme is addressed, according to Benke, allows the Jesuit author to broach
Bellarmine meditated on the words of Psalm 55 [54], “Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest.” For Bellarmine, the dove must have been consciously singled out by the psalmist since the speed or majesty of the bird is not especially noteworthy; in fact, there are many other birds who could easily overshadow the humble dove. But Bellarmine reasons that it was precisely because of the dove’s humility, simplicity, and purity that the psalmist chose to aspire to be like it over all other birds.

An integral component of Bellarmine’s understanding of the dove’s sigh in particular extends from the Song of Songs bride-bridegroom allegory, a concept most thoroughly developed in the author’s second meditation. Bellarmine reasons that since the bride is so frequently compared to the dove in the Song of Songs itself, the bird must also act as a symbol of the church and its members. Those who comprise this true Church must learn to exhibit behavioral characteristics typical of the dove, including its distinctive mournful cooing and sighing. Echoing Augustine, Bellarmine writes that the bird’s distinctive sigh is not like that of

topics important to his contemporary ecclesiastical concerns, among them the “Katechese, kontroverstheologische Bemerkungen, Paränese, Zeitkritisches zum Sittenverfall seiner Zeit.” Christoph Benke, Die Gabe der Tränen: Zur Tradition und Theologie eines vergessenen Kapitels der Glaubensgeschichte (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2002), 297–298. In this literary genre—the origins of which begin with the ascetic writings of desert Christian authors such as John Climacus—tears were understood to be at once an indication of one’s pious devotion to God and simultaneously a gift from God himself. See Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, “‘Pray with Tears and Your Request Will Find a Hearing’: On the Iconology of the Magdalene’s Tears,” in Holy Tears: Weeping and the Religious Imagination, ed. Kimberly C. Patton and John Stratton Hawley (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 205. The potency of these divinely inspired tears arose out of the intensification of particular aspects of devotional life, which included one’s love for Christ; an experience of the grace of God; inner desire to rejoin with Christ in heaven; and compunctio (or penthos in Greek), the recognition of and repentance from one’s sins. Joseph Imorde, “Tasting God: The Sweetness of Crying in the Counter-Reformation,” in Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 258.

30 Ps. 55:6 (AV)

31 “Vnd obwol die Braut Christi ist die Kirchen/ so könden doch alle Breutten Christi vnd Dauben genennet werden/ die wahre vnd lebendige Glieder der Kirchen seynd/ vnd diweil das fürnembste vnd höchste Glied der Kirchen ist die allerseeligste Junckfraw vnd himmelkönigen Maria/ die gantz vnbefleckt/ vollkommen/ vnd die allerliebst ist/ derwegen wird sie per Antonomasiam, wie die Gelehrten reden/ vnder allen glieder der Kirchen/ ein Braut/ Freundin/ vnd Daube genennet.” Robert Bellarmine, De Gemitu columbae, das ist/ vom Seuffzten der Dauben, 28.
other birds whose voices are more melodious or even cacophonous and shrieking. In contradistinction, “it is then the characteristic of the dove not to sing, not to twitter, but to sigh, indeed much and often, almost without ceasing.” These birds distinguish themselves from others who live too much in the world’s pleasures, who “spend their life in joy with amusements, gluttony, chasing, performing, and with the like.” Those who emulate the behaviors of these birds are not doves and cannot call themselves members of the true church since they have not nurtured behaviors that produce mournful sighs. The Christian, then, should learn to reject worldly pleasures and cultivate a sense of sadness with which they too can sigh and coo unceasingly.

Therefore, let all of us who are Christians—when we [belong to the church] not only in number, but also in merits—desire to belong to the doves and sigh with them much and frequently: Since if we will not sigh, we will not belong to the doves or to Christ. God wishes from his servants that you abandon such great evils, and even more to give you grace unending, and to persist until death in sighing, indeed to be transformed through loud fountains of tears so that you may be counted among the doves on earth and made worthy, longing for the dove’s Bridegroom in heaven.

Despite the confessional differences between Lutheranism and Catholicism in the early seventeenth century, both drew from a shared church history of which the sigh of the dove and turtledove occupied one important part. It is unsurprising then to read about the significance of

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32 Quoting Isaiah 59:11 and Nahum 2:7, which mention the mourning sound of doves, Bellarmine notes that the sighing and groaning of the the dove is quite distinct compared to songbirds such as the nightingale or shrieking birds such as the raven. I provide here the quotations from the Bible as they appear in Bellarmine’s book. Isaiah 59 as quoted in Bellarmine reads “Wir werden in vnsern gedancken seufftzen wie die Dauben,” and Nahum 2 reads “Ihre Dienerin wurden gesänglich hingeführt/ vnd erseufftzeten als die Dauben.” Ibid., 25–26.
the dove’s and turtledove’s vocalizations in the writings of Protestant authors in the first half of the seventeenth century as well. One collection of sermons by the Lutheran preacher Michael Walther (1593–1662)—*Gemitus Lutheranae Columbulae* (1636)—offers a direct response to Bellarmine’s *De gemitu columbae*.36 Addressing his listeners in the first sermon, originally delivered on 6 February 1634, Walther makes his publication’s purpose clear:

I wanted with the granting of divine help to depict this work [Bellarmine’s *De gemitu columbae*] in these several sermons as it might be of use to you and myself—that is, to retain that which was good and edifying within it and to strongly refute that which was incorrectly taught and sprang from evil (as one must so frequently endure from the pulpit), furthermore explicating it, arranging it, and adding throughout my own thoughts from God’s Word.37

The extent to which Walther expanded and enriched the Jesuit devotional work was indeed significant. His published book—the only surviving copy of which is housed at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany—contains thirty sermons and occupies over 800 pages. Especially relevant for the purposes of this study are the pastor’s first two sermons of the collection, which respectively offer encyclopedic treatments of dove symbolism in Christian history and the bird’s distinctive sighs. Unlike Bellarmine’s devotional manual, Walther’s sermons draw from an impressive potpourri of sources that include the works of patristic authors of the early church, medieval monastic texts, ancient Classical sources, and writings of sixteenth-century humanistic authors.

In Walther’s opening sermon on Psalm 55:6-8—the same text on which Bellarmine meditates in the opening of his devotional manual—the pastor compares the church institution to

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37 “wil ich mit verleyhung Göttlicher hülf/ in etlichen Predigten der Arbeit dessen/ zu meinem vnd ewrem Nutz/ mich dergestalt gebrauchen/ Daß ich/ was darinnen gut vnd erbawlich ist/ behalte/ was vnrecht gelehret vnd vom bösen mit vntergesprengt wird/ so viel sichs auff der Cantzel leiden wil/ kräftiglich Widerlege/ vnd alles ferner außführe/ besser ordene vnd meine eigene Gedancken aus Gottes Wort überall hinzusetze.” Ibid., 3–4.
one of three different birds of the dove family: the common dove (“Hauptäublein”), the
turtledove (“Turteltaube”), and field- or woodland-doves (“Feld= vnd WaldTauben”). For the
common dove, Walther comments on a variety of the bird’s physical and behavioral
characteristics, noting that doves have a special proclivity for shyness, simplicity, forgetfulness,
and charm. The dove has clear eyes and rarely eats impure foods, and therefore lacks any kind of
gall. Doves, furthermore, are often chased by their enemies, but they love their birthplace to such
an extent that they return to it often. Walther relates each of these common characteristics to the
nature of the Church, noting that the institution is also simple, loving, and quick to forget the sins
of those who inhabit it. The Church ingests a pure diet of God’s Word, which helps to purge its
members of gall. And the Church’s clear eyes and beautiful color, like the dove, affords it a kind
of “unspeakable beauty.”\(^\text{38}\) Among the characteristics of the turtledove that Walther emphasizes
is its sexual purity and its proclivity toward monogamy, even after the death of its primary
partner.\(^\text{39}\) Echoing Bernard of Clairvaux, Walther writes that the bird avoids the green branches
of trees and prefer instead to make its home in the nests of dead branches while sighing and
lamenting perpetually the death of its spouse. The primary quality of the Field- and Forrest-dove
that Walther notes is its overall rarity and its tendency to nest in the crevices of rocks in order to

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 9–19.

\(^{39}\) The fidelity of the turtledove and its tendency to remain alone after the death of its primary partner was unsurprisingly a popular subject of many funeral sermons in the seventeenth century. Usually dedicated to the widow or widower of the deceased, these sermons elaborated on the chastity of the turtledove and offered pious models on which the partners of those who had died could continue to honor their marriage vows and lead proper Christian lives. These sermons often made explicit reference to the groaning sighs of the turtledove. See, for example, Paul Röber, *SeelenSeuffzerlein/ Des einsamen Turteltaubeins* (Wittenberg: Gorman, 1627). VD17 39:108840P’ Elias Ursinus, *Sic gemit erepto compare Turtur avis* (Nuremberg, 1621); Paul Röber, *Gemitus Columbini, Hertzliche Taubenseuffzerlein einer beängstigten Seelen* (Wittenberg: Hake, 1633), VD17 1:021897Y; *Turtur Gemens. Seuffzende Turteltaube/ Oder: Angstliche Wittiber Seuffzer Josephi Sartori[i]* (Breßlaw: Baumann, 1633), XB 6203 (55), HAB. For more on marriage in early modern Lutheranism, particularly its ritual aspects, see “Engagement and Marriage Ceremonies: Taming the Beast Within,” the first chapter in Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 6–42.
avoid pursuit by birds of prey and other outside dangers. These doves, he writes, are nomadic pilgrims who peregrinate from place to place in order to avoid the vulnerabilities present in the open air. Like them, the church too must endure the persecutions of the Godless Raubvogel (birds of prey) and the devil himself.40 The fact that the church could at any time resemble the qualities of one or all of these birds attests to the metaphor’s fluidity. Though each bird had its own characteristic behaviors, which Walther describes in great detail, the church could exhibit qualities of any one of these three birds simultaneously.

The birds’ characteristic sighs were a significant enough topic for Walther that he dedicated an entire sermon to their explication. The sermon, which is the second in the collection, was also delivered on February 6, 1634.41 In his preface to this full homily on the dove sigh, the pastor explicitly states that his purpose is to focus on the sonic characteristics of the dove, attempting to analyze the properties of such sighs and how “they are felt by all dear little church-doves and by all God-given hearts.”42 In actuality, Walther spends little time examining the aural qualities of doves’ voices themselves and focuses instead on the sighs of

40 “Der Teuffel ist der Jäger/ der vmbher gehet/ wie ein brüllender Lew/ vnd sucht/ welchen er vnter ihnen möge verschlingen. Der Tod ist der Wildschüt/ der sie vmb das natürliche Leben bringet vnd erwürget. Ist vnd heisset das nicht/ ein armseliges FeldTeublein seyn?” Michael Walther, Gemitus Lutheranae Columbulae, 27. Walther relates this characteristic of the wild dove to the popular devotional topos in early modern German Lutheran literature based on Song of Songs 2:14—“O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely.” Song of Sol. 2:14 (AV). Early Christian Mystics such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Johannes Tauler, in the tradition of Song of Songs exegesis, interpreted the dove in this passage as the human soul who, afflicted by worldly persecution, took refuge from such difficulties in the wounds exacted on Christ’s body at his crucifixion. By hiding one’s self in the wounds of Christ, the afflicted soul was joined with him in mystical union. For Lutherans, this mystical union was not a pleasant experience, but was always painfully conceived since the nature of man was inherently sinful and could never be equally compared to the unimaginable perfection of God. Elke Axmacher, Praxis Evangeliorum: Theologie und Frömmigkeit bei Martin Moller (1547–1606) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 214.

41 Michael Walther, Gemitus Lutheranae Columbulae, 20.

42 “Auff dißmal/ wiel auch das eine Eigenschafft der Tauben ist/ daß sie girren vnd kirren/ ächzen vnd seufftzen/ stöhnen vnd sich sehnen/ auff eine gar sonderliche Art/ wollen wir hören/ was denn die fürnemsten Gemitus vnd Seufftzerlein seien/ die man bey dem lieben KirchTeublein vnd bey allen Gottergebenen Hertzen verspüret.” Ibid., 38.
those “human-doves” who comprised the church. A majority of the pastor’s sermon on the
dove sigh is dedicated to identifying and explicating the various verses of the Bible in which the
sigh is mentioned. From his survey of scripture, Walther is able to confidently claim that
“countless groans and sighs, my loved ones in the Lord, happen in heaven, in hell, and on Earth,
indeed in all places where God, the Spirit, and man reside.” He reasons that Seufftzer must
appear in heaven because of such scriptural verses such as Romans 8:26—in which the sighs of
the Holy Spirit are described as intercessions for those who do not properly know how to pray—and
Mark 8:12, in which Jesus himself sighs “deeply in his spirit.” Contrary to these sacred
sighs, the groans that emerge from Hell are primarily a result of those “impure spirits, the lost
and damned people [who sigh] over eternal punishment and anguish.” The overwhelming
presence of sighing on Earth prompts the pastor to rhetorically ask: “What more is the whole
world than a locus suspiriorum, a place of uncountable sighs?” A significant portion of
Walther’s sermon is dedicated to classifying and identifying the various types of Seufftzer that
appear on Earth, a summary of which is provided below in table 5.1. The type of Seufftzer is

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43 The pastor and theologian Sigismund Scherertz similarly uses the dove-sigh topos in his twenty-ninth mediation
dem tiefen Seufftzen des gescheuchten Täubleins,” from his Fuga Melancholicae, to describe the various emotional
circumstances that promote the experience of Seufftzer. Sigismund Scherertz, Fuga Melancholicae (Lüneberg, 1633),
219.
44 “Gemitus vnd Seufftzer/ Ihr meine Geliebte im HErm/ geschehen im Himmel/ in der Hell vnd auff Erden ohne
Zahl/ vnd also an allen denen Orten/ da sich Gott/ die Geister vnd Menschen auffhalten.” Michael Walther, Gemitus
Lutheranae Columbulae, 38.
45 “And straightway he entered into a ship with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha. And the
Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him. And he
sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek after a sign? verily I say unto you, There shall
no sign be given unto this generation.” Mark 8:10-12 (AV).
46 „die verlorne vnd verdampte Menschen/ über der ewigen Straff vnd Pein.” Michael Walther, Gemitus Lutheranae
Columbulae, 42. The parable of the Rich man and Lazarus the beggar serves as Walther’s example: the rich man,
having died and gone to hell, cried aloud to Abraham in heaven to save him from the pain of eternal damnation.
“And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham’s bosom: the rich man also
died, and was buried; and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in
his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of
his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.” Luke 16: 22-24 (AV).
47 „Was ist die gantze Erde anders/ als ein locus suspiriorum, ein Ort des vnzahlbaren seufftzens?” Michael
Walther, Gemitus Lutheranae Columbulae, 42.
given in the left column, while Walther’s short description of the emotional context out of which it emerged appears in the central column. The scriptural references listed in the marginalia are provided in the right column.

Table 5.1. Typology of Seufftzer from Michael Walther’s *Gemitus Lutheranae Columbae*

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seufftzer Type</th>
<th>Description of Seufftzer</th>
<th>Scriptural Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Demütige Bußseufftzer</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Humble Repentance-Sighs)</td>
<td>“over our great sins and terrible bloody crimes [Blutschulden]; just as the doves chatter amongst each other on the ground, so too must each one of us want to do [this] for our misdeeds.”&lt;sup&gt;48&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Ezek. 7; Ps. 32; Ps. 103; Ps. 130; Ps. 143; Jer. 14; Luke 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wehmütige Creutzseufftzer</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Plaintive Suffering-Sighs)</td>
<td>“which develop in the pious through so many and strong uncountable adversities, from which they [the sighs] rush away.”&lt;sup&gt;49&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Isa. 38; Lam. 3; Ps. 6; Jer. 47; Sir. 41; Matt. 15; 1 John 5; Rom. 7.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Andächtige Gebetseufftzer</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Devotional Prayer-Sighs)</td>
<td>“in which they not only lament their hardship and send all their concerns to their true GOD, but also to approach and address him for his help and his beneficence.”&lt;sup&gt;50&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1 Pet. 5; Ps. 34; Ps. 79; Jer. 15; John 17.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Innigliche Liebesseufftzer</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Inner Love-Sighs)</td>
<td>“with which one takes joy in the Lord always.”&lt;sup&gt;51&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Phil. 4; Ps. 18; Ps. 73.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lobsingende Danckseufftzer</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Praising Sighs-of-Thanks)</td>
<td>“with which they thank the the Lord for his beneficence and sing and play [music] in their hearts.”&lt;sup&gt;52&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Ps. 72.</td>
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<sup>48</sup> “…über vnsere grosse Sünden vnd schreckliche Blutschulden/ dann wie die Tauben in den Gründen alle vntereinander kirren/ also müssen wir auch thun ein jeglicher vmb seiner Missethat willen.” Walther, 49 [=46].

<sup>49</sup> “…die sich bey den Frommen anspinnen über so vielem vnd fest vnzehlbar Vngemach/ von dme sie übereilet werden.” Walther, 49 [=46].

<sup>50</sup> “in denen sie ihrem getreuen GOTT nicht allein jhre Noht klagen vnd all jhr Anligen auff jhn werffen/ sondern jhn auch vmb seine Hülffe vnd Woltathen begrüssen vnd jhn anlauffen.” Ibid., 47.

<sup>51</sup> “mit denen sie sich freuen im HErrn allwege.” Ibid., 48.

<sup>52</sup> “mit welchen sie dem Namen des HEerrn dancken für seine Woltathen vnd singen vnd spielen in ihrem Hertzen.” Ibid., 48.
In the final pages of his long explication on the various types of sighs that church-doves produce, Walther’s analysis of the bird vocalizations takes a decidedly political turn. Unlike Bellarmine’s devotional meditations, Walther specifically relates the sighs of the turtledove to the contemporary confessional politics of the Thirty Years War (then only about sixteen years old). The passage is worth quoting in full.

Of other sighs, not to repeat [myself], one need only to consider the past sixteen years in which the bloody war in Germany has persisted, what kind of sighing has happened, and what still occurs daily, and what will continue to occur until this unrest comes to an end where others still need to be calmed. If King Solomon had experienced our times, he would have first preached: So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter [Ecclesiastes 4:1]. But even though humans in general are poor comforters, God is nevertheless our refuge who has met us in times of great need…In antiquity, the children of Israel sighed at their servitude and cried out; this cry over their work came before God, who heard their lamentation and thought on his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and he looked there and took them. We Christians are the sacred Israelites. When we sigh through true repentance and Prayer-sighs and cry out over the work and servitude to the popish Egyptians, these too will also come before God. He will think on the baptismal promise he made with us and assuredly attend to us. And the Lord looks on Earth from heaven, so that he hears the sighing of the captured and sets the Children free from death, for which they preach the name of the Lord to Zion and his praise to Jerusalem. This suffering turtledove, our pure Lutheran Church, looks to him and speaks with David: “Lord, all my desire is before thee; and my groaning is not hid from thee [Psalm 38:9].”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Seufftzer type</strong></th>
<th><strong>Description of Seufftzer</strong></th>
<th><strong>Scriptural Reference</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verlangende</strong></td>
<td>“with which they long for a holy death, for the wonderful day of judgment, and for the joyful vision of God in eternal life.”</td>
<td>1 Kings 19; Rev. 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sehnseufftzer</strong></td>
<td>(Longing Sighs-of-Yearning)</td>
<td></td>
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54 Von anderen Seufftzen| nicht zu widerholen/ so bedencke man doch allein was die Sechszehen Jahre über/ darinnen der blutige Krieg in Deutschland geweret hat/ für ein seufftzen geschehen sey/ was noch tägliche geschehe/ vnd was geschehen werde/ eh die Vnruhe zu End komme/ wo sie anders noch gestillet werden sol. Wann König Salomo vnsere Zeiten erlebet hette/ so würde er erst geprediget haben/ Ich wandte mich/ vnd sahe an alle die Vnrecht leiden vnter der Sonnen/ vnd siehe/ da waren Thränen derer/ die Vnrecht lidten/ vnd hatten keinen Tröster/ vnd die ihnen Vnrecht theten/ waren zu mächtig/ daß sie keinen Tröster haben. Aber ob schon die Menschen gemeiniglich leidige Tröster sind/ so ist doch gleichwol Gott vnsere Zuflucht in den grossen Nöthen/ die vns
In this rich passage, Walther references a common metaphor during the time of the war by which Lutherans understood themselves to be Israelites of the Old Testament book of Exodus pursued by Egyptian oppressors, a metaphor that John Thiebault recognizes as “probably the most powerful way that Lutherans made sense of the destruction that came after 1618 [the beginning of the war].” In sympathizing with the suffering Israelites, Walther effectively identifies the sigh of the turtledove as a sound indicative of Lutherans’ own suffering from religious persecution. Read in Walther’s contemporary context, the sighs of these people—which resembled the sighs of the victimized turtledove—served as the emotional model by which Lutherans also understood their own persecution from their perceived enemies in the Catholic faith. Just as the ancient Israelites sighed from their labors under the tyrannical hands of the Egyptians, and just as turtledoves sigh and groan from their own persecution by enemy birds of prey, so too do Lutherans sigh under the weight of their Catholic oppressors. Though Bellarmine and Walther drew from similar conventional knowledge about the nature of the birds’ sighs, Walther interprets the sonic gesture in a novel political way, the equivalent of which cannot be found in the devotional manual of his Jesuit counterpart. For German Lutherans during the Thirty Years War, the characteristic sigh of the dove and turtledove no longer exclusively

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indicated the birds’ naturally sorrowful dispositions—a result of their separation from their
faithful life-mate Christ. Rather, the birds’ vocalizations became a marker of the Protestant
church’s perceived persecution by aggressive Catholic antagonists.

Singing Exile and the Emotional Politics of Lamentation

Walther’s politicized reading of the turtledove and its relationship to the Song of Songs
allegory is not idiosyncratic, nor was it even entirely novel when his sermons were published in
1635. Instead, the preacher-theologian tapped into a mode of thought present in Protestant and
Lutheran thinking since the early 1620s. One of the earliest sources to explicitly politicize the
turtledove’s sigh was a 1621 broadsheet published in Nuremberg and written by the Lutheran
preacher Elias Ursinus (1579–1628) titled Deß Elenden seuffzenden Turteltäubleins/ einer
Königlichen Braut vnd Fürsten Tochter (The Dejected, Sighing Turtledove, a Kingly Bride and
Sovereign Daughter). Immediately conspicuous in Ursinus’s broadsheet is the way it which its
title draws attention to the inseparable relationship between state and church institutions.

Traditional Song of Songs imagery is imbued with political connotations by the assignment of

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56 One contemporary Lutheran prayer-book that develops the turtledove topos, and that adopted such a similar polemical stance, was Thomas Wehner’s Geistliches Turtel-Täublein (1633). Thomas Wehner, Geistliches Turtel-Täublein (Goßlar, 1633), M: Ti 533. HAB. Like much bird literature from the early the seventeenth century, the preface of the prayer-book calls attention to typical qualities of the turtledove and the manner in which they resemble the church, including the bird’s childlike simplicity, its abundant enemies, its desire to eat only the purest seeds and grains, and its lamenting sighs. But unlike typical discussions of the turtledove’s characteristics, Wehner’s features frequent diatribes against the Catholic church. The turtledove does not merely have many natural enemies, but these enemies are specifically “the popish vultures” who pursue the bird everywhere; the turtledove does not only eat pure seeds and grains, it “leaves the harmful little grains laying for the Papists, who like to pick them up;” the turtledove flies swiftly, but in order to find some place of refuge from pursuing popish enemies. “Es fürchtet sich für den Päbstischen Geyern/ die es vberall verscheichen vnd verjagen/ Jedoc fürchtet sichs nicht gar zu todte/ sondern wie Kinder sehr furchtsam sey/ vmld leichtlich erschrecken/ aber dennoch getrost sein/ wenn sie ihren liebe Eltern/ Vater vnd Mutter bey sich haben…Lieset sie de reinen Samkörnlein auff/ wie ein Täublein/ vmld füllit damit ihr HertzKöplein bis oben aus/ die schädlichen Körnlein Päbstliches Menschentands lest es für die Papisten liegen/ die mögens auffsamen… Ein Täublein fleugt geschwinde. Das geistliche Täublein mus jtzunder auch an manchem Orth geschwinde für den Papisten ins Elendt fliegen.” Ibid., 7–13.

57 Elias Ursinus, Deß Elenden seuffzenden Turteltäbleins/ einer Königlichen Braut und Fürsten Tochter (Nuremberg, 1621). VD17 23:676664W. It is likely that the broadsheet was published at the beginning of 1621, perhaps in January, since the author references events of “the past year” and speaks to Christ in hopeful expectation of that which is to come in the “the new year.”
governmental titles to the Bride-Turtledove, who is called the “Kingly Bride” and “Sovereign Daughter.” Paralleling the high political status of the Bride is Christ, the dedicatee and addressee of the publication who, among other names, is identified as the “Prince of Peace,” the “Emperor of the Heavenly Paradise,” the “Elector of Truth,” and the “Margrave of Bethlehem.”

The broadsheet’s content details the numerous injustices inflicted on the German people in recent years. Mothers must flee into the forests with their children in order to circumvent persecution, but they are unable to avoid the potential risk of starvation there while in hiding. Fathers too have died and left behind increasing numbers of orphan children. Women in general have been “barbarously tasted,” their “garden of chastity” defiled and uprooted by “wild pigs without shame during the bright of day as if there were no God in heaven.” Ursinus’ choice to address the violence committed against women in particular—drawing attention to both the hardships of motherhood and the violence of rape—exploits gendered conventions of the Song of Songs bride-bridegroom allegory. Christ, as bridegroom and protector, must recognize the injustices suffered by those innocent women who comprise his church, his turtledove whom he has sworn to protect. Ursinus expectantly asks Christ when he will intercede in the violence laid against his bride and protect her with a “shield of peace,” pictured below in figure 5.1.

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58 Ibid.
59 “Das flüchtig furchtsam Weibsgeschlecht/ jm Land sehr grausam wirdt geschmecht. Das Gärtlein aller Zuch vnd Her/ Wirdt hin vnd her zerwület sehr/ Durch vnzüchtige wilde Säu/ Am hellen leichten Tag ohn scheu/ Als wer kein Gott ins Himmels Thron/ Der solcher schand könnt widerstohn.” Ibid.
60 On rape during the Thirty Years War, see David Lederer’s discussion of the sack of Magdeburg in his article, “The Myth of the All-Destructive War: Afterthoughts on German Suffering, 1618–1648,” German History 29, no. 3 (2011): 387-395.
The shield itself is covered with symbolic imagery associated with Christ’s passion, including a number of objects identified with the *arma Christi* iconographical tradition. The four animals

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63 In Christian Church history, the *arma Christi* was comprised of images that referenced objects used by Christ during his crucifixion to overcome death and triumph through his suffering over evil. The items frequently depicted were identified from the passion story itself as told through the four gospels and included objects such as the pillar against which Christ was flogged; the dice with which onlookers at Christ’s crucifixion used to cast lots for his clothing; and the cross itself, the ultimate symbol of triumph over death. Though each object can be identified as a singular entity, they collectively comprise Ursinus’ shield of peace, suggesting that the sum of these images—which reference the totality of Christ’s Passion—is greater than each individual part. Heather Madar, “Iconography of Sign: A Semiotic Reading of the Arma Christi,” in *ReVisioning: Critical Methods of Seeing Christianity in the History of Art*, ed. James Romaine and Linda Stratford (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2014), 117–118. The
located at the four corners of the shield illustrate the Christian tetramorph—these winged creatures, which are first recounted in chapter one of the book of Ezekiel, commonly indicated the four evangelists in Christian hermeneutics. The image printed in Ursinus’ broadsheet, therefore, asks to the viewer to consider the way in which Christ triumphed over death and sin in his own Passion; simultaneously, the overt militaristic titles assigned to Christ and his Church place Jesus’ triumph over death in a contemporary political context. Like his defeat of sin, Christ too will triumph over the worldly enemies that persecute his lamenting Bride, the beloved and sighing turtledove.

Elias Ursinus spent a portion of his career as a preacher in the city of Hernals, a small village in Lower-Austria outside of Vienna that became a temporary haven for many Protestants who were forced into exile when Emperor Ferdinand began to “re-Catholicize” parts of Bohemia and Upper- and Lower-Austria in the 1620s, which attempted to restore what were believed to be the original tenets of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg through the reclamation of Protestant lands for the Catholic Church. As Perter Wilson notes, while re-Catholicization was implemented as a means of reinstating peace, the act had the opposite effect and was understood and subsequently executed as an aggressive exercise of power. As re-Catholicization efforts increased in intensity, eventually culminating in the Edict of Restitution in 1629, Protestant Lutherans

iconographical tradition of the arma Christi first began in the sixth century, though as the importance of relics in the Western medieval church increased in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the representation of the armaments of Christ also grew in popularity.

64 The prophet Ezekiel describes these creatures in Ezekiel 1:5–10 (AV). “Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. And their feet were straight feet; and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf’s foot; and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass. And they had the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings. Their wings were joined one to another; they turned not when they went; they went every one straight forward. As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle.”

(including Elias Ursinus) were evicted from Lower-Austria altogether and were forced to find refuge in lands more hospitable to the Lutheran faith.\textsuperscript{66} During this era of forced migration, songs that recounted the lamentations of these persecuted Protestants from communities of exiled Lutherans began to appear in manuscript and in print.\textsuperscript{67} A number of these songs draw attention to the turtledove topos as a symbol of confessional persecution experienced by large communities of displaced religious refugees.

In addition to the broadsheet above, Ursinus penned one of these popular songs that described the evacuation of Lutherans from the newly re-Catholicized city of Hernals.\textsuperscript{68} The full title of the print from 1625 reads: \textit{Valet\textsuperscript{e} und Klaglied\textsuperscript{e} Der Hochbetrübten Turteltauben vund verlobten Braut Christi/ da sie ihre Freüdenwohnung Hernals zu Wien in Oesterreich verlassen müssen} (Farewell Song and Lamentation of the Highly Dejected Turtledove and Beloved Bride of Christ, Who Had to Leave Their Joyful-Residence, Hernals).\textsuperscript{69} The song was sung to the tune \textit{Mein Gemüht ist mir verwirrt}. The first three verses of Ursinus’ original text, shown below, immediately direct attention to the city of Hernals, which serves as the focus of the lamentation’s twenty-two verses. The narrative voice sings from the perspective of an exiled Lutheran who, having just left the city, reflects back on the time spent there.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} On the phenomenon of forced confessional migration in early modern Europe, see especially Alexander Schunka, “Glaubensflucht als Migrationsoption: Konfessionell motivierte Migrationen in der Frühen Neuzeit,” \textit{Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht} 56 (2005): 554–555.
\item \textsuperscript{67} For a printed collection of these refugee songs, see Alfred Knapp, \textit{Österreichische Exulantenlieder evangelerischer Christen aus der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Krieges} (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1861).
\item \textsuperscript{68} For more on the musical community in Hernals during this time of re-Catholicization, see Josef Pausz, \textit{Andreas Rauch: Ein evangelischer Musiker – 1592 bis 1656} (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband in Österreich, 1992), 11–19. See also Andrea Solya, “Thymiaterium Musicale (1625) by Andreas Rauch,” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010), 3–6.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Elias Ursinus, \textit{Valet\textsuperscript{e} und Klaglied der hochbetrübten Turteltauben vund verlobten Braut Christi}, (1625), Gugitz III, 15338, A-Wst. A digitized copy of this song can be found at the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (A-Wst). A transcription of a 1625 handwritten manuscript of this song is provided in August Hartmann, \textit{Historische Volkslieder und Zeitgedichte vom sechzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhundert, erster Band} (Munich: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), 160–169. In Hartmann’s transcription, an additional verse appears as verse six that is not in the original 1625 print.
\end{itemize}
1. Von GOTT bin ich verlassen/
Spricht Zion dieser Zeit/
Der HERR hat mein vergessen/
In meinem grossen Leyd/
Nach Turtel Täubleins Arte/
Einsamb bin worden Ich/
Hernals du GOttes Garte/
Dein Leyd betrübet mich.

2. O Daß mein Haupt ein Quelle/
Vnd Threnen Brünlein wer/
Damit mein trawrig Seele/
Ihren Jammer vnd Beschwer/
Nur köndt genug bewainen/
O tieffe Trawrigkeit/
Das Hertz muß seyn von Stainen/
Das sich darob erfrewt.

3. Nun muß ich dich verlassen/
Hernals du GOttes Saal/
Da Wir beyssammen sassen/
In frewden manichmal/
Vnder deß höchsten Schutze/
Vnd seinen Flügeln breit/
Wider deß Sathans Trutze/
In Friden lange Zeit.

Drawing from conventional wisdom about the turtledove’s nature, this narrative voice recognizes that it must adopt “the way of the turtledove” since it has been abandoned. Like the bird, who remains alone after the death of its spouse and mourns his loss with eternal sighs and coos, the exiled Lutheran must mourn the loss of her homeland—Hernals, the “garden of God”—and adopt a mentality of suffering and persistent sadness. But the text does not merely encourage lamentation for its own sake. Rather, as the conclusion of the farewell-song suggests, the music’s purpose is to offer consolation to a population of religious refugees left homeless in the wake of re-Catholicization. The narrative voice of the song’s final verses encourages listeners to place their trust in God, who would certainly provide them with a small, temporary place of shelter until they could be called back for eternity into God’s paradise.

20. Do not be troubled, I plead, In such tests of faith! Teach yourselves in God’s manner Rightly to resign yourself to praise him. Property, honor, also body and life Many thousand pure Christians Have risked indeed, Who are now in heaven.

21. Ejn Oertlein wird GOtt zaigen/ Etwan in Landen weit/ Der Völcker Hertzen naigen/ Zu Euch in Miltigkeit/ Das sie Euch nemen auffe/ Jn Ihre Häuserlein/ Biß Euch GOtt nimbt zu Hauffe/ Jns Paradeyß hinein.

21. God will show [us] a little place In some far land; The people’s hearts incline To you all in meekness, That they take you all in To their little houses Until God takes you all collectively Away to Paradise.

22. NVn bhüt dich GOTT in Friden/ Du Liebes Oesterreich/ Es muß doch seyn geschiden/ Von dannen trawrigleich/ Last Vns das Elend bawen/ Mit Christo hie ein Zeit/ So werden Wir Jhn schawen/ Dort in Ewiger Frewd.

22. Now, God, protect in peace Dear Austria. We must be separated From thence, sadly. Let us endure this hardship With Christ here for a time, So that we will show him Eternal joy there [in heaven].

Like so many of the writings of seventeenth-century Lutheranism, the concluding verses of the song recognizes that, while suffering on Earth is inevitable hie (here), it does not exist in God’s Paradise dort (there), which is yet to come. Resigned to this fact, the narrative voice finally bids farewell to Austria and enters into exile, pilgrimaging on earth as a dove searching for its place of rest and more permanent homeland.

Ursinus’s song appears to have been well-known, since a scathing parody of it was published a few years later in 1630 with the title: Glückwünschung/ Auff das getruckte ValetGesang/ vnd Klag Lied Hypocras/ Der Hochbetrogenen TurtelTauben vnd Verlobten Braut Antichristi; Da sie ihre Hochschädliche Frewden Wohnung Hernal/ Billich vnd Recht/ Billich
verlassen must/ etc (Well-wishes, on the Printed Farewell-Song and Lamentation of Hypocras, the Dejected Turtledove and Beloved Bride of the Antichrist; Who Had to Leave, and Rightly So, the Highly Corrupt Residence, Hernals), sung to the tune Mein Gemüht is mir verwirrt. In this publication, the original song text by Ursinus appears on the verso side of the folio; printed on the recto side of the following page is the derisive parody on the lamentation sung from the perspective of “Hypocras”—a hypocritical character of shoddy morals and judgment. The two songs, then, are placed in direct opposition to one another. As the singer performs the parodied text of Hypocras, she is able to compare each verse by referencing Ursinus’ original on the opposite-facing page. As seen below, the song of Hypocras offers a verse-by-verse commentary on Ursinus’s original text. The parody’s anonymous author appears unequivocally Catholic in confessional identity, supporting the expulsion of Protestant Lutherans from the now re-
Catholicized city of Hernals.


1. “From God I am abandoned”
Speaks Master Hypocras
“I go along my way
Well in the dry grass
In the way of the weathervane
I remain hardheaded.
Hernals was God’s Garden,
Thereat I am troubled.


2. O that my head would be a fount
And little brook of tears,
With which my sad soul,
Its lamentation, and grievance,
Could only weep enough—
O deep sadness.
The heart must be made of stone
That you take such joy in this.
Parodies such as this suggest that the novel meanings associated with the turtledove and its lamentation were not accepted wholesale. While some readily identified themselves as suffering birds, others found such associations preposterous and worthy of mocking ridicule. The bird and its sighs were, therefore, controversial and contentious symbols for the politics of suffering, ones that split audiences along confessional and political divides.

The tune to which Ursinus’ original song-text was sung would have elicited a number of intertextual references that contemporary audiences would have likely recognized. *Mein Gemüt ist mir verwirrt*, the melody of which appears in example 5.1 below, was written by Hans Leo Hassler and first published in his *Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng* (1601).\(^71\) The original text that accompanied this tune, which appears in appendix C of this dissertation, was already weighted with emotional connotations of lamentation and sadness by the time Ursinus penned his new lyrics to this preexisting tune. The text of Hassler’s composition explores the profane theme of unrequited love—the poem’s narrative voice is that of a man who professes his adoration of a woman who does not love him in return. In the song’s opening verse, the authorial voice sings that he can do nothing by sigh, cry, and remain in sadness because, as the listener discovers in verse two, he pines for a woman who does not love him. His despondent emotional states, he reasons, could be alleviated if the woman would only return his love, but such an

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option is impossible, and thus the narrator is left to endure this pain of love “vnd allzeit traurig sein [and remain sad always].”

**Example 5.1. Hans Leo Hassler, melody of “Mein Gemüth ist mir verwirret,” cantus part, Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng (1601).**

Since the tune was traditionally associated with the sadness of love, it carried with it the emotional weight of its previous performances. Thus, to evoke the tune in a new parody was to draw from conventional emotional meanings while simultaneously transforming these associations in the process. Ursinus’ new text, in other words, encourages and coaches the

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72 Some other song parodies from the seventeenth century that feature the tune Mein Gemüth ist mir verwirret are also lamentations, further suggesting that the melody was believed to convey particularly sad qualities. One such anonymous song is a “sighing lament- and tear-song” for Germany on the death of Gustav Adolf at the Battle of Lützen in 1632. The text, which encourages the entire German nation to mourn the death of the Swedish king, was published in honor of the figure who was anticipated to be the hero of the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War until his sudden death on the battlefield. Seuffzende Klag = vnd ThrenenGesang/...das ander: Heb auf dein Stimm vnd weine/ du Teutsche Nation. Im Thon: Mein Gmüth ist mir verwirret (1633). VD17 75:702870V
performer to experience the sadness of exile in already familiar terms. When singing Ursinus’ parody, the tune evokes the sadness of unrequited love associated with the original text, but it immediately transforms this association at its evocation into a newly contextualized form of sorrow, one that is the product of exile and religious persecution—thus, profane love between man and woman is made into a sacred love between the Christ the bridegroom and his suffering, sighing turtledove.

In addition to thinking on Hassler’s original secular lament of unrequited love, contemporary audiences would have also likely made intertextual connections to a well-known sacred parody of Hassler’s tune—Herzlich tut mich verlangen. The text of this hymn by Christoph Knoll appeared in the 1613 hymnal Harmoniae Sacrae to a five-part harmonization of the Hassler’s Mein Gemüth ist mir verwirrt. The hymn text does not elaborate on the sadness of love, as in Hassler’s piece, but rather recounts the fictionalized narrative of a dying Christian who, recognizing immanent death, bids farewell to the world and all it has to offer. The full text and translation of this hymn appears in the appendix C of this dissertation. Like the narrative voice of Ursinus’ turtledove parody, the subject of Herzlich tut mich verlangen recognizes that he must say goodbye to all his worldly possessions and loved ones and complete his pilgrimage to heaven. Two verses from the sacred hymn, in particular, would have likely resonated with audiences who heard or sang Ursinus’s song of religious exile. Like the final verses of Ursinus’s song—in which the Lutheran is forced to leave behind his homeland and trust that God will watch over it—the dying Lutheran in Knoll’s text must say goodbye to those he loves on Earth, knowing that God will care for them and that they will all eventually meet again in Heaven.

73 My thanks extend to Dan Melamed for drawing my attention to this hymn text.
74 Harmoniae Sacre Vario Carminum Latinorum & Germanicorum genere (Gorlitz, 1613), 455–463. VD17 7:683779M
Wenn ich auch gleich nu scheide/
   Von meinen Freunden gut/
Das mir vnd jhn brecht Leyde/
   Doch tröst mir meinen Muth/
Das wir in grossen Frewden/
   Zusammen werden komn/
Vnd bleiben vngesheyden/
   Jm Himmelischen Thron.

When I must also no depart
   From my dear friend—
That he and I sadly break off—
   My courage comforts me,
That we, in great joy,
   Will come together again
And remain united
   In the heavenly throne.

Ob ich auch hinterlasse/
   Betrübte Kinderlein/
Der noch mich vber masse/
   Jammert im Hertzen mein/
Wil ich doch gerne sterben/
   Vertrauen meinem Gott/
Er wird sie wol versorgen/
   Retten aus aller Noth.

If I also leave behind
   Troubled little children,
Who for me greatly
   Lament in heart,
I will still gladly die
   And trust in my God—
He will look after them
   And save [them] from all adversity.

The tune to which Ursinus’ new text was sung evoked any number of meanings based on the history of its parodying that directed the attention of its performers toward already well-established emotional conventions, either through direct reference to the sadness of religious exile, indirectly to the lamentation of unrequited love, or even more indirectly to the end of the soul’s worldly pilgrimage toward heaven at the moment of death.

Protestants who had been exiled from areas of Upper- and Lower-Austria were not the only people to identify themselves as sighing, lamenting turtledoves. Religious refugees from Bohemia who settled especially in Saxon lands similarly identified as persecuted birds, as one farewell-song by the Leipzig printer Gregor Ritzsch (1584–1643) suggests. In his 1623

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75 For more on Bohemian migration into Saxony during the Thirty Years War, see Alexander Schunka, “Forgotten Memories – Contested Representations: Early Modern Bohemian Migrants in Saxony,” Beihete der Francia 62 (2006): 35–46. Howard Louthan has encouraged more nuanced readings of the historical circumstances surrounding re-catholicization efforts in Bohemia following the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. The early decades of re-Catholicization, according to Louthan, have typically been portrayed as flattened, two-dimensional binaries in which monolithic Catholic powers forcefully imposed religious strictures on a homogenous Protestant population. But as Louthan demonstrates, the internal processes with which Bohemia became a largely re-catholicized state were far more complex due in large part to the confessional diversity of its population. Howard Louthan, Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 5–7.
Böhmischer Ehrendanck oder Valet-Gesang der Lutherischen Christen/ Verfolgt von den Papisten (Bohemian Spoils, or Farewell-Song of Lutheran Christians pursued by the Papists), the author comments explicitly on the ways in which myriad Protestants throughout Bohemia were forced to leave their homelands and take refuge in Saxony.76 Immediately preceding the print’s lyrics is an inscription that asks the performer to consider the following musical text as a song of comfort for all those turtledoves who have been persecuted and chased from their homes.

The poor Turtledove
Of the Protestant faith
Is now driven out of Bohemia.
All of those who are saddened
By this situation,
Let you find this song of comfort.
Psalm 74:19, Lord, you do not want to give the soul of your Turtledove to the animals.77

Ritzsch’s song resembles other polemical turtledove-texts, including the farewell-song by Ursinus, published throughout the war. Criticizing those in power—chiefly “the Antichrist,” a reference to the pope—the author elaborates in the song’s twenty verses on the manner in which the Protestant Lutheran churches of Bohemia had been shuttered and their many congregants had been chased out of their homeland and forced to seek asylum in Saxony (the song’s full text and translation appears in this dissertation in appendix C). Sung to the tune Durch Adams fall ist gantz verderbt, the farewell-song offers words of assurance to those left behind in Bohemia, encouraging them to resist the falsehoods of the Pope and to resist the desire to cling so

76 Gregor Ritzsch, Böhmischer Ehrendanck oder Valet-Gesang der Lutherischen Christen (Leipzig, 1623). VD17 14:003747N.
77 “Die arme Turteltaub/
Der Evangelisch Glaub/
Aus Böhmen jetzt vertrieben:
Allen so sich betrüben
Vber diesem Zustand/
Sey diß Trostlied gefand.
Psalm 74. V. 19.
anxiously to their material goods, close friends, and even their own family members. If God’s word was to be preserved within the empire, the text assures its listeners, then Bohemians should be willing to lose all for the sake of their faith.

While the sigh of the turtledove became a potent symbol of persecution and exile for German-speaking Lutherans in Central Europe, the bird vocalization in some Catholic musical sources of the same time-period eschewed the political rhetoric of propagandistic songs and instead perpetuated traditional interpretations of bird symbolism detailed by medieval authors.78

In Johannes Khuen’s 1639 collection of songs titled Die Geistlich Turteltaub, the Munich composer-poet offers a collection of twelve lamentations based on prominent women of the Bible.79 In this collection of songs (summarized below in table 5.2), Khuen adopts the narrative voices of such figures as Eve in the Garden of Eden, who laments the fall of man; the daughter of Jephte, who laments her own sacrificial and premature death; Mary the mother of Jesus, who lamentably sighs over the death of her son; and others. The only male voice given space in the collection is that of Jesus himself who, in the seventh song, comforts and professes his love for his lamenting Bride—a metaphor for all Biblical women who appear in the collection and all women who would have sung Khuen’s lamentations. At the end of the publication, Khuen includes six newly composed tunes to which his lamentations could be sung, each of which are

78 I do not wish to suggest that only German-speaking Catholics in the Empire continued to draw from traditional dove- and turtledove-symbolism, but merely that the surviving musical sources by Catholic composers of the same time period resemble traditional tropes on the birds’ vocalizations. German Lutherans throughout the Empire similarly drew from traditional dove- and turtledove-symbolism in other ways, most conspicuously in funeral sermons. When one spouse died, leaving behind a widow or widower, Lutheran preachers would often compare the living spouse to a lamenting turtledove. See footnote 39 above.
designated for two particular song-texts. Melodies are written in the cantus clef and a bass line with light continuo figuration that harmonically support the cantus line.\textsuperscript{80}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Song} & \textbf{Narrative voice and cause of lamentation} & \textbf{Tune number} \\
\hline
1. & Lament of Eve on the fall and her exile from the Garden of Eden. & I. \\
2. & Lament of Dinah on her rape. & II. \\
3. & Lament of Jephte’s daughter on her death, arranged by her father. & III. \\
4. & Lament of Sarah on the murder of each of her seven husbands. & II. \\
5. & Lament of Susanna for justice on her innocence. & IV. \\
6. & Lament of Mary the mother of Jesus for God and man. & V. \\
7. & Comfort of Jesus for his bride. & V. \\
8. & Lament of the bleeding woman for her restored health. & I. \\
9. & Lament of the Samaritan woman for the water of life. & VI. \\
10. & Lament of the woman from Canaan for the health of her daughter. & III. \\
11. & Lament of the adulterous woman for repentance over her misdeed. & IV. \\
12. & Lament of Mary Magdalena on her “crucified bridegroom.” & VI. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Summary of selections from Johannes Khuen’s \textit{Die Geistlich Turteltaub} (1639).}
\end{table}

The lyrics of the songs listed in table 5.2 lack any explicit references to the same politicized, confessional discourses that are evident in contemporary Lutheran examples. Instead of a politics of lamentation, Khuen explores the traditional gendered conventions of spiritual sorrow associated with the mourning (female) turtledove, a quality further implied in the collection’s poetic preface. Khuen dedicated his collection of songs to the entire convent of the cloister of Sankt Jakob am Anger in Munich, and to its abbess Susanna. The collection’s preface recounts how the turtledove, upon the death of its life-partner, closes itself off from the rest of

\textsuperscript{80} While the tunes seem more generally assigned to texts based on similar poetic meters, the grouping of numbers six and seven together suggests a more direct dialogue between the characters involved. Musically, both the lament of Mary and the comfort of Jesus are sung to the fifth tune in Khuen’s collection. The two songs are situated directly in the middle of the collection, providing the transitional bridge between matriarchal laments of the Old Testament and those of the New Testament. But though both songs are sung from the perspective of figures prominent in New Testament, both are framed within the context of the Old Testament Bride-Bridegroom allegory. Preceding the collection’s sixth number, a “sigh-of-love” and lament by Mary the Mother of Jesus, is a quotation of Song of Songs 2 that appears in Latin: “Vox tvrtvris avdita est in terra nostra [the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land].” Following Mary’s lament is Jesus’s own “sigh-of-love” and song of comfort for his lamenting bride, which is preceded by a quotation from Song of Songs 5:12 “Ocvli eivs sicvt colvumbæ super riuos aquarum [his eyes are like those of doves above the flowing waters].” These references to the Song of Songs as well as the shared musical tune to which the texts were sung illustrates the critical role this dialogic framework plays in the collection’s overall spiritual and devotional aims. The emblematic conversation between Mary and Jesus evokes the central metaphor on which the entirety of the collection is based, the Bridegroom’s consolation to his lamenting Bride—Christ’s comfort for his mother, his feminine church, and the pious souls of Christian women.
the world in tall walls, lamenting with a sad, sighing voice. Khuen here implies a parallelism between the bird and the nuns to whom the collection was dedicated. The women of the cloister, like the turtledove, seclude themselves from the secular world, embody ideal chastity, and perform vocal laments by singing Khuen’s own musical texts. The turtledove’s voice and the emotional state it naturally exhibits does not exemplify the suffering Protestant or Catholic church, then, but rather a form of spiritual sorrow achievable only through ideal feminine piety, devout faithfulness, and virginal purity. These laments and the emotional states they perpetuate are unequivocally gendered feminine.

**Songs of Comfort**

Complementing the sometimes polemical language of Protestant Lutheran songs is the message of comfort, which also permeates the discourse surrounding the dove- and turtledove-sigh in the Thirty Years War. The bird and its vocalizations not only reminded sufferers of the animal’s proclivity to be persecuted, but also of the greater necessity of suffering and the virtuousness of enduring it with patience and unfaltering faith. Such emphasis on comfort and the endurance of persecution added yet another rich dimension to the ways in which early modern Lutherans heard and interpreted the already complex sonic symbol. The emphasis on

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81 “Dieweilen aber jhr Gesponß
Jst Bittren Todts verschiden/
(Der Namen ist ja Gottes Sohns/)
Vnd schmertzlich vil erlitten;
So sucht die Seel jetzt jhren trost/
Vnd last sich ehe nit stillen/
Vnd wanes auch gar sterBen kost/
Gschicht als mit jhrem Willen/
Daher dann verschliessen sich
Jn hoch erbauwe Mauren
Vnd seufftzen/ rufen/jnnigklich
Thun anderst nichts als trawren/
Der Hertzen rain/ vil/ ohne zahl/
Wie Turteltaub verharren/
Biß sie nach diesem Jam[m]erthal
Den trost alldort erfahren.” Ibid., A2 verso – A3 recto.
comfort in contemporary musical texts that address the lamenting sighs of turtledoves is particularly conspicuous in contemporary private devotional music. Several prayer-books printed during the war offered literate Lutherans a repertoire of emotional scripts from which to perform in private house-devotion services; these manuals frequently asked faithful Christians to meditate on the sound of the turtledove and the broader confessional-emotional politics it implicated. In one such devotional work from 1633 titled *Girrendes TürtelTäublein* (Groaning Turtledove), numerous songs and prayers by Wilhelm Alard (1572–1645) were collected and compiled into one comprehensive devotional book in which the vocalization of the turtledove served as the primary rhetorical framing device for the selected content.\textsuperscript{82} The prayer-book is divided into three parts. While parts one and three contain little or no musical material, part two—titled “Des girrenden TurtelTäubleins Klag Stimme” (Of the cooing Turtledove’s Lamenting Voice)—contains, almost exclusively, a repertoire of song texts.

Alard’s song “Mit Seufftzen hört ich klagen” opens this second section of the devotional manual. Though this text was conceived as a song, no tune indication to which the words might be sung appears in the print. Earlier editions of the text also leave the musical dimensions of the song ambiguous.\textsuperscript{83} “Mit Seufftzen hört ich klagen,” comprised of nineteen verses, contains the voices of three distinct characters—a general narrator, a turtledove, and an old man. The complete text and translation of this song appears at the end of this dissertation in appendix C.

\textsuperscript{82} Wilhelm Alard, *Girrendes TürtelTäublein* (Rinteln an der Weser, 1633). In the preface of this edition, the publisher clarifies that Josua Stegmann, a professor at the University in Rinteln, selected various prayers and poems Alard had previously published. These selections were then reprinted together in the devotional manual.

\textsuperscript{83} The song, for example, was also published in the fourth part of Alard’s collections of sermons titled *Eucharisticarum Trias*, but here too no tunes are suggested to which the text might be sung. Wilhelm Alard, *Eucharisticarum Trias Qvarta. Das ist: noch drey Dancksagungs= und Vermahnungs Predigten* (Leipzig, 1630), 81. VD17 23:330894F. Preceding the song as it is printed in the collection of sermons, though, are two quotations of verses from the Bible that precede the song text which are absent in Alard’s devotional prayer-book. The first is from Lamentations 3:52, “Meine Feinde haben mich gehetzt/ wie einen Vogel/ ohn Vrsache,” while the second is the same verse quoted above in Gregorius Ritzsch’s *Valet-Gesang*, Psalm 74:19, “HERR/ du woltest nicht dem Thier geben die Seele deiner Torteltaube/ ec.”
The song opens with the narrator’s voyeuristic description of the lamenting turtledove who is perched on a small green branch; in verse one, the narrator listens to the voice of the bird and notates what he hears:

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Mit Seufftzen hört ich klagen
Ein Turteltäubelein/
Für Leid wolt es verzagen
Auff dürrem Zweigelein.
Wo sol ich mich hinwenden/
Sprach es an allen Enden
Muß ich verjaget seyn.
```

I heard lamenting with sighs
A little turtledove.
It wished to despair from suffering
On a thin little branch.
“Towards what should I turn?”
It spoke at every end;
“I must be hunted.”

In verses two through six, the turtledove continues to recount the myriad hardships it has experienced in recent times. Harsh weather afflicts the bird’s flight, and it is simultaneously hunted by its enemies, the vulture and the hawk. These birds wreak havoc on the domestic spaces where the turtledove usually finds rest, destroying its nest, chasing away its offspring, making the forest a dangerous place, and leaving the bird alone and entirely helpless. The bird asks from whence it might gain some comfort during this difficult time, at which point an old man who had been hiking through the forest is moved by the sound of the turtledove’s sighs. In verse eight, the old man stops to speak with the bird:

```
Er sprach: Täublein dein karmen
Hab ich für lengst gehört/
Vnd thut mich dein erbarmen/
Dein Klag mein Hertze rührt/
Wil dir auch Hülff beweisen/
Daß du mich noch solt preisen/
Vnd rühmn an allem Ort.
```

He spoke: “Little dove, I have heard
Your song fully,
And it makes me pity you.
Your lamenting stirs my heart
I want to help to you,
That you might also laud me,
And praise [me] from every place.”

The allegorical relationship between the old man and the turtledove becomes more evident here. The bird is the stricken church who suffers through worldly affliction; the old man who listens to the lament so that he himself “might be praised” is Christ, who hears the sighs of his church and wants to provide help and comfort. The old man notes in verse nine that the
turtledove must suffer if only for a short time on earth; suffering is inevitable, but this does not
mean that the bird has been forgotten or left alone. On the contrary, the little bird is the
affectionate object of love, which the old man profusely confesses in verse eleven.

Ach nein/ mein Täublein kleine/
Hab die Gedancken nicht/
Jch sag es/ wie ichs meine/
Glaub/ was mein Mund dir spricht:
Jch lieb/ vnd wil dich lieben/
Dich nimmer vbergeben/
Das sey dein Zuversicht.

Ah no, my little dove,
Do not have such thoughts.
I say what I mean;
Believe what my mouth says to you.
I love and want to love you,
And never want to give you away.
That is your assurance.

Restored by the message of comfort, the turtledove begins to regain its strength in verse sixteen.

The observant narrator notes the shifting attitude of the bird, who begins to speak of its assurance
and trust in the old man to protect it during its suffering. Resolved to continue its course through
the world’s hardships, the turtledove extends its feeling of comfort outward in the concluding
verse toward all other birds who have felt similar sentiments of helplessness and loss.

Damit thet sich verkriechen
Das Turteltäubelein/
Vnd wünschet/ daß der gleichen
Trost möcht alln Vögel seyn/
Die auch angefochten werden/
Vnd nicht wissen auff Erden
Trost/ in jhr grossen Pein.

And with that the turtledove
Holed itself up,
And wished that this same
Comfort could be for all birds
Who are also troubled
And [for those] who do not know
Such comfort on Earth in their anguish.

Though the sigh of the turtledove was the most explicit signifier of Lutheran persecution,
the vocal ululation of the dove—which had long been associated with sorrow and longing for
mystical union with Christ—also gained novel wartime connotations through Lutheran
composers’ treatment of the vocal sound. One collection of devotional songs by the Coburg
composer Melchior Franck (1579–1639) demonstrates the extent to which the sigh of the dove
could be modified from its traditional interpretation to comment on the contemporary emotional
experiences of war. Franck’s 1629 collection of private-devotional songs—*Votiva Columbae*
Sioneae Suspiria (The Prayer-Sighs of Zion’s Doves)—features eighteen pieces in the German language for four to eight voices. The first five selections are strophic, homophonic settings of texts for four voices; the sixth piece is a strophic dialogue for six voices; and the remaining numbers for four or eight voices are settings of each of the twelve verses of the song by Martin Moller, Ach GOtt wie manches Hertzeleyd. A summary of this information is provided below in Table 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song title</th>
<th>Scoring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Gib Fried O frommer trewer Gott</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. GÖtt mein GÖtt/ O mein GÖtt</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Ewiger GÖtt wir bitten dich</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Wie murren doch die Leute</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Armut mich thut vmbgeben (Dialogus)</td>
<td>CCATTB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Ach GÖtt wie manches Hertzeleyd, 1. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Wo sol ich mich denn wenden hin, 2. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Du bist der grosse Wunderman, 3. Pars</td>
<td>CCAATTBB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. JESu mein HErr vnd GÖtt allein, 4. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Ob mir gleich Leib vnd Seel verschmacht, 5. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Kein besser Frewd auff Erden ist, 6. Pars</td>
<td>CCAATTBB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. JESu mein Frewd mein Her vnd Ruhm, 7. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. Drumb hab ichs offt vnd viel geredt, 8. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. JESu du edler Breutgam werth, 9. Pars</td>
<td>CCAATTBB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. Wenn ich mein Hoffnung stell zu dir, 10. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. Drumb wil ich weil ich lebe noch, 11. Pars</td>
<td>CATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. Hilff mir auch zwingen Fleich vnd Blut, 12. Pars</td>
<td>CCAATTBB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from the musical settings in Franck’s collection that the composer drew his texts from the immensely popular devotional prayer-book, Josua Stegmann’s Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer (discussed earlier in chapter three of this dissertation). The texts that the composer

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85 It is likely that Franck used the now-lost edition from 1628 that featured the Latin title, Suspiria temporum (Sighs of Our Time), for his collection of polyphonic songs. While not all of the texts of Franck’s music can be found in Stegmann’s 1627 edition, most of these texts do appear in the 1633 edition. It is probable, then, that the 1628 edition contained all of the texts that appear in Votiva Columbae. Johann Dilliger, Franck’s colleague at Coburg, composed
selected from Stegmann’s manual emphasize constancy and perseverance during times of tribulation, as evident in the composer’s strophic choral dialogue for six voices (example 5.2) 
The full text of Stegmann’s poetry, which appears in this dissertation in appendix C, recounts the pervasive famine through which Germany’s inhabitants suffered. The narrative voice of the song text is divided internally. As the speaker laments various aspects of hunger and poverty at the beginning of each verse, these expressions are answered with calming phrases of reassurance that redirect the speaker’s thoughts toward God’s promise to provide for those in need, as exemplified here in the first verse of Stegmann’s text.

Armut mich thut vmbgeben/
Entledige dich/ Ach wie kan ich?
Sieh vber dich/
O mein dürfftiges Leben/
Dein Gott dich nehren wil/
Des Vorraths ist nicht viel/
Wolauff/ geht drauff/
Auff Gott denck auch darneben. 
Poverty surrounds me. 
Rid yourself of it; Ah, but how can I? 
Ignore it. 
O my poor life. 
Your God will nourish you. 
The [earthly] provisions are not very much 
Come, walk, 
And think also alongside God.

The juxtaposition of suffering and comfort within each individual verse illustrates a tension in contemporary Lutheran existence between the inevitability of earthly suffering and the future promise of eternal peace, a popular theme in much of the devotional music written during the Thirty Years War. Though the Lutheran cannot ignore the pain that results from the body’s material denigration, she must always remember that this pain will ultimately dissipate in the afterlife, revealing a more perfect existence with God in paradise.

a number of occasional songs around 1630 based on texts from Stegmann’s prayer-book. The titles of some of these songs suggest that he too used the now-lost Suspiria temporum from 1628. The title-page of Dilliger’s Horribile spectaculum horum Temporum, for example, reads that the song was “In ein schönes nachdenckliches Gebet verfasset/ vnd zu finden in den suspirijs temporum H. D. Josuae Stegmanni, der heiligen Schrifft vornehmen vnd weiterbrühnten Doctoris.” Johann Dilliger, Musica Oratoria et Laudatoria Oder Bet vnd LobMusica (Coburg, 1630), F recto. For a full summary of the publication history of Stegmann’s prayer-book, see Marian Szyrocki, “‘Himmel Steigente HertzensSeufftzer’ von Andreas Gryphius,” Daphnis 1 (1972): 42-43. For more on the musical reception of Stegmann’s collection of heart-sighs, see chapter three in this dissertation. 

86 Johann Stegmann, Ernewerte HertzenSeufftzer (Lüneberg, 1633), 419.
Franck’s setting of this text capitalizes on the divided nature of narrative voice that places physical suffering in relation to the comforting promise of peace in heaven. In the composer’s music, statements of lamentation are set consistently in the upper three parts, while phrases of reassurance are assigned to the lower three parts. This polarity between high and low—lament and comfort—suggests that the composer was consciously drawing from contemporary musical conventions in which the voice of God or Christ was represented aurally with low voices and the human soul with high voices. Moreover, it demonstrates the gendered conventions of traditional dove and turtledove symbolism—the suffering dove, longing to leave the world and return to heaven, is gendered feminine while Christ’s comforting voice is gendered masculine.

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The title of Franck’s collection—with its reference to the sighs of doves—serves as an important framing device for those Lutherans who would have performed this music. Here, the composer does not draw from traditional Song of Songs imagery, but rather the Augustinian notion of the dove-sigh, which sonically represented the Christian’s pilgrimage, yearning, and
desire to quit the world and return to heaven. While the collection offered German Lutherans a set of sigh-prayers that they might voice through song, it simultaneously asked performers to recognize themselves as doves who, based on the current conditions caused by the war, endlessly sighed and longed to leave the inhospitable and war-torn Earth. As lamented by the suffering soul in Franck’s musical dialogue, the world in which seventeenth-century Lutherans found themselves lacked the basic material resources needed for survival—food was scarce, while fear and suffering were plentiful. Responding internally to these persistent tribulations was the voice of God who, with comforting reassurance, reminded his doves of a more peaceful afterlife where suffering ceased to exist.

The extant repertoire of dove and turtledove songs examined throughout this chapter helped to performatively integrate singing and sighing Lutherans into a broader politics of suffering around which a particular Lutheran emotional community formed. As Barbara Rosenwein recognizes, an emotional community need not necessarily be defined according to material or geographical boundaries, but rather may gain cohesion through a set of shared emotional goals within a discourse community more generally. In the case of the dove and turtledove sigh, German Protestants constructed emotional communities that transcended the strict geographical boundaries of the city of Hernals, the state of Bohemia, the German nation, or even the Holy Roman Empire. As one sermon by the English preacher John Langly suggests, the novel emotional meanings attached to the dove and turtledove found currency as a symbol of Catholic oppression and persecution even outside of the continent in England.

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89 In his polemical sermon delivered before the House of Commons in 1644, the English preacher John Langley criticized the papacy for its cruel attacks on various nations in recent years, including Germany, Bohemia, and the Palatinate. Ruminating on Psalm 74:19 (AV)—“O deliver not the soul of thy turtledove unto the multitude of the wicked: forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever,”—Langley identified the Roman Catholic Church as one
Within this broader emotional community, singing dove- and turtledove-sighs necessarily carried the weight of the emotional and confessional debates within which they were implicated. Protestants unaffected by the war who heard of such turtledove lamentations, such as Langly’s contemporaries in England, would have identified with those who were the direct victims of re-Catholicization, effectively reinforcing confessionally specific modes of feeling through the performative sonic medium. Symbolic environmental sounds, popular melodies, and polemic song texts accumulated political potency through their repeated performances and textual circulation, encouraging all those who sang and heard them to feel with one another in relation to their persecuted Protestant Church. Walking through their sonic environment, Lutherans might hear the groaning voice of a turtledove and be reminded not only of their own sorrowful condition as a Christian, but also as a member of a persecuted faith. Like the turtledove who sighed perpetually from its spiritual sorrow, Lutherans too sang the sad laments of their persecution and subsequently populated their own sonic environments with groaning, sighing voices. Performing the laments of their faith during the war, Lutherans sang with the cooing voices of birds until they too could end their worldly pilgrimage and finally attain eternal peace in the heavenly homeland they so diligently sought.

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of the greatest beasts that have pursued and persecuted the turtledove, the true Protestant church. “But Rome Christian, or rather Antichristian, the great Antichrist puts down all the rest for bloody butchery and barbarous Tragedies, whence she hath the name of the Scarlet whore, and is set out as a Diversified monster, a compound of the rest prophesied of in Daniel, bodied like a Leopard, footed like a bear, mouthed like a lyon: like a Leopard, that spotted Beast, for the variety and multiplicity of them that embrace that grand Imposture, the feet are like a Bears for dulnesse and stupidity, the mouth like a Lyon for horrid blasphemy and cruelty…[T]he Lord open their [Catholic’s] mouths and shew’d that they were the great Beast indeed, whose horns the Carpenters are now sawing off. “T would be an endlessse and nedlesse taske for me to treat of the cruell burthens, massacrees, and assossinations which this seven headed monster hath practised in France, Germany, Bohemia, the Palatinate, Ireland, and England, in our own memories.” John Langley, Gemitus Columbae: The mournfull note of the dove. A sermon preached at Margarets Westminster, before the Honourable House of Commons, at their solem fast, Decemb. 25. 1644 (London: 1644), 8–9. Langley’s emphasis is original.
CONCLUSIONS

And the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

–Isaiah 35:10

As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, this study was guided by two sets of research questions, one of which was specific and the other quite broad. The former concerned itself with the particularities of a genre of music—the Seufftzer or suspiria—that has, until now, received little rigorous scrutiny in musicological literature. The general lack of attention afforded to these rich compositions in the secondary literature has been, as I have suggested, in part due to our own twentieth- and twenty-first-century biases. These compositions are not particularly complex. They lack the dramatic expressivity of Heinrich Schütz’s small-scale sacred concertos, the polychoral grandeur of Michael Praetorius’s motets, the rhetorical brilliance of Johann Hermann Schein’s Italianate madrigals. In recent historiography, the significances of these works have been overlooked in favor of their seemingly more compelling musical counterparts. But while the extant repertoire of sigh-compositions might appear inconsequential in the history of German musical life in the seventeenth century, these compositions in fact played important roles in the emotional histories of those Lutherans who created and performed them, especially during the tumultuous decades of the Thirty Years War.

This dissertation has offered various insights on what exactly the sigh-composition was and what social, cultural, political, religious, and emotional functions it might have served. The

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1 Isa. 35:10 (AV).
dissimilar texts that comprise the musical sigh genre feature a diverse set of music-aesthetic characteristics. While a number of sigh-compositions were written for full choir, others featured only a two-voice monodic texture. Though the compositional idioms of some were quite simple—comprised predominantly of narrow melodic ranges and binary forms—others were highly expressive, through-composed, and depicted the prayer-text using word-painting. Despite their variety, as I have argued, these works nevertheless comprise a coherent musical genre because of the shared horizons of emotional meanings within which they participated and simultaneously helped to construct. What afforded the sigh-composition its generic identity was not, in other words, the works’ formal structures or their harmonic languages, but rather the emotional meanings they both elicited and constructed as a form of sung prayer. During the Thirty Years War, these compositions proved especially useful not only for aiding in the construction of the very emotional experience of war itself, but also in building emotional communities grounded on the pervasive (and in the case of the dove- and turtledove-sigh, the politicized) experience of sorrow and remorse—feelings that, if successfully cultivated through the sigh-composition’s performance—might fundamentally alter the outcome of the war itself via God’s intervention.

It should be noted, too, that though I have set the chronological terminus of this study at 1648—the year in which the Peace of Westphalia was signed and in which the Thirty Years War was effectively ended—the genre of the sigh-composition persisted in early modern Lutheranism to roughly the end of the seventeenth-century before ultimately disappearing into obscurity. The extant sigh-compositions from the latter half of the century feature many of the same characteristics as those of the first half. Collections of musical sighs such as Christian Flor’s 1665 *Gläubiges Senffkorn: Das ist Andächtige und inbrünstige Hertzens-Seufftzer*, for example,
continue to expound on the generic conventions of the sigh-prayer explored in chapter three of this dissertation—Psalm paraphrases, remorseful prayers of repentance, songs for various times of the day, and even a musical sigh for the moment of death all appear within Flor’s work.\(^2\) Though the genre of the musical sigh had disappeared by the century’s end, the theological significance of Seufftzer more generally (which was explored in this dissertation’s second chapter) continued to play an integral role in German Lutheran music into the eighteenth century. When Johann Sebastian Bach—in his 1714 cantata for solo soprano, Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut, BWV 199—set the text of Georg Christian Lehms to music, the composer engaged with the theological dimensions of the sigh and the emotionality of repentance especially in the soprano’s first aria. Accompanied by basso continuo and oboe obbligato, the soprano sings with sigh-like figures in the first section of the da capo aria about the potency of her “stumme Seufzer, stille Klagen”—her mute sighs and quiet lamentations—which communicate all that is in her heart but which is unable to be expressed audibly with her mouth through language.\(^3\) This later history of Seufftzer, though, has yet to be written.

The second set of guiding research questions introduced at the outset of this dissertation was concerned with the relationship between feeling and music in the German Baroque more generally. Testaments to music’s emotionality are ubiquitous in early modern Lutheranism; that music held some kind of affective meaning for those who heard and performed it is incontrovertible. Less clear, though, are the exact means by which such emotional experiences occurred, and what the more precise natures of these experiences were. As I have made clear


throughout this dissertation, the traditional method of musical analysis typically employed when analyzing emotion in music of the German Baroque—that is, *musica poetica* and musical rhetoric—was inappropriate for this study. Not only has this method come under recent scrutiny, but is also largely inapplicable to the non-rhetorical musical idioms in which these sigh-compositions were written. Seeking an alternative method, I have relied on insights from those working within the history of emotions to offer interdisciplinary perspectives and novel approaches for analyzing the corpus of musical works addressed in this dissertation. What emerged from this interdisciplinary inquiry were various approaches that interrogated the relationships between musical sound and emotional experience. The lens through which these sigh-compositions were viewed was not only focused on the music’s aesthetic qualities, but also on the larger performance networks into which they were situated (chapter five); the structures of state power by which they were implemented (chapter four); the discursive networks by which they were formed (chapter three); and the theoretical conceptions of voice, body, and spirit by which they were made possible (chapter two).

While it is true that it is difficult, if not impossible, to ever actually know whether particular individuals experienced the emotions they were encouraged to feel, I wonder if, at the end of this dissertation, this line of thinking detracts from a more important question that presented itself first in chapter four, but to which I would like to return now. Namely, where is it that emotion manifests in relation to music and its performance? In the twenty-first century, we tend to assume that feelings are private and belong to no one else but the individual who experiences them. This conception of emotional experience leads us to look for music’s affective significance deep within the aesthetic object itself—what about *this* music causes me to weep? But if, as historians of emotion have repeatedly argued and convincingly demonstrated,
emotional experiences change over time and are shaped to some extent by the particular historical circumstances that generate them, then our emotions must also necessarily exist externally and socially—they are not solely our own but are forged in the very relationships we build with others, which are historically contingent.

Readjusting the locus of emotional experience from within to without requires a corollary shift in the way that we question and search for emotional significances in sound, music, and musical performance. Rather than solely analyzing the particular musical features that initiate my eyes’ flowing tears, a socialized perspective of emotional experience demands a critique of the external factors that encourage me, more fundamentally, to feel at all. Why do I cry, how have I been taught to express these tears, and in what (musical) contexts are they acceptable? This study has illustrated that one need not necessarily look for emotional meaning in the personal, private, and subjective realms of music. On the contrary, the contours of emotional experience also disclose themselves in the external networks of human interaction through which musical performance is made possible. What should be experienced—what must be experienced—when musicians come together to create harmonious sound reveals itself in the unrelenting efforts of those historical actors who, each bonded to one another, encouraged and expected from others across multiple strata of the emotional community the experience of divine tears, spiritual sorrow, remorse and repentance, and the interminable sighs of the heart.
A Note on Musical Editions

In the following appendices, I have included works and song-texts that do not appear in modern editions. While I have excluded those sigh-compositions that already appear in print elsewhere, I have included their texts and translations, which are my own except where otherwise indicated (e.g., translations of biblical texts, which have been borrowed from the King James Version of the Bible). Original clefs have been preserved in each example, and the text’s orthography has been reproduced as it appears in the original primary sources. One exception has been made, as it has throughout this dissertation, regarding the use of the superscript e above certain inflected diacritical vowels (ü). These have been converted to the modern umlaut (ü) for the sake of consistency. Any critical notes regarding errors in the original manuscripts or prints appear after the musical editions.
Appendix A

Below are the full texts and translations of all sigh-compositions that correspond with chapter three of this dissertation.

Melchior Franck, “HErr JEsu Christ ich ruff dich an,” from Suspiria Musica (Coburg, 1612).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HErr JEsu Christ ich ruff dich an/</td>
<td>Lord Jesus Christ, I call to you,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der du dich hast verwunden lahn/</td>
<td>You who have been wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am Stam[m] deß Creutzes auff gehenckt/</td>
<td>And hung on the trunk of the cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mit Gall vnd Essig auch getrenckt/</td>
<td>And given gall and vinegar to drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ich bitt dich/ laß die Wunden dein/</td>
<td>I entreat you, let your wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Artzney meiner Seelen sein.</td>
<td>Be medicine to my soul.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Julius Ernst Rautenstein, Christlicher vnd Fürstlicher TAVFF Seuffzer, 1633.

Ich hebe meine Augen auf zu den Bergen von welchen mir Hilfe kommt.  
Meine Hilfe kommt von dem HERRN, der Himmel und Erde gemacht hat.  
Er wird deinen Fuß nicht gleiten lassen; und der dich behütet schläfft nicht.  
Siehe, der Hüter Israels schläft noch schlummert nicht.  
Der HERR behütet dich; der HERR ist dein Schatten über deiner rechten Hand,  
daß dich des Tages die Sonne nicht steche noch der Mond des Nachts.  
Der HERR behüte dich vor allem Übel, er behüte deine Seele;  
Der HERR behüte deinen Ausgang und Eingang von nun an bis in Ewigkeit.  

I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.  
My help cometh from the LORD, which made heaven and earth.  
He will not suffer thy foot to be moved: he that keepeth thee will not slumber.  
Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.  
The LORD is thy keeper: the LORD is thy shade upon thy right hand.  
The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.  
The LORD shall preserve thee from all evil: he shall preserve thy soul.  
The LORD shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore.¹

¹ This translation is taken from Ps. 121 (AV).
Johann Hermann Schein, Angst-Seuffitzer/ Welchen zu ihrem lieben Gott auff dem Creutz Bettlein augenblicklichen hat abgehen lassen. Leipzig, 1623.

1.
Ein müd vnd mattes Hirschelein/ Nach frischem Wasser schreyt allein/ Damit sein Hertz zu laben/ Gleich also auch in meiner Noth/ Schreyt meine arme Seel zu Gott/ Wolt gern erquickung haben. 
Nach Gott mein Seele dürst allein/ beym lebendigen Gott zu seyn/ Wenn werd ich denn da stehen? Da ich mög Gottes Angesicht/ Jn seinem glantz vnd frewdenliecht/ Mit meinen Augen sehen?

2.
Lust ist dahin/ betrübter weiß/ Mein Threnen sind mein täglich Speiß/ Weil man zu mir jetzt saget 

3.
Je liebe Seel/ was trübstu dich/ Jn mir so gar vnruhiglich/ Auff Gott harr thu nicht wancken/ Jch weiß gewiß/ Er lest mich nicht/ Er hilfft mir mit sein Angesicht/ Deß werd ich jhm noch dancken Mein Gott/ wie ist betrüb in mir Mein Seel drumb sehnet sie sich nach dir/ vn[d] stets an dich gedencket/ An den Jordan vnd Hermonin/ Sie winselt mit elender Stim/ Auffm kleinen Berg sich krencket.

1.
A weary and weak little deer
Alone cries out for fresh water
With which it can cool its heart.
So too in my time of need
Does my poor soul cry out to God
In order to have refreshment.
For God alone does my soul thirst,
To be by the living God.
When will I stand there?
There I would like to see,
In his splendor and joyful light,
God’s face with my eyes?

2.
Delight is lost, sorrow knows,
My tears are my daily food,
Because one now says to me
“Look, where now is your God and Lord?”
If I to him would be it,
It makes totally sick and gnaws at my heart
Then I would gladly be by the lot
To enter the house of God
Therein with them to pilgrimage,
I mean [with] that group who, with thanks,
Rejoices, and to God a song of praise
Lets ring in celebration of him.

3.
Ever loving soul, why do you trouble yourself
In me so restlessly?
Await for God, do not waver.
I know full well, he leaves me not;
He helps me with his countenance,
Therefore, I will thank him again.
My God, how I am inwardly troubled.
My soul therefore longs for you
And presently thinks on you—
You whimper with woeful voice,
Disturbed on the little mountain.
4.
Soräuschen deine Fluten her/
Daß hie ein Tieffe brauset sehr/
Dort eine Tief sich findet/
All deine Wellen vber mich/
Vnd Wasserwogen heuffen sich/
All meine Lust verschwindet/
Dennoch wil ich verzagen nit/
Denn Gott der HEer [sic] hat seine Güt/
Des Tages mir verheissen/
Des Nachte ich sing in meiner Noth/
Vnd bet zu meines Lebens Gott
Er wol mir hülff erweisen.

5.
Ach Gott mein Felß/ sag ich zu jhm/
Ach meine seufftzen doch vernim/
Wie hastu mein vergessen?
Warumb muß ich so trawrig gehn/
Mein Lesterfeind so für mir sehn?
Thu gleichs jhnn wieder messen.
Jn meine[n] ist mirs als ein mord/
Wenn mich mein feind an manche[n] ort/
So schmehn vnd zu mir sagen:
Wo ist nur hin mit hülff dein Gott/
Siehstu daß er in deiner noth
Nichts mehr nach dir wil fragen/

6.
Bleib fest/ wanck nit mein liebe Seel/
Deswegn dich nicht betrüb vnd quel/
Auth Gott den[n]och thu hare[n]/
So böß es auch all mein Feind/
Mit mir gedacht han vnd gemeint/
Seind worden doch zu Narren
Denn ich werd gar gewißlich noch/
Gott dancken in dem Himmel hoch/
Daß er mein hülff gewesen? [sic]
Er ist mein Gott/ verlest mich nicht/
Von aller schmach mein Angesicht/
Durch jhm ist wol genesen.

7.
Ey was ist doch die schnöde Welt/
Jhr sin[n] vnd muth tracht nur nach Gelt/
Gotts ist sie gantz vergesse[n]/
Thut/ was sie wil/ Recht muß es seyn/
die Christlich Liebe geht gar ein/
Der Geitz ist eingesessen.
Drumb bin ich dieses Lebens satt/
An Gott mein Hertz sein frewde hat/
Die Welt wil ich gesegnen
Gott bhüt dein Kirch/ bewahr dein Wort
Den arme[n] Christn an allem ort/
Dein Segen reich laß regnen.
Amen.

Do what you will, it must be right;
Christian love goes totally in,
Avarice is set out.
Therefore, I am content with this life
God has placed his joy in my heart,
I will bless the world.
God watch your church, protect your word
And poor Christians in all places.
Let your rich blessing reign.
Amen.

Johann Hildebrand, “Ach Gott! wir habens nicht gewust” from Krieges-Angst-Seuffitzer (Leipzig, 1645).


Ah God! We did not know what a plague is war, but now we experience it unfortunately all too much—that war is a plague above all plagues in which all good goes away, all courage goes away, all blood goes away, everything goes away. One has to eat one’s bread with worry and in suffering; one must drink on one’s water with trembling. One hears nothing on the streets but “Woe! Ah! We are so totally ruined!” O God of peace, grant us again your heavenly peace. Let not church and school be destroyed. Let not your church services and good order be exterminated. Help us with your outstretched arm. Bestow us a little place where we can remain—a little house, in which we can stay; a little room, where we can be safe and serve your name—that we may visit your temple in peace, laud and praise you in peace, and die a holy death in peace.

Georg Neumark, Hertzliches Friedens-Seufftzen (Königsberg, 1645).

1.
Vormals hastu mit Genaden/
   Israel gesehen an/
Grosser Gott/ und allen Schaden
   Von demselben weggethan;
Vätterlich dein Land begütet/
Vnd für aller Noht behüret;
   Du hast mit Gewalt und Pracht/
Jacob loß und frey gemacht

1.
In ancient times you have, with grace,
   Looked on Israel,
Great God, and put away
   All adversities from this place;
Fatherly, you have enriched your land
   And protected it from all hardship;
You have, with strength and glory,
   Made Jacob free.
2. Das verdampfte Tugend=hassen/
   Hastu übersehn aus Huld/
Du hast deinem Volck erlassen/
   Aller grossen Sünden Schuld;
Vormals sind die Grimmes=Flammen/
Als dein Erbtheil trat zusammen/
   Vnd dich hat in Reu’ und Leid/
   Außgelescht durch Güttigkeit.

3. Weil denn nun dein Grimm gebrauset/
   Vber uns wie Meeres=Fluth
Bey uns lange Zeit gesauset/
   Deine Straff und scharffe Ruht;
Vnd dein Zorn also erglimmet/
Daß auch fast in Thränen schwimmet
   Vnsr liebes Vater=Land/
   Dessen Noth so viel wie Sand.

4. Weil die Sonn auch hat vollendet/
   Dieses alte Sünden=Jahr/
Vnd sich wiederümb gewendet/
   Zu uns scheinend hell und klar/
Ach so höre doch das Wimmern
   Vnsr Jammern und Bekümmern;
   HErr/ und laß doch brechen rein/
   Endlich deinen Gnaden=Schein.

5. Du/ du Heyland unser Seelen/
   Diß Jahr laß doch seyn die Zeit/
Da sich lege Krieges Quelen/
   Vnd dein Hertzens=Härtigkeit/
Wilstu denn nicht mehr erquicken/
Vns/ und deine Gnade schicken/
   Daß dein armes Volck sich freu’
   Vber dir und frölich sey?

6. Hilff uns HErr/ uns armen Blöden/
   Allen Jammer treibe fern;
Ach daß ich möchten hören reden
   Bnsrns [sic] Gott/ den
   HErren=HErrn/

2. The cursed hate of virtue
   Thou hast overlooked out of Grace;
   You have waived your people
   All great debt of sin;
   In ancient times, the grim-flames are
   United together with your portion,
   And you had in remorse and suffering
   Extinguished [these] through goodness.

3. Because indeed now your fierceness booms
   Over us like an ocean flood,
   Roars by us a long time,
   Your punishment and sharp rod;
   And so your anger kindles,
   That also almost swims in tears
   Our beloved Fatherland,
   Who [has] hardships as numerous as sand.

4. Because the son also accomplished
   This old year of sin,
   And turned again
   To us, shining bright and clear.
   Ah, so hear well the whimper
   [Of] our moaning and distressing
   Lord, and let still break pure,
   Finally, your shining grace.

5. You—you savior of our souls—
   Let this year be the time
   That you abate the tortures of war
   And your Heart’s hardness.
   Do you no longer wish to refresh
   Us, and send us your grace,
   That your poor people might rejoice
   In you and be happy?

   Chase away all misery;
   Ah, that I would want to hear
   Our God, the Lord of Lords,
Daß er allen Reiches=Fürsten/
So numehr nach Friede dürsten/
    Gnädig schenckt’ und sagte zu
    Die hoch=wehrte Landes=Ruh.

7.
Hilff doch daß nicht unsre Sinne/
    Werden thörlich abgelenckt;
Vnser Hertze nichts beginne/
    Was hernach die Seele krenckt;
Daß auch nicht das Glauben jrre/
    Mit Gedancken sich verwirre/
    Wegen deiner starcken Macht.
    Frommer Gott nimb uns in acht!

8.
Doch/ wir sind schon im Gemüthe/
    Deß versichert sicherlich/
Daß des grossen Gottes Güte/
    Nimmermehr entferne sich/
    Von den Menschen so jhn lieben/
    Vnd in seiner Furcht sich üben;
    Welche seiner Gnad und Huld
    Gern erwarten mit Gedult.

9.
Drümb/ wolauff mein gantzes Hertze/
    Du auch mein betrübter Sinn/
Diesen Tag sey aller Schmerzte
    Weit von dir geleget hin:
    Wünsche/ daß aus unsren Landen/
    Sünde weichen mit den Schanden/
    Aber Ehr’ und Redligkeit/
    Wohne bey uns jederzeit.

10.
Bey uns/ und auff allen Wegen/
    Güt und wahre Hertzens=Treu’/
Jhnen gehn allzeit entgegen/
    Machen Freundschafft täglich neu;
    Lieb’ auff Erden sich erbaue/
    Richtigkeit vom Himmel schaue/
    Gott verleyh’ uns jederzeit/
    Was nur unser Hertz’ erfreut.

That he all rich-princes
So henceforth thirst for peace,
Graciously send and promise
The high-worthy peace of country.

7.
But help, that our foolish minds
    Be not sidetracked—
[That] our hearts begin nothing,
    What hereafter harms the soul;
[And] that also the faith not be misled
[Or] tangled with thoughts—
    By means of your strong power.
    Pious God, be on guard for us!

8.
But we are already of the feeling
    Of secured safety,
That the great God’s goodness
    Will nevermore separate itself [from us],
From the people whom he loves
And who fear him,
    [and] who patiently await
    his grace and favor.

9.
Therefore, rise up my whole heart!
    You also, my afflicted mind.
This day shall all pain
    Be laid down far from you.
I wish, that out of our land
Sin with hardships loses strength
    But honor and fidelity
    Remain by us at all times.

10.
By us, and along all paths,
    Good and true loyalty of heart;
Go towards [this] always
    Make friendship daily anew;
Build love on Earth,
Look for rightness from Heaven.
    God grant us in all times
    What only gratifies our hearts.
Melchior Franck, "HErr JEsu Christ ich ruff dich an," *Suspiria Musica* (Coburg, 1612)
an/ der du dich hast ver- wun- den

an/ der du dich hast ver- wun- den lahn/ der

an/ der du dich hast ver- wun- den

an/ der du dich hast ver- wun- den

lahn/ der____ du____

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lahn/ der du dich hast ver- wun- den lahn/____

der du dich hast ver- wun- den lahn/ der____
dich hast verwunden
__ du dich hast verwunden__
der du dich hast verwunden
__ du dich hast ________ verwunden

lahn/am Stam[m] deß Creutz-es auffge-
lahn/am Stam[m] deß Creutz-es auffge-
lahn/am Stam[m] ______ deß Creutz-es auffge-
lahn/am Stam[m] deß Creutz-es auffge-
henckt/ mit Gall vnd Es - - sig

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henckt/ mit Gall vnd Es - sig

henckt/ mit Gall vnd Es - sig

aulch ge - trenckt/ ich bitt dich/

aulch ge - trenckt/ ich bitt dich/

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ich bitt dich laß die Wunden

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ich bitt dich laß die Wunden

dein/ ein Arzney meiner See len sein/
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Wunden dein/ ein arzt-ney mei-ner See-len sein.
Wunden dein/ ein Arzt-ney mei-ner See-len sein.
Wunden dein/ ein arzt-ney mei-ner See-len sein.
Wunden dein/ ein arzt-ney mei-ner See-len sein.
Julius Ernst Rautenstein, *Christlicher vnd Fürstlicher TAVFF Seuffzer*, 1633.
In Concerto

C 1

C 2

A

T

Inst. I

Inst. II

Bsn.

B. c.
\textit{C 1}

\textit{C 2}

\textit{A}

\textit{T}

\textit{Inst. I}

\textit{Inst. II}

\textit{Bsn.}

\textit{B. c.}

\textbf{auff,}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne Augen auff, Jch he-be mei-ne}}

\textbf{mei-ne Augen auff,}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne}}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne}}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne}}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne}}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne}}

\textbf{\textit{Jch he-be mei-ne}}
hebe meine Augen auff zu den Bergen,

Augen auff zu den Bergen,

zu den Bergen,

Augen auff,

hebe meine Augen auff zu den Bergen,
Bergen, von welchen mir
Bergen
Bergen
Bergen
Bergen
Bergen

Inst. I

Inst. II

Bsn.

B. c.
met, von welchen mir Hülfte köm...
von welchen mir
met von welchen mir
von welchen mir
von welchen mir
meine Hilfe kömmt von meinen Herren

Hilfe kömmt von meinen Herren

meine Hilfe kömmt von meinen Herren
Herren, meine Hülfe köm[mt] von
Herren, meine Hülfe kömibt von
meine Hülfe kömibt von
meine Hülfe kömibt von
meine Hülfe kömibt von
Hülfköm[mt] von
Hülfkömbt von
Hülfkömbt von
Hülfkömbt von

Herren der Him
mell,

Herren

Herren

Herren

Herren

Himmel,
der Himmel, vnd Erden gemacht
Er wird deinen Fuß nicht

Concert.
glei - ten las - sen,

glei - ten las - sen,

Er wird deii - nen Fuß nicht

Er wird deii - nen Fuß nicht

dei - nen Fuß nicht

dei - nen Fuß nicht
C 1

- ten las - sen Denn der dich be - hü - tet

C 2

las - - - sen, Denn der dich be - hü - tet

A

las - - - sen

T

glei - ten la - ßen

Inst. I

Inst. II

Bsn.

B. c.


C 1

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich, der Herr ist dein Schatten} \]

C 2

\[ \text{be - hü - te dich} \]

A

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich, der Herr ist dein Schatten} \]

T

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich} \]

Inst. I

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich} \]

Inst. II

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich} \]

Bsn.

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich} \]

B. c.

\[ \text{be - hü - te Dich} \]
über deiner Rechten Hand
daß dich deß Tages
über deiner Rechten Hand
daß dich deß Tages
Rechsten!
Hand
daß dich deß Tages
Rechsten!
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Für alle
bell, für alle

Für alle
bell, für alle

Für alle
bell, für alle

Inst. I

Inst. II

Bsn.

B. c.
Er behüte Er behüte Er behüte deine See

Er behüte Er behüte deine See

Er behüte Er behüte deine See

Er behüte Er behüte deine See

Er behüte Er behüte deine See

Er behüte Er behüte deine See
Außgang

Außgang

Außgangk der Herr be-hü-te dei-nen Ein-gang

Außgangk, der Herr be-hü-te dei-nen Ein-gang

Herr be-hü-te dei-nen Ein-gang

Herr be-hü-te dei-nen Ein-gang
nun an biß in Ewigkeit,
Von nun an biß in
wig-keit, von nun an biß in E
Von nun an biß in E
Critical notes
m. 30, B.c., second note is a minim.
m. 73, inst. II, two extraneous semibreves appear before the start of m. 73.
m. 74, bsn., third note is a B.
m. 74, B.c., second note is C natural.
m. 112, alt., measure is preceded by one extraneous semibreve.
m. 113, B.c., second note is G.
m. 171, C I, the word “Außgang,” not “Eingang” appears in the ms.
m. 173, B.c., note is D.
m. 173, C II, tie appears exactly as notated in the ms.
m. 181, C II, note is a minim followed by minim rest.
Appendix B

The following texts correspond with chapter four of this dissertation.

Translation of the text by Erasmus Widmann, “Nürnbergisch Gebet,” from Piorum Suspiria (Rotterdam ob der Tauber, 1629).

1. Almighty, good God,  
   Eternal father and LORD;  
   O strong savior out of adversity  
   Mighty of power and honor,  
   We mere humans and great sinners  
   Come before you with resounding  
   And say thanks, through and through,  
   For all your good deeds.

2. You have thus far, so fatherly,  
   Supplied all for us,  
   And from loud grace—especially  
   According to your pleasure,  
   Us not alone to be humans—  
   Formulated and created [us];  
   And with a lot of understanding,  
   Decorated [us with] beautiful gifts.

3. But also, to the devil’s envy,  
   We were in the sin of death;  
   Thou hast, our ignorance,  
   Taken on in such dangers;  
   Through great love and sheer grace,  
   Under [man’s] lost lineage,  
   [You] compiled a church and congregation  
   In order to rightly honor you.

4. To us, so orderly,  
   [You have] called and chosen,  
   And your will, very clearly,  
   Was disclosed to us,  
   Along with your son, to the throne of Grace  
   Was sent to the world,  
   So that he might in his death  
   Save us and cool your wrath.
5. Wir dancken dir auch/ daß du/ HERR/
   Vns bey deim Wort erhalten :/
   Vnd über vns Sünder bißher
   Dein Gnade lassen walten.
Zwar wir seind all nicht werth zumal/
   Daß wir dein Kinder heissen:
Dieweil wir dich sündhafftiglich
   Zum Zorn vnd Eyffer räytzen.
5. We thank you also, Lord, that you
   Have preserved us by your word
   And to date have, over we sinners,
   Let your grace preside.
   Indeed, we are not all worthy
   To be called your children
   Since we have sinfully
   Aggravated you to rage and zeal.

6. Du hast vns zwar errettet offt/
   Vnd herrlich deine Machte :/
Erweisen/ wie wir all gehoofft:
   Doch wirs gering geachtet:
Setztzen auff dich kein zuversicht:
   Sondern auff nichtig dinge:
So nur zeitlich vnd vergänglich/
   Der Seel schädlich/ vnd gringe.
6. You have indeed saved us often
   And, gloriously, your power
   Proven, as we have all hoped.
   But we have little attended [to this].
   [We] put little confidence in you,
   But instead in things of nothingness,
   Only temporal and ephemeral,
   Which [is] to the soul harmful and slight.

7. Groß Güte vnd Barmhertzigkeit
   Hastu erzeigt vns allen :/
Wir aber auß vnachtsambkeit
   Jn muhtwillig Sünd gfallen:
Dein Wort/ O Gott/ vnd täglichs Brod/
   Gaben vnd all Wolthaten
Gar nicht erkennt: sondern angewend
   Zu schand vnd bösen thaten.
7. Great benevolence and mercy
   Have you given to us all,
   But we from inattention
   Have fallen into willful sin.
   Your word, O God, and daily bread,
   Gifts and all good deeds
   Are not at all recognized, but misused
   To shame and evil deeds.

8. Zu Hoffart/ Pracht/ vnd Füllerey/
   Finantz/ vnd andern Sünden :/
Mit Vppigkeit zu Büberey/
   (Dein Zornfewr anzuzünden)
Zum eygennutz/ Hochmuht vnd trutz
   Mißbraucht schändlich grossen:
Auch Fleisch vnd Blut zu argem Muht
   Vns sehr verführen lassen.
8. Pride, luxuriousness, and gluttony,
   Usury, and other sins,
   With sumptuousness and wickedness
   (which ignites your fire-rage),
   Selfishness, arrogance, and obstinacy
   Many inimical people abuse.
   Also flesh and blood, and dire courage
   All powerfully mislead us.

9. Reichlich hast vns verkünden lan
   Dein Wort vnd dein Gebotten :/
Wir liesens doch für Ohren gahn/
   Achteten nicht der Botten/
9. Richly, you have proclaimed to us
   Your Word and your commandments;
   We let it indeed [into our] ears,
   But pay no attention to the message.
Die du gefand in vnser Land/
   Deinen Befelch zu lehren:
Deren bericht folgten wir nicht/
   Wolten nichts thun/ nur hören.

10.
Vnd da du vns durch deine Knecht
   Zu deinem Dienst vocieret [:]/:
Wolten wir nicht antworten schlecht
   Mit ghorsam/ wies gebühret.
Ach/ wir zumal/ König/ Fürsten all/
   Vätter/ gantz Volck/ vnd Gmeine/
Müssen fürwar vns schämen gar/
   Mann/ Weib/ Alt/ Jung/ vnd kleine.

11.
Ob du schon vnser Vatter bist/
   Woltn wir doch dich nicht Ehren [:]/:
Vnd förchteten zu keener frist
   Dich vnsern rechten HErren
Drumb/ wann vns bald mit Schwerd vnd gwałt/
   Thewrung/ Pestin/ vnd bschwerden
Heimbsuchest sehr: fühlen wir schwer/
   Sündhalb gesteupt zu werden.

12.
Ach Vatter/ vnd getrewer GOtt/
   O vnser lieber HErre [:]/:
All vnsere Sünd vnd Missethat
   Haben verschuld viel mehre:
Daß dein Antlitz/ vnd Schwerdes spitz
   Wider vns Sünder stellest/
Vnd vns in Noht/ groß schand vnd spott/
   Vnd zeitlich Straffen fällest.

13.
Sih/ vnser Sünd vns troffen han/
   Bringen vns in solch Gfährden [:]/:
Vnd wollen übers Haupte gahn/
   Wie ein Last zu schwer werden.
HErr Zebaoth/ Gerechter GOtt:
   Daß wir gesündigt haben:
Drumb dich ergrimbst/ vnd von vns nimbst
   Deß Friedens edle Gaben.

You searched in our land
   To teach your command;
But we do not follow this advice—
   We do not want to do, only hear.

10.
And there you, through your servant,
   Voiced your service;
We want not to poorly answer
   With obedience, as it is due.
Ah! We especially, King, Sovereign of all,
   Father of all people and humanity,
Must indeed be completely ashamed,
   Man, woman, old, young, and small.

11.
Even though you are our Father,
   We want not to honor you
And do not fear
   You, our true Lord.
Then when you, with sword and violence
   Inflation, pestilence, and hardships,
Afflict [us] greatly, we feel heavy,
   And are made dirty by sin.

12.
Ah Father and true God,
   Oh, our loving Lord,
All our sin and misdeeds
   Have indebted us so much,
That your countenance, and pointy sword,
   Are set against our sins;
And we in hardship, great shame, and
   Derision collapse into these punishments.

13.
See! Our sin meets us here
   And brings us such dangers;
They go out over our heads
   Like a heavy burden.
Lord Zebaoth, righteous God,
   That we have sinned
We angered you, and you took from us
   The gift of precious peace.
14.
Du lässt vns leider/ lange zeit
    Schädlich Kriegsläufft empfinden :/
Dardurch Gesetz vnd Grechtigkeit
    Verhindert, bald verschwinden.
Gottseligkeit/ Zucht/ Erbarkeit/
    Tent vnd gute Lehre/
Vertrewlichkeit/ vnd freundlichkeit/
    Abnem’n je länger je mehre.

15.
Die Regiment werden zerrütt/
    Handlung vnd Gwerb gesperret :/
Die Frücht veröst/ das Gtränck verschütt/
    Die Saat darzu verwehret:
Ja allerhand im gantzen Land
    Thut man schändlich verwüsten.
Manch böses Gsind lest sich geschwind
    Viel böser That gelüsten.

16.
Jnsonderheit dein heiligs Wort
    (Welches in diesem Leben :/
Jst vnser höchster Trost vnd Hort/
    So du vns hast gegeben.)
Jn Kirch vnd Gmein will thewer seyn:
    Stellt sich/ als wolt es wandern/
Vnd wolltestu es nemen nun
    Von vns/ vnd geben andern.

17.
Nun HErr/ weiß solln vns trösten wir
    Jn solcher Noht vnd Gfahre :/
Können wir jetzt nicht wissen schier
    Was wir thun sollen zware.
Der Menschen Raht ist viel zu spat:
    Jhr hülff ist hie kein nütze:
Sondern nach dir/ HErr/ sehen wir/
    Der vns in Gnaden schütze.

18.
Drumb wir für deine Mayestätt
    Jetzund mit seufftzen tretten :/
Vnd bringen für vnser Gebet/
    Vmb hülff/ vns zu erretten:
Jm namen Christ/ der allzeit ist

14.
You’ve unfortunately left us
    To feel the harmful times of war,
Through which law and justice
    Is frustrated, almost vanished;
Blessedness, chastity, respectability,
    Honor, and good teachings,
Reliability and friendliness
    [You have] increasingly taken away.

15.
The army will be [in] ruin,
    Trade and industry closed,
The fruit made barren, all drink spilled out
    The crop therewith refused.
Indeed, all sorts [of things] in the entire land
    Are laid detrimentally to waste.
Some evil servant quickly
    Lust after more evil deeds.

16.
Especially, your Holy Word
    (Which in this life
Is our highest comfort and refuge,
    Which you have given us)
Will be precious in church and society.
    Surrender, as it wants to roam
And you want to take it now
    From us, and give to others.

17.
Now, Lord, how shall we comfort ourselves
    In such distress and danger;
Could we not now know
    What we should indeed do [?]
The guidance of man is much too late,
    Its help is of no use here.
But to you, Lord, we look,
    Who shields us in grace.

18.
Therefore, before your majesty,
    We approach with sighs
And seek with our prayers
    For your help to save us
In the name of Christ, who is always
Der einig Mittler schöne/
Heyland vnd Trost (so vns erlöst)
Vorgestellter Gnadenenthrone.

19.
Vnd bitten dich inbrünstiglich
   Mit gantz zerschlagen Hertzen :
Du wöllst vnser erbarmen dich/
   Vnd lindern vnsern schmerzen.
Hör vnser Stimm/ vnd laß vom Grimm/
   Thu vns wider erquicken:
Gedenck jetzund an deinen Bund/
   Laß vns nicht vntertrücken.

20.
Laß vns geschendet werden nicht/
   Noch deinen Thron verspotten :
Stoß vns nicht von deim Angesicht/
   Vnd laß vns nicht außbrotten:
Auß lauter Gnad all Missethat
   Wöllst vns/ O HErr/ verzeyhren:
All vorig Sünd vor dir verschwind/
   Laß dich der Straff gerewen.

21.
Wirff vnser Sünde hinder dich/
   Vnd thues ins Meer versencken :
Derselbigen wöllst ewiglich/
   O GOtt/ nicht mehr gedencken.
Auch vns verley ein wahre Rew
   Ein Bußfertiges Leben
Zu stellen an/ vnd vns fortan
   Deim Willen zu ergeben.

22.
Daß wir vns hüten jummerdar
   Vor Lastern Schand vnd Sünden :
Die rechte Lieb im Glauben gar
   Gegen dir stets empfinden:
Beständiglich hoffen auff dich/
   Vnd biß ans End verharren
Gedultiglich: vnd dienstbarlich
   Gegen dem Nächsten gebaren.

23.
Bleib bey vns HERR/ vnd hilff vns auß/

The only mediator,
Savior, and comfort (who saved us)
[On his] present throne of grace.

19.
And plead with you earnestly
   With completely broken hearts
To have mercy on us
   And reduce our pains.
Hear our voice, and abate your ferocity;
   Refresh us.
Think now on your covenant.
   Do not let us succumb [to hardship].

20.
Let us not be disgraced,
   And [let us not] mock your throne.
Do not push us from your countenance
   And do not let us be exterminated.
Out of loud grace, all misdeeds
   Forgive, Oh Lord, we wish;
All prior sin disappears before you,
   Let you leave the punishment be.

21.
Throw our sins behind you,
   Let them sink in the sea
Of those things eternally,
   O God, think no longer [on them].
And grant us a true contrition,
   A repentant life,
That we can employ, and for us forthwith
   Yield to your Will.

22.
That we dwell there forever
   [Away] from vice, shame, and sin;
The true love in faith
   Perceived toward you.
Steadily, we hope in you
   And remain until the end,
Patiently, and subserviently,
   [As we] do toward our neighbors.

23.
Remain by us, Lord, and help us
Vmb deines Namens willen :/
Wann wider vns das Meere braust/
Winck nur/ so kanst es stillen.
Dann du zur frist ein Stifter bist
Deß edlen Frieds alleine/
Liebhaber trew der Liebe frey/
Ders hertzlich mit vns meyne.

24.
Gib vns zu förderst deinen Fried/
Den die Welt nicht kan geben :/
Kehr dich zu vns/ Erhör die Bitt
Der Knechte/ die dir leben.
Bey vns erhalt/ durch deinen gwalt
Dein seligmachends Worte:
Auff Kindeskind vnd Haßgesind
Brings/ vnd es pflantze forte.

25.
Auff daß der Gottesdienste rein
Vnd Grechigkeit auff Erden :/
Fried/ Lieb vnd Trew zunemen fein/
Vnd wol erbawet werden/
Jn allem Land/ ohn Menschentand [?]/
Grünen/ vnd sich außbreiten/
Wan[n] du nur spricht/ O HERr/ so
gschichts/
Zu all vnd jeden zeiten.

26.
Wir haben ein Prophetisch Wort/
Welchs leuchtet/ wie die Sonne :/
Gantz hell auff vnsern Wegen fort/
So vnsers Hertzens wonne.
Verleyh nur du dein gnad darzu/
Daß wir solches hoch achten/
Vnd biß ans End vnsers Elend
Beharrlich wol betrachten.

27.
Gib/ daß wir lernen recht vnd wol
Vns in d’Anfechtung schicken :/
G’dultig vnsr Seel seyn soll/
Wann es vns nicht will glücken:
Nicht wider dich vnwilliglich
Murren in diesen gfaoren:

In the name of your Will.
When the seas rage against us
Only wave, so that you can calm it.
For you alone are a benefactor
Of the precious peace;
Make love free, true lover,
So that it might be sincerely with us.

24.
Give us [the power] to foster your peace,
For the world cannot give us this;
Turn to us, hear the request
Of your servants, who live for you.
Keep by us, through your strength,
Your beatific Word:
To our children’s children and household,
Bring it and plant it firmly.

25.
On that, the true Church Service,
And justice on Earth
May peace, love, and truthfulness increase
And verily be built.
In every country and dwelling place,
Make verdant and spread yourself out,
when you speak, O Lord, so it is ordered
To all at all times.

26.
We have a prophetic Word
That shines as the sun
Completely bright along our forward path
So long as it lives in our hearts.
Grant only then your grace with us,
That we will carefully attend to [your word]
And, until the end of our suffering,
Regard this well and persistently.

27.
Grant, that we will learn right and well
In the spiritual sufferings sent to us.
Our souls should be patient
When all is not lucky for us.
[Grant that we] not against you, indignantly,
Grumble in these hardships,
Sondern allzeit mir bständigkeit
Jn dem Gebet verharren.

28.
Den Kriegen steurin [?] aller Welt/
Vnd die Gedancken wende ./:
Der Völcker/ so ziehen zu Feld/
Zum Frieden sich zu lenden.
Jhr Hertzen lenck/ daß jeder denck
Dem Frieden nach zujagen/
Vnd guts zuthon. Ach HErr/ verschen:
Sonst müssen wir verzagen.

29.
All/ die mit Vnglück schwanger gehn/
Die mach/ O Gott/ zu schanden ./:
Die Deim Heilghthumb [sic] entgegen stehn/
Stürtz selbst in d’Grub vnd Banden.
Aber die/ so deß Friedens fro/
Segne vnd Benedeye:
Die mit begier lust han an dir/
Vnd an deim Wort/ erfrewe.

30.
Die Käyserliche Mayestat/
Chur: Fürsten/ vnd all Stände ./:
Auch jeden Christlichn Potentat
Vnd dero Rähte wende:
Daß sich jhr Gmüht zu Fried vnd Güt
Gnädig vnd bständig neygt/
Vnd seyen dran daß jederman
Gern ruhig sich erzeygt:

31.
Damit Verderben allerhand
Vnd fernine Blutvergiessen ./:
Verhütet werd in allem Land:
Laß vns deß Frieds geniessen.
Mach Fried im Reich auch sonst deßgleich:
Schaff ruh in Gränten allen/
Jn vnsern Maurn/ dz Burgr vnd Baurn/
Dein Lob vnd Ruhm erschallen.

32.
Auff daß bey gutem Regiment
But at all times [grant] me perseverance
To remain [steadfast] in prayer.

28.
War operates the whole world
And turns all thoughts [to it];
The people, dragged into the battlefield,
Turn to you for peace.
All your hearts direct every thought
To the pursuit of peace,
And do it well. Ah Lord, spare [us],
Otherwise we lose hope.

29.
All those who go pregnant with misfortune,
They are made to waste, O God.
They stand against your Holy sanctuary,
Plunged themselves in the pit and bonds.
But those who, happy with peace,
Issue forth blessings;
They have desire for you
And take joy at your Word.

30.
Turn [the hearts of] the Imperial Majesty,
Princes of all ranks
And also all Christian potentates
And judges,
That they might toward peace their feelings
Graciously and steadily incline,
And wish it that everyone
Be gladly granted peace.

31.
[Let us] from many a ruin
And bloodshed
Be protected in every land:
Let us enjoy peace.
Make peace in the empire, and elsewhere,
Foster peace within all boarders [and]
In our walls, that citizen and peasant
Ring out your praise and glory.

32.
That by a good regiment,
Wir ein still leben führen ;/:
Wollest all ding zu diesem End
Genädig dirigieren:
Daß Erbarkeit [?] Gottseligkeit/
Zucht vnd Tugend florieren/
Gutthätigkeit mit bscheidenheit
Mög vnser leben zieren.

33.
Bescheer vns auch das täglich Brod/
Linder die thewre Zeiten ;/:
Bhüt vns vor Seuch [?] vnd bösem Todt:
Thu über vns außbreyten
Die Flügel dein: daß die Gemein
Vntr jhrem Schatten bleibe
Sicher vnd stech [?] das lieb Gebet
All schwere plag abtreibe.

34.
Bekehre die verführten/ HErr/
Daß sie der Warheit glauben ;/:
Vnd die Sünder durch falsche Lehr
Sich nicht lassen berauben.
Sondern vielmehr deins Namens Her
Suchen/ Vnd dich erkennen:
Sterck vnd erhalt vor bösem gwalt/
Die sich dein Diener nennen.

35.
Hilff vns/ Gott vnsers Heyls/ allzeit/
So ist vns gholffen allen ;/:
Laß vns auß deir Barmhertzigkeit
Nicht sincken noch entfallen.
Erbarme dich genädiglich
Der kleinen vnd der grossen:
Daß jederman wol sprechen kan/
Du habst vns nicht verlassen.

36.
Auff daß man sag/ GOtt hats gethan/
Der vns zwar liese kommen ;/:
Jn Fewersflamm/ oder fortan
Jn Wassersnoht vnd Strome:
Doch vns endlich gewaltiglich
Wider darauß geführet:
Daß man sein Stärck wiß vnd vermerck/
Vnd seine Machte spüret.

So that one might notice and know your
Strength and feel your influence.

37.
Erhalt vns in der Liebe dein/
Jn deiner Gnad zu schweben :/:
Auff daß wir mögen frölich seyn
Zeitlich in diesem Leben:
Vnd deine Macht werd groß geacht
Bey Kind vnd KindesKinden:
Dein Lob vnd Ehr wir lengr vnd mehr
Bey allem Volck verkünden.

37.
Preserve us in your love,
In your grace to rest
On which we want to be happy
For a time in this life.
And your power will be greatly respected
By our children and our children’s
children.
Your praise and honor we, longer and more,
Proclaim through all people.

38.
Erhöre Gott/ vnd vns gewer/
O Vatter aller frommen :/
Hilff/ daß wir endlich aller bschwer
Vnd Kriegeslasts abkommen.
Durch deinen Sohn den Gnadenthron/
Vnd wegen seines Namen:
Der mit dir lebt/ Regiert vnd schwebt/
Sampt heilgem Geiste/ Amen.

38.
Listen God, and grant,
O Father of all pious ones;
Help, that we finally avoid all hardship
And burdens of war.
Through your Son on the Throne of Grace
And by means of his name,
Who lives, reigns, and rests with you
Along with the angels. Amen.
Der woldestu verschonen/
Nicht nach den Wercken lohnen.

3. O grosser Gott von Raht/
laß die Barmherzigkeit
Ergehen/ vnd halt inn mit der Gerechtigkeit/
der möchten fünff vnd viertzig seyn/
[Die theten nach den Willen dein/]
Der woldestu verschonen/
Nicht nach den Wercken lohnen.

4. O grosser Gott von Stärck/
schaw an das arme Land/
Vnd wende von der Straff
dein außgestreckte Hand/
Der möchten etwa viertzig seyn/
Die theten nach den Willen dein/
Der woldestu verschonen/
Nicht nach den Wercken lohnen.

5. O grosser Gott von Krafft/
laß doch erweichen dich/
Weil das elend Gebet
so offt erhölet sich/
Vielleicht der möchten² dreyssig seyn/
Die theten nach den Willen dein/
Der wollestu verschonen/
nicht nach den Wercken lohnen.

6. O grosser Gott von Gnad/
erhör auch diese Stimm/
Vnd in deim hohen Thron
das seufftzen tieff vernim/
Der möchten etwa zwantzig seyn/
Die theten nach den Willen dein/
Der wollestu verschonen/
Nicht nach den Wercken lohnen.

7. O grosser Gott von That/
schaw wie die arme Erd/
Von deiner Mildigkeit
noch einen Wundsch begehrt/
Der möchten etwa zehne seyn/

That you would want to save [them],
Not reward because of [good] works.

3. O great God of wisdom,
Let your grace be enacted
And stop it with justice.
Perhaps there are forty-five
Who would wish to do your will,
That you would want to save [them],
Not reward because of [good] works.

4. O great God of strength,
Look on this poor country,
And reverse, from punishment,
Your outstretched hand.
Perhaps there are forty
Who would wish to do your will,
That you would want to save [them],
Not reward because of [good] works.

5. O great God of force,
Let though yourself be softened,
Because [of] the poor prayer
So frequently repeated.
Perhaps there are thirty
Who would wish to do your will,
That you would want to save [them],
Not reward because of [good] works.

6. O great God of grace,
Hear also this voice,
And in your high throne
Take this deep sigh.
Perhaps there are twenty
Who would wish to do your will,
That you would want to save [them],
Not reward because of [good] works.

7. O great God of deed,
Look how the poor world,
Of your gentleness,
Covets another wish.
Perhaps there are ten

¹ This line of text is missing in the print. It has been supplied according to the refrains of the previous verses.
² In the print, the text “Vielleicht der möchten” is underlined and the word “etwa” is written in the margin.
Die theten nach den Willen dein/
Der wollestu verschonen/
Nicht nach den Wercken lohnen.

Who would wish to do your will,
That you would want to save [them],
Not reward because of [good] works.

8. O grosser Gott von Lob/
wann zehn das Maß erfüllt
Der Sünden/ vnd aus Zorn
vns gar verderben wilt/
So möchten doch die Kinderlein/
Thun nach dem rechten Willen dein/
Der wollestu verschonen/
Vnd nicht nach Sünden lohnen.

8. O great God of praise,
When ten would be sufficient
From sin, and from wrath,
You would totally smite us.
But so the children would like
To do your correct Will,
That you would want to save them,
And not reward them for sin.

[9. O grosser Gott Von Treu
weil für dir niemand gilt
Als dein Sohn Jesus Christ,
Der der deinen Zorn zerstellt,
So sieh doch an dir wunden fein
Sein marter Angst vnd schwerer pein
Vmb seinet willen schone,
Vns nicht nach Sünden lohne.]

[9. O great God of truth,
Because nobody prevailed for you,
Except for your son Jesus Christ,
Who stilled your wrath.
So look at his fine wounds,
His martyr fear and hard pain;
Treat his will with care,
And do not pay us for our sins.]

3 “Ja” is written here above “zehn.”
4 The ninth verse is hand-written following the final printed eighth verse.
Appendix C

The following texts and musical pieces correspond with chapter five of this dissertation.

Elias Ursinus, *Valet e vnd Klaglied der hochbetrübten Turteltauben vnd verlobten Braut Christi/ da sie ihre Freudenwohnung Hernals zu Wien in Oesterreich verlassen müssen* (1625).


[Son of God, Lord Jesus Christ You are alone the best helper You have paid, and for me Your blood spills sweetly. I plead and flee to you O LORD You want to give me strong faith So that my heart will not despond When it thinks on your law; But your great mercy Comforts in all times.]


From God am I abandoned Zion speaks this now The LORD has forgotten me In my great suffering. In the way of the Turtle Dove I am now left alone Hernals, you garden of God, Your suffering disturbs me.


O that my head would be a fount And little brook of tears, With which my sad soul— Your misery and hardships— Only are able enough to bewail. O deep sadness, The heart must be of rocks That you take such joy in this.

3. Nun muß ich dich verlassen/ Hernals du GÖttes Saal/ Da Wir beysammen sassen/ In frewden manichmal/

Now I must leave you Hernals, you hall of God, By whom we sat In joy sometimes

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1 This opening prayer appears only the the song’s 1630 parody, and not in the original 1625 print.
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Vnder deß höchsten Schutze/
Vnd seinen Flügeln breit/
Wider deß Sathans Trutze/
In Friden lange Zeit.

4.
Gott ward in dir gepreiset/
Freudig anß Hertzen Grund/
Manch Seel ward vnterweiset/
Auß rechter Lehrer Mund/
Du bist gewest ein Schule/
Der reinen Gottes Lehr/
Von deinem Predigstule/
Ist sie erschollen sehr.

5.
Offt ward in dir erquicket/
Manch hochbetrübtes Hertz/
Das sonst wol wer ersticket/
In seiner Sünden Schmertz.
EnglischenTrost hast geben/
Der Seel mit Gifft verwund/
Der kühle Brunne deß Lebens/
Machete sie all gesund.

[6.
Dein Gebett gen Himmels Throne/
Für Kayserlich Hochheit/
Hast du eyfferig vnd schone/
Geschickt zu aller Zeit/
Vnd das GÖtt auch bewahre/
Das Haß von Oesterreich/
Löblich in Frid vil Jahre/
Vnd Vnglück ferne weich.]

6.
Treulich hastu gelehret/
Den rechten Gottes Steg/
Viel Sünder auch bekehret/
Von jhren bösen Weg/
Du hast geeffert sehre/
Vmb die Gerechtigkeit/
Vnd auch vmb Gottes Ehre/
Das ward dem Teuffel leyd.

Under that highest protection
And by your wide wings
[Were] protected from Satan
Peacefully for a long time.

4.
God was praised in you
Joyfully from the bottom of the heart
Many a soul were instructed
From the right teacher’s mouth
You were made a school
Of God’s pure teaching
From your pulpit
It is very [clearly] sounded.

5.
Often was, in you, refreshed
Many a highly troubled heart,
That otherwise would be suffocated
In its pain of sin.
Comfort of the angles [you] have given
To the soul wounded with poison,
The cool brook of life
Makes them all healthy.

[6.
Your prayer toward Heaven’s throne
For imperial highness
You have keenly and beautifully
Sent at all times;
And God will also keep that,
That house of Austria
Laudably in peace for many years
And calamity far [away and] weak.]

6.
Truly have you taught
The right path of God
Many sinners also turn away
From their evil way.
You have striven mightily
For justice
And also for the honor of God,
Which was painful for the devil.

2 This verse, while it appears in the 1630 parody, does not appear in the original 1625 print.
7.
Betrug vnd Ketzereyen/
Sampt aller Seelen Gifft/
Der Sathan thet außspeyen/
Wider die Heylig Schrifft/
Dem hast du widerstanden/
Auß eyfferigem Muht/
Vnd sie gemacht zu schanden/
Zu stewr der Warheit gut.

8.
Jm Eyffer thetst erheben/
Dein Stim[m] wie ein Posaun/
Vnd straffest Gottloß Leben/
Ohn der Person anschauen/
Hergegen hast quittiret/
Von Sünden/ Straff vnd Last/
Alle die sich bekehret/
Gesetzt in Ruh vnd Rast.

9.
Niemal hastu versaget/
Der Seel die Hungrig war/
Vnd die jhrn Durst geklaget/
Sondern bey grosser Schaar/
Du speistest vnd thetst träncken/
Täglich von Gottes Tisch/
All die jhr Sünd thet kräncken/
Sie worden gsund vnd frisch.

10.
Jesus hat auffgenommen/
Bey dir der Kinder viel/
Die zu Jhn theten kommen/
Vnd auch nach seinem will/
Sein worden neugeboren/
Durch Tauff/ Wasser vnd Geist/
Wie sie zum Himmel erkoren/
Hast du sie vnterweist.

11.
Christlicher Ordnung gmese/ [gmässe]
Seyn vor dem Altar dein/
Viel keuscher Ehren gesessen/
Jüngling vnd Jungfräulein/

7.
Deceit and heresy,
Together will all poisons of the soul,
Satan spits out
Against the Holy Scriptures.
You have resisted these [things]
Through avid courage
And [you] have broken these
To govern truth well.

8.
In diligence you did rise
Your voice like a trumpet,
And punished godless life
Without beholding the person.
In contrast, you have redeemed
From sin, punishment, and burden
All who turn back to you
And placed [them] in peace and rest.

9.
You have not ignored
Those whose souls were hungry
And those who cry from thirst,
But in great company
You feast and imbibe
Daily at God’s table;
All those who are made sick by sin
Are made healthy and fresh.

10.
Jesus has received
You, you many children
Who what to come to him
And also according to his will.
[You] will be newly born
through baptism, water, and spirit,
Like you have chosen them to heaven
You [too] have counseled them.

11.
Appropriate Christianly order
Is before your alter;
Much chaste honor is set.
Young man and young woman
Zusammen copuliret,
In den Ehelichen Standt/
Herzlich wie sichs gebüret/
Durch Gottes Dieners Hand.

Marry together
In the honorable place
Sincerely, as you are entitled,
Through the hand of God’s servant.

12.
Hernals mit grossen Schaarn/
Die Stämme Jsrael/
Mit Reiten/ Gehen vnd Fahren/
Sich han begeben schnell/
Zu dienen vnserm Gotte/
Freudig mit gantzem fleiß/
Zu klagen auch ihr Nothe/
Nach Christi form vnd weiß.

12.
Hernals, with great flocks,
The lineage of Israel,
With riding, walking, traveling,
It quickly befell you
To serve our God
Joyfully and with total industriousness,
[And] to lament also in your hardship
To the pure form of Christ.

13.
Voll warest du mit Leuten/
Du edle breyte Straß/
Zu fest: vnd Sontagszeiten/
All Menschen wundert daß/
Den Wolstandt alle Welte/
Verlangen trug zu sehen/
Wer nur zu dir sich gsellet/
Thet freudig ein her gehen.

13.
You were so full of people,
You precious, broad streets,
On [Church] holidays and on Sundays—
Everyone marveled this.
The wealth of all the world
Longed to see [this],
Who would gladly give oneself up
To go joyfully in there.

14.
Europa niemals fandte/
Ein grössere Commun:
Jn jhren Circkel vnd Lande/
An eim [einem] Ort sag ich nun/
Als sich allhie befunden/
Bey Wien in Oesterreich/
Wie bald ist sie verschwunden/
Vnd einer Witwen gleich.

14.
No one found in all of Europe
A greater community
In their vicinity and country,
A place [as this], I tell you.
As soon as this was itself found
By Vienna in Austria,
How quickly is it now gone
And now a [made] like a widow.

15.
Recht thet der Prophet sagen/
In Gottes Wort so werth/
Wenn der Hirt ist geschlagen/
So wird zerstreut die Herd/
Den Hirten ist verwehret/
Zu weyden ferner hie/
Die Schäflein sind beschweret
Mit grosser Angst vnd Müh.

15.
The Prophet rightly says
In God’s precious Word,
If the Shepherd is harmed,
The herd is destroyed;
The Shepherd is denied
To pastures far from here,
The little sheep are burdened
With great fear and toil.
16. Let us flee from here,  
One says to another,  
There’s nothing more to gain here  
Because God’s wrath begins,  
His way [i.e., manner] to lament  
Until he, his sharp rod,  
Casts off, and brings us  
Again in joy.

17. So now it is destroyed,  
The lovely great community;  
Compared as exactly like your Word,  
[To] a little turtledove.  
O had I indeed wings,  
Just like the little dove has,  
I would abandon my nest  
To look for another [dwelling] place.

18. Speak, you community of the Lord,  
You chosen people:  
Where will you now turn yourselves,  
Now that you’ve grown so thin?  
In the honor of Christ’s name  
Out of your Fatherland,  
More driven out are you now  
And suffer disgrace and shame.

19. Do not be troubled, I plead,  
In such tests of faith!  
Teach yourselves in God’s manner  
Rightly to resign yourself to praise him.  
Property, honor, also body and life  
Many thousand pure Christians  
Have risked indeed,  
Who are now in heaven.

20. God will show [us] a little place  
In some far land;  
The people’s hearts incline  
To you all in meekness,  
That they take you all in
In ihre Häuferlein/
Biß euch Gott nimbt zu Hauffe/
Ins Paradeise seyn.

To their little houses
Until God takes you all collectively
Away to Paradise.

21.
Nun behüt dich Gott in Frieden/
Du liebes Oesterreich/
Es muß doch seyn geschieden/
Von dannen trauriglich/
Last vns das Elend bawen/
Mit Christo hie ein Zeit/
So werden wir Jhn schawen/
Dort in der Ewign Frewd.

21.
Now, God, protect in peace
Dear Austria.
We must be separated
From thence, sadly.
Let us endure this hardship
With Christ here for a time,
So that we will show him
Eternal joy there [in heaven].

ValetGesang/ vnd KlagLied/ Der Hochbetrübten TurtelTauben und Verlobten Braut Christi/
Da sie Ihre Frewden Wohnung Hernals verlassen müste: Glückwünschung/ Auff das
getruckte ValetGesang/ und Klag Lied Hypocras/ Der Hochbetrogenen TurtelTauben und
Verlobten Braut Antichristi; Da sie ihre Hochschädliche Frewden Wohnung Hernals Billich
und Recht/ Billich verlassen müst (1630).

Du Sohn GOTtes HERR JEsu Christ/
Am grechten Gricht jetzt gsessen bist/
Du hast bezahlt mein Missethat/
Die Ich wider die Wahrheit that/
Ich bitt vnd fleh/ O HERR zu Dir/
Den rechten Glauben gib Du mir/
Damit mein Hertz verzage nicht/
Dann Ich vil Boßhait zugericht/
Zu Hernals mit der falschen Lehr/
Ade nun komb Ich nimmermehr.

Son of God, LORD Jesus Christ,
I have been placed by your just law.
You have paid for my misdeeds
Which I have done against your truth.
I plead and flee to you O LORD.
Give me correct faith
So that my heart will not despond,
Then I, with much wickedness, judge
Hernals with false teaching
*Valet*, now I come no more.

1.
Von GOTT bin Ich verlassen/
Spricht Maister Hypocras/
Ich fahr dahin mein Strassen/
Wol in das schvelcke Graß/
Nach Wetter Hanisch Arte/
Aigensinnig blib Ich/
Hernals wurd GOTtes Garte/
Dasselb das betrübt mich.

1.
From God I am abandoned
Speaks Master Hypocras
I go along my way
Well in the dry grass
In the way of the weathervane
I remain hardheaded.
Hernals was God’s Garden,
And that troubles me.

2.
O Das mein Haupt ein Quelle/
Vnd Threnen Brünnelein wer/
Damit mein trawrig Seele/

2.
O that my head would be a fount
And little brook of tears,
With which my sad soul
Ihren Jammer vnd Beschwer/
Nur könnt genug bewainen/
O tieffe Trawrigkeit/
Das Hertz muß seyn von Stainen/
Das sich nit drob erfrewt.

Its lamentation and grievance
Could only weep enough—
O deep sadness.
The heart must be made of stone
That you take such joy in this.

3.
Nun muß Ich dich verlassen/
Hernals du Edle Magd/
Da Wir beysammen sassen/
In lügen früh vnd spat/
Vnder deß Fuchsen Schutze/
Vnd seinen Glatten brait/
Wir brauchten allen Trutze/
Wider die Obrigkait.

3.
Now I must leave you,
Hernals, you honorable Lady,
By whom we sat
In lies early and late,
Under the protection from foxes
And your broad [Glatten?];
We need all resistance
Against the authorities.

4.
GÖtt wird jetzt da gepreyset/
Frewdig auß Hertzens Grund/
Manch Seel auch vnverweiset/
Auß rechter Lehrer Mund/
Zu vor bist gewest ein Schule/
Der Falsch jrrigen Lehr/
Von welcher Predigstule/
Nie nichts Guts kame her.

4.
God will be praised there,
Joyfully out of the heart’s depths;
[There are] many an unreprimanded soul
From a true voice of reason.
Before, there used to be a school
Of the false, mistaken teaching,
From whose pulpit
Came nothing good at all.

5.
Oft ward bey Jhr verstricket/
Manchs Ehrlichs Frommes Hertz/
Mit Lügen gantz verzicket/
Zu Ihrer Seelen Schmertz/
Englischen Trost thust jetzt geben/
Der Seelen tieff verwund/
Der kühle Brunn deß Lebens/
Machts jetzt wider gesund.

5.
Often entrapped by you all
Was many a pious heart,
With lies totally fastened
To your troubled soul.
Give now the comfort of angles
To the deeply wounded soul.
The cool fountain of life
Makes all things well again.

6.
Jhr Gebett gen Himmels Throne/
Für Kayserlich Hochheit/
War vor in diesem Tono,
Daß Ers von Grund außreut/
Die That die thets selbst sagen/
Jn allem Land vnd Reich/
Das man Vns solt erschlagen
Sambt dem Hauß Oesterreich.

6.
Your prayer to heaven’s throne
For Emperial majesty
Was in this tone before,
That it tore out of the ground
The dead, which yourself did say,
In every country and kingdom
That one should batter us
Along with the house of Austria.
7. Trewlich hast du gelehrct/
Den rechten Satans Steg/
Vil frommer Leut verkehret/
Von Ihrem rechten Weg/
Du hast geeyffert sehre/
Vmb die Boßhafftigkait/
Nichts gfragt nach GOttes Ehre/
Weil sie dir war erlayd.

7. Truly you have taught
The correct way of Satan;
You have turned many pious people
Away from the true path.
You have yearned fervently
For such evilness,
And asked nothing of God’s honor,
Because it was sufferable to you.

8. Betrug vnd Ketzereye/
Sambt aller Seelen Gifft/
Die Satan thet außspeyen/
Wider die Heylig Schrift/
Dem hast du beygestanden/
Auß Eyfferigem Muth/
Dich selbst gemacht zu Schanden/
Das bringt dir jetzt Vnmuth.

8. Deceit and heresy,
Along with all poisons of the soul,
Satan feeds [to everyone]
Against the Holy Scripture.
You have assisted him
With zealous courage;
You have thus wrecked yourself,
Which brings you now displeasure.

9. Jm Eyffer thetst erheben/
Dein Stimm wie ein Sackpfeiff
Das Schänden war dir eben/
Jederman galt dir gleich/
Damit hast du verführct/
Offt manches frommen Hertz/
Mit deinem Geschwätz bethöret/
Vnd gsetzt in Höllens Schmertz.

9. In zeal you begin to lift up
Your voice, like a bagpipe.
That shame was even to you,
Everybody applied similarly to you,
Therewith have you ensared
Often many a pious heart,
Beguiled with your blabber
And placed in the pain of Hell.

10. Niemals hast du versagct/
Der Seel so gierig war/
Mit deiner Lug geplagct/
Auffbunden dein falche [sic] Waahr/
Du bscheissen thetst vnd blendct/
Täglich von Dagon’s Tisch/
All die sich zu dir lencket/
Die machest zu Stockfisch.

10. Never have you failed,
Soul, that was so greedy,
To pester so with your lie
And hoax with your false teaching;
You do torment and dazzle
Daily from Dagon’s table
All those who steer close to you,
Who are made into dried codfish.

11. Jesus hat abgenommen/
Bey dir an Kindern viel/
Die zu dir theten kommen/
Vnd glaubten deinem Will/
Die haben gantz verlohren/

11. Jesus has abated [himself]
Among you many children;
Those who would come to you
And believe in your Will,
They have completely lost
Die Gnade den Heyligen Geist/
Die vor zum Himmel erkoren/
Die hast du abgeweist.

12.
Christlicher Ordnung gmäss/
Seynd vor dem WirthsTisch dein/
Viel Keuscher Ehren Gefässe/
Jüngling vnd Jungfräewlein/
Zusammen kraspuliret/
Jn den Ehlichen Standt/
Nit recht wie sichs gebühret/
Jst dann das nicht ein Schand.

13.
Hernals zu dir mit Schaaren/
Die Stämme Jezabel/
Mit Reitten vnd mit Fahren/
Seynd sie gerennt in die Höll/
Zu dienen Falschem Gotte/
Layder mit allem Fleiß/
Glück zu du schöne Rotte/
Es wird Dir werden heiß.

14.
Voll warst mit Närrschen Leuthen/
Du Zuckercakte Straß/
Mit Fahren vnd mit Reitten/
All Menschen wundert das/
Die Thorhait dieser Welte/
Die solches theten sehen/
Sie rendten als obs gelte/
Ain Klainot grawsamb schön.

15.
Europa Niemals fande/
Ein grössere Commun/
Jn ander verwirrten Lande/
An ein Ort sag Jch nun/
Als sich allda befunden/
Bey Wienn in Oesterreich/
Da wurden kranck die Gsunden/
An Leib vnd Seel zugleich.

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3 This line is underlined in the print.
16.  
Recht thut der Kayser sagen/  
Auß GÖttes Wort so Recht/  
Jhr habt mich wollen erschlagen/  
Sampt meinem gantzen Gschlecht/  
Hinnauß mit euch zum Teuffel/  
Jhr Falsch Gottloser Hauff/  
Stecht gleichwol jetzt den Feiffel/  
Ewr andern Obrigkait auch.  

17.  
Last eylen Vns von hinnen/  
Der Predigcant nun spricht/  
Hie ist nichts mehr zu gewinnen/  
Mein falsche Waahr gilt nicht/  
Dann Wir sein thewres Worte  
Das Haylsamb Edle Liecht/  
Verfälscht an allen Orthen/  
Vnd Blutbad zugerricht/ [sic]  

18.  
Also ist nun zerstrewet/  
Die Hayloß böß Gemein/  
Gleich wie da wird zerschewet/  
Ein Schaar der wilden Schwein/  
O hett ich Flügel gwissen/  
Gleich wie ein Alter Geyr/  
Mein Nestlein ich verliesse/  
Macht Newe Abendthewr.  

19.  
Sag an du Volck deß HErren/  
Du Außerwöhltes Gschlecht/  
Wo darff ich mich hinkehren/  
Du hast mir thon gar recht/  
Das du mich hast vertrieben/  
Auß deinem gantzen Land/  

[The remaining verses of the song are missing].

16.  
The Emperor is right to say,  
From God’s Word, so just,  
“You all have wanted to slay me,  
Along with my entire house.  
Away with you all to the devil—  
You false, godless group—  
[You] sting exactly now as a disease  
[On] your other authority also.”

17.  
Let us hurry all from here,  
The Predicant is now speaking.  
There’s nothing more to win here,  
My false teaching doesn’t apply,  
Then we, your costly word,  
The healing precious light,  
Bastardized at all locations  
And prepared a bloodbath.

18.  
So, [it] is now broken up,  
The hopeless evil lot,  
Shooed away exactly as  
A swarm of wild pigs.  
O, had I indeed wings  
Exactly as an old vulture,  
My little nest I’d now leave  
To make new adventures.

19.  
Say now, you people of the Lord,  
You chosen house,  
Where can I turn myself?  
You have done rightly,  
That you have exiled me  
Out of your entire country.
Hans Leo Hassler, “Mein Gemüth ist mir verwirret” from Lustgarten neuer deutscher Gesäng (Nuremberg, 1601).

1. Mein gmüth ist mir verwirret/
   Das macht ein Jungfrau zart/
Bin gantz vnd gar verjret/
   Mein hertz das krenckt sich hart/
Hab tag vnd nacht kein ruh/
   Führ allzeit grosse klag/
Thu stets seufftzten vnd weinen/
   Jn trauren schier verzag.

1. My mind is confused;
   A delicate lady does this [to me];
I am totally erratic,
   My heart is very sick,
I have no rest day or night,
   Make great laments all the time,
I always sigh and cry,
   In lamenting I despond.

2. Ach daß sie mich thet fragen/
   Was doch die vsrach sey/
Warumb ich führ solch klagen/
   Ich wolt Jrs sagen frey/
Daß sie allein die ist/
   Die mich so sehr verwundt/
Köndt ich jh Hertz erweichen/
   Wurd ich bald wider gsund.

2. Ah! that you ask me
   What is the cause of this—
Why I should lament so—
   I would freely say
That she alone is it
   Who injures me so.
If I could only soften her heart,
   I would be suddenly healthy again.

3. Reichlich ist sie gezieret/
   Mit schönn thugend ohn ziel/
Höflich wie sich gebüret/
   Jhrs gleichen ist nicht viel/
Für andern Jungkfrau zart/
   Führt sie allzeit den preiß/
Wann ichs anschau, vermeine/
   Ich sey im Paradeisß.

3. Richly is she decorated
   With beautiful, limitless virtue;
Polite, as is appropriate,
   Her equal is not many
In other delicate young women;
   She alone is the prize;
I suppose, when I look at her,
   I am in paradise.

4. Ich kan nicht gnug erzehlen/
   Ihr schön vnd thugend vil/
Für alln wolt ichs erwehlen/
   Wer es nur auch jr will/
Daß sie jr Hertz vnd Lieb/
   Gegg mir wendet allzeit/
So würd mein schmertz vnd klagen/
   Verkehrt in grosse freud.

4. I can’t tell you enough
   Of her plentiful beauty and virtue.
Above all I would choose her
   If it were only her desire,
That she, her heart and love,
   Would turn to me eternally;
So then would my pain and lamentation
   Turn into great joy.

5. Aber ich muß auffgeben/
   Vnd allzeit traurig sein/
Solts mir gleich kostens Leben/

5. But I must give up
   And remain sad at all times;
Should it cost me my life,
Das ist mein grösste pein/
Dann ich bin Jhr zu schlecht/
Darumb sie mein nicht acht/
Gott wölls für leid bewaren/
Durch sein Göttliche macht.

That is my greatest pain,
For I am too unsuitable for her
And therefore she does not notice me;
God preserve me from sadness
Through his godly power.

Christoph Knoll, “Hertzlich thut mich verlangen,” transcribed from Harmoniae Sacrae (Görlitz, 1613).

1.
Hertzlich thut mich verlangen/
Nach einem selgen End/
Weil ich hie bin vmbfangen/
Mit Trübsall vnd Elend/
Jch hab lust abzuscheyden/
Von dieser bösen Welt/
Sehn mich nach ewger Frewden/
O Jesu kom[m] nur bald.

1.
Sincerely do I request
A holy end,
Because I am here surrounded
With affliction and hardship.
I have desire to take my leave
Of this evil world,
[1] long for eternal joy;
O Jesus, come soon.

2.
Du hast mich ja erlöst/
Von Sünd/ Todt/ Teuffl vnd Hell/
Es hat dein Blut gekostet/
Drauff ich mein Hoffnung stell/
Warumb solt mir denn grawen
Fürm Todt vnd Hellisch Gsind?
Weil ich auff dich thu bawen/
Bin ich ein seligs Kindt.

2.
You have indeed delivered me
From sin, death, devil, and hell.
It cost your blood,
Thereupon I place my hope.
Why should I then dread
Death and hellish Servants?
Because I build myself upon you;
I am a holy child.

3.
Wenn gleich ist süß das Leben/
Der Todt seh bitter mir/
Wil ich mich doch ergeben/
Zu sterben willig dir/
Ich weiß ein besser Leben/
Da mein Seel fehret hin/
Des frew ich mich gar eben/
Sterben ist mein Gewinn.

3.
When life is so sweet,
Death looks bitter to me;
If I should want to yield it,
I will willingly die for you.
I know a better life,
To where my soul travels;
On this I take total joy
Death is my reward.

4.
Der Leib zwar in der Erden/
Von Würmen wird verzehrt/
Doch aufferwecket werden/
Durch Christum schön verklärt/
Vnd leuchten als die Sonne/
Vnd leben ohne Noth/
Jn Himlischer Frewd vnd Wonne/

4.
The body in the earth
Will be consumed by worms,
But will be awoken again
By Christ, beautifully transfigured,
And shine as the sun
And live without hardship
In heavenly joy and bliss.
Was schadt mir denn der Todt?

5. Ob mich die Welt auch reitzet
   Lenger zu bleiben hier/
Vnd mir auch immer zeiget
   Ehr/ Geld/ Gutt/ all jhr Zier/
Doch ich das gar nicht achte/
   Das mehrt eine kleine Zeit/
Das Himlisch ich betrachte/
   Das bleibt in Ewigkeit.

6. Wenn ich auch gleich nu scheide/
   Von meinen Freunden gut/
Das mir vnd jhn brecht Leyde/
   Doch tröst mir meinen Muth/
Das wir in grossen Frewden/
   Zusammen werden komn/
Vnd bleiben vngeseyden/
   Jm Himmelischen Thron.

7. Ob ich auch hinterlasse/
   Betrübte Kinderlein/
Der noch mich vber masse/
   Jammert im Hertzen mein/
Wil ich doch gerne sterben/
   Vertrauen meinem Gott/
Er wird sie wol versorgen/
   Retten aus aller Noth.

8. Was thut jhr so sehr zagen/
   Jhr armen Waiselein?
Solt euch Gott Hülff versagen?
   Er speist die Raben klein/
Frommer Witwen vnd Waisen/
   Jst er der Vater trew/
Trotz dem/ der sie thut neisen/
   Das gleubet ohne schew.

9. Gesegn euch Gott der HErre/
   Jhr vielgeliebten mein/

How then can death harm me?

5. The world irritates me
   To remain here a little longer,
And shows me also always [its]
   Honor, money, property, all its
   adornments;
But I do not heed this at all,
   That lasts only a short while.
I regard only the heavenly,
   Which remains for eternity.

6. When I must also no depart
   From my dear friend—
That he and I sadly break off—
   My courage comforts me,
That we, in great joy,
   Will come together again
And remain united
   In the heavenly throne.

7. If I also leave behind
   Troubled little children,
Who for me greatly
   Lament in heart,
I will still gladly die
   And trust in my God—
He will look after them
   And save [them] from all adversity.

8. Why are you so apprehensive,
   You poor little orphans?
Will God refuse you all help?
   He feeds the little ravens;
To pious widows and orphans
   He is the true father.
Nonetheless, he does press hard on them
   Who believe unabashedly.

9. Bless God the Lord,
   You dear ones of mine;
Trawret nicht allzusehre/
   Vber dem Abschied mein/
Bestendigkeit im Glauben/
   Wir werdn in kurtzer Zeit/
Einander wider schawen/
   Dort in der Ewigkeit.

Do not be so sad
   Over my depatrutre;
Stay strong in faith [as]
   We will, in a short while,
See eachother again
   There in eternity.

10.
Nu wil ich mich gantz wenden/
   Zu dir HErr Christ allein/
Gib mir ein seligs Ende/
   Send mir dein Engelein/
Führ mich ins Ewige Leben/
   Das du erworben hast/
Durch dein bittre Leidn vnd Sterben/
   Vnd blutiges Verdienst.

10.
Now will I totally turn myself
   To you alone, Lord Christ;
Give me a holy end,
   Send me your little angel;
Guide me into eternal life,
   Which you have purchased
Through your bitter suffering and death
   And bloddy earnings.

11.
Hilff das ich gar nicht wancke/
   Von dir HErr Jesu Christ/
Den schwachen Glauben stärcke/
   Jn mir zu aller frist/
Hilff mir Ritterlich ringen/
   Dein Hand mich halte fest/
Das ich mag frölich singen
   Das Consummatum est. 4

11.
Help, that I do
   n't at all stagger
From you, Lord Jesus Christ;
Strengthen this weak Faith
   In me at all times;
Help me struggle bravely,
   Hold me strong with your hand,
So that I would gladly sing
   The Consummatum est.

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Georg Ritzsch, Böhmischer Ehrendank oder Valet-Gesang der Lutherischen Christen (Leipzig, 1623).

1.
DJe Jesuwidrisch Rott verderbt
   Manch schönes Land wir sehen/
Wo diese Sect sich hin bewirbt/
   Da ist es bald geschehen
Vmb Policey/ vmb Kirch vnd Schul/
   Wir Böhmen habns erfahren/
Was schaden der schädliche Stul
   Vns bracht in wenig Jahren.

1.
The adverse-to-Jesus horde spoils
   A beautiful land sometimes, we see;
Wherever this sect hunts,
   There it suddenly comes to pass.
In regards to police, church, and school,
   We Bohemians have experienced it;
What damages the harmful [Bishop’s] seat
   Has brought to us in so few years.

2.
Doch wirds nach Gottes willen gehn/
   Nicht nach der Menschen Sinnen/
Ob wir gleich jetzt im Trawren stehn/
   Müssen vns halten innen/

2.
But it will go according to God’s Will,
   Not by the senses of man
Though we stand already in sadness
   And must give ourselves pause

---

4 This is a reference to Christ’s final words on the cross, “It is finished,” recounted in John 19:30.
3. Man schleust uns unsere Kirchen zu/
    Das Haß Gottes des Herrn/
Sie hatten weder rast noch ruh/
    Bis sie uns künnten wehren/
Den Gottesdienst/ der allerschönst
Deß Blut uns hat erlöst/
Wird uns entwant/ außm Böhmerland/
    Marien Sohn man stösset.

4. Heist daß/ O Jesu Gottes Sohn/
    Der Warheit bey gestanden/
Augsburgischer Confession/
    Sein das jhre verwandten/
Heist das uns Brüderlich geliebt/
    Wie jener Bischoff saget/
Ja viel mehr außs höchste betrübt/
    Ach Gott dir seys geklaget.

5. Jn deß enthalt uns HERR dein Wort/
    Auff das es uns erquicke/
Das nicht Sathan mit List vnd Mord/
    Vnser Seelen zerstücke/
Sondern daß wir/ dich mögen für/
    Den Menschen hie bekennen/
Dein bleiben noch/ kems gleich so hoch/
    Das man uns wolt verbrennen.

6. Der Antichrist uns treibet aus/
    Wo sollen wir hin flihen:
Chur Sachsen du Gottselig Haß/
    Jn deine Städte wir ziehen/
Denn du gar gern/ Christ vnsern HERRR/

And exactly like a poor Turtledove
    Drink murky water;
But we hope that God will not
    Let us sink entirely

3. One has closed our church to us,
    God’s House of the Lord;
They did not have neither rest nor peace
    Until they could resist us;
The church-service, the most beautiful,
    Of the blood that has saved us,
Is wrestled away from us out of Bohemia;
    One hits [strikes] the Son of Mary.

4. Is this, O Jesus, son of God,
    The confessed truth
Of the Lutheran faith,
    That your kinsman [have]
Loved us so brotherly
    Like all the bishops say?
Indeed, more [like] they heavily afflict us.
    Ah God, to you we lament this.

5. Hold in us, Lord, your word
    By which we are refreshed,
That Satan does not, with deceit and murder,
    Tear apart our souls,
But that we would for you
    Confess to those people here [that]
Yours remains, and so highly,
    That one would want to burn us.

6. The antichrist casts us out.
    Where should we then go?
Saxony, you pious house,
    We move into your cities;
Then you gladly, Christ our Lord,

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5 Ps. 45:3. The Bible verses the footnotes listed for this song-text all appear in the marginalia.
6 Ps. 10:10.
7 “Jst dz die grosse zusag/ so Anno 1620. den 21. Mart. zu Mühlhausen vns Lutherischen geschach” is printed here in the marginalia.
8 Jer. 15:16.
Allweg hast auffgenommen/
Wenn er geplagt/ vom Papst verjagt/
Zu dir offt arm ist kommen.

7.
GOtt wîrds reichlich belohnen dir/9
Wie Christus hat verheissen/
Mit segen vnd wolffahrt auch hier/
Dir alles guts beweisen/
Propheten lohn/ deß lebens Kron/
Jst dir schon bey geleget/
Jm Paradiß/ mit wonne süß/
Die Rautenblum GOtt heget.

8.
An Christi geringer Gestalt/10
Viell Menschen sich jetzt ergern/
Mann wil jhn nicht mehr kennen bald/
Weil sie sein Armuth fürchten/
Mit dem verzagten Jüngling dort/11
Jhr viel zurück jetzt gehen/
Beim rein Evangelischen Wort/
Der kleinste hauff bleibt stehen.

9.
Wers aber mit Gott halten wil
Das ers dort gut mög haben/
Der muß Verfolgung leiden viel/12
Christo das Creutz nach tragen
Welchs er selber/ vnser Creutz HErr
Zuvor vns hat bescheiden/
Das wir viel Noth/ Schmach/ Hohn vnd Spot/
Mit jhm hier müssen leiden.

10.
Eh wie zu seiner Herrlichkeit13
Ewig erhaben werden/
Darumb klug wie die Schlangen seyd/
Ich send das Schwerd auff Erden/
Ohne falsch wie die Täubelein/

Have always received [us]
When he lamented from pursuit of the pope;
To you the poor is often come.

7.  
God will richly reward you,
As Christ has said,
With blessings and care also here;
To you all good attests.
The wages of prophets, the crown of life,
Is already provided for you
In paradise, with sweet abode,
God nourishes the rue-flowers.

8.  
On Christ’s humble form
Many people now are upset;
One no longer wants to know him
Because they fear his poorness;
With that disheartened youth there,
So many now turn back,
In the pure Protestant word
The smallest group remains standing.

9.  
But whoever wants to hold to God
That he will have there good fortune,
He must suffer much persecution,
Bear the cross in the manner of Christ
Which he himself—our Suffering Lord—
Has taught us before,
That we much hardship, dishonor, scorn, and
Mockery must suffer here with him.

10.  
Indeed, like to your loveliness
Will eternally attain;
Therefore, they will be clever like the snake.
I send the sword to the Earth.
Without deceit, like the Turtledove,

9 Matt. 10:40.
10 Isa. 53:14.
12 Matt. 10:38.
13 Matt. 10:16.
Euch allweg last erfinden/
Fürsichtig/ sag ich/ solt jhr sein/
Denn sie werden euch binden.

11.
Für jhre Rathäuser führen/
Ja Könige vnd Fürsten
Die das Vrtheil exsequiren,
Wird nach ewrem Blut dürsten/
Der Antichrist/ zu dieser frist/
Thut sich aber bemühen/
Das er dein Wort/ O Gott mein Hort
Deim Volck möge entziehen:

12.
Er thut die Gläubigen in Bann/
Vnsre Kirchen zu schliessen/
Meint er thu GOtt ein dienst daran/¹⁴
Wenn er durch Blut vergiessen/
Den Christen ein/ anlegt viel pein/
Vnd sie absordert gare/
Verdampt zum todt: Ach HERR mein GOTT/
Nim doch der deinen ware/

13.
Wie schlacht Schaff wir geachtet sind/
Weil wir Christen bekennen/
Denn das vermaledeyte kind/
So man den Papst thut nennen/
Nach vnserm Blut/ jetz dürsten thou/
Wir zihn in andre Städte/
Wie Christus heist/ sein Nam gepreist/
Vns für Abfall behüte.

14.
Jhr lieben Brüder vnd Schwestern mein/
Die jhr noch seyd dahinden/
Last euch der Päpstler falschen schein/
Mit list nicht vberwinden/
Daß jhr abfalt/ Sondern fest halt/
Bey Christs [sic] ewrem HERRER/
So wird er euch/ den Engeln gleich/
Krönen vnd ewig Ehren.

¹⁴ John 16:1.
15.
Liebt nicht ewr zeitlich Gut hie mehr/
Auch nicht Eltern vnd Blutfreund/
Als GÖttes Wort die reine Lehr/
Jhr must euch selbst werden feind/
Wenn jhr deß HERRR Jünger mit Ehrn/
Sein wolt vnd dort bestehen/
Wer jhn bekent/ trew biß ans End/
Dem wirds ewig wol gehen.

16.
Der Sohn Gottes ein thewren Eyd
Vnsert [sic] wegen thut schweren/
So war ich leb von Ewigkeit/
Jch wil die wieder Ehren
Die durch viel schmach mir folgen nach/
Das jhrige einbüssen/
Die wegen mein/ Arm worden seyn/
Sollens ewig geniessen.

17.
Was hilffts den menschen wenn er gleich15
Die gantze Welt gewinne/
Vnd wer an seiner Seel nicht reich/
O Mensch dich recht besinne/
Der seelen schad/ durch Gottes Gnad/
Höchstes fleiß abzuwenden/
Steh fest vnd glaub/ an Christo bleib/
Biefel dich Gottes Händen.

18.
Denn wer glübert der fleugt nimmermehr16
Er lest sich nicht abschrecken/
Von Gottes Wort vnd Luthers Lehr/
Der Antichrist mag pflöcken/
Die Zeugen Christi feinden an/
Es sol jhm nicht gelingen/
Sein Anschlag wird zurücke gan [sic]/
Vnd jhm den garaus bringen.

19.
Gott gsegn dich du liebs Böhmer Land/
Vnd all die drinnen wohnen/

Vns Evangelischen verwant/
  Gott laß es deiner Cronen/
Wieder wolgehn/ daß wir bald sehn
  Den Papst gar ausgetrieben/
Daß er gantz fall/ wüntschen wir all/
  Die Jesum Christ trew lieben.

20.
Sterckt euch jhr müden Christen hie/
Schewt kein Gefahr noch Schmertzen/
Erquicket der strauchlenden Knie
Sagt den verzagten Hertzen/
Seyd getrost gläubt/ Bestendig bleibt/
  Thut Christum nicht verneinen/
Denn ewer Gott/ wird euch aus Noth
  Zu helfen bald erscheinen.

ENDE

Wilhelm Alard, “Mit Seufftzen hört ich klagen,” from Girrendes TürtelTäublein (Rinteln an der Weser, 1633).

1.
Mit Seufftzen hört ich klagen
  Ein Turteltäublein/
Für Leid wolt es verzagen
  Auff dürrem Zweigelein.
Wo sol ich mich hinwenden/
  Sprach es an allen Enden
Muß ich verjaget seyn.

2.
Dann nicht nur widr mich streiten
  Wind/ Schlossn/ Regen/ vnnd Schnee/
Sondern mit seinem Wüten
  Der Geyr mir auch thut weh/
Der Habicht auch nicht feyret/
  Sondern wider mich stoltzieret/
Welchs mich thut krencken sehr.

3.
Mein Nest habn sie zerstöret/
  Mit Vnbarmhertzigkeit/
Mein Jungen weg geführet/
  Welchs mir bringt grosses Leid/

END

We Protestant kin,
  God leave your crown
Will again be well, this we will soon see;
  The Pope will be expelled,
That he totally falls, we wish this all [to]
  Those who truly love Christ.

20.
Fortify yourselves, you tired Christians here,
  Fear no danger or pain,
Strengthen your stumbling knee;
  Say to your disheartened heart
Be at peace, stay constant
  Do not deny Christ.
Then your God will deliver you all in need
  And show up soon to help.

17 Isa. 35:3.
Jch selbst mit meines gleichen
Auß meinem Nest muß weichen/
   Ach weh der bösen Zeit.

4.
Jm Elend muß ich schweben/
   Weiß nicht im gantzen Wald
Wo ich mög sicher leben
   Für des Geyers Gewalt/
So thut er mir nachsetzen/
   Vnd ander auff mich hetzen/
   Mit List gar mannigfalt.

5.
Die/ so mich solten lieben/
   Vnd in Nöthen beystehn/
Groß Falschheit an mir üben
   Lassn mich alleine gehn/
Dem Geyern thun sie heuchlen/
Dem Habicht thun sie schmeichlen/
   Vnd muß seyn wolgethan.

6.
Wohin sol ich dann wenden
   Mein thränend Eügelein?
Wer will mir Hülffe senden
   Jn diesem Elend mein?
Wer wil mein grosse Schmertzen/
Jhm lassen gehen zu Hertzen.
   Wer wil mir tröstlich seyn?

7.
Alß also klagt mit Schmertzen
   Das Täublein: ohn verdrieß
Ließ jhm diß gehn zu Hertzen
   Ein alter graver Greiß/
Der damals ebn im Walde
   Spazieret/ vnd gar balde
   Sich dieß bewegen ließ.

8.
Er sprach: Täublein dein karmen
   Hab ich für lengst gehört/
   Vnd thut mich dein erbarmen/
   Dein Klag mein Hertz rührt/
Wil dir auch Hülff beweisen/

I myself with my equal
Must submit from my nest.
   Oh woe, this evil time.

4.
In misery I must rest.
   I know not in the whole forest
Where I might safely live.
   The vulture’s violence
He replenishes against me
   And others hunt me, too,
   With manifold trickery.

5.
Those who are supposed to love me
   And stand by me in hardship
Practice great lies against me.
   Let me go alone.
The vultures do their shamming,
   The hawks do their flattering
   And it must be rightly handled.

6.
To where then should I turn
   My tearful little eyes?
Who will send me help
   In my sorrow?
Who will let my great sorrow
   Go to his heart.
   Who will be comforting to me?

7.
As the Turtledove lamented
   With pain: without vexation
A gray old Man
   Let this go to heart
Who also was there in the forest
   Hiking, and quite suddenly,
   Was moved by this.

8.
He spoke: Turtledove, I have heard
   Your song for a long time,
And it makes me pity you.
   Your lamenting stirs my heart
I want to help to you,
Daß du mich noch solt preisen/
Vnd rühmn an allem Ort.

9.
Ein Zeitlang mustu leiden/
Mein Turteltäubelein/
Dann das kanst nicht meiden/
Wiltu mein eigen seyn/
Also pfleg ich zu üben/
Die/ so mich hertzlich lieben/
Diß ist die Gwonheit mein.

10.
Drumb soltu nicht muthmassen/
Mein Täublein edler Art/
Als wenn ich dich solt hassen/
Wann man dich plaget hart:
Alß wann es wer ein Zeichen/
Daß ich wolt von dir weichen/
Dich lassen auff der Fahrt.

11.
Ach nein/ mein Täublein kleine/
Hab die Gedancken nicht/
Jch sag es/ wie ichs meine/
Glaub/ was mein Mund dir spricht:
Jch lieb/ vnd wil dich lieben/
Dich nimmer vbergeben/
Das sey dein Zuversicht.

12.
Wann kann ein Mutter lassen
(Die von Natur ist gut:)
Jhr Kindlein/ vnd vergessen
Jhr eigen Fleisch vnd Blut/
Daß sie vntr ihrem Hertzen
Getragen vnd mit Schmertzen
Zur Welt gebohren hat.

13.
Ja wenn ein Muttr solt leben/
Die so gar Gottloß wer/
Daß sie könt vbergeben
Jhr Kindlein gantz vnd gar/
So wil ich doch Gedencken
Dein/ vnd von dir nicht lencken

That you might also laud me,
And praise from every place.

9.
For a time you must suffer,
My little turtledove;
That is unavoidable
If you want to be my own.
So I foster such practice [for]
You, who so truly love me;
This is my custom.

10.
Therefore, you should not presume,
My turtledove precious type,
That I should hate you
When someone afflicts you so,
Or that it might be a sign
That I want to [turn from] you
And leave you on your journey.

11.
Ah no, my little dove,
Do not have such thoughts.
I say what I mean;
Believe what my mouth says to you.
I love you and want to love you,
And never want to give you away.
That is your assurance.

12.
When can a mother leave
(She who is by nature good)
Her child, and forget
Her own flesh and blood?
A Mother who with her heart
bore and, in pain,
Birthed [her child] into the world

13.
Indeed, if such a mother should live
Who was so ungodly,
That she could commit [such a thing]
So completely to her children,
So I [would] want to think on you
And not steer my faith away from you,
Mein Hertz/ das Glaub fürwar.

14.
Ich wil dich nicht verlassen
Jn alle Ewigkeit/
Viel/ wenigst dein vergessen/
Dann dein Nahm ist bereit
Jn meine Hand geschrieben/
Darinn sol er fest bleiben
Nu/ vnd zu jederzeit.

15.
Ich wil dir auch beyspringen
Jn deinem Leiden groß/
Rathschaffn in allen dingen/
Nimmr lassen Hülffeloß/
Endlich dich herauß reissen/
Daß du Vrsach zu preisen/
Mich habst ohn vnterlaß.

16.
Da diß das Täublein höret/
Vnd recht zu Hertzen nam/
Alsbald ich an jhr spüret/
Daß sie wiedr zu Kräfften kam/
Vnd sprach: drauff wil ich bawen/
Vnd diesen Worten trawen/
Vnd nimmer abelahn.

17.
Ich bitt allein demütig/
Mein alter frommer Greiß/
Wolst mir doch seyn so gnedig/
Vnd mich nicht lassen preiß
Seyn/ dem Habicht vnd Geyren/
Auff daß ich mōg erfahren
Deinr Hülff gewissn beweiß.

18.
Laß mir für alln ja bleiben/
Das reine Körnelein
Deins Worts/ das ich thu lieben/
Sampt Israels Brünnelein/
Wenn ich die nur mag bhalten
Wil ich dich lassen walten/
Jn Gdult zu friedenn seyn.

My heart, indeed.

14.
I do not want to leave you
For all eternity
Much more, even less to forget you.
Your name is great [broad]
In my hand it is written
There shall he stay secure
Now and for all time.

15.
I also want to come to your aid
In your great suffering
Give aid in all things
And never leave you helpless
Finally, to pull you out
So that you have reason
To give praise to me without end.

16.
When the little dove heard this
And took it rightly to heart
Shortly, I noticed
That she again became strong
And spoke: I will build myself on this
And will trust in these words
And never change.

17.
I only plead humbly
My old pious man
That you will be gracious to me
And not leave me without value
To the hawk and vulture.
On which I would like
To know proof of your help.

18.
Let all for me remain
The pure little grains
Of your word, that I will love you
Together with Israel’s fountains
If I only like to keep you
I want that you should exercise care
To be patient and satisfied.

1. Armut mich thut vmbgeben/
   Entledige dich/ Ach wie kan ich?
   Sieh vber dich/
   O mein dürfftiges Leben/
   Dein Gott dich nehren wil/
   Des Vorraths ist nicht viel/
   Wolauff/ geht drauflf/
   Auff Gott denck auch darneben.
   
   Poverty surrounds me.
   Rid yourself of it. Ah, but how can I?
   Ignore it.
   O my poor life.
   Your God will nourish you.
   The [earthly] provisions are not very much
   Come, let’s go; Let’s walk,
   And think alongside God.

2. Beschwerd ist groß auff Erden/
   Ermanne dich/ Ach wie kan ich?
   Sieh unter dich
   Wil hier nicht besser werden/
   Die Erd dich nehren kan/
   Leid doch Noth jederman/
   Traw Gott/O Noth!
   Gott wird helfn aus Beschwerden.

   Discomfort is great on Earth.
   Admonish yourself. Ah, how can I?
   Watch yourself.
   I do not want to be better here.
   The earth can nourish you.
   But everyone suffers here.
   Trust God. O, trouble!
   God will help you out of hardships.

3. Vnglück mich trifft ohn Massen/
   Gedulte dich/ Ach wie kan ich?
   Sieh nur für dich/
   Das klagen kan nicht lassen/
   Bald das Glück wider kömpt/
   Ach der Krieg alls hinnimpt/
   Faß Hertz/O Schmertz!
   Gott wird dich nicht verlassen.

   Unmeasurable disasters meet me.
   Be patient. Ah, how can I?
   Take care of yourself.
   I cannot quit this lamenting.
   Soon happiness will come again.
   Ah, the war takes everything away.
   Steady your heart. O, pain!
   God will not leave you.

4. Schaden groß muß ich leyden/
   Entreisse dich/ Ach wie kan ich?
   Sieh hinter dich/

   I must suffer great adversity.
   Break free. Ah, how can I?
   Look behind you.
Zu starck sind diese Plagen/
Es kömpt bald ander Zeit/
Ach wie thu ich meim Leyd?
    Sey still/ wie viel!
    Gott wird hören dein klagen.

These afflictions are too strong.
A different time is coming soon.
What do I do with my suffering?
    Be still. How much!
    God will hear your lamenting.

5.
Mangel groß muß ich leyden/
    Ermunder dich/ Ach wie kan ich?
    Sieh neben dich/
Elend steht nicht zu meyden/
Dein Nechstr auch leydet Noth/
Ach wo nehm ich doch Brod?
    Trags fein/ O Pein/
    Gott wird dein Tisch bereiten.

5.
I must suffer great want.
    Encourage yourself. Ah, how can I?
    Look next to you.
Hardship cannot be avoided.
Your neighbor also suffers affliction.
Ah, where can I get bread?
    Bear it well. O, torment!
    God will prepare your table.

6.
Hertzn Angst mich hat umbfangen/
    Enthalte dich/Ach wie kan ich?
    Sieh selbr in dich/
Vmbsonz ist mein Verlangen/
Gott dich ja retten wil/
Ach wo find ich das Ziel?
    Schöpff Luftt/ O Kluft!
    Der Noth bist nun entgangen.

6.
Fear in my heart has captured me.
    Compose yourself. Ah, how can I?
    Look in yourself.
My longing is in vain.
God wants very much to save you.
Ah, where is the end?
    Take a breath. O, abyss!
    Affliction is now gone.
Melchior Franck, "Dialogus," Votiva columbae sioneae suspuria (Coburg, 1629)
mein dürft’iges Leben/ des
hier nicht besser leben/ leid
kla gen kann nicht las sen/ ach
starke sind die se Pla gen/ ach
sonst steht nicht zu mein Verlan gen/ ach

mein dürft’iges Leben/ des
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kla gen kann nicht las sen/ ach
starke sind die se Pla gen/ ach
sonst steht nicht zu mein Verlan gen/ ach

dein Gott dich nehren will/
die Erd dich nehren kann/
bald das Glück wieder kempt/
es kempt bald an der Zeit/
dein Neefstr auch ley det Noth/
Gott dich ja retten will/

dein Gott dich nehren will/
die Erd dich nehren kann/
bald das Glück wieder kempt/
es kempt bald an der Zeit/
dein Neefstr auch ley det Noth/
Gott dich ja retten will/

dein Gott dich nehren will/
die Erd dich nehren kann/
bald das Glück wieder kempt/
es kempt bald an der Zeit/
dein Neefstr auch ley det Noth/
Gott dich ja retten will/
Vor - raths ist nicht viel/
doch Noth je - der - man/
der Krieg alles hin - nimpt/
wie thu ich mein Leyd?
wo nehm ich doch Brod?
wo find ich das Ziel?

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Gott wird helfn aus Be - schwe - ren dein kla - gen.
Gott wird dich nicht ver - las - sen.
Gott wird dein Tisch be - rei - ten.
Noth bist nun ent - gang - en.
Appendix D

The following is an exhaustive list of sigh-compositions that appeared between the years 1612 to 1688. Brief annotations accompany those works that are not discussed in the body of this dissertation.


The sigh-compositions is a five-voice polyphonic motet (CCATB) on Psalm 73:25–26. Briegel has added the word “HERR” [Lord] to the beginning of the verse in order to make the motet a direct petition to God.


This publication is a compilation of the composer’s many occasional compositions. Within the collection are ten different compositions that can be identified as musical sighs based on their titles or on the texts they feature, many of which are extracted from earlier editions of Josua Stegmann’s *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer*. These sigh-compositions are typically for four or five voices and are all cantional songs, with the lower parts providing harmonic support to the upper-most melody, which has the tune.


In this collection of occasional compositions, Dilliger includes one musical sigh—a *Suspiriosum ad aquam vitae desiderium*—for four voices, the text of which is a paraphrase of Psalm 42 (a common text for funerary sigh-compositions).


This print is discussed in detail in chapter four.


In this collection of heart-sigh texts, Friedrich Fabricius has re-worked and newly adapted all of the songs originally published in Josua Stegmann’s *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seufftzer*. No musical notation appears in the book; instead, the poet suggests individual tunes for each of the songs.

I mention this collection of musical sighs in the dissertation’s conclusion.


As indicated on the title-page, this sigh-composition was composed in honor of the meeting of Protestant leaders at the Leipzig convention in 1631. Only the tenor part of this composition survives. The text is a strophic paraphrase, likely made by the composer himself, of Psalm 122. The tenor line is relatively modest, suggesting that this work was likely a *cantional Lied*.


This collection of sigh-compositions is discussed at length in chapter three [note: RISM incorrectly catalogues the title of this work as *Suspira Musica*].


This collection of sigh-compositions is discussed at length in chapter four.


Chapter five addresses this collection of musical sighs.


This four-voice *cantional Lied* appears alongside a sermon delivered on 11 September 1644 by Peter Franck, the composer’s brother. The sermon’s full title, like the sigh-composition, expounds on King David’s musical prowess: *Das Lob Gottes auff Davids Harpffen zur Prob gespielet Jn S. Mauritij Kirchen zu Coburg*. Coburg, 1645. I have only been able to locate one exemplar of this sermon and accompanying sigh-composition, located in the Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern (D-Nla), with the shelf-mark X/UI 23/05. This item is not catalogued in RISM.

I was not able to view this composition during my research. The title page suggests, though—with its indication that the work is a *Christlichen Gesänglein* (little Christian song)—that it is also a brief *cantional Lied* for four voices, like many extant sigh-compositions.


The strophic song for three voices (CCB) was written for the peace celebration in the city of Coburg that commemorated the ten-year anniversary of the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. The song text encourages performers to continue to practice and cultivate repentance so that the era of peace may continue.


While the first part of this collection contains fourteen settings of texts from the Psalms for three voices (a *suprema vox*, *media vox*, and *inferma vox*), the second part of the collection contains a series of seven sigh-compositions also for three voices. The texts of these compositions are the seven short prayers of St. Gregory on the passion of Christ. The passion texts, then, resemble the same subject matter as Melchior Franck’s set of Passion sigh-compositions, the *Suspiria Musica* (1612). A manuscript *bassus ad organum* part exists from 1651 that is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (PL-Kj).


Herbst’s piece for three soprano voices with basso continuo is a short, through-composed motet on a poem of unknown authorship. Both German and Latin translations of the texts appear in the print.


This strophic piece for cantus, basso continuo, and obbligato violin is a compact piece in binary form and comprising only twelve measures. The work is dedicated to Elisabeth Zollerin and is printed along with immediately following her funeral sermon.

See chapter three for a detailed description of this collection of musical sighs.


I was not able to view this composition during the course of my research. RISM indicates that this work is housed in the Braunschweig Predigerseminar der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche Bibliothek (D-BSps), but the print appears to be lost. After visiting the library in person and speaking with the librarians, none of us were able to locate the piece.


See chapter four for a description of this collection of sigh-compositions.


The contents of parts one and two of this collection of musical *Glaubens-Seuffzerlein* by Tobias Micahel are discussed in chapter four.


The contents of parts one and two of this collection of musical *Glaubens-Seuffzerlein* by Tobias Micahel are discussed in chapter four.


See chapter two for a discussion of this source.


See chapter three for a discussion of this source.

The collection of musical sigh-prayers features motets of various sizes for four to eight voices. A clever play-words in the title-page links the composer’s last name, Rauch (which translates to “smoke” in English), with the smoky substance of the sigh-prayers themselves, which are called *Rauchwerk* or smoke-offerings.


See chapter three for a detailed discussion of this composition.

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The title-page indicates that the composition was written for six voices, but only the bass part of this funerary musical sigh—written in condolence at the death of Theodor Schambach—is extant today. Though the other parts are missing, the complexity of the bass line is indicative of a highly polyphonic, contrapuntal musical texture. The text of the composition is a short rhymed prayer from Basilius Förtsch’s *Geistliche Wasserquelle* (Leipzig, 1615).¹


This occasional piece for New Year’s Day, 1625, is a four-voice, seven-verse strophic *Lied* that features an original poem with an acrostic on the name of Johann Casimir, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. The text makes several references to the Thirty Years War, including opening statements in the early verses about how the narrative voice wishes to praise God, but that it is difficult to do during times of such physical suffering and misfortune.


See chapter three for a discussion of this source.

¹ Basilius Förtsch, *Geistliche Wasserquelle: Darinnen sich ein jedes frommes Hertz/ beydes auff der Reyse und daheim bey guten kühlen Tagen/ und in mancherley Hitze der Anfechtung leiblich und geistlich erquicken und erfrischen kan* (Leipzig, 1615), 257. VD17 3:743203G.

Seidel’s collection of sacred concertos for a few voices with basso continuo and obligato strings feature settings of select verses from each of the seven penitential psalms.


Though the title of this work does not explicitly identify the musical contents—a set of strophic song compositions for solo voice and basso continuo—as musical sighs, the textual sources of several of pieces included in the collection are from Josua Stegmann’s book of sigh-prayers.


I was not able to view this composition during my research. As the title-page suggests though, this funerary sigh-composition was performed during the funeral service itself, after the conclusion of the sermon.


I was also not able to view this composition; the title page, however, bears striking similarities with Sturm’s funeral sigh listed above.


This collection is discussed at length in chapter two of this dissertation.


These two manuscripts, while not explicitly recognized as musical sigh-compositions, feature texts from Josua Stegmann’s collection of prayers, the *Ernewerte Hertzen-Seuffzer*. The strophic songs are written for cantus, tenor, and bassus parts, with organ and obligato violin.

See chapter four for a discussion of this collection.
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*Ordnung. Wie der Durchlauchtigste/ Hochgeborne Fürst und Herr/ Herr Johannes Georg...in seiner Churfürstlichen Gnaden Landen/ mit den Betstunden/ auff eine zeit/ und biß auff andere anordnung es wolle gehalten haben. Dresden, 1619.* VD17 14:016659V.


Sic gemit erepto compare Turtur avis. Nuremberg, 1621.

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