

Jana KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ (Comenius University, Bratislava)

## **Bernard Clairvaux's Poetry as the Inspiration for the Composers of the 17th Century\***

Modern art history has featured conscious returns to older art forms in the history of various artistic expressions, which was first perceived as a manifestation of the reactionary nature or manifestation of the decline of provincial art. However, through a more consistent analysis of these returns and their causes, a different view of the interpretation of art development has arisen; it is not only understood as a progression of (new) styles in art, but as a realization of the existence of the plurality in styles within the framework of which, along with new concepts negating previous style baselines and principles, there is also a place for tendencies to consciously continue uninterrupted in a certain historical tradition (survival), and conscious returns to and drawing of inspiration from old styles, whose tradition was obviously interrupted (revival). However, the approach of individual areas of art to the use of the heritage differs, depending on the number of various factors of an ideological-aesthetic and style-technical nature which have an impact on the selection and methods of reacting to the inspirations of the art of the past.

Around 1600 and later, during the 17th century, obvious inspirations from the Middle Ages can be observed in various areas and forms of art. Perhaps

---

\* This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract No. APVV-14-0681.

this interest was most convincingly manifested in visual arts where art historians have been studying the strong revival of Gothic, which in the Baroque period affected all of Europe and all types of sacral art in several waves.<sup>1</sup> This revival can be documented at the ideological level of art creation on one hand, which can be seen in the Gothicizing of iconographic themes, in decorative motifs, and in the overall concepts including the re-installation of medieval monuments in new Baroque mobiliary.<sup>2</sup> But it is also manifested in the intentional stylizing of new artwork created in the “old style.”<sup>3</sup> The causes of the inspiration by the Middle Ages are seen by researchers at various levels. One is the growth of the historical consciousness of the society,<sup>4</sup> but these tendencies are usually related even more intensively with the conclusions of the Council of Trent and the spiritual movement of the post-Council period; it is also thanks to the fact that the realization and research of the phenomenon of the intentional and systematic quoting of Gothic tradition in the period of Baroque began in connection with the study of Jesuit architecture and visual art.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Barbora BALÁŽOVÁ, “Gotika v baroku. K ideovej a formálnej recepcii gotického umenia v prvej polovici 18. storočia na Slovensku”, *ARS* 2 (2005): 174–180; in English version: ID, “Gothic in the Age of Baroque: On the Ideological and Formal Reception of the Gothic Art in the 18th Century”, *Acta Historiae Artium* 48 (2007): 281–286; Katarína CHMELINOVÁ, “Niekoľko poznámok ku gotizujúcim formám ranobarokovej rezby na severovýchodnom Slovensku” [Some comments on gothic forms in early Baroque woodcarvings on northeastern Slovakia], *Umenie na Slovensku v historických a kultúrnych súvislostiach* (Trnava: Trnavská univerzita, 2007), 138–144; Katarína CHMELINOVÁ, “Gotizujúce formy v ranobarokovej rezbe” [Gothic forms in early Baroque woodcarvings], *Pamiatky a múzeá* 56, No. 1 (2007): 19–23. These studies also present an overview of foreign research related to this subject and relevant bibliographical references.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in Slovakia Ján Jozef Beitek, a priest in Kremnica from 1720 to 1731, was extremely instrumental in preserving Gothic statues from St. Martin’s Cathedral in Bratislava by re-installing them in the Church of St. Catherine in Kremnica. See more in Barbora BALÁŽOVÁ, “Gotika v baroku”, 178.

<sup>3</sup> In Slovakia, these tendencies can be observed more distinctively from the last third of the 17th century and documented for example in the stylizing of the faces of saints ‘à la Gothic’, the stylizing of drapery, foldings of robes, which disregard for the laws of the natural falling of folds, and the selection of themes, typical for medieval iconography (e. g. St. Martin with beggar, St. George with dragon). A comparative analysis of woodcarving from Spiš region from the second half of the 17th century is presented by Katarína CHMELINOVÁ, “Niekoľko poznámok”.

<sup>4</sup> The return to Gothic as the “old style” in the sense of strengthening the ideas of the dynastic tradition of the Habsburgs going back to the Middle Ages can be referred to in connection with the order of Maria Theresa of 1748 “to restore the chapel in Vienna Hofburg in the old style”. Barbora BALÁŽOVÁ, “Gotika v baroku”, 179.

<sup>5</sup> BALÁŽOVÁ, “Gotika v baroku”.

But it has become obvious that this explanation does not cover all motivations, since the Gothic revival in the arts is not limited to Catholicism; it is also found in the Lutheran environment, albeit to a smaller extent.<sup>6</sup> Sacral art of both denominations saw the symbol of the return to the sources of pure faith in the antiquity of medieval art, which (moreover) in the eyes of the Catholics was not contaminated by the "Lutheran plague".<sup>7</sup> Visual returns to the "old art" emphasizing local traditions helped to legitimize and strengthen clerical and political power and thus became an effective tool of ideological influence especially in the territories and periods of the culmination of denominational and political struggles.<sup>8</sup>

Certain inspirations by the Middle Ages can also be found in the musical art of the Baroque period, yet as opposed to visual expression, it is not so obvious because it was not demonstrated by a conscious transfer of medieval elements in artistic forms. We have yet to find any examples of the reuse or conscious simulation of medieval composition techniques or medieval musical language in a wider sense in Baroque music. Returns through "neo" styles are a sign of music of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this respect, musical development in the Baroque period did not go back, but uninterruptedly continued in the older tradition and transformed it in the sense of new philosophical-aesthetic and musical-artistic incentives. The old forms were also filled with new content in sacral music where the tendencies to conserve the past growing from the medieval basis were always much stronger. The development of motet can serve as an example; although it was developed from the heritage of the Middle Ages, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century this type of music had nothing in common with its medieval predecessor. Even the attempts of the Council of Trent to reform polyphonic liturgical music did not stop the changes in musical thinking which resulted in the emergence of the new Baroque style.

Medieval inspirations in the music are more obvious at the ideological and philosophical levels; this can be documented not only by the revival of interest in interpreting music on the basis of the medieval concept of *musica*

---

<sup>6</sup> Chmelinová documents this fact by the work of Pavol Gross, a woodcarver from the Spiš region, who was obviously inspired by the work of Master Pavol of Levoča. Katarína CHMELINOVÁ, "Niekoľko poznámok", 138.

<sup>7</sup> Katarína CHMELINOVÁ, "Gotizujúce formy", 22.

<sup>8</sup> Katarína CHMELINOVÁ, "Niekoľko poznámok", 142–143.

*mundana*,<sup>9</sup> but also by the revival of certain medieval religious themes, which became suitable for contemplation and personal reflection in the post-Trent period, and characterized by society's growing interest in mysticism as a result of efforts to deepen Christian spirituality. The ideas of medieval mystics, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Meister Eckhardt (ca. 1260–ca.1328), Bonaventura (1221–1274) and Jean Gerson (1363–1429) became attractive again in the period of the massive revival of spiritual life. Their writings served for spiritual exercise in monasteries,<sup>10</sup> but the first representatives of Lutheran Pietism also drew inspirations from them.<sup>11</sup>

The personality and work of **Bernard of Clairvaux** (ca. 1090–1153) represent perhaps the best example of the diverse forms and levels of the impact of medieval philosophical-theological thinking and its artistic expression on the modern society of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This 12<sup>th</sup> century scholar, confessor and founder of the Cistercian Order and Abbot of the first monastery of this new order at Clairvaux was one of the most influential theologians of the Middle Ages and a defender of the official teaching of the Church, for which he was awarded the degree, Doctor of the Church. Another title which is related to his name – Doctor Mellifluus – indicates the stylistic finesse of Bernard's language and his convincing oratory skills. Bernard's public life is frequently related to his support for the Second Crusade and the intensification of the adoration of the Virgin Mary, but it was perhaps his speculative theological writings with elements of practical spirituality developing the idea of personal encounters with God through mystical experience which resonated the most in the discourse regarding the necessity and forms of the deepening of the spiritual life of Post-Trident society. Although Bernard's theological and literary work never really disappeared from the awareness of the following generations, it was the Post-Trident period with the idea of new and personal religious devotion

---

<sup>9</sup> For example in the music-theoretical treatises by Marin Mersenne, Michael Praetorius, Athanasius Kircher, Robert Fludd, Andreas Werckmeister and several others. Relevant parts of their writings see in Joscelyn GODWIN, *The Harmony of the Spheres. A Sourcebook of the Pythagorean Tradition in Music* (Rochester: Inner Traditions International, Ltd., 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Robert L. KENDRICK, *Celestial Sirens. Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 12, 170.

<sup>11</sup> See more in Andrzej KOZIEŁ, *Angelus Silesius, Bernhard Rosa i Michael Willmann, czyli sztuka i mistyka na Śląsku w czasach baroku* [Angelus Silesius, Bernhard Rosa and Michael Willmann, or art and mystique in Silesia in Baroque period] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006), 493–495.

which brought the most intensive interest in his mystical texts. It is not surprising that several typical themes of Baroque mysticism had their archetype in Bernard's mysticism and their symbols were applied to visual art as well as music through texts set in music. A good example is his very popular and widespread sermons on *Song of Songs*, which features the idea of the spiritual imitation of Christ and co-suffering with him in the form of a loving soul as the bride of Christ that was so frequently adapted in Baroque religious literature. *Unio Mystica* motif, the unification of man and God in the form of a co-suffering soul as the bride of the suffering bridegroom Christ, was transferred in the modern poetry of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in a highly subjective and expressive way which inspired period composers to equally expressive depictions in music. The motif especially resonated in the music created in the environment of female monasteries of Northern Italy, for example, in the work of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani, from Milan.<sup>12</sup>

However it was the hymn to the name of Jesus – *Jubilus rhythmicus, de Nomine Jesu* that became the most popular inspirational source for poets and musicians of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although today's professional community is not fully convinced of Bernard's authorship of this hymn, there were absolutely no doubts regarding this matter in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Along with other poems ascribed to Bernard and called *rhythmis*, hymn was published in the course of this century as part of Bernard's *opera omnia* in several editions, especially in Trans-Alpine printing houses, as well as separately. It is a relatively large text consisting of 48 stanzas with a regular verse structure of eight-syllable quatrains. In the intentions of *unio mystica*, it is used for expressing love for and admiration of Jesus in his multifaceted relationship to man from personal friend up to ruler of the world.

In the Middle Ages, this hymn was part of the para-liturgical repertoire or served for private worship, while some stanzas were also included in the repertoire of Divine office on the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, which fell on the Sunday before the Epiphany.<sup>13</sup> They were sung in a simple, monodic, syllabic

---

<sup>12</sup> Her solo motet to the anonymous period text *O Jesu meus amor*, which develops the idea of the love of Christ in various contrasting emotional statuses, is a suitable example. For more, see Jana KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ, "Medieval Poetry as Inspiration for Composers of the 17th Century", in *Musikalische und literarische Kontexte des Barocks in Mitteleuropa / in der Slowakei Bratislava* (Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2015), 27–41.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Hymni/IesuDulcis.html> Accessed 12.01.2016.

form with rhythm based on Latin prosody, but from the last of two decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they became relatively popular source of musical adaptation in the polyphonic setting. The initiative came from Rome, where the first musical anthologies with Bernard's *rhythmis* were published in the 1580s. They were notated in the form of three and four-voice 'spiritual songs' (*canzonette spirituale*) still in a relatively simple syllabic, homophonic and chordal style, which embellish syllables by shorter melismata in certain places. *Diletto spirituale. Canzonette a 3 et 4 voci* (fig. 1), the anthology of a Dutch engraver, printer and editor **Simone Verovio** (? – 1607) with 22 compositions published in 1586,<sup>14</sup> was probably the first and is also interesting because of the method of its publishing. Arrangements for cembalo and lute (fig. 2b) were also attached to every composition in addition to the recording of voices in the form of a choir book (fig. 2a), which even further supports the purpose of the origin of this work to serve to spiritual pleasure (*diletto spirituale*) within the private worship.

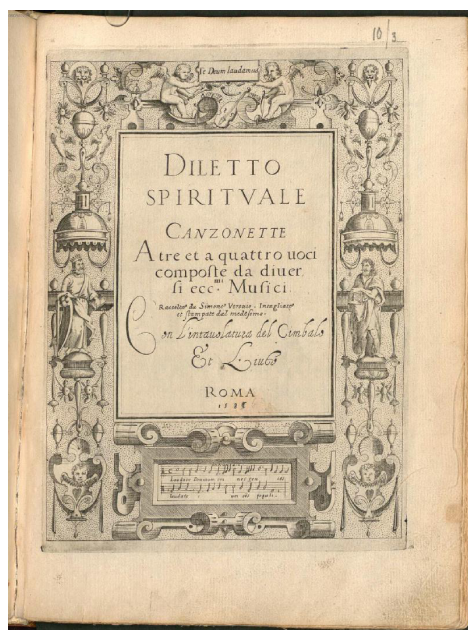


Fig. 1: Title page of Simone Verovio's *Diletto spirituale*. Rome 1586.

<sup>14</sup> RISM B/I/ 1586<sup>3</sup>; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 10/3. For information about Verovio see Thomas W. BRIDGES, "Verovio, Simone", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 26, 2nd edition. Edited by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).



Simone Verovio's collection featured the musical settings of famous Roman composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni Maria Nanini, Felice Anerio, Francesco Soriano, Ruggiero Giovanelli. Although some of the canzonettes used text sources from Italian religious poetry, selected stanzas from the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria* prevail in the content of the collection. The publication also attracted attention beyond the Alps, as evidenced by the issuance of two re-editions (1590 and 1592) in Augsburg.<sup>15</sup>

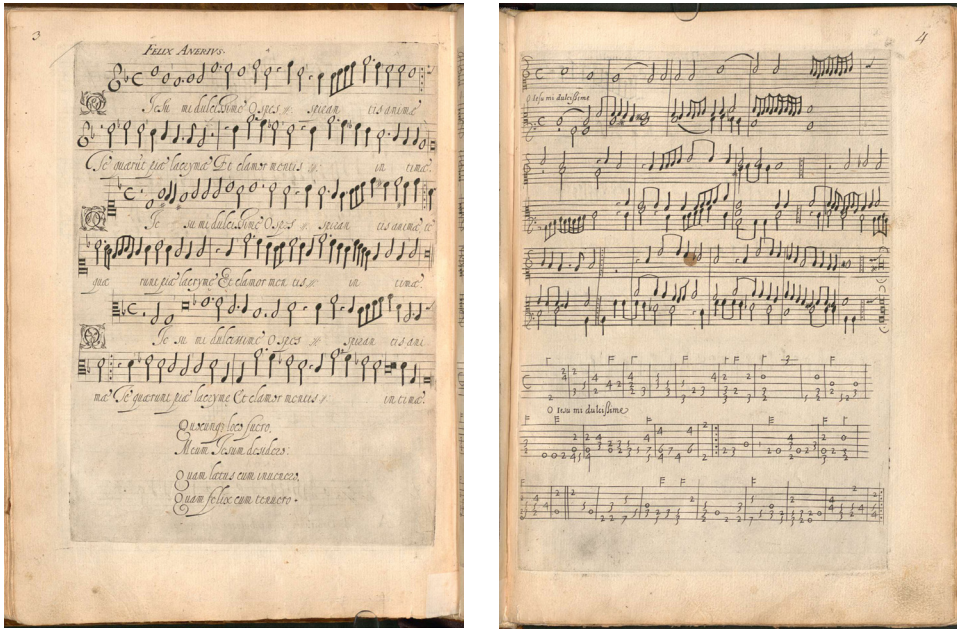


Fig. 2a, 2b: Three-voice polyphonic setting of Bernard's poem *O Jesu mi dulcissime* by Felice Anerio in three manners of recording and performing.

From Simone Verovio's *Diletto spirituale*, Rome 1586.

**Jacobus Peetrinus** (Giaches Peetrino, or Peeters, ca. 1553–ca. 1591), another Dutch composer working in Italy,<sup>16</sup> published the next collection in Rome with Bernard's poetry set to polyphonic music. The collection was issued with the title

<sup>15</sup> Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, Bd. 10 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1904), 66.

<sup>16</sup> Ian FENLON, "Peetrinus [Peetrino, Peeters], Jacobus [Giaches]", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 19, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

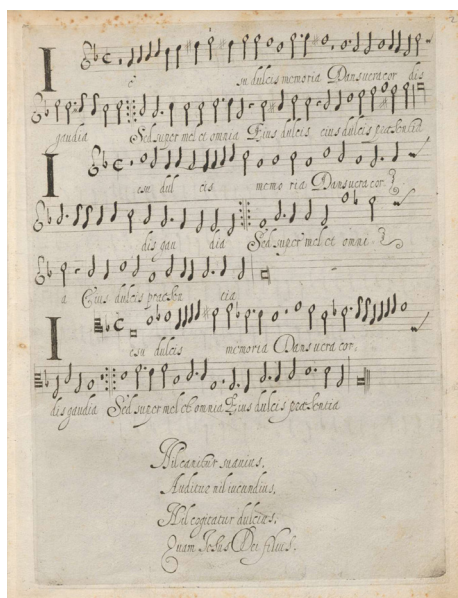
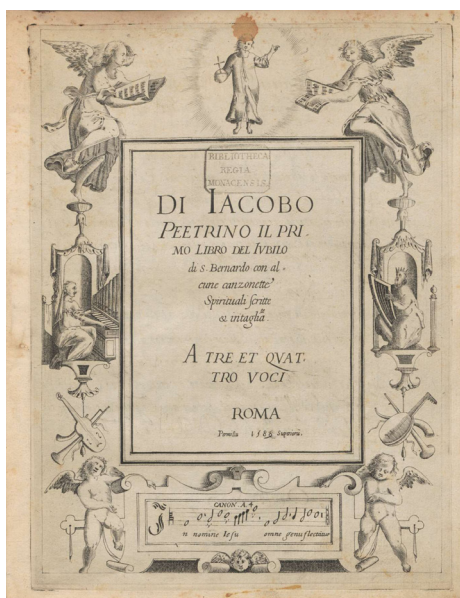


Fig. 4 (right): Peetrinus' 3-voice polyphonic setting of Bernhard's poem *Jesu dulcis memoria*.

<sup>17</sup> RISM A/I/P 1140, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 9. See also Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, Bd. 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1902), 350–351.

58



It is probable that just these Roman publications stirred up greater interest in setting Bernard's poetry to music in polyphonic style, even in the Trans-Alpine region, but there were also other incentives which led Lutheran musicians to begin composing works on Bernard's *rhythmis*. Thanks to Martin Luther, strongly influenced by Bernard's theology, the work of this medieval mystic had a great response also in the Protestant environment from the beginning of the Reformation and its reflection was visible not only in sermons and prayers, but also in religious poetry and German spiritual songs where we can find many translations, adapted verses and paraphrases of Bernard's poetry. The most often used was his hymn *de Nomine Jesu* (alias *Jesu dulcis memoria*), which had a permanent place in Lutheran liturgy. Some parts of the hymn were presented during vespers on January 1<sup>st</sup> and at the main divine service on the Sunday before the Epiphany,<sup>19</sup> which in fact preserved the medieval tradition for the application of this text. In the local tradition of the Dresden court, the hymn was presented every Sunday just before the singing of the Magnificat<sup>20</sup> and it appears that it also had a special place in music practice in Stuttgart, which we will discuss later. The personal, emotionally expressed relation to Jesus fit equally well into the ideas of a new type of piety in the Catholic as well as Lutheran environment, in which the ideas of Pietism were growing stronger during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The hymn was presented to the Lutheran environment in Latin and German. The first German translations appeared in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest translation is from Peter Herbert and was published in the Hymnbook of Czech Brothers in 1566.<sup>21</sup> This translation was followed by many others and as Paul Ranzini states, by 1660 German composers had at least 29 Latin or Latin-German editions of the text of this hymn at their disposal.<sup>22</sup>

Italian and transalpine composers approached the hymn's text selectively and at first only the editors of anthologies, such as the aforementioned Simone Verovio, used them to create a kind of latent cycle. The first stanza of the hymn with

---

<sup>19</sup> Paul L. RANZINI: "Einleitung" to the critical music edition *Samuel Capricornus: Jubilus Bernardi*, ed. Paul L. Ranzini, Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg 14 (München: Strube Verlag, 2003), XXI.

<sup>20</sup> RANZINI "Einleitung".

<sup>21</sup> RANZINI "Einleitung".

<sup>22</sup> RANZINI "Einleitung", XXII.

incipit *Jesu dulcis memoria* or several introductory stanzas were most frequently set to music. Peetrinus was perhaps the first author who set a larger number of stanzas to music. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century **Thomas Schattenberg** (ca. 1580–ca.1630), a composer and organ player from Flensburg, working and living in Copenhagen in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>, continued in the idea of creating a musical cycle. In 1620, the same year as the publication of the comprehensive edition of Bernard's work, he published in *Jubilus S. Bernhardi de nomine J. Christi Salvatoris nostri... Cantiones sacrae*,<sup>24</sup> a cycle of 39 four-part motets in which he set almost all of stanzas of the hymn to music. Schattenberg composed them in an even older *a capella* style of late Renaissance spiritual madrigals, while not avoiding dissonances with rhetoric effect at certain places.<sup>25</sup> Eight years later, the collection entitled *Odaria suavissima ex mellifluis D. Bernardi Jubilo* by Gdańsk Kapellmeister **Andreas Hakenberger** (1574–1627) and featuring 22 stanzas of this hymn set to music was published posthumously.

**Samuel Capricornus** (1628–1665) deserves special attention for his efforts to create a musical cycle based on the text of the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*. As the only one in the history of the polyphonic adaptation of this hymn, his cycle of 24 compositions sets to music all 48 stanzas and represents a unique intention to create one coherent and conceptually unified work of this extensive text. Although Capricornus's *Jubilus Bernhardi* was not published until 1660 (fig. 5), he composed the entire work during his stay in Bratislava (1650–1657, Posonium/Pressburg at the time), as he mentioned the cycle in the undated list of his works *Index operum musicorum Samuelis Capricorni*, which he must have written during the time he served as *director musicae* at the Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity.<sup>26</sup> The formulation in the *Index operum musicorum* (fig. 6) indicates that the work was already completed in Bratislava, thus it cannot be considered as a draft as some researchers think.<sup>27</sup> The existence of a Bratislava

<sup>23</sup> Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, 8 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1903), 470–471.

<sup>24</sup> RISM A/I/S 1311. A photocopy of a complete copy of the collection is held at København, Det Kongelige Bibliotekje. RISM ID no.: 00000990057761.

<sup>25</sup> We can assume that based on recordings of the selected works available online at: <http://www.prestoclassical.co.uk/c/Schattenberg/all/1>

<sup>26</sup> Critical edition of the document was published in Jana KALINAYOVÁ und Autorenkollektiv, *Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Bratislava: Slowakisches Nationalmuseum–Musikmuseum, 1995), 72–73.

<sup>27</sup> RANZINI: XIX.

version of the cycle is also confirmed by the notation of the first and final compositions of the cycle which was preserved in the Bardejov music collection. Although the notation is incomplete, according to the heading, the obligatory instrumental accompaniment, aside from the basso continuo, consisted of only a pair of violins.<sup>28</sup> The reason that Capricornus, already the Kapellmeister of the Württemberg court chapel, returned to this work and revised and published it could be related to the local tradition in the interpretation of Bernard's *rhythms*; and the recording of Hakenberger's *Odaria* in Stiftskirche's inventory in Stuttgart of 1641 is proof of that.<sup>29</sup>

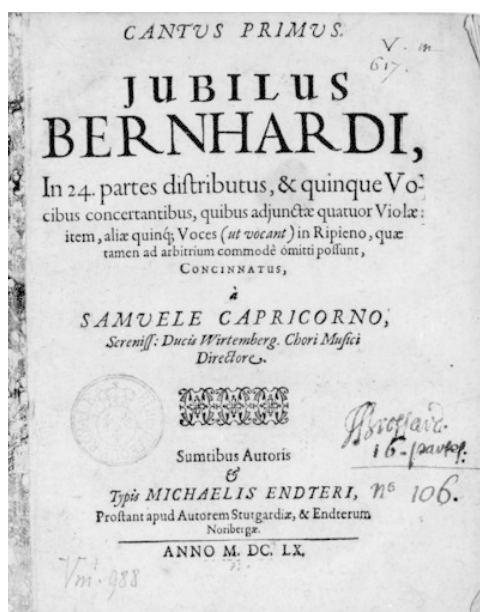


Fig. 5 (left): Title page of Capricornus' *Jubilus Bernhardi* collection. Nürnberg 1660.

Copy from Sébastien de Brossard legacy.<sup>30</sup>

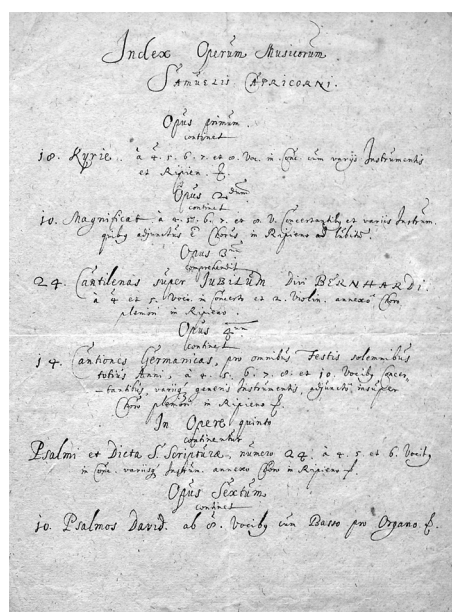


Fig. 6 (right): *Index Operum Musicorum Samuelis Capricorni*,  
1<sup>st</sup> page of undated document.

<sup>28</sup> Róbert Árpád MURÁNYI, *Thematisches Verzeichniss der Musisammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)* (Bonn: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1991), 28. Both compositions are recorded in the manuscript with the shelf mark Ms. mus. Bártfa 4 under the number 27 and 28. Although only the parts for Violino primo and secondo have been preserved, in the headtitle we can read: C.C.A.T.B.2.Viol. Sam. Capricorni.

<sup>29</sup> RANZINI: XXIII.

<sup>30</sup> RISM A/I/C 932, available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9062491s.r=Jubilus%20Bernhardi?rk=21459;2>

We can hypothetically wonder if a significant jubilee – the five-hundredth anniversary of Bernard's death, commemorated by the Christian world in 1653, was not the incentive for the composing of the cycle. As of today, we have no documents that mention this jubilee in the social life of Bratislava in those times, but the library of the Bratislava Lutheran church features the Cologne edition of Bernard's *opera omnia* of 1620. The new influential edition of *Sancti Bernardi Melliflui Doctoris Ecclesiae Pulcherrima et Exemplaris Vitae* was published in 1653 in Antwerp, on the occasion of this special date. This issue repeatedly featured part of Bernard's poetry and contained 53 graphic illustrations by Jacob Neffs, which became the basic model for Bernardian iconography of the entire Trans-Alpine region, regardless of denomination (fig. 7a, 7b).<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 7a, 7b: Frontispiece and example of Neff's engraving from the *Sancti Bernardi Melliflui Doctoris ... Vitae* anniversary publication. Antwerp 1653.

<sup>31</sup> Andrzej KOZIEŁ, "The Cycle of Frescoes in the Former Cistercian Presbytery in Cieplce Śląskie Zdrój (Poland). A New Contribution to St. Bernard of Clairvaux Iconography in Central Europe in the Baroque Period", *Ars* 46, No. 2 (2013): 209–225.



The concept of Capricornus's musical adaptation of this hymn was more grandiose and modern than usual for those times. A 3 to 5-voice choir composition was sufficient for his predecessors in which the voices were led in a homophone-chordal way or more independently from the contrapuntal aspect, in a more complicated imitation of the Renaissance motet style. Although Capricornus preserved the 5-voice vocal composition, he added a facultative choir *ripieni* and obligatory instrumental accompaniment to the 5-voice solo basis with an enhanced soprano, while in the Bratislava version violins are added to the *basso continuo*. However, the adaptation from Stuttgart features a change in the instrumentation in the accompaniment, and this typical Italian solution was replaced by a set of four unspecified *violas*. We are not familiar with the motives of Capricornus for such a change in instrumentation, but it seems when looking at different musical works from the environment of the court in Stuttgart during the reign of Eberhard III, the ears of the local audience were more pleased by the larger string instrument accompaniment, which coincided with the general trends in the orchestration of vocal music at the time, especially in the northern European regions. A comparison between fragments of the Bratislava version and Stuttgart edition shows that Capricornus only added two new parts of strings in the range of the alto and tenor to the original parts of two violins. The function of these added parts is to fulfill the harmony and enrich the color and power of the sound, but in imitative passages they are incorporated in the vocal texture in the same manner as the originally composed two violins. When we return to the recording of the work in *Index operum musicorum* (... a 4 et 5 Voc. in Concerto et 2. Violin...), it seems that in addition to the change in instrumentation Capricornus also unified the vocal section of all pieces to 5-voice group in the Stuttgart version.

Capricornus adapted all 48 stanzas to 24 compositions, but they are not separate items; they constitute a cycle with a unified concept and logic of composition and harmonious motion in the same basic tonal space (the first church modus transposed to G). Each part of this cycle begins with an instrumental sonata, as sacred concertos were usually presented in that time, and is followed by a sequel of solo expositions of musical motifs escalated to partial and finale tutti with added *ripieni*. The text is set to music in a through-composed multi-sectional form within the intentions of traditional motet style and without inserting ritornellos or repeated sections, which were so popular in sacred concertos of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, he opted for the use of modern



concertato style means of expression and techniques. These are obvious in the alteration of polyphonic and imitation passages sang by solo voices with homophonic and chordal tutti, the transition from melodic virtuoso singing to declamatory recitative and several methods of inclusion of instrumental accompaniment, which introduces, divides, or accompanies vocal sections. The fact that Capricornus in essence designed this work in three choirs (solo ensemble, *ripieni* and instrumental ensembles) refers to the baselines in North Italian polychoral techniques which had a great representation in the repertoire of the Lutheran church in Bratislava.<sup>32</sup>

Capricornus worked with medieval texts in order to bring greater emotional expression, although moderate in form in comparison with his small-scale sacred *concertos*, particularly those originated in the Stuttgart period. He achieved it by repeating words and motifs emphasizing the meaning of certain words and by deploying means of musical rhetoric. For example, the introduction in the piece *O Jesu mi dulcissime* (No. 16 of the collection), is unlike the older methods of setting a text to music (e.g. Felice Anerio's version in Simone Verovio's anthology) expressed by the multiple emphatic repetition of the interjection 'o', in order to intensify the expression of emotional thrill (fig. 8). Tutti passages are frequently outlined in homophonous and declamative style and through their consistent rhythmical adherence to Latin prosody they refer more to the original '*rhythmis*' and their later simpler polyphonic adaptations. However, they are extremely impressive as passages in which the entire musical course escalates (fig. 9) and in this simple but impressive form they resemble Carissimi's choir style. The stylistic and emotional contrast to them is created by passages in contrapunctal writing and with the involvement of instruments in the polyphonic structure, which is usually applied to the final sections of pieces of the entire cycle, but occasionally also elsewhere inside of the pieces with the aim of creating an emotional climax of the musical course (fig. 10).

Capricornus's approach to setting Bernard's texts to music is such an obvious result of the mixing of tradition with new composition approaches that it cannot be an accident, but conscious intent, as if he wanted to show that there were no ultimate barriers between the older and new ways of composing and that he mastered and could combine both. It is possible that it represented some form of his defense against the attack of his rival Philipp Friedrich

---

<sup>32</sup> Jana KALINAYOVÁ und Autorenkollektiv, *Musikinventare*.

9

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su mi dul -

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

Tutti:  
O, O, O, O JE - - - su, JE - su

b b 6 6 5 b6

Fig. 8: Samuel Capricornus: *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, no. 16, bb. 9–10.  
Music example from *Samuel Capricornus: Jubilus Bernhardi*, ed. Paul L. Ranzini, 129.

58

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur nil,

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur nil ju -

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur nil,

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur nil,

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur nil,

Tutti:  
Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Nil ca - ni - tur su - a - vi - us, Au - di - tur nil,

# # b

Fig. 9: Samuel Capricornus: *Jesu dulcis memoria*, no. 1, bb. 58–61.  
Music example from *Samuel Capricornus: Jubilus Bernhardi*, ed. Paul L. Ranzini, 6.

44

cor me-um a me trans - - i-it, Post JE - - - sum, post JE - - - - - sum si - mul a - bi-it.

- i - it, Post JE - sum si - mul a - bi-it, post JE - - - sum, post JE - sum si - mul a - bi-it.

Post JE - - - sum si - mul a - bi-it, post JE - - - sum si - mul, si - mul a - bi-it.

Post JE - - - - sum si - mul a - bi-it, post JE - sum si - mul a - bi-it.

- i - it, Post JE - - - - - sum, post JE - - - - - sum si - mul a - bi-it.

5 6 6 4 3 1

66

Böddecker, the organist from the Stiftskirche, a situation that Capricornus had to face immediately after his arrival to Stuttgart.<sup>33</sup> The result of this combination of old and new is a dignified and perfectly balanced work which, despite the fact that it is not rich in extreme virtuosity and interpretation of passions, fulfills the credo of Baroque composers to move the hearts of the audience.<sup>34</sup>

Capricornus's interest in medieval poetry and the meditations of medieval theologians in general was also shown in another work. The motet *Salve, Jesu, summe bonus* for canto solo with viola da gamba's obligatory accompaniment, which was published posthumously in the collection of solo Latin motets *Scelta musicale* in 1669, is a good example. Text of this piece belongs to the cycle of 7 medieval meditations on Christ's torment, which are written in for medieval poetry unusually subjective and expressive language. Bernard's authorship of these poems is questioned today, and some believe that Arnulph von Löwen (1200–1250), a Cistercian monk 100 years younger than Bernard is the real author. This cycle of meditations, most probably under the influence of growing Pietism, also inspired other Lutheran composers by the end of the 17th century, although it never surpassed interest in the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*.<sup>35</sup>

Paul Ranzini includes 14 names in the list of composers who from 1600 to 1660 set Latin verses of the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria* to music.<sup>36</sup> It seems that in the following centuries such interest in the original text and its German translation never weakened but was maintained in the centers with the local tradition of its presenting. Stuttgart and its surroundings was one of such centers where the oeuvre of Capricornus was undoubtedly well known and

---

<sup>33</sup> See more in Josef SITTARD, "Samuel Capricornus contra Phillipp Friedrich Böddecker", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 (1901/02): 87–128; Jana KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ, "Spor Samuela Capricorna – spor tradície s modernou?" [A controversy between Samuel Capricornus and Philipp Friedrich Bödecker – the controversy between tradition and modernism?], *Slovenská hudba* 31, No. 3–4 (2005): 264–269.

<sup>34</sup> The *Musica Aeterna* ensemble rehearsed Capricornus's *Jubilus Bernhardi* under the leadership of Peter Zajáček and presented a selection of 12 compositions from this cycle together with the Czech Ensemble Baroque Choir (con. Teresa Válková) in the new premiere at the festival *Bratislavské hudobné slávnosti 2016*.

<sup>35</sup> The best known is its setting to music in the form of an extensive cycle of 7 passion cantatas entitled *Membra Jesu Nostri patientis sanctissima* composed by Dietrich Buxtehude (BuxWV 75) in 1680.

<sup>36</sup> RANZINI, "Einleitung", XXII.

inspired other composers.<sup>37</sup> Daniel Speer, Capricornus's classmate from Maria Magdalena Gymnasium in Wroclaw, was also one of them. In Stuttgart in 1692 he published the collection *Jubilum coeleste* with 32 sacred concertos for two voices and five-voice string accompaniment, where he used Latin verses from the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*, but even sooner, in 1668, he may have published another collection related to this poetry, entitled *Süsse Jesus-Freund, oder Jubilum S. Bernhardi*.<sup>38</sup> However this work was not preserved.

The interest of 17<sup>th</sup> century composers in setting the poetry attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux to music is a phenomenon which deserves special study. Several reasons for such artistic expressions existed. On one hand, motivations were based on the passed down authority of Bernard's oeuvre, but they were also related to efforts to deepen spirituality through personal religious devotion, which at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and well in to the 17<sup>th</sup> century governed the religious thinking of both Christian denominations. Bernard's poetry with its features of personal spirituality corresponded with these ideas. The intensity of its reflection in musical creations was also related to the local tradition of being inspired by Bernard's work. The popular hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*, with its originally limited selection of text and more simple polyphonic adaptation in homophone-chordal style, underwent a more difficult adaptation of a larger number of stanzas. *Jubilus Bernhardi*, by Samuel Capricornus, is unique in terms of its complex and comprehensive music elaboration.

---

<sup>37</sup> In Langenburg, magister Georg Wagner prepared the German version of the hymn and the inventory list of music sheets of 1682 features several Latin and German versions of this text set to music. RANZINI, "Einleitung", XXIII.

<sup>38</sup> Hans Joachim MOSER, "Daniel Speer als Dichter und Musiker", *Musik in Zeit und Raum*, Berlin 1960, 119–144.



### Summary

In searching for a way to deepen and intensify its spiritual life, the post-trident community found considerable inspiration in medieval philosophical-theological leanings and artistic expressions. The personality and work of Bernard of Clairvaux (ca. 1090–1153) represent one of the best examples of the diverse forms and levels of this impact. Several typical themes of Baroque mysticism had their archetype in Bernard's mysticism and their symbols were applied to visual art as well as music through texts set in music. However, it was the hymn to the name of Jesus (*Jesu dulcis memoria*) that became the most popular inspirational source for poets and musicians of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Originally only some stanzas of the hymn, which were sung in a simple, monodic, syllabic form with a rhythm based on Latin prosody, became a relatively popular source of musical adaptation in the polyphonic setting from the last two decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The initiative came from Rome, where the first musical anthologies with Bernard's *rhythmis* were published in the 1580s. It is probable that the Roman anthologies stirred up greater interest in setting Bernard's poetry to music in polyphonic style, even in the Trans-Alpine region, but there were also other incentives which led Lutheran musicians to begin composing works on text of the hymn attributed to Bernard. The tradition of setting several stanzas to music in a musical cycle caught on among Lutheran composers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thomas Schattenberg, Andreas Hakenberger, Samuel Capricornus as well as Daniel Speer followed it. *Jubilus Bernhardi*, Capricornus's cycle of 24 concertato motets, is unique because it was the only one in which all 48 stanzas of the hymn were set to music. It was composed during the period in which he served as *director musicae* in the Lutheran church in Bratislava in the 1650s. At the time when Capricornus was the Kapellmeister at the court in Stuttgart he published this work (1660) with modified instrumentation. This new adaptation was most probably a reaction to the local tradition in response to Bernard's work and instrumentation practice.

**Keywords:** Bernard Clairvaux, Jubilus Bernhardi, Samuel Capricornus, *Jesu dulcis memoria*, medieval poetry, musical cycle

