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## THESAURUS LITANIARUM: THE SYMBOLISM AND PRACTICE OF MUSICAL LITANIES IN COUNTER-REFORMATION GERMANY

*A venerable form of petitionary prayer, the litany emerged as a key aural expression of Counter-Reformation Catholicism around the turn of the seventeenth century, particularly in the confessionally contested borderlands of the Holy Roman Empire. Its explicit projection of the dogma of sanctoral intercession, rejected soundly by Protestant theologians, helped to make the litany a flashpoint for religious controversy. Especially in the duchy of Bavaria, the northern bastion of the Counter-Reformation, the litany flourished in a wide variety of monophonic and polyphonic forms that reflected its fluid position on a spectrum between oral and written traditions. This essay explores the usage and significance of the litany in Counter-Reformation Germany, focusing especially upon the Thesaurus litaniarum (Treasury of Litanies, 1596) by Georg Victorinus, music director of the Munich Jesuits. Intimately connected with currents of Catholic reform in German-speaking lands, this great anthology illustrates the varied and creative ways in which composers responded to the litany's distinctive ebb and flow of titles and petitions to holy intercessors.*

In 1542 a new church ordinance appeared from an Erfurt press formally introducing Luther's reformation in the principality of Calenberg-Göttingen, a small part of the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Like many other Lutheran church ordinances of the time, it provided for the retention of the litany, a form of petitionary prayer arranged in a call-and-response format that had long been in common use. Typically Lutherans called for the praying of the litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, and this church ordinance is no exception. But unlike the others it goes on to caution the reader about the potential abuse of the litany:

That we Christians should pray at all times for the pressing need of the emperor, kings, lords, princes and all men is shown by Scripture . . . And therefore it is our grave and merciful wish that you, our pastors, hold general prayers and, on designated days, namely on Wednesdays and Fridays, have the litany sung with all devotion . . . It happens that the ancients introduced such prayers during Rogation Days, but soon the Devil came and corrupted this good intention, with

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notable abuses. Namely, that people went hither and thither with banners and saints' [images] and forgot entirely their proper prayers. We wish, therefore, that such monkey-business [*Affenspiel*] with processions be entirely abolished; but nevertheless you should hold such Rogation Days, with sermons, sacraments and the litany, honourably in the early morning, [and] not so that we for a time oblige those who are weak in faith. But the litany should be held in the manner in which it was printed and issued from Wittenberg, and not as it was in earlier times, when people sang 'Saint Peter, pray for us.'<sup>1</sup>

A tension is apparent here between the ongoing value of the litany as a petitionary prayer and its traditional, late medieval role as an appeal to the saints' intercession in heaven. It may have been for this reason that the litany would play a relatively minor role in Lutheran culture, musical and otherwise; but its assertion of sanctoral intercession helped to guarantee it a prominent place in the devotional culture of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Whether spoken, chanted, or sung, the litany would become an aural linchpin of Catholic culture by the end of the sixteenth century, a sound that produced and shaped distinctively Catholic soundscapes through its characteristic ebb and flow of titles and petitions. In the contested religious geography of the Holy Roman Empire, the litany was perhaps the most insistently 'confessional' form of sounding prayer and music, one that traced the boundaries of faith communities and reinforced the confessional identities of performers and listeners, whether they embraced it as a devotional expression or rejected it as idolatry.

Despite the ubiquity of the litany within early modern Catholic liturgical and devotional culture, we still know relatively little about its aural character. Dominated by a lengthy series of titles referring to the attributes of God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Saints, or other holy objects, each answered with brief choral or congregational petitions, the litany is a highly formulaic and repetitive prayer. The most famous of early modern litanies, the Litany of Loreto, is as follows:

Kyrie eleison.	Lord, have mercy.
Christe eleison.	Christ, have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord, have mercy.
Christe audi nos.	Christ, hear us.
Christe exaudi nos.	Christ, graciously hear us.
Pater de caelis, Deus, miserere nobis.	God the Father of heaven, have mercy on us.

<sup>1</sup> Church ordinance for Calenberg and Göttingen (Erfurt, 1542), repr. in E. Sehling (ed.), *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Erste Abtheilung. Sachsen und Thüringen, nebst angrenzenden Gebieten. Erste Hälfte. Die Ordnungen Luthers. Die ernestinischen und albertinischen Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 366.

*Thesaurus litaniarum*

Fili redemptor mundi, Deus,	God the Son, redeemer of the world, have mercy on us.
Spiritus sancte Deus, miserere nobis.	God the Holy Spirit, have mercy on us.
Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis.	Holy Trinity, the one God, have mercy on us.
Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.	Holy Mary, pray for us.
Sancta Dei Genitrix, ora pro nobis.	Holy Mother of God, pray for us.
Sancta Virgo virginum, ora pro nobis.	Holy Virgin of virgins, pray for us.
Mater Christi, ora pro nobis.	Mother of Christ, pray for us.
Mater divinae gratiae, ora pro nobis.	Mother of divine grace, pray for us.
Mater purissima, ora pro nobis.	Mother most pure, pray for us.
Mater castissima, ora pro nobis.	Mother most chaste, pray for us.
Mater inviolata, ora pro nobis.	Mother inviolate, pray for us.
Mater intemerata, ora pro nobis.	Mother undefiled, pray for us.
Mater amabilis, ora pro nobis.	Amiable Mother, pray for us.
Mater admirabilis, ora pro nobis.	Admirable Mother, pray for us.
Mater Creatoris, ora pro nobis.	Mother of the Creator, pray for us.
Mater Salvatoris, ora pro nobis.	Mother of the Savior, pray for us.
Virgo prudentissima, ora pro nobis.	Virgin most prudent, pray for us.
Virgo veneranda, ora pro nobis.	Venerable Virgin, pray for us.
Virgo praedicanda, ora pro nobis.	Renowned Virgin, pray for us.
Virgo potens, ora pro nobis.	Powerful Virgin, pray for us.
Virgo clemens, ora pro nobis.	Merciful Virgin, pray for us.
Virgo fidelis, ora pro nobis.	Faithful Virgin, pray for us.
Speculum iustitiae, ora pro nobis.	Mirror of justice, pray for us.
Sedes sapientiae, ora pro nobis.	Seat of wisdom, pray for us.
Causa nostrae laetitiae, ora pro nobis.	Cause of our joy, pray for us.
Vas spirituale, ora pro nobis.	Vessel of spirit, pray for us.
Vas honorabile, ora pro nobis.	Vessel of honour, pray for us.
Vas insigne devotionis, ora pro nobis.	Vessel of great devotion, pray for us.
Rosa mystica, ora pro nobis.	Mystical rose, pray for us.
Turris Davidica, ora pro nobis.	Tower of David, pray for us.
Turris eburnea, ora pro nobis.	Tower of ivory, pray for us.
Domus aurea, ora pro nobis.	House of gold, pray for us.
Foederis arca, ora pro nobis.	Ark of the covenant, pray for us.
Ianua caeli, ora pro nobis.	Gate of heaven, pray for us.
Stella matutina, ora pro nobis.	Morning star, pray for us.
Salus infirmorum, ora pro nobis.	Health of the sick, pray for us.
Refugium peccatorum, ora pro nobis.	Refuge of sinners, pray for us.
Consolatrix afflictorum, ora pro nobis.	Comforter of the afflicted, pray for us.
Auxilium Christianorum, ora pro nobis.	Help of Christians, pray for us.
Regina Angelorum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Angels, pray for us.

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Regina Patriarcharum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Patriarchs, pray for us.
Regina Prophetarum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Prophets, pray for us.
Regina Apostolorum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Apostles, pray for us.
Regina Martyrum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Martyrs, pray for us.
Regina Confessorum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Confessors, pray for us.
Regina Virginum, ora pro nobis.	Queen of the Virgins, pray for us.
Regina Sanctorum omnium, ora pro nobis.	Queen of All Saints, pray for us.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,	Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world,
Parce nobis Domine.	Spare us, Lord.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,	Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world,
Exaudi nos Domine.	Hear us, Lord.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,	Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world,
Miserere nobis.	Have mercy on us.
Christe audi nos.	Christ, hear us.
Christe exaudi nos.	Christ, graciously hear us.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord, have mercy.
Christe eleison.	Christ, have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord, have mercy.

In the field of musicology the litany has largely been neglected, except for two lengthier studies on the polyphonic litany by Joachim Roth and David Blazey, and several shorter, recent essays by Robert Kendrick and Magda Marx-Weber.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise discussion of litany settings, even by

<sup>2</sup> See J. Roth, *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 14; Regensburg, 1959) and D. A. Blazey, 'The Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy' (Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 1990). See also more recent essays by R. L. Kendrick, "'Honore a Dio, e allegrezza alli santi, e consolazioni alli putti': The Musical Projection of Litanies in Sixteenth-Century Italy", in S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Plasmare il suono: Il culto dei santi e la musica (secc. XVI–XVIII)* (Sanctorum, 6; Rome, 2009), pp. 15–46, and 'Litanies and their Texts, 1600–1700', in A. Addamiano and F. Luisi (eds.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra. In occasione del centenario di fondazione del PIMS, Roma, 26 maggio – 1 giugno 2011* (Vatican City, 2013), ii, pp. 703–10; M. Marx-Weber, 'Palestrinas sechsstimmige Marienlitanien und ihre autographe Quelle', in U. Konrad (ed.), *Musikalische Quellen – Quellen zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 2002), pp. 175–86; and Konrad, 'Römische Vertonungen der Lauretanischen Litanei: Palestrina – Cifra – Graziani – Foggia – Cesarini', *Analecta Musicologica*, 33 (2004), pp. 211–36. On the medieval litany in its liturgical context see C. W. Brockett, *Letania and Preces: Music for Lenten and Rogations Litanies* (Ottawa, 2006). The early modern litany north of the Alps, by contrast, has received relatively little attention. On Mozart's Eucharistic litanies see K. A. Rosenthal, 'Mozart's Sacramental Litanies and their Forerunners', *Musical Quarterly*, 27 (1941), pp. 433–55. David Crook has discussed Bavarian litanies in their religious context in his *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*

prominent composers like Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, remains scattered at best. The litany's relentless repetition of titles and petitions may have discouraged closer attention, but its neglect may also follow from its position on a fluid boundary between oral and written traditions. The litany could be prayed silently; it could be spoken, intoned, sung to simple melodic formulae, or set polyphonically in myriad forms. In its usual performance in supplicatory processions and pilgrimages the litany demanded musical simplicity above all. Since monophonic litanies were sung to repeated melodic formulae, they were seldom notated in medieval and early modern sources. Furthermore, the litany posed considerable challenges for composers of polyphonic settings, who aimed at musically satisfying solutions that would balance the need for sonic variety with the form's inherent repetitiveness.

One of the most venerable forms of prayer in the Christian church, with origins by the late fourth century at the latest, the litany inspired polyphonic musical treatment particularly in Catholic contexts from the late sixteenth century onward. The present essay focuses on the litany in a time and place that saw an explosion of musical interest in the genre: Catholic Germany in the age of the Counter-Reformation, and especially the duchy of Bavaria, which from the mid-sixteenth century emerged as a militant bulwark of the traditional Church in the confessionally fragmented landscape of the Holy Roman Empire. The litany is examined here in three facets. First, the litany represented the traditional Church's dogma of sanctoral intercession in its purest form and became a provocative aural symbol of confessional controversy. Catholics entreating the saints to intercede with God on their behalf, or worse, to perform miracles directly – a belief not endorsed by the Council of Trent, incidentally<sup>3</sup> – would be a thorn in

(Princeton, 1994), esp. pp. 69–77. I am indebted to Crook's discussion as well as to Peter Bergquist's introduction to and edition of Orlando di Lasso's litanies in *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze* (Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke, Neue Reihe, 25; Kassel, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> The Council of Trent decreed during its Twenty-fifth Session concerning the invocation, veneration and relics of the Saints and holy images, that the faithful were to be instructed that 'the Saints, reigning together as one with Christ, offer their prayers to God on behalf of men, and that it is good and useful to invoke them humbly, and, for the favours received from God through his son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour, to have recourse to their prayers, aid and help' ('Sanctos, una cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre: bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare et ob beneficia impetranda à Deo per filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster Redemptor et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugere'). Quoted here from *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici, & generalis Concilii Tridentini* (Cologne, 1577), pp. 343–4.

the side of Protestant commentators, who railed against a form of idolatrous prayer not exclusively directed to God alone. Second, the litany was intimately connected to collective motion of Catholic devotees, expressed in the urban processions and rural pilgrimages that traced and defined sacred space. When sounded at the holy sites reached by these processions, the litany could effect miraculous occurrences. Finally, the prominent position of the litany as a ritual expression led to a remarkable flowering of polyphonic settings in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially in Bavaria, the epicentre of the Counter-Reformation in the north. By far the grandest collection of polyphonic litanies ever published was the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Treasury of Litanies), issued in 1596 by the music director of the Jesuit college in Munich, Georg Victorinus. An examination of this rich anthology demonstrates not only its intimate connection with Catholic reform in German-speaking lands, but also the varied and creative ways in which composers responded to the litany's distinctive structure, either foregrounding its functional and spatial distinction between title and petition, or effacing this structure by assimilating the form to prevailing forms of late Renaissance polyphony.

#### THE LITANY IN HISTORY AND THEOLOGY

Prayers or acclamations resembling litanies are probably quite ancient, as scattered examples from Judaic and Babylonian-Assyrian practices attest.<sup>4</sup> Clear evidence for the use of prayers resembling later litanies in medieval Christian worship is firmly attested by the end of the fourth century at Antioch, and by Egeria in her *Itinerarium* (c. 381–4) for the Holy Land, in which she describes collective responses of *Kyrie eleison* to a lector's recitation of holy names.<sup>5</sup> The so-called Byzantine *Ektenie* seems to have formed the most direct precedent for litanies in the West: after the fourth century similar prayers are known in Ambrosian, Celtic, Gallican and Mozarabic practice. A Gallican usage, attributed to St Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne (d. c. 475), of processional litanies on the three days before the feast of the Ascension is of particular note, as this practice would eventually be adopted as the Minor Litanies or Rogations by Pope Leo III (d. 816). In the Roman liturgy it is thought that Pope Gelasius I (492–6) introduced a litanic 'Deprecatio Gelasii' after the Gospel,<sup>6</sup> which may have

<sup>4</sup> Roth, *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>5</sup> Brockett, *Letania and Preces*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> P. de Clerck, *La 'Prière universelle' dans les liturgies latines anciennes* (Münster, 1977), pp. 170–2.

been the form adapted by Gregory the Great to produce the ninefold Kyrie. The Agnus Dei, too, seems to have originated as a litany, introduced by Sergius I (687–701). Before adopting the Gallican Minor Litanies, Rome introduced its own Rogation feast on 25 April – later known as the ‘Major Litanies’ – attested no later than the time of Gregory the Great. It is unclear whether this processional litany is the same as the sevenfold penitential procession (with congregational *Kyrie eleison* responses) called by Gregory in 590, beginning at the seven separate Roman churches and culminating at S. Maria Maggiore. Litanies were also called for in the Rule of St Benedict and became common in the monastic hours.<sup>7</sup> By the high Middle Ages litanies of the Saints became a dominant form, occupying a fixed role in the Paschal vigil and in the form of the Greater Litanies for the feast of St Mark and the Lesser Litanies for Rogation Days.<sup>8</sup>

Critiques of sanctoral invocation led to a much-reduced role for the litany in the Protestant churches of the sixteenth century, although Martin Luther issued a vernacular version in response to the Ottoman military advances towards Vienna in 1529. Luther stripped the litany of all sanctoral invocations and prescribed an antiphonal style of performance between the choir and congregation. This ‘German litany’ soon became standard fare in early Lutheran hymnals, such as that of Joseph Klug (Wittenberg, 1529), Valentin Babst (Leipzig, 1545) and Lucas Lossius (Nuremberg, 1553), and it would occasionally be set polyphonically by composers in the Lutheran orbit – Michael Praetorius, Hans Leo Hassler and Heinrich Schütz, to name a few. It did not, however, enjoy a tradition as vibrant as within Catholicism.<sup>9</sup> Certainly Protestant theological challenges to the traditional litany’s

<sup>7</sup> See M. Huglo et al., ‘Litany’, *Grove Music Online*, oxfordmusiconline.com.

<sup>8</sup> On the background of the Litany of the Saints and its liturgical use, see Blazey, ‘The Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy’, pp. 14–16.

<sup>9</sup> A history of the litany from an explicitly Lutheran perspective may be found in T. Kliefoth, *Zur Geschichte der Litanei*, repr. from the *Neues Mecklenburgisches Kirchenblatt* (Güstrow, 1861). Among the more prominent polyphonic settings of Luther’s 1529 litany are those by Lucas Lossius (1553), Johannes Rhau (1598), Melchior Vulpius (1604), Michael Praetorius (1613; see also commentary below on Praetorius’s preface), Hans Leo Hassler (1619), Johann Hermann Schein (1627) and Heinrich Schütz (1657). In the early Anglican church the litany also had a limited career, with a vernacular version first appearing in the second edition of Marshall’s Primer in 1535, and codified for use by Thomas Cranmer in 1544; initially it was designated for processional use as ordered by Henry VIII. See Huglo et al., ‘Litany’, for general background. This Protestant litanic tradition, while certainly less vibrant than the Catholic, has yet to be studied in great detail. On the Lutheran reception and altering of intercessory language in the Marian antiphons, see also M. E. Frandsen, ‘Salve Regina/Salve Rex Christe: Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety’, *Musica disciplina*, 55 (2010), pp. 129–218.

content played some role in this, especially its seeming lack of direct invocations to Jesus Christ. 'Christ's intercession is no less profaned', Jean Calvin writes in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 'when mingled with prayers and merits of the dead than if it were completely omitted and dead men alone were mentioned. Then, in all their litanies, hymns and proses, where they leave no honor unapplied to dead saints, Christ goes unmentioned.'<sup>10</sup> Likewise the Lutheran theologian Martin Chemnitz railed against the non-Christocentric nature of the Catholic litany in his lengthy critique of the Tridentine decrees, the *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, noting that the prayer of the litany at the opening of the Council represented a bad omen of what was to come:

Then at the very opening of the Council [they prayed] the litany, in which there is not a single solitary mention of the intercession of Christ; instead of Christ, our only mediator, they substituted all of the angels and Saints as mediators, patrons and intercessors. Then followed Ambrosius Catharinus, who in his prayer for the opening of the Council petitioned the mother of Christ as His helper, who is seated next to His throne, to obtain grace for us. Another in his speech took the words of the Evangelist, which refer only to God, and in a godless manner turned them towards the Roman Pope: 'The Pope, the light that came into the world' . . . From these beginnings one can see what to expect, for it is impossible, as the saying goes, that something begun poorly can have a good result.<sup>11</sup>

The question of who is to be properly invoked in the litany also pervades the comments of Michael Praetorius, who published three polyphonic litany settings in his *Kleine und Grosse Letaney* (1613). Praetorius defined the litany 'as a public collective prayer, in which the holy Christian Church expresses the general need of all Christendom to God the Almighty, and requests his Godly aid and deliverance with united, faithful hearts and mouths'.<sup>12</sup> Critical is his insistence that the earliest litanies were directed to God alone, and that the introduction of sanctoral invocations was a corruption from the time of Gregory the Great:

Pelagius, the successor of Gregory the First, or the Great, ordained to be prayed the Great Litany, in which he mixed in the idolatrous invocation of the saints, against the horror of pestilence. This was called the 'Major Litany' [*Litaniam Majorem*], also the 'Gregorian and Roman' [Litany]. After this pestilence [abated] the practice continued of an annual procession at this time [of year], with crosses and banners going from one church to the next, and around the churches and the flowers of the

<sup>10</sup> Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. J. T. McNeill, trans. F. L. Battles (London, 1961), ii, pp. 879–80.

<sup>11</sup> Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Eduard Preuss (Berlin, 1861), p. 4. Translation mine.

<sup>12</sup> Preface to Michael Praetorius, *Kleine und Grosse Litaney*, ed. Friedrich Blume (Praetorius, Gesammelte kleinere Werke – Schlussbericht; Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius, 20; Wolfenbüttel, 1960).



field, with the singing of Gregory's litany. Due to this the Sunday *Vocem iucunditatis* [the Fifth Sunday after Easter] together with the following week was called Rogation Sunday and Rogation Week [*Betsontag und Betwoche*], and also the Cross-Week [*Creutzwoche*]. And in this way the papist invocation of the saints in the litany was first invented by Gregory the Great, and added to the earlier, proper form of the litany. However, when the ancient fathers consider the litany, they say explicitly that in it *only God alone* was prayed to and called upon.<sup>13</sup>

For other reformers, litanic invocations to the Saints could easily be linked to other 'idolatrous' Catholic practices. Calvin's co-religionist Rudolphus Hospinianus (1547–1626), a pastor at Zurich and an active polemicist, wrote extensively on the history of 'litanies, rogations and supplications' in his *De templis: hoc est, de origine, progressu, usu et abusu templorum* (1587).<sup>14</sup> Hospinianus offered a history of supplications and rogations in the early Church, including the institution of the Major Litanies on the feast of St Mark and the Minor Litanies for Rogation Days, but his principal aim was to attack the sanctoral invocations, which, he argued, were not a part of the most ancient litanies, which were appropriately directed to God alone (Praetorius, as we have seen, would echo this viewpoint). Simple commemorations of the Saints, moreover, became direct invocations under Gregory the Great and his successors.<sup>15</sup> Hospinianus took care to associate supplicatory prayer to the Saints with superstitious ceremonies that, he said, the Church adopted from pagan practices; among these were the ringing of bells during processions, done 'so that the demons in the air should flee in terror and desist from their molestation of men . . . and refrain from stirring up storms'.<sup>16</sup> For Hospinianus, litanies, processions and the apotropaic power of bell-ringing were all of a piece, an expression of the magical thinking that had been superseded by Calvin's reformation.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. viii.

<sup>14</sup> Rudolphus Hospinianus, *De templis: hoc est, de origine, progressu, usu et abusu templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad templa pertinentium* (Zurich, 1587). I quote here from the 1603 edition (Zurich), whose section 'De litanii, rogationibus, & supplicationibus' falls on pp. 350–64.

<sup>15</sup> 'Atq[ue] hoc modo ex commemoratione Sanctorum, tandem ad Invocationem eorum devenit. Inprimis autem postquam in publicas Ecclesiae preces Gregoriana forma Invocationis Sanctorum (*S. Maria ora pro nobis*) Lege ab Honorio Papa sancita & recepta esset, sine fine & modo postea progressa est, ut omnia fermè, quae Dei & Christi propria sunt: a Sanctis nominatim & publicè peterentur.' *Ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>16</sup> In this passage Hospinianus cites medieval writings by Guillaume Durand and Jacobus de Voragine, citing the latter as follows: 'Ideò, inquit, Crux in Processione defertur & Campanae pulsantur, ut daemones in ipso aëre existentes territi fugiant, & ab hominum infestatione desistant. Daemones enim, qui sunt in isto aëre caliginoso, vehementer metuunt, quando tubas Christi, scilicet Campanas pulsari sentiunt, & vexilla, id est, Cruces conspiciunt. Et ista dicitur esse ratio, quare Ecclesia Campanas consuevit pulsare, quando tempestates concitari vident: ut scilicet daemones, qui hoc faciunt, tubas aeterni Regis audiant, & sic territi fugiant, & à tempestatis concitatione conquiescant.' *Ibid.*, p. 360.

The Catholic defence of sanctoral veneration, and in turn of the litany, proceeded from the Council of Trent's decree on the intercession of the Saints, issued during the twenty-fifth session in December 1563. Pastors were to teach their flocks that 'the saints who reign together with Christ offer up their prayers to God for men, that it is good and beneficial suppliantly to invoke them and to have recourse to their prayers, assistance and support in order to obtain favors from God through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord'.<sup>17</sup> The Tridentine decrees assured that appeals to the saints, such as those projected by litanies, could be efficacious in heaven, thus laying a foundation for the litany's close identification with Catholic belief and ritual. But the Tridentine dogma of sanctoral intercession also countered still-popular beliefs that the saints could directly work miracles on earth, without any necessary appeal to the Godhead. Catholic apologists, like their Protestant opposites, distinguished worship from veneration in a manner that was very likely lost on the common devotee.<sup>18</sup> Whether they invoked the saints for their powers of intercession, or for their purported ability to exert power on earth, Catholics participated in a sacred economy in which they offered vows, prayers, visits and tangible gifts in exchange for miraculous healings and other good favours.<sup>19</sup>

Insisting that the litany's invocations to the saints did not amount to worship was a key strategy on the part of Catholic writers close to the confessional frontiers of the north. We see this, for example, in the treatise *Lutherana veteris Catholicaeque litaniae correctio* (Würzburg, 1589), penned by a certain *magister* Remigius Dithmar, about whom otherwise little is known.<sup>20</sup> Dithmar attacked the Lutheran revision of the litany and offered a robust defence of its Catholic counterpart in the face of criticism by Calvin, Martin Chemnitz and other Protestant writers. Much of his treatise is given over to a refutation of Protestant 'lies' on the origin and early history of litanies, but of greater interest here is his insistence in the face of Protestant criticism that the litany's invocations are ultimately addressed to God

<sup>17</sup> Quoted from *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H. J. Schroeder (Rockford, Ill., 1978), p. 215.

<sup>18</sup> D. Weinstein and R. M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, 1982), p. 146.

<sup>19</sup> As argued, for example, in P. M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993), esp. pp. 28–9.

<sup>20</sup> Remigius Dithmar, *Lutherana veteris Catholicaeque litaniae correctio, ad gymnasticam incudem, ab erudito artium liberalium Magistro Remigio Dithmaro, vocata* (Würzburg, 1589). Little is known about Dithmar; his brother was Johannes, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Aldersbach, and the dedicatee of this volume.

and not to the persons of the saints. In a chapter on the utility of the litany, Dithmar gives a succinct account of its nature, its proper object and its speakers:

First, concerning those things that pertain to this prayer, the first consideration is to whom is prayed. Truly in litanies it is God alone, the highest and truest author and giver of all graces. Next are the Saints, who pray, and together with us appeal to our and their Highest and Greatest God on our behalf. The second [consideration] is, who prays. In our litanies they are men and Angels, the wretched and the blessed, the Church militant and triumphant. The third [consideration] is what is to be prayed for. In litanies this is variable. Appeals are made for good things of all kinds, divine and human: spiritual and bodily, public and private. The fourth [consideration] is on whose behalf it is to be prayed. Prayers are made for the living and the dead, for religious and secular [clergy], for princes and their subjects, for the well and the sick, for those here and absent, for friends and enemies. The fifth [consideration] is the manner of prayer. In litanies many methods are used by those who would succeed in their appeals. God is prayed to as God absolute, and in His distinct persons; or to each singular person individually; or to all of them together at once, but indicating the distinction in persons, and the unity of their essence.<sup>21</sup>

Later in his treatise Dithmar returns to the proper object of litanic prayer, refuting specific ‘lies’ by Luther, Calvin, Chemnitz and the *Magdeburg Centuries* – the great church history penned by a group of Lutheran theologians led by Mathias Flacius – by pleading ‘we say to God: *Miserere nobis*, and to the Saints: *Orate pro nobis*. How can this be idolatry? Surely it is not permitted to say to God: *sancte Deus, ora pro nobis?*’<sup>22</sup>

With its careful distinction between worship and invocation, Dithmar’s treatise proved to be influential: in fact it was reprinted in its entirety as an appendix to the Ingolstadt Jesuit Caspar Keller’s *Litaniae Catholicae: ad Christum, Beatam Virginem, et Sanctos* (Ingolstadt, 1589), a compendium of various litany texts, and as the first part of the Jesuit theologian Nicolaus Serarius’s *Litaneutici, seu de litaniiis libelli duo* (Cologne, 1609).<sup>23</sup> In turn, Dithmar’s arguments favouring

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> ‘At Deo dicimus: *Miserere nobis*; Sanctis: *Orate pro nobis*. Hoccine idololatria? Nunquid Deo dicere liceat; *sancte Deus, ora pro nobis?*’ *Ibid.*, sig. B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Keller, in his *Litaniae Catholicae: ad Christum, Beatam Virginem, et Sanctos: earum catalogum proxima post praefationem pagella continet. Accessit litaniarum Catholicarum a corruptelis et calumniis sectariorum vindicatio* (Ingolstadt, 1589), acknowledges in his index that this ‘Defensio Litaniarum Catholicaru[m]’ was ‘issued not long ago in Würzburg’ (‘non ita pridem Herbipoli edita’), without naming Dithmar as the author. Serarius, in his *Litaneutici, seu de Litaniiis. Libelli Duo: In quorum Priore monstratur earum natura & fructus, haereticaeque perinepta earundem correctio. In Postiore de iisdem, & Sanctis, eorumque invocatione multiplices tractantur quaestiones* (Cologne, 1609), acknowledges neither Dithmar nor

prayer to the saints as mediators were explored in broader south-German treatises on sanctoral invocation, such as *De sanctorum invocatione* by the Jesuit Petrus Thyraeus and the Scottish Benedictine Francis Hamilton (Würzburg, 1596), and the *Quaestiones de sanctis, eorumque invocatione, ac litanis, variae* by Serarius and the Dominican friar Johannes Zittard (Mainz, 1608), a tract that would become the second part of Serarius's *Litaneutici* one year later.<sup>24</sup> We need not be detained here further by these authors who, like Dithmar, argue for the efficacy of the saints' intercession without attributing divinity to them. Whether such fine theological distinctions had any purchase with common devotees who recited and sang litanies in Catholic rituals is debatable, and indeed it was their tendency to conflate invocation with worship that motivated Protestant critiques in the first place.

Published Catholic defences of the litany went hand in hand with a profusion of different litany texts, ranging from the more traditional sanctoral litanies to those honouring the Virgin Mary, the Eucharist and the Name of Jesus. The most notable trend is the emergence of Marian litanies as the dominant form, related in part to Mary's seeming intercession in the European wars against the Turks, notably at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.<sup>25</sup> The principal object of devotion was, of course, the Holy House of Loreto on Italy's Adriatic coast. According to legend, the house of Mary's birth at Nazareth, threatened by advancing Turkish armies, had been miraculously transported by angels first to Dalmatia in 1291 and then to its present spot in 1294. In subsequent centuries an active pilgrimage emerged at this site, which received bulls in its favour by Sixtus IV in 1484 and by Julius II, whose *In sublimia* of 1507 officially sanctioned the legend of the Holy House's translation.<sup>26</sup> The arrival of the Jesuits in 1554 to assume the duties of pastoral care at Loreto led to an upsurge in devotional culture there, and it is no accident that the Jesuits would be primarily responsible for the subsequent spread of the Loreto cult. Within a few decades of

Keller as the source for the first part of his book. On Serarius, see Kendrick's discussion in "Honore a dio", pp. 21–4.

<sup>24</sup> Cited here are Petrus Thyraeus and Francis Hamilton, *De sanctorum invocatione* (Würzburg, 1596), and Nicolaus Serarius and Johannes Zittard, *Quaestiones de sanctis, eorumque invocatione, ac litanis, variae* (Mainz, 1608).

<sup>25</sup> Her role in the Christian victory over the Turkish navy at Lepanto in 1571 was a signal event, and led to the inclusion of the invocation 'Auxilium Christianorum' as a standard title in the Litany of Loreto. See Roth, *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen*, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> C. L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988), p. 42. On Sixtus IV's patronage of the shrine, see R. Goffen, 'Friar Sixtus IV and the Sistine Chapel', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1986), p. 229.

Lepanto, architectural copies of the Holy House soon sprang up in many cities and rural areas – particularly in the Catholic lands of southern Germany, Austria and Bohemia – and became active pilgrimage centres in their own right. Early copies were constructed by Anton Fugger, scion of the wealthy Augsburg banking dynasty, at Hainhof in 1572, and by Ferdinand II of Tyrol in the Haller Au in 1589, but their rapid profusion began only after the turn of the century, and especially from the 1630s to 1675, a period that coincided with the dissemination of the Jesuit Wilhelm von Gumppenberg's influential *Atlas Marianus*, a comprehensive catalogue and description of Marian cultic sites throughout the world.<sup>27</sup> By the early seventeenth century there was little question in this region of the prestige and dominance of the Marian cult, which now overshadowed sanctoral and Eucharistic shrines of an older vintage.

At the same time the so-called Litany of Loreto became the most widespread litany used in Catholic Europe.<sup>28</sup> It was associated with the Loreto shrine by 1558, the year that the Jesuit father and writer Peter Canisius had it printed in Dillingen for circulation in the south German orbit; by 1560, again at Canisius's insistence, it was in use at the Jesuit college in Prague.<sup>29</sup> By the end of the century its text had far outstripped other types in popularity, and it was one of only three litanies – the Litany of Loreto, the Litany of All Saints and the Litany of the Name of Jesus – that were officially retained for use by Clement VIII in his 1601 constitution *Sanctissimus*.<sup>30</sup> As we shall see, the Litany of Loreto gained further ground in southern Germany through its promotion not only by the Jesuits, but also by the Bavarian dukes, who emerged as the principal state supporters of the Catholic cause north of the Alps in the years leading up to the Thirty Years

<sup>27</sup> Wilhelm Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus, sive de imaginibus Deiparae per orbem christianum miraculosis* (Ingolstadt, 1657). On the reception of the Loreto cult in the Bavarian region see W. Pözl, 'Volksfrömmigkeit', in W. Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, ii: *Von der Glaubensspaltung bis zur Säkularisation* (St. Ottilien, 1993), pp. 895–902. The network of Loreto shrines in the north is discussed in Pözl, 'Loreto in Bayern', *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 2 (1979), pp. 187–218.

<sup>28</sup> On the popularity of the Loretan text generally, which was due not only to the eponymous pilgrimage but also the text's relative brevity and symmetry, see Kendrick, "Honore a dio", pp. 38–42.

<sup>29</sup> *Ordnung der Letaney von unser lieben Frawen, wie sy zu Loreto alle Samstag gehalten wird* (Dillingen, 1558). See discussion in Pözl, 'Volksfrömmigkeit', 895. Canisius's efforts to introduce the Loretan litany in the north are discussed in N. Paulus, 'Die Einführung der lauretanischen Litanei in Deutschland durch den seligen Petrus Canisius', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 26 (1902), pp. 574–600. The earlier history of Marian litanies is the subject of A. de Santi, *Les Litanies de la Sainte Vierge: Étude historique et critique* (Paris, 1900).

<sup>30</sup> Kendrick, "Honore a dio", pp. 17–18.

War. Despite the triumph of the Litany of Loreto, there is considerable evidence that a variety of litany forms were and remained popular, particularly in the northern Catholic lands.<sup>31</sup> Three years before *Sanctissimus*, for example, we find a *Thesaurus litaniarum ac orationum sacer, cum suis adversus Sectarios Apologijs* (Brussels, 1598) by the Jesuit priest Thomas Saily, dedicated to Don Francisco de Mendoza, the commander of cavalry forces in the Spanish Netherlands. An explicitly confessional document, Saily's *Thesaurus* contains a wide variety of better- and lesser-known litany texts, which are distributed through a succession of daily meditations through the week.<sup>32</sup> In the German Catholic heartland, we also find a published collection of litany texts issued in 1600 by none other than Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, who had recently abdicated his position in favour of his son Maximilian I and now retired to a life of pious devotion and charity. Wilhelm's *Fasciculus sacrarum litaniarum ex sanctis scripturis et patribus*, a volume that would be reprinted at least five times before 1620, does indeed contain the Litany of Loreto and the Marian litany *ex sacra scriptura* (with Marian titles based strictly on biblical verses), but these are embedded in a lengthy series of thirty-two litanies directed also to God the Father, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, St Michael, the Holy Angels and various categories of saints and martyrs; notably we find also a 'Litany for Germany, to the German Saints' and a 'Litany to the Saints Militant in Time of War', echoing the overt militancy of Saily's *Thesaurus*.<sup>33</sup> Wilhelm's gesture of publicising a litany collection was certainly intended as a conspicuous symbol of Wittelsbach piety, but like Victorinus's *Thesaurus litaniarum* it also promoted the utility of the litany as a devotional and confessional tool.

#### THE LITANY AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN COUNTER- REFORMATION GERMANY

The specific aural forms taken by the litany in Catholic devotion and ritual show a remarkable diversity, ranging along an aural spectrum from the spoken word to heightened recitation, to chant, to

<sup>31</sup> Roth, in *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen*, pp. 30–51, offers a taxonomy of five major litany types, some variants of which were not entirely dogmatic and reflected varying theological conceptions. These include litanies for All Saints, the Litany of Loreto, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary *ex sacra scriptura*, the Litany of the Name of Jesus and the Litany of the Venerable Sacrament.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Saily, *Thesaurus litaniarum ac orationum sacer. Cum suis adversus Sectarios Apologijs* (Brussels, 1598).

<sup>33</sup> Wilhelm V of Bavaria, *Fasciculus sacrarum litaniarum ex sanctis scripturis et patribus* (Munich, 1600), with later editions (Munich, 1602; Dillingen, 1606; Munich, 1607; Augsburg, 1614; Munich, 1618).

rudimentary polyphony and to elaborate polyphonic compositions for trained choirs. This wide range of expressions implies a range of practices as well. Apart from standard liturgical prescriptions for the feast of St Mark and Rogation Days – and, beginning in 1615, for Compline on the feast of the Immaculate Conception – the litany was often performed in churches on Saturday evenings, at least on the vigils of Marian feasts; at public and confraternal devotions; during Sacramental devotions; during the course of private spiritual exercises; and in public processions, to name a few contexts.<sup>34</sup> Much of the initial impetus for the expansion of litanic practice was due to the Jesuits, whose introduction of litanies on Saturday evenings in Lent at the German College in Rome in 1583 was soon imitated at other Jesuit colleges and sympathetic courts.<sup>35</sup> North of the Alps, the prestige of the litany was enhanced by a miraculous occurrence at the Jesuit college in Ingolstadt in April 1604. It was during the Saturday devotions of the Marian Colloquy (*Colloquium Marianum*), led by Father Jakob Rem, that the following episode took place:

It was the 6th of April when, as the Marian Colloquists were gathered together as customary, the musicians sang passages from the Litany of Loreto. Father Jakob occupied his customary place in a corner of the oratory, meditating on the titles of the great Queen of Heaven, seeking to understand which of these would be most pleasing to the Divine Mother. And behold! As the musicians enunciated those words: *Mater admirabilis* [Wondrous Mother], the Virgin appeared in a vision surrounded by celestial light, instructing [him] that she was best pleased by that praise. His most ardent spirit could not contain his joy at Mary's glory. Suddenly he sprang up from his corner into the middle [of the chapel], exclaiming to the rest – who wondered at such insolence – that they should all redouble their voices [and sing] *Mater admirabilis* three times, seeing how pleasing this appellation was to the Mother. Without delay they obeyed: thrice did they repeat this phrase, and from that time forward it was always said three times in the litany by the Colloquists, and the name *Mater ter admirabilis* was attached to the whole assembly.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Blazey, in 'The Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy', pp. 16–17 and 27, discusses the various functions of the Litany of Loreto in the seventeenth century, ranging from performance after Compline in the newly approved (1615) Office of the Immaculate Conception, to various forms of para-liturgical and non-liturgical observance.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17. The Saturday litanies were one part of a vibrant musical culture cultivated at the German College, particularly under the rectorship of Michele Lauretano (1573–87) and the musical leadership of Tomás Luis de Victoria (c. 1573–c. 1577), Francesco Martini (c. 1577–c. 1578) and Annibale Stabile (c. 1578–c. 1591), who was a prolific composer of polyphonic litany settings. On music at the German College see esp. T. D. Culley, SJ, *Jesuits and Music, i: A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, 2; Rome and St. Louis, 1970), esp. pp. 25–94.

<sup>36</sup> Reported in Adam Flotto, *Historia Provinciae Societatis Jesu Germaniae Superioris. Ab Anno 1601 ad 1610* (Augsburg, 1734), p. 190.

Litanies soon became common at public Jesuit celebrations as well, such as the final consecration of the Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich in 1597, for which sanctoral litanies in both Latin and German were printed for public consumption.<sup>37</sup> By the middle of the following century, the Munich Jesuits embedded litany recitations into an elaborate ritual practice: when litanies were to be performed on Saturdays, two burning candles flanked the priest at the altar, whose introductory prayers were followed by the Litany of Loreto and an antiphon (probably one of the seasonal Marian antiphons); on other days of the week, a motet would follow the recitation of the Litany of the Saints. The Litany of the Name of Jesus, on the other hand, was prescribed for sacramental expositions during the Octave of Corpus Christi.<sup>38</sup>

A close association between litanies and processions may be found in numerous Catholic mandates for public supplications, which were often performed on occasions of external threats. The imperial wars against the Turks, which reached a critical stage by the mid-1590s, were especially invoked as a justification for these ceremonies. Indeed Bishop Neidhart von Thüngen of Bamberg took the step of publishing a separate *Ritus cantandi et legendi Litanias in Ciuitate et Dioecesi Bambergen[sis]* in August 1594 ‘for the expedition against the Turks’, a booklet that contained additions to the Litany of all Saints calling on God to confound the Turks and to provide assistance to the emperor, the bishop and those under his authority.<sup>39</sup> In Bavaria, Duke Wilhelm V and his brother, Bishop Ernst of Freising, issued mandates around the same time that deployed litanies together with processions and other prayers to counter the Turkish threat.<sup>40</sup> The rising hazard of confessional military conflict within the empire itself after 1610 also compelled such mandates, where we find varied combinations of

<sup>37</sup> *Litaniae novae. Ad Deum et eos praecipue Sanctos, quorum memoriae vel reliquiae in basilica nova S. Michaelis Archangeli honorifice seruantur. Additae sunt notae breuiusculae, sive ad maiorem de Sanctis illis notitiam, sive ad augendam pietatem* (Munich, 1597); and the *Neue Letaney Zu Gott vnd denen Heyligen, als freunden Gottes, welcher Gedächtnuß, Reliquien vnd Heyligthumb, in der newgeweychten Kirchen deß H. Ertzengels vnnnd Himmelfürsten Michaelis, nach uraltem Catholischen brauch demütig verehret vnd herrlich auffbehalten werden* (Munich, 1597).

<sup>38</sup> Described in Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München [hereafter BayHStA], Jesuitica 39, ‘De ritibus ecclesiasticis Soc. Jesu’, pp. 95–9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ritus cantandi et legendi Litanias in Ciuitate et Dioecesi Bambergen[sis]: tempore expeditionis contra Turcam* (Bamberg, 1594).

<sup>40</sup> For examples, see mandates by Duke Wilhelm V, 12 Nov. 1593 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München [hereafter BSB], Kloeckeliana 21/19); and by the Bishop of Freising, Ernst of Bavaria, 23 June 1595 (Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, Generalien, 23 June 1595).



processions, litanies and extended Sacramental devotions like the Ten- or Forty-Hour Prayer.<sup>41</sup>

The link between the performance of Marian litanies and Catholic military fortunes remained firm in the German-speaking areas affected by the Thirty Years War. In 1638, the Swedish armies having withdrawn from the southern German theatre, Maximilian I of Bavaria erected a massive column in the main square, crowned by a statue of the Virgin Mary with child. Throngs of Catholics soon were processing to this so-called *Mariensäule* to offer their prayers to the Virgin, often taking the form of Marian litanies. In May 1639 the local bishop felt compelled to write to the dean of the church of Unsere Liebe Frau to complain that too many litanies were being sung at once on Saturdays, often extending well into the night. From now on, he instructs, only a single litany should be performed on Saturday evenings, presumably by the trained musicians Unsere Liebe Frau.<sup>42</sup> By August of that year we know that singers and musicians from that church, from the parish of St Peter and from the electoral court were being paid annually for performing polyphonic litanies before the column.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the principal obligation of the so-called 'Marianische Compagnie U. L. Frauen Säulen auf dem Platz allhier zu München', founded by lay devotees in 1680, was to sing the Litany of Loreto before the column every Thursday, accompanied by paid singers and instrumentalists.<sup>44</sup> At least for the next hundred years, polyphonic litanies to the Virgin would provide a regular sonic backdrop to the commanding presence of this golden statue in the centre of the capital, the symbolic centre of the duchy as a whole.

<sup>41</sup> Examples of such mandates include that of Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, 29 May 1610 (exemplar in BSB, 2 Bavar. 960 III 39); that of Bishop Heinrich V von Knöringen of Augsburg, 9 June 1619 (exemplar in BayHStA, Geistlicher Rat 1209/18); and that reported by Munich court altist Johannes Hellgemayr in his diary for 11 May 1631 (BSB, Oefeliana 160, p. 54). A modern edition of Hellgemayr's diary may be found in H. Leuchtman, 'Zeitgeschichtliche Aufzeichnungen des Bayerischen Kapellaltisten Johannes Hellgemayr 1595–1633: Ein Beitrag zur Münchner Stadt- und Musikgeschichte', *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte*, 100 (1975), pp. 142–221.

<sup>42</sup> BayHStA, GL 2708/569, cited in M. Schattenhofer, *Die Mariensäule in München* (Munich, 1970), pp. 31–6; G. P. Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica: Wallfahrt, Prozession und Ex voto-Gabe im Hause Wittelsbach in Ettal, Wessobrunn, Allötting und der Landeshauptstadt München von der Gegenreformation bis zur Säkularisation und der 'Renovatio Ecclesiae'* (Weißhorn, 1992), p. 80; and P. Steiner, *Altmünchner Gnadenstätten: Wallfahrt und Volksfrömmigkeit im kurfürstlichen München* (Munich, 1977), p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> BayHStA, GL 2708/568 (for 13 Aug. 1639; see also Schattenhofer, *Die Mariensäule in München*, p. 32 n. 35); also BayHStA, Hofzahlamtsrechnungen for 1639, 1640, 1641, 1643, 1646, 1647, 1648 and 1649.

<sup>44</sup> Schattenhofer, *Die Mariensäule in München*, pp. 33–4.

The litany was most fundamentally connected, however, with the motion and the definition of space. Litanies were among the most characteristic sound of processions, whether circumnavigating an urban environment or projecting through the rural landscapes of pilgrimage. Their repetitive, rhythmic profile, coordinated with the rhythms of breathing and walking, not simply expressed motion but induced it as well: they articulated lengthy journeys, helping to pace the procession and impel bodies through space. The litany had dogmatic textual elements, but its lengthy repetitions also evoke what the anthropologist Stanley J. Tambiah has described as the 'redundant' character of ritual speech that can lead to altered states of consciousness, opening the door to a sense of not only communal harmony but also divine presence.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, the most common forms of litanies were relatively simple in musical dress, limiting luxurious counterpoint in favour of a sharply honed rhythmic profile. Litanies traced sacred space with sound, but they also expressed social hierarchies by exploiting spatial distinctions. As post-Tridentine processions were increasingly subject to clerical and official control, they were gradually more organised to reflect hierarchies of social standing and gender: this meant a clear physical separation of clergy from laity and men from women; confraternities, too, marked by special dress and accessories like banners and pilgrims' staves, marched separately from the general laity. The ebb and flow between the litany's clerical invocations and lay responses not only underlined these distinctions in authority, but also dramatised the different physical positions of these actors in space. As we shall see, during the peak of the genre's prominence in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, composers would resort to various means to represent these spatial qualities of the litany.

The provocative quality of processional litanies is especially evident in northern regions of mixed confession, where Catholic apologists foregrounded the role of litanies in processions and deployed a panoply of historical examples, extending back to the early centuries of the Christian church, to defend them against Protestant critiques; we see this clearly, for example, in *De Catholicae Ecclesiae processionibus seu supplicationibus* (Ingolstadt, 1606) by the Ingolstadt Jesuit theologian Jakob Gretser (1562–1625), as well as in the *Sacri peripatetici, sive de sacris ecclesiae Catholicae processionibus* (Cologne, 1607), by the aforementioned Nicolaus Serarius.<sup>46</sup> By this time litanies were

<sup>45</sup> See S. J. Tambiah, *A Performative Approach to Ritual* (London, 1981), pp. 140–1.

<sup>46</sup> See Jakob Gretser, *De sacris et religiosis peregrinationibus libri quatuor. Eiusdem de Catholicae Ecclesiae processionibus seu supplicationibus libri duo. Quibus adiuncti: de voluntaria flagellorum*

probably a common sound in the Catholic processions that began to wind their way through cities of mixed confession like Augsburg, Regensburg and Donauwörth. Augmented by songs, trumpeting, drumming and even gunfire, these processions projected a militant Catholicism designed to reinforce the identity of Catholics and strike apprehension into the hearts of Protestants, even those not directly viewing the spectacle.<sup>47</sup> Processions themselves had already been the target of Protestant critics beginning with Luther himself, who railed against the frivolity and misconduct of Rogationtide processions as early as 1519;<sup>48</sup> but the aural projection of intercessory prayer in the form of litanies added a new and theologically troubling dimension. Litanies were surely among the sights and sounds that led members of the Lutheran majority in the city of Donauwörth to physically attack a St Mark's day procession in the year 1606, an infamous episode later dubbed the *Fahnenschlacht* ('Battle of the Banners') that ultimately led to Bavarian occupation and the city's loss of its free imperial status.<sup>49</sup> We are not precisely informed of the sounds and music in this procession, but litanies figure more prominently in a Lutheran account from Augsburg in 1598, when the Catholic party used the occasion of the imperial reconquest of the Hungarian city

*cruce, seu de disciplinarum usu libri tres* (Ingolstadt, 1606), esp. ch. 9, pp. 56–64, attacking the arguments of the aforementioned Calvinist theologian Rudolphus Hospinianus in his *De templis, hoc est, de origine, progressu, usu et abusu templorum*, p. 350 ff. See also Nikolaus Serarius, *Sacri peripatetici, sive de sacris ecclesiae Catholicae processionibus* (Cologne, 1607), pp. 124–72.

<sup>47</sup> On the role of litanies in Italian processions see, for example, N. O'Regan, 'Processions and their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome', *Revercare*, 4 (1992), pp. 52–69; C. Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan* (Aldershot, 2005), esp. p. 254; and R. L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (Oxford and New York, 2002), esp. pp. 142–5.

<sup>48</sup> Luther, 'On Rogationtide Prayer and Procession', trans. M. H. Bertram, in *Luther's Works: American Edition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), xlii, pp. 83–93.

<sup>49</sup> On the Donauwörth *Fahnenschlacht* and its consequences see esp. F. Stieve, *Der Kampf um Donauwörth im Zusammenhange der Reichsgeschichte* (Munich, 1875). In his chronicle of Augsburg (c. 1640) Reginbald Möhner, a Benedictine monk from the basilica of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, writes that litanies would have been an expected part of the traditional Catholic processions in Donauwörth, processions that until 1606 had to be conducted with great modesty due to Lutheran resistance. Möhner writes: 'Donawertenses quoque qui Evangelici videri volebunt, contra expressam Religionis pacem notebant pati, ut Catholici in eo urbe constituti diebus Rogationum, iuxta antiquissimum Ecclesiae verae ritum cum Crucibus et vexillis Litanias decantantes publicè procederent.' From Möhner, 'Annales Augustani', *Archiv des Bistums Augsburg*, Hs 52, ii, p. 1268. We are informed by a later chronicler of the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross in Donauwörth, Cölestin Königsdorfer, that the procession was accompanied by a 'Schaar junger Musiker in Linnen gekleidet', but their repertory is not described. See his *Geschichte des Klosters zum Heil. Kreuz in Donauwörth . . . Zweiter Band. Vom Jahre 1518 bis 1648* (Donauwörth, 1825), ii, p. 271.

of Győr [Raab] from the Ottoman Turks as a pretext to extend their processions into Protestant areas of the city. Writing to his co-religionist Georg Cuno, Stadtschreiber of Donauwörth, the Protestant councillor Werner Seutter complained bitterly of the litanies that sounded in the streets of Augsburg:

Our [Catholic] clergy here introduce one novelty after another. Last Sunday, between our sermons in the morning, they held a very long procession from the cathedral to St Ulrich's cloister, against tradition, with their idolatrous song *ora pro nobis*, and created much bad will and annoyance. The fault lies with the emperor, the Catholic city councillors and even the princes [of the empire]. Patience. For such idolatrous praise for the taking of the fortress and city of Raab will not scatter the Turks, but rather awaken God's great wrath against us.<sup>50</sup>

For Seutter and other Protestant auditors in this divided city the litany, invoking sanctoral intercession in its distinctive interplay of titles and petitions, must have seemed a provocative gesture.

Processional litanies in public spaces lent a distinctively Catholic sonic profile to urban areas, but they traced the sonic geography of rural areas as well. Pilgrimage was a venerable popular phenomenon that was successfully appropriated by religious elites in the service of a confessionalist programme, and by the early eighteenth century hundreds of thousands of pilgrims were making their way annually to prominent shrines in the southern German and Austrian orbit. The Bavarian and Swabian regions were particularly rich in Marian pilgrimage shrines, including the 'Black Madonna' of Altötting – an object of especial devotion by the Bavarian Wittelsbachs – and, as we have seen, a series of copies of the Holy House of Loreto. The litany was a common sonic component of pilgrimage to these holy places: its impressive length, simplicity and rhythmic ebb and flow lent it especially well to coordinate with breath and step over long distances.<sup>51</sup> As a form of oral culture above all, litanies proved to be remarkably useful in a context of mixed literacy: while a cleric or singing-leader (*Vorsänger*) sang the constantly changing titles of the divine object, commoners could participate in the collective responses (*ora pro nobis*, *Bitt für uns*) without the aid of written texts or notation. More profoundly, the litany's traditional association with processional motion meant that its sounds both pushed bodies through space and

<sup>50</sup> Werner Seutter to Georg Cuno, Stadtschreiber of Donauwörth, 6 Apr. 1598. BayHStA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 352, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> See C. A. Spaemann, 'Wallfahrtslieder', in L. Kriss-Rettenbeck and G. Möhler (eds.), *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen: Themen zu einer Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins, München* (Munich, 1984), p. 181.

projected Catholic ideas of sanctoral intercession, as pilgrims in their collective responses of ‘pray for us’ requested the same aid that they hoped to enjoy at the shrine itself. In this way the litany became an aural medium that traced a Catholic spiritual geography such as that evoked in Gumpfenberg’s *Atlas Marianus*.

Monophonic recitation or singing was certainly the most common mode of performance for litanies in pilgrimage, but simple polyphonic litanies could have been negotiated under way by more musically adept amateurs. One index to this is the *Litaniae textus triplex*, a 1582 print by the Augsburg cathedral vicar Johann Haym von Themar, who offered a series of litanies ‘for the use of sodalities and fraternities going here and there to holy places: and indeed first [for the use] of the Fraternity of the Holy Mountain (known commonly as Andechs) in Bavaria, at the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Augsburg’.<sup>52</sup> Haym sets the long series of titles in what is essentially *falsobordone*, mimicking an increasingly common performance practice for Office psalmody at the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> These are followed by short cadential figures for the responses (Example 1). In order to sing these litanies, confreres marching to Andechs or other shrines would only have had to memorise a short, formulaic phrase in their preferred vocal register, which could be repeated for as many titles and petitions as one wished. The collection presumes, naturally, that the singers would have been capable of singing rudimentary polyphony, which suggests that more than a few members of post-Tridentine confraternities possessed such skills.<sup>54</sup> Schematic litanies such as these are

<sup>52</sup> ‘In usum sodalitatum ac fraternitatum, ad loca sancta hinc inde peregrinantium: In primis verò Fraternitatis montis Sancti (vulgo Andechs appellati) in Bavaria, apud Cathedralem Ecclesiam Beatæ Mariæ virginis Augustæ Vindellicorum.’ From Johannes Haym von Themar, *Litaniae, textus triplex. I. De dulcissimo nomine Iesu. II. De Beata Maria semper virgine. III. De omnibus sanctis, quibus singulis praefixa est quadruplex harmonia quatuor vocibus composita. Addita est in fine pulchra quaedam compositio, supra antiphonam, Regina coeli laetare, &c.* (Augsburg, 1582); RISM A/1, H4905.

<sup>53</sup> On the history and practice of *falsobordone* in this period see esp. M. C. Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone: A Study in Renaissance and Baroque Music* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1978). Unlike Haym, note that Georg Victorinus in his *Thesaurus litaniarum* (see below) prefers to render *falsobordone* passages in empty *maximae* rather than in mensural notation.

<sup>54</sup> In a similar vein are the handful of simple polyphonic litanies included by Valentin Schlindel in his *Catholisches Gesangbuch, in Kirchen, zu Hauß, in Processionibus vnd Kirchfahrten, gar hailam: nützlich, löblich, vnd andächtiglich zugebrauchen* (Munich, 1631); RISM B/VIII, 1631<sup>06</sup>. Schlindel’s polyphonic litanies are not entirely orthodox from a liturgical perspective: we find a five-voice litany that substitutes for the opening Kyrie the prayer ‘Exaudi Domine preces nostras’ and an eight-voice Marian litany whose concluding Agnus Dei is followed by verses from the medieval sequence *Ave praeclara maris stella*. Both in a rudimentary, mostly chordal style, they sandwich an even more schematic set of ‘Lytaniae vulgares’ whose four voices remain constricted to as narrow a

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Example 1 Johannes Haym, Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from *Litaniae textus triplex* (Augsburg, 1582)

San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro - no - bis.

San - cta De - i ge - ni - trix, o - ra pro - no - bis.  
 San - cta vir - go vir - gi - num,  
 Ma - ter Chri - sti,  
 [etc.]

perhaps the most vivid demonstration that the genre of the litany, to use Kendrick’s formulation, ‘democratised’ the honour accorded to God and His saints by allowing the widest variety of voices, both skilled and unskilled, to participate in their invocation.<sup>55</sup>

Given the litany’s formulaic character and liminal position between oral and written culture, monophonic versions were seldom transmitted in contemporary Catholic songbooks. These, however, otherwise contain large numbers of pilgrimage songs that often depend on the litany for their refrain structures and subject matter. A number of suitable examples can be found, for instance, in *Ein new Rueff-Büchlein, Von Etlichen sonderbaren Catholischen Wahlfahrten-Gesängen*, published at Straubing by Andre Sommer in 1607.<sup>56</sup> The *Rueff-Büchlein* contains no litanies per se; but songs like the following, in honour of St Benno, whose remains were venerated at the parish church of Unsere Liebe Frau in Munich, show a clearly litanic structure:

Ihr lieben Christen singet her/  
 Frew dich S. Benno/

Dear Christians, come and sing,  
 Rejoice, Saint Benno,

range as possible, making the setting accessible to singers with elementary skills, and highly suitable for performance while under way.

<sup>55</sup> Kendrick, “‘Honore a dio’”, 46.

<sup>56</sup> *Ein new Rueff-Büchlein, Von Etlichen sonderbaren Catholischen Wahlfahrten-Gesängen, so Gott, seiner lieben Mutter, vnd dem heyligen Sacramenten deß Altars zu Ehren, gemacht, vnd füglich zum Preiß GOTTES mögen gesungen werden* (Straubing, 1607).

*Thesaurus litaniarum*

Zu Gottes und Sanct Bennons Ehr/ Alleluia/ Bitt Gott für uns Sanct Benno.	In honour of God and Saint Benno, Alleluia, Pray to God for us, Saint Benno.
Wer Sanct Benno gewesen sey/ Frew dich S. Benno/ Das wöllen wir jetzt singen frey/ Alleluia/ Bitt Gott für uns Sanct Benno.	Of who Saint Benno was, Rejoice, Saint Benno, We wish now to sing, Alleluia, Pray to God for us, Saint Benno.
Darnach wöllen wir ruffen an/ Frew dich S. Benno/ Mit Andacht den heyligen Mann/ Alleluia/ Bitt Gott für uns Sanct Benno.	Therefore we wish to call, Rejoice, Saint Benno, With devotion, to this holy man, Alleluia, Pray to God for us, Saint Benno.

...

...

*Ihr lieben Christen singet her* extends in this source to eighty-nine stanzas, typifying the manner in which pilgrimage songs narrated the histories and salvific properties of pilgrimage shrines in luxurious detail. Regular collective responses such as ‘pray for us’ or ‘Lord, have mercy’ suggest that clerics or singing-leaders presented the varied lines of the poems in the manner of a litanic invocation, while the laity responded in a regular fashion that required only that they memorise a short melodic and textual phrase. Sommer’s *Rüeff-Büchlein* was but one example of many contemporary Catholic books that offered vernacular pilgrimage songs with strong litanic associations.<sup>57</sup>

Stories of the litany’s power to effect miracles, many of which were reported by the Jesuits, may have enhanced the form’s popularity in pilgrimages and in devotional contexts more broadly. In his pilgrimage manual for the Marian shrine of Altötting, *Unser liebe Fraw zu Alten Oetting* (Ingolstadt, 1571), Martin Eisengrein relates a fascinating tale involving the litany. Early in 1571 members of the noble Fugger family of Augsburg departed for Altötting with one of their ladies-in-waiting, one Anna von Bernhausen, who was thought to have been possessed by demons. The famous Jesuit priest

<sup>57</sup> Notable examples may be seen, for example, in the *Schöne Christenliche Catholisch Weinnächt oder Kindtleß wiegen Gesang* (Augsburg, 1590; RISM B/VIII, 1590<sup>05</sup>) by the aforementioned Johann Haym von Themar; and in the aforementioned *Catholisches Gesangbuch* of Valentin Schlindel (1631). In these cases the litanic nature of pilgrimage songs follows partly from the deployment of frankly intercessory texts, but also of characteristic refrain structures.

Peter Canisius was to conduct the exorcism in the presence of the famed 'Black Madonna'. Upon arrival the first order of business was the performance of a polyphonic litany in the pilgrimage chapel before retiring for the evening: 'As soon as they had dismounted from the carriage', Eisengrein writes, 'and in order to make a good beginning in God's name, they immediately entered the holy chapel of Our Lady, where the wondrous Litany of the Blessed Virgin of Loreto was piously sung in polyphony; and then, after it was finished, they returned to their quarters.'<sup>58</sup>

In the actual exorcism of Anna von Bernhausen that began the following day, the litany demonstrated its thaumaturgical power:

Then Herr Canisius in a loud voice proclaimed the confession, the Our Father, Ave Maria and other fine prayers, and all who were there answered him. But when they began to piously pray the litany of Our Lady all together, the demon soon began to quiver and could not bear hearing the words 'Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, pray to God for us'. And the maid, too, said these words clearly. [The demon] wished it not and thereupon cast the poor person down to the floor. Then Herr Fugger took the maid in his arms and placed her in his lap before the altar. On his right side was Herr Canisius and on the left Frau Fugger with another priest, and they all held her tight.<sup>59</sup>

Upon conclusion of the litany Canisius commanded the demon to leave her, but the exorcism could not be completed until the second day. On that day, too, the litany proved its power to torment the demons possessing the poor maid's body:

Then all who attended this action responded to Herr Canisius in several Christian prayers and the litany. But the wretched demon again could not tolerate them saying 'Holy Virgin Mary, pray to God for us', and since they persisted in saying this despite [the demon's] anger, he grew wrathful and with a great cry tossed the maid backward, who had been kneeling next to Frau Fugger.<sup>60</sup>

Eisengrein's remarkable account of this successful exorcism encouraged reactions from both sides of the confessional divide. His focus on the Marian intercession projected by the litany drew fire, for example, from the Strasbourg theologian Johannes Marbach, who responded that that repetitious prayers by pilgrims like the rosary or the litany must be a sign of demon worship, for only a demon could

<sup>58</sup> Martin Eisengrein, *Unser liebe Fraw zu Alten Oetting. Das ist, Von der Uralten Capellen unser Lieben Frawen unnd dem Für. Stift S. Philip und Jacob zu Alten Oetting: Was auch von den vilen Wunderzaichen, Haylthumb, Kirchfärten, Creützgängen, Erscheinungen vnd hülf der Hayligen &c. desselben vnd anderer ort, zu halten sey* (Ingolstadt, 1571), fol. 126<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 127<sup>v</sup>-128<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 129<sup>v</sup>-130<sup>r</sup>.



inspire such an outpouring of idolatrous prayer. Attacking the veneration of the Virgin Mary at Altötting, for example, Marbach writes:

Since, in the true faith, the Holy Virgin Mary can neither be prayed to nor called upon without obvious idolatry, and it is in itself a sin to pray to her without [true] faith, it follows on undeniable grounds that to pray to the Virgin Mary in the old chapel of Ötting, and to praise her with the Litany of Loreto, is nothing else in God's sight than repellent idolatry . . . And so the great praises by Eisengrein the Jesuit and all Papists for this fine, wondrous and venerable service, accompanied by many wonders and signs, which is daily celebrated in praise and honour of the Holy Virgin Mary in her chapel at Altötting, with singing and praying of the Litany of Loreto, the reading of the Mass, etc., is nothing more than a horrid and revolting insult to and idolatry before God.<sup>61</sup>

By contrast, Remigius Dithmar, whom we have seen previously defending the litany from Protestant criticism, cited Eisengrein approvingly in his discussion of litanies in exorcisms, adding the following anecdote from the travels of Francis Xavier in Japan:

In our memory and that of our fathers, successful exorcisms of demons from human bodies have been perfected by means of litanies, through divine grace. And indeed the Apostle of Japan, [Francis] Xavier, upon leaving the fortified citadel of a certain prince Hexandonus, left with the new Christians [there] a little book of litanies which, when placed upon the bodies of the sick – of whom Hexandonus despaired – healed many of them. So great is the aid given to Catholics, that this true devotion to such a saving and beneficial supplication, which the sound of the litany requires, merits our attention.<sup>62</sup>

Contemporary rites of exorcism, in fact, affirmed the opinions of Eisengrein and Dithmar. A sanctoral litany is embedded in the opening stages of the first exorcism outlined in Girolamo Menghi's much-reprinted *Flagellum Daemonum* of 1574, where it follows the recitation of passages from the Gospel of John and of Psalm 69, and precedes a further series of prayers and scriptural passages that lead to the exorcism proper. Menghi concludes his manual with a somewhat longer

<sup>61</sup> Johannes Marbach, *Von Mirackeln und Wunderzeichen. Wie man sie auß unnd nach Gottes Wort, für waar oder falsch, erken[n]en soll* (Strasbourg, 1571), sig. q<sup>v</sup>, also cited in Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 136.

<sup>62</sup> Dithmar, *Lutherana veteris Catholicaeque litaniae correctio*, sig. B<sup>v</sup>. In this place Dithmar approvingly cites Eisengrein's *Unser liebe Fraw zu Allen Oetting*, Martin Gervais's *Divina quatuor energumenorum liberatio* (Paris, 1583), and another antagonist of Marbach, the Straubing priest and patron of the local Eucharistic shrine of Deggendorf, Johann Jakob Rabus, who wrote the *Christlicher und wolgegründter Gegenbericht von Mirackeln unnd wunderzaichen . . . Wider die . . . Lesterschrift, welche Joh. Marpach Superint. zu Strassb., wider die wunderwerck der lieben Heyligen Gottes im Papstum . . . hat lassen aussgehen* (Dillingen, 1572). The story of the miraculous litany book left by Francis Xavier was first transmitted in a letter of the Jesuit priest Luis de Almeida in 1562, who visited the said citadel some years after the Jesuit's departure. See James Murdoch, *A History of Japan* (New York, 1964), ii, p. 80, n. 5.

sanctoral litany ‘to be said against storms excited by demons’.<sup>63</sup> By the early seventeenth century the sanctoral litany was prescribed at the opening of the exorcism rite in the new *Rituale Romanum* (1614) and in the widely circulated *Manuale Exorcismorum* (1619) by Maximilian von Eynatten, cathedral canon at Antwerp; the prayer was to be recited by the genuflecting exorcist, with responses provided by others present. Von Eynatten, moreover, adds supplementary Litanies of Loreto and of All Saints for those exorcists who choose to use them, and, like Menghi, calls for the sanctoral litany in a special rite against storms caused by demonic forces.<sup>64</sup> Although a litany does not form a part of the actual prayer that effects the exorcism itself (‘Exorcizo te, immundissime spiritus . . .’), its persistent place in the ritual points to its thaumaturgical potential, whether spoken, chanted or sung.

This apotropaic function of the litany is balanced by other accounts of litanies seeming to spark miraculous occurrences at pilgrimage shrines. The Capuchin preacher Prokop von Templin reported, for example, that a crippled pilgrim at the Passau shrine of Mariahilf regained his health as the litany of the Virgin was being sung:

On this same day, the 31st of August 1652, on a Saturday afternoon around three o’clock, as the litany of Our Dear Lady was being sung in the holy chapel at Mariahilf, and at which many common men and women were present, a poor, young beggar came into the said chapel on two crutches and went through the middle of the church to the side altar of the Deposition of Christ from the Cross, and stayed there until the end of the litany. Suddenly after its completion, a local Passau woman led him by the hand through the middle of the church and out, without the crutches, which were left at the iron gate at the said altar.<sup>65</sup>

Another much-recounted episode occurred in January 1690 at Munich’s Herzogspitalkirche, when a young girl experienced the following during the singing of the Litany of Loreto in front of the sculpture of the so-called ‘Schmerzhaftes Mutter’ or ‘Dolorous Mother’:

During the usual [services] on Saturday evening, that is, on the 21st of January of last year, 1690, the Litany of Loreto was being sung in the presence of many people, including a young maiden of ten years named Maria Franziska Juliana Schott. She evidently noticed that during the Litany, the image of the Dolorous Mother standing under the Cross turned her eyes very gracefully and tearfully towards the crucified Christ, and then down to the ground, and then to each side,

<sup>63</sup> Girolamo Menghi, *Flagellum daemonum, exorcismos terribiles, potentissimos, et efficaces* (Venice, 1586), pp. 30, 170–2.

<sup>64</sup> I have used the 1625 edition of the *Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pont. Max. iussu editum* (Antwerp, 1625), pp. 319–20. See also Maximilian von Eynatten, *Manuale Exorcismorum* (Antwerp, 1619), pp. 37–8, 126–8, 141–5, 253.

<sup>65</sup> Prokop von Templin, *Maria Hülff ob Passau. Gnaden-Lustgarten* (Passau, 1668), ii, p. 29.

and then to [Christ's] cradle standing nearby. Because she thought that others among those present had also seen this, she said nothing, but as soon as she came home she told her parents; this gave occasion to her mother and other persons, who had heard about the matter, to visit the image the next day and to go there frequently, so they might see the turning of her eyes.<sup>66</sup>

Confirmed as authentic by the bishop of Freising in 1691, the miracle at the Herzogspitalkirche touched off the most active pilgrimage in eighteenth-century Munich and confirmed the status of the litany not simply as a form of intercessory prayer, but also as an expression that could potentially trigger miraculous interventions.<sup>67</sup>

THE POLYPHONIC LITANY AND GEORG VICTORINUS'S  
*THESAURUS LITANIARUM* (1596)

Despite the increasing prestige of the litany as a devotional and ritual form in post-Tridentine Germany, its success as a polyphonic form was hardly assured. Its repetitive character and liminal position between oral and written tradition may help to explain why composers seem to have avoided the form through the mid-sixteenth century. In fact the first published setting of a polyphonic litany would not appear until 1575, the year that Costanzo Porta, the new music director at Loreto, issued his *Litaniae deiparae Virginis Mariae ex Sacra Scriptura depromptae*, a Marian scriptural litany for double choir that, according to its title page, was sung on Saturdays, vigils and Marian feasts at the Holy House.<sup>68</sup> It was the rapidly expanding cult of Loreto, as we shall see, that helped to inject new energy into the litany as a polyphonic genre in Italy and in transalpine Catholic regions by the end of the century. Litanies performed by trained choirs, Loretan and otherwise, were increasingly prescribed for contexts of paraliturgical and devotion, such as the Saturday evening observances spearheaded by the Society of Jesus, endowed services by wealthy patrons, confraternal gatherings and Catholic court chapels.

The epicentre for litany composition in the north was doubtless the Bavarian capital of Munich, where Duke Wilhelm V and his immediate family cultivated the litany with enthusiasm. Munich had already seen a

<sup>66</sup> *Gründtlicher Vortrag Dessen, Was sich bey dem wunderthätigen Gnaden-Bild der schmerzhaften Mutter Gottes in der Hertzog-Spital Kirchen zu München Anno 1690. zugetragen* (Munich, 1691), pp. 2–3.

<sup>67</sup> On the famed 'Augenwende' see Steiner, *Altmünchner Gnadenstätten*, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Costanzo Porta, *Litaniae deiparae Virginis Mariae ex Sacra Scriptura depromptae, quae in alma domo Lauretana omnibus diebus Sabbati, Vigiliarum, & Festorum eiusdem Beatæ Virginis decantari solent* (Venice, 1575; RISM A/I, P1579); a modern edition by Siro Cisilino and Giovanni M. Luisetto appeared in Costanzo Porta, *Opera omnia* (Padua, 1968), vii, pp. 1–23. For commentary see Kendrick, "Honore a dio", p. 27.

notable foundation at its principal parish church of Unsere Liebe Frau in 1570, when Simon Thaddäus Eck, a stepbrother of Luther's opponent Johannes Eck, donated a Litany of Loreto on the eves of all seven Marian feasts as well as on other occasions, 'to be sung devoutly and slowly in four-part polyphony with two boys intoning and the choir responding'.<sup>69</sup> Five years later, Wilhelm's consort Renate of Lorraine founded a Sunday evening *Salve* service at the same church, including the performance of polyphonic litanies of the Virgin.<sup>70</sup> As for the duke himself, Wilhelm appears to have heard polyphonic Marian litanies at his Landshut residence well before his accession in 1579, for his sister Maria Anna, recently married to Archduke Karl of Austria, wrote to him from Graz in 1572 requesting a copy of a 'Ledaney von unser Frauen' for four voices that had been sung at Landshut and also at Altötting. Having received this, she thanked her brother in writing in February 1573 and again in July 1576, stating on that occasion that she was 'happy in her heart about the litany'.<sup>71</sup> By the mid-1570s Wilhelm was evidently commissioning polyphonic litany settings from his father's chapelmaster Orlando di Lasso, for the latter wrote to the duke in mid-1575 that he was 'doing everything Your Excellency commanded . . . with the litanies'; over the next two decades no fewer than sixteen polyphonic settings by Lasso would appear in court chapel manuscripts and, after his death, in print.<sup>72</sup> Of these, twelve set the Litany of Loreto, a reflection of the Wittelsbach enthusiasm for this text. Furthermore, the ten litanies that are extant in four different choirbooks from the ducal court set the Loretan text exclusively: the most

<sup>69</sup> See Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 75.

<sup>70</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Letters from Maria Anna of Bavaria to Wilhelm V, 27 Dec. 1572, 22 Feb. 1573 and 22 July 1576, discussed in Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 74–5. It was perhaps Maria Anna's enthusiasm for the litany that gained the genre a firm foothold in Habsburg imperial circles as well. In May 1573 she ordered the singing of the litany on all Saturdays and vigils of Marian feasts at the archducal chapel in Graz; in subsequent years composers at Graz and later at the imperial court in Vienna produced large numbers of polyphonic litanies (see, for example, the Inner Austrian choirbooks Graz, Universitätsbibliothek MS 97 and Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica MS 344, containing polyphonic litany settings by the Graz composers Pietro Antonio Bianco, Giovanni Battista Galeno, Simone Gatto and Francesco Rovigo). See discussion in Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich, 1564–1619* (Mainz, 1967), pp. 23–4, n. 6. Ferdinand II's devotion to the Virgin of Loreto was hardly less zealous than that of the Bavarian dukes and electors, as he ordered the construction of a Loreto chapel for the Augustinian church in Vienna in 1627 and incorporated litanies into his daily regime of prayer. See S. Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1637)* (Oxford and New York, 1995), pp. 53–4.

<sup>72</sup> Letter of Orlando di Lasso to Wilhelm V, 3 Sept. 1575, quoted in Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 75.

significant source is Mus. ms. 14 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, a collection of Office music copied around 1590 that transmits seven settings of the Loretan text, five by Lasso and five by his deputy Johannes à Fossa.<sup>73</sup> Lasso's preference for the Litany of Loreto might be also explained in part by his own pilgrimage to the Italian shrine in 1585, on which occasion he donated an ex-voto image of himself as a supplicant to the Virgin, a picture still extant today in the Loreto museum.<sup>74</sup>

As we shall see, the Litany of Loreto is strongly represented in the greatest contemporary anthology of polyphonic litanies published in this period, the *Thesaurus litaniarum* or 'Treasury of Litanies' (1596) edited by Georg Victorinus, music director at the Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich (see Figure 1). Victorinus, a native of Silesia, had occupied the music director's post at St Michael since around 1591; in 1616 he also identified himself as 'musicæ præfectus' of Wilhelm V's private chapel of St Nicholas, and by 1618 he was schoolmaster at the parish of St Peter's in Munich, a position he would occupy until his death in 1632.<sup>75</sup> Victorinus's greatest achievement was as editor and anthologist, manifested in the *Thesaurus litaniarum* and later in his two anthologies of sacred concerti by contemporary Italian and German composers, the *Siren coelestis* of 1616 and the *Philomela coelestis* of 1624.<sup>76</sup> The *Thesaurus* was the largest

<sup>73</sup> For inventory see M. Bente et al. (eds.), *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften. 1. Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notation* (Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, 1; Munich, 1989), pp. 77–81. Three other court manuscripts contain one Loretan litany setting each: Mus. ms. 2748 (anonymous setting for four voices), Mus. ms. 21 (a nine-voice setting by Lasso) and Mus. ms. 48 (a ten-voice setting by Lasso).

<sup>74</sup> Lasso's ex-voto depicts himself together with a representation of his coat of arms and a five-voice double canon setting the litany tag 'Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis'. See L. C. Gentile, 'Orlando di Lasso pellegrino a Loreto (1585): Vicende di un ex voto musicale', *Recercare*, 19 (2007), pp. 221–9. On Lasso's pilgrimage, see also Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso*, i, pp. 200–1.

<sup>75</sup> On Victorinus's biography see R. Haub, 'Georgius Victorinus und der Triumphus Divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici', *Musik in Bayern*, 51 (1995), pp. 79–84; A. J. Fisher, 'Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Munich Anthologies of Georg Victorinus', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 14, no. 1 (2008), [www.sscm-jscm.org/v14/no1/fisher.html](http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v14/no1/fisher.html); and Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York, 2014), Extended References 2.17, 2.41, 2.42, 3.24 (<http://global.oup.com/us/companion.websites/9780199764648/>). The chapel of St Nicholas was part of a large complex adjoining the Jesuit church and college of St Michael that Wilhelm V occupied after his abdication in 1597. In 1616 Victorinus identified himself as 'musicæ ad D. Michaelis & S. Nicolai præfectus' on the title page of his anthology *Siren coelestis*, but it remains unclear what duties he performed in Wilhelm's chapel. For an extensive study of the building of this so-called *Wilhelminische Veste* (later called the *Herzog-Maxburg*) and its later history see Helga Marie Andres, *Rekonstruktion der Herzog-Maxburg in München* (Schriften aus dem Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, 18; Munich, 1987).

<sup>76</sup> On these two anthologies see Fisher, 'Celestial Sirens and Nightingales'.

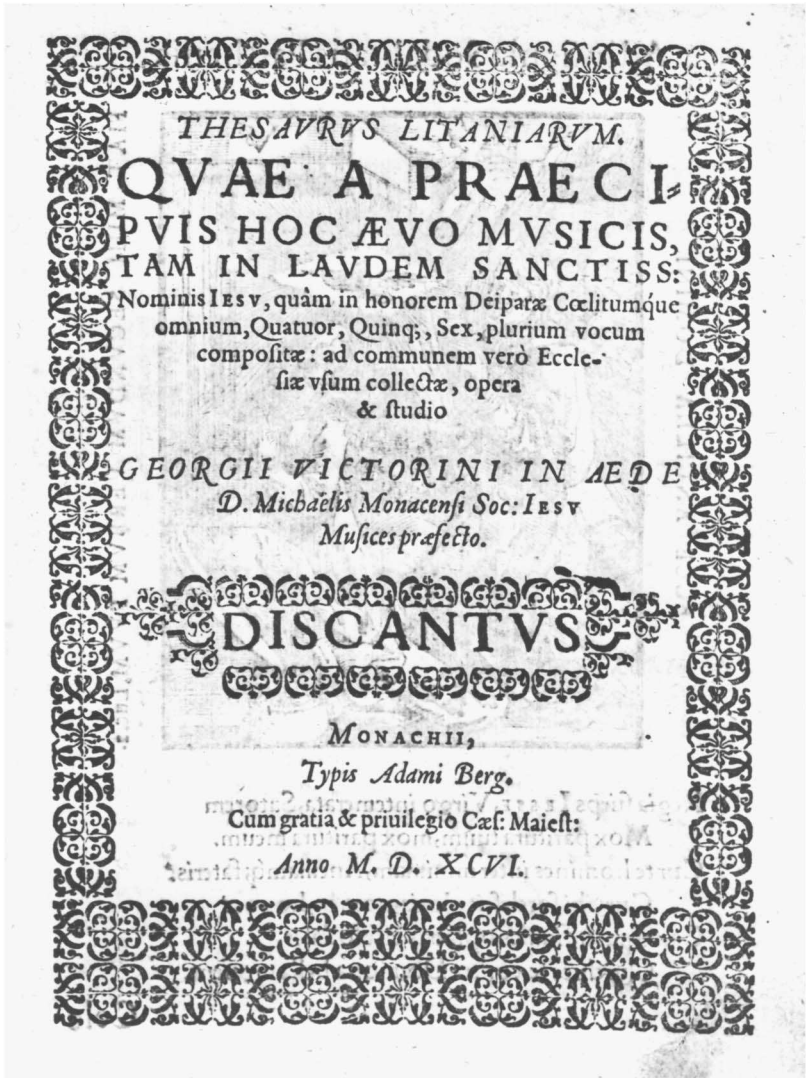


Figure 1 Georg Victorinus, *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich, 1596), title page.  
Courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus. pr. 59

contemporary anthology of polyphonic litanies published in Europe: it contains fifty-nine settings of litanies for Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Saints and the Dead, together with three motets, by thirty different named composers; ten settings are anonymous and identified by the

editor as *incertus*.<sup>77</sup> The volume, whose contents are listed in the Appendix, is divided into three books: first a set of ten litanies on the Name of Jesus and the Sacrament,<sup>78</sup> concluded by Philippe de Monte's six-voice motet *O bone Jesu exaudi me*; then thirty-seven Marian litanies (of which twenty-eight set the Loretan text), followed by Christophorus Clavius's five-voice motet *Ego flos campi*; and finally eleven sanctoral litanies, one anonymous *Litaniae pro defunctis* and a concluding six-voice motet by Rudolph di Lasso, *O quam gloriosum est regnum*. Each book is prefaced by a poem praising its object and by a small woodcut illustration. Not surprisingly, the best-represented composer in the volume is Orlando di Lasso with twelve settings, including eight Litanies of Loreto, three sanctoral litanies and one Name of Jesus litany. Victorinus also includes Palestrina's two imposing Marian litanies for four voices, in five *partes* each, settings that would be published together in 1600 but were certainly available in a printed edition – no longer extant – by 1596.<sup>79</sup> The bulk of the remainder are by composers in Munich and the southern Catholic German orbit, including Victorinus himself, Lasso's sons Ferdinand and Rudolph, musicians from nearby Augsburg (Gregor Aichinger, Christian Erbach, Hans Leo Hassler, Bernhard Klingenstein), Prague (Philippe de Monte, Tiburzio Massaino), Innsbruck (Jakob Regnart) and Weingarten (Jakob Reiner), as well as Italians whose published litanies managed to cross the Alps. Roman Jesuit connections in particular are suggested by the four litanies of Annibale Stabile, probably drawn from his *Letaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis et nominis Jesu* (Rome, 1583), a collection closely connected to the Collegium Germanicum where Stabile had served as *maestro*.<sup>80</sup>

We have seen previously the central role of the Jesuits in promoting the litany as a devotional form. In the *Thesaurus litaniarum* Jesuit connections are likewise explicit, in both the set of Name of Jesus litanies

<sup>77</sup> Palestrina's two Marian litanies in five *partes* each are numbered individually as ten distinct items in the *Thesaurus* (resulting in a total number of sixty-seven litanies in the anthology, excluding the three motets), but here I will consider them as two settings, yielding a total of fifty-nine litanies.

<sup>78</sup> The single Eucharistic litany here is the work of Cesare de Zacharia, who at the time of the *Thesaurus*'s publication served the Hohenzollern court at Hechingen. On the later vibrant history of polyphonic litanies of the Eucharist in the Salzburg orbit, see Rosenthal, 'Mozart's Sacramental Litanies and their Forerunners'.

<sup>79</sup> According to Kendrick in "Honore a dio", p. 29, Giuseppe Baini and Robert Eitner both cited a 1593 book of four-voice litanies by Palestrina, and a list of music books from the Milanese shop of Francesco and Simone Tini in 1596 includes *Letanie a quattro Palestrina*.

<sup>80</sup> Number 40 in book 2, scored for two polyphonic choirs plus a third choir singing chant intonations alone, appears to have been explicitly prescribed by that college's rector Michele Lauretano in 1587. Kendrick, "Honore a dio", pp. 33–4.

with which it begins and in its paratexts.<sup>81</sup> The reverse of the title page is graced by a woodcut image of the Annunciation, entitled ‘Ad insignia Sodalitatis Partheniæ’ or ‘to the emblems of the Marian Sodality’, a reference to the Marian Congregations of the Jesuits, the organisations of students, clerics and laymen devoted to the Marian cult that the Jesuits established in great numbers in German Catholic cities beginning in the 1580s. The Annunciation image is flanked by verses from Luke 1:38 (‘Behold the servant of the Lord: let it be with me according to Your Word’) and followed by a six-line epigram in praise of the Virgin and her followers. Victorinus in fact directs the dedication to the Marian Congregations of the Jesuits’ Upper German Province, in Munich, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Augsburg, Innsbruck, Hall in Tyrol, Regensburg, Luzern, Fribourg (Switzerland) and Porrentruy. Counting himself as a member of the sodality, Victorinus begins by praising Gregory the Great’s role in reviving litanic prayer in the Christian church, and by noting the efforts of composers to provide litanies with ‘sweetest modulations’ [*modulis quàm suaviffimis*], with which mortals should be stirred to avert God’s wrath. Victorinus expresses his surprise, however, that a volume such as the *Thesaurus* has not appeared previously, for these polyphonic litanies ‘would be of the greatest use for pilgrimages undertaken to holy places; and now because it is in the nature of these times, more than ever, that it seems fitting to flee to such arms’.<sup>82</sup> Victorinus not only situates the *Thesaurus* firmly within the activities of the Marian Congregations, then, but also links its contents directly with the processions and pilgrimages that projected Catholic space in the contested lands north of the Alps. The Munich Congregation, at least, seems to have welcomed Victorinus’s effort, for it provided a poem addressed to their fellow sodalist, printed immediately after the dedication:

The Congregation of Munich to sodalist Georg Victorinus

As much as it pleases others to grow rich with foreign treasures,  
And to accumulate the weight of a thousand silver bars:  
You, Victorinus, now labour with your art to excavate  
A treasure-chest of works from its hiding place.  
In a moment all things pass, but that treasure-chest

<sup>81</sup> Kendrick notes the significance of the Name of Jesus litanies to the *Thesaurus* in his ‘Litanies and their Texts, 1600–1700’, ii, p. 704.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Quod ego, cùm diligentius mecum expendo, non possum non vehementer mirari nullum hactenus repertum, qui sparsas hinc inde collegerit, & in unum corpus iam pridem congresserit, tùm quod in peregrinationibus ad pia loca susceptis, maximus earum sit usus; tùm quod ea sit temporum conditio, ut, si unquam aliàs, nunc ad arma similia videatur confugiendum.’ From Victorinus, *Thesaurus litaniarum*, preface.



### *Thesaurus litaniarum*

Shall grow in riches from day to day:  
It shall suffer no sign of old age; as it is used,  
It shall grow more beloved, more splendid.  
Why shall the Mother not prepare, for your vigilant pursuit and care,  
A great treasure-chest for you in God's citadel?  
To her this work is welcome, welcome is your industry,  
Welcome is your labour, Victorinus, this no one can doubt.

The praying and singing of litanies was probably common in the gatherings of these sodalities, whose statutes and devotional books routinely transmit litany texts. Moreover, as early as 1583 the Marian litany *ex sacra scriptura* for double choir by Costanzo Porta, mentioned above in connection with the German College in Rome, was published at Munich, a setting which was 'habitually sung in the chapel of the Marian sodality in the ducal Gymnasium of the Society of Jesus'.<sup>83</sup> While this litany and other more elaborate settings in the *Thesaurus* suggest performances in fixed locations by trained choirs, it is nonetheless notable that Victorinus singles out pilgrimage as a principal context for his collection, drawing at least a symbolic connection between these invocatory prayers and the spiritual geography of contemporary Bavaria.

The fifty-nine settings of the *Thesaurus* can be divided stylistically into two broad groups: thirty-five litanies for a single choir of up to seven voices (types A, B, C in the Appendix) and twenty-four litanies for seven to twelve voices organised clearly in a double-choir or polychoral format (types D and E in the Appendix). Although these works can be examined from a number of different perspectives, our main interest here is the extent to which composers preserve the litany's traditional call-and-response structure, and hence its suggestion of liturgical/devotional function. While the larger-scale polychoral litanies offer obvious opportunities to do so, those settings for a single, smaller ensemble pose inherent challenges; as we shall see, some composers strove to maintain some distinction between title and petition by using plainchant or *falsobordone*, while others effaced this distinction by assimilating the litany to prevailing modes of continuous polyphony. As the Appendix shows, both single-choir and double-choir/polychoral litanies could either be through-composed – i.e., with titles rendered in mensural polyphony (types C and E) – or have

<sup>83</sup> *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis Mariae, ex sacra scriptura collectae, quae diebus Sabbathi, Vigiliarum & Festorum eiusdem B. Virginis, Laureti inprimis: Deinde quoque Monachij, Bauariae metropoli in Ducali Gymnasio Societatis IESU, Sacello MARIANAE Sodalitatis, cantari solent. CONSTANTIO FESTA Musico, Harmoniae autore* (Munich, 1583; RISM A/I, F643). The setting is falsely attributed here to Costanzo Festa. For discussion see Kendrick, "Honore a Dio", p. 40.

Example 2 Orlando di Lasso, Litany of Loreto (*Thesaurus* I/4), bb. 17–20

Sancta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis.  
 Sancta Dei Geni - trix,  
 Sancta Virgo virgi - num,  
 [...]

o - ra pro no - bis.

titles rendered in monophonic chant or *falsobordone*, with petitions in mensural polyphony (types A, B and D). Victorinus was certainly aware that the history of printed polyphonic litanies was a short one. In order to adapt chant tones or *falsobordone* to titles of different lengths, he notated these formulae with white or black *maximae*, providing a note to the reader explaining what may have been a seldom-encountered notational practice. Furthermore, Victorinus only provides full litany texts in appendices to each of the three books of the *Thesaurus*, encouraging the singer ‘to seek out this [text] from the end of this book, or from this or that book of prayers’.<sup>84</sup>

One notices immediately that in the smaller-scale litanies, Orlando di Lasso almost always presents his intonations monophonically in the discantus in unmeasured chant notation, followed by short homophonic or lightly contrapuntal choral responses – generally around three breves or less – leading to a cadence and fermata (Example 2).<sup>85</sup> Victorinus seems to have drawn the majority of these simple settings from a single court chapel manuscript containing Litany of Loreto settings, BSB Mus. ms. 14 (c. 1590), adapting one of the four-voice Marian litanies as a Name of Jesus litany (I/4) for the first volume of the *Thesaurus*.<sup>86</sup> Lasso also prefers chant intonations in his sanctoral litanies for smaller ensembles (III/1, III/3), as well as in some of his

<sup>84</sup> At the end of Part I Victorinus gives two Name of Jesus litany texts; at the end of Part II, the standard Litany of Loreto followed by the Marian litany *ex sacra scriptura*; and at the end of Part III, two sanctoral litanies.

<sup>85</sup> In most of the following musical examples, the texture has been compressed onto fewer staves in order to save space.

<sup>86</sup> As observed by Bergquist in his preface to his edition of Orlando di Lasso, *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze*, p. xix. In the following discussion the position of the works within the *Thesaurus* is indicated by the volume number (Roman numeral) and the position within that volume. Note that the two Loretan settings by Lasso for four and five voices appearing for the first time in the *Thesaurus* (nos. II/11 and II/14) show a very similar approach to the litanies of Mus. ms. 14.

larger double-choir settings for seven, eight and nine voices (II/34, II/41, III/7). The other litanies in the *Thesaurus* featuring chant intonations were composed exclusively by musicians connected with the Munich court chapel: Lasso's elder son Ferdinand, his deputy Johannes à Fossa and Heinrich de Plau [Blau], a chapel singer; nothing is known of Wolfgang Püchler (the composer of nos. II/24 and III/6), although several men bearing his surname were engaged by the chapel in this period.<sup>87</sup> The consistent and simple format of these works suggests that they may have been quotidian fare in Wilhelm V's court chapel and may represent a characteristic practice for that institution, for monophonic chant intonations are entirely absent from the other litanies in the collection. In many respects their sonic profile approaches most closely the prayer's format of individual invocation answered by collective response and suggests that for this Munich group preservation of the litany's liturgical/devotional function was of paramount concern.

Far more common in the *Thesaurus* are litanies that present the variable-length titles in *falsobordone*, not unlike Johannes Haym's *Litaniae textus triplex* cited previously. In this group of litanies the opening Kyrie and closing Agnus Dei acclamations are invariably composed polyphonically (unlike Lasso's small-ensemble settings, which responsorially alternate chant with polyphony), but the main body of titles is now rendered in *falsobordone* formulae with brief, fully composed petitions in mensural notation (see Example 3). As in the case of Haym's *Litaniae*, the *falsobordone* approach bridged between oral expressions and more elaborate composed products for trained choirs; with its use, however, we are now a step removed from the fundamental character of the litany as a collective response to an individual cleric or *Vorsänger*. Particularly in litanies scored for lesser numbers, the music is performed not by physically separated individuals or groups: the same ensemble must negotiate both titles and petitions. Nevertheless the distinction of static *falsobordone* versus counterpoint is enough to invoke the litany's traditional

<sup>87</sup> A Caspar Püchler (or Pühler, Bühler) had long been an altist in the court chapel; at least two sons, Wilhelm and Conrad, are recorded in the court chapel ledgers (BayHStA, Hofzahlamtsrechnungen). Wilhelm, the eldest, had studied in Italy and was briefly engaged as an organist in the chapel between 1593 and 1595. See transcriptions in A. Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso. Drittes Buch: Dokumente. Erster Theil* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 213, 218, 224. It is possible that Victorinus's printer, Adam Berg, mistakenly substituted 'Wolfgang' for the latter. Heinrich de Plau [Plaw, Blau] is recorded in the court chapel ledgers from 1585 until 1613.

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Example 3 Rudolph di Lasso, Litany of Loreto (*Thesaurus* II/19), bb. 8–9

San - - cta Ma - ri - a,  
Sancta De - i ge - nitrix,  
Sancta vir - go vir - ginum,  
Ma - - ter Chri - sti,  
[etc.]

o - - ra pro no - - bis.

differentiation of roles and space. Composers in the *Thesaurus* adopting this approach are largely from Munich or its orbit, suggesting that here, again, we may be observing a local or regional practice: apart from Orlando di Lasso's sanctoral litany for five voices, we find in this group works by his younger son and court organist Rudolph; by court instrumentalists Fileno Cornazzano, Gioseffo Ascanio and Giulio Gigli; and by the aforementioned Wolfgang Püchler. Outside the court proper, Victorinus himself offers two *falsobordone* litanies, while we also find works in this style by Rinaldo del Mel and Franz Sales, both of whom enjoyed direct or indirect connections with members of the Wittelsbach dynasty.<sup>88</sup>

We have seen that composers in the Munich orbit preferred to distinguish title from petition in a manner reminiscent of the litany's traditional call-and-response format, but as we move farther afield we find that composers chosen by Victorinus adapted the litany to

<sup>88</sup> De Mel, in fact, was well connected with the family, having served Wilhelm's brother Ernst (1554–1612), the Archbishop of Cologne and Liège, and having dedicated music publications not only to Ernst but also to Wilhelm, his consort Renate of Lorraine and his son Maximilian. See E. Corswarem, K. Schiltz and P. Vendrix, 'Der Lütticher Erzbischof Ernst von Bayern als Musik-Mäzen (1580–1612)', in K. Pietschmann (ed.), *Das Erzbistum Köln in der Musikgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 2008), pp. 318–22. At the time of the *Thesaurus*'s publication Sales was a tenor at the imperial court in Prague, but he had served briefly in the Munich court chapel under Lasso's direction in 1580. See H. Federhofer and R. Flotzinger, 'Sales [Sale, Salec, Saletz], Franz [François]', *Grove Music Online*, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

prevailing styles of late Renaissance polyphony. Within the single-choir settings it is instructive to consider Palestrina's two large-scale Marian litanies for four voices that Victorinus placed at the head of Volume II (II/1–5, II/6–10).<sup>89</sup> The most obvious difference, of course, is the expansiveness of Palestrina's settings, as each of the two litanies is divided into five *partes*, each of which surpasses in length a complete setting by Lasso. Instead of the Loretan text that prevails in Lasso's litanies, Palestrina uses a lengthy, non-standard catalogue of praise for Mary; unorthodox, as well, is the appearance of the standard Kyrie acclamations at the beginning of each individual *pars* – thus interrupting the succession of Marian titles – and the complete omission of the concluding Agnus Dei. Instead of distinguishing intonation and response through contrasts of chant or *falsobordone* with polyphony, moreover, Palestrina carefully integrates the responses fully within the polyphonic texture, thus 'flattening' the distinctive call-and-response format of the litany text (see Example 4). As Peter Bergquist has observed, Lasso's litanies, far more than those of Palestrina, succeed in projecting the fundamental ebb and flow of intonation and response that is the chief hallmark of the litany, even at the risk of repetitiveness for the listener.<sup>90</sup> This is not to say that 'motet'-style litanies lack any sort of internal differentiation. The transitions between intonation and response may be signalled, for example, by continuous changes in vocal groupings (Hassler's six-voice litany, no. II/30, is a fine example), or by regular alternations of smaller and larger ensembles: note Philippe de Monte's consistent assignment of titles to a higher group of two discantus, altus and bassus primus (in the *c*<sub>4</sub>) clef, while the responses of 'ora pro nobis' are sung by the full choir of seven (no. II/32). Nevertheless, these settings only weakly reflect the fundamental spatial qualities of the traditional litany.

In litanies scored for larger ensembles, double-choir or polychoral textures provide ample opportunities for the exploration of spatial contrasts. This often takes the expected form of dividing the titles and petitions between the two choirs, faithfully preserving the prayer's regular ebb and flow. In a small number of litanies, again apparently

<sup>89</sup> For discussion see Kendrick, "Honore a dio", pp. 28–31. In many respects the Palestrina settings, designated explicitly for 'the chapels of Society of the Holy Rosary' according to the title page of their 1600 edition, seem to represent a parochial practice; probably it was the prestige of the composer that led Victorinus to include them in the *Thesaurus* and place them in such a prominent position.

<sup>90</sup> Bergquist, preface to his edition of Orlando di Lasso, *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze*, p. ix, in response to Joachim Roth's assessment of the litanies of Palestrina and Lasso in *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen*.

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Example 4 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Litany of the Virgin (*Thesaurus II/6*),  
bb. 28–32

(a)

San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta De - i Ge - ni - trix, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta De - i Ge - ni - trix, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta De - i Ge - ni - trix, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta De - i Ge - ni - trix, o - ra pro no - bis.

(b)

San - cta Vir - go vir - gi - num, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta Vir - go vir - gi - num, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta Vir - go vir - gi - num, o - ra pro no - bis.

San - cta Vir - go vir - gi - num, o - ra pro no - bis.

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Example 5 Orlando di Lasso, Litany of Loreto (*Thesaurus* II/41), bb. 33–6

Mater Chri - sti,  
Mater divinae grati - ae,  
Mater pu - rissi - ma,  
[etc.]

o - ra pro no - bis.

o - ra pro no - bis.

o - ra pro no - bis.

connected with the Munich orbit, *falsobordone* is deployed for the titles, while petitions are set to a static, repeated formula in measured notation.<sup>91</sup> Orlando di Lasso follows this schematic approach in his nine-voice litany, no. II/41, and indeed in his large-scale litanies without *falsobordone* (nos. II/34 for nine voices and III/7 for seven voices) he prefers a rather rigid, formulaic approach that emphasises brevity and consistent alternation, arguably at the expense of purely musical interest (Example 5).

Lasso and his compatriots in the *Thesaurus*, however, could be far more bold. Victorinus appears not to have had access to Lasso's most expansive litany setting, a Litany of Loreto for nine voices, extending to no fewer than 370 breves in Bergquist's edition, preserved in a chapel manuscript copied around 1585 that mainly features imitation Magnificats.<sup>92</sup> While this litany was evidently unavailable to Victorinus,

<sup>91</sup> This group includes works by Orlando di Lasso (II/41) and Victorinus (II/44), as well as several anonymous settings. Nothing is known, sadly, about Martin Roeber, the author of no. II/43.

<sup>92</sup> BSB Mus. ms. 21. See Bente et al. (eds.), *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, pp. 93–4. The modern edition is by Bergquist, in Lasso, *Litaneien, Falsobordoni und Offiziumssätze*, pp. 74–97. Here Lasso maintains the essential call-and-response pattern of the prayer by strictly separating his two choirs of four high voices

he did include a group of fully through-composed litanies for multiple choirs, some of which are also of impressive length – note Gregor Aichinger’s eight-voice Litany of Loreto (II/37) at 247 breves and Bernhard Klingenstein’s sanctoral litany (III/9) at 242 breves. Naturally, the divided-choir principle allows composers to separate title and petition, but in practice they avoid rigidity: at times both the title and its accompanying petition will be sung by the same choir, while these might be separated elsewhere; nor is it the case that titles or petitions are consistently assigned to one choir or another. The full ensemble may be joined, furthermore, not only for the concluding acclamations – as is customary – but also for individual titles at the composer’s discretion. Particularly creative approaches may be seen in several larger-scored works, not the least of which is Annibale Stabile’s Litany of Loreto for eight voices (II/40), a work whose titles and petitions alternate between three distinct groups of singers: a choir of boys or tenors singing plainchant and two four-voice choirs singing mostly chordal settings (Example 6). This litany, probably composed for the German College while Stabile was its *maestro*, closely resembles the ‘litanie della Madonna con doi chori di Musica, et uno in falsobordone’ mentioned by the college’s rector Michele Loretano in a diary entry of 1583, and thus may represent a particularly Jesuitical practice of litany singing.<sup>93</sup>

Also ambitious is a ten-voice Marian litany composed by Victorinus himself (II/44), featuring a registral contrast between a high quartet ( $g_2-c_1-c_2-c_3$ ) and a low sextet ( $c_1-c_1-c_3-c_4-c_4-f_4$ ). Following the thoroughly contrapuntal Kyrie, Victorinus begins the lengthy series of titles with high *falsobordone* in the first choir answered by low homophonic refrains in the second. Beginning with ‘Regina Angelorum’, however, Victorinus unveils a quicker, more playful alternation between the two groups (Example 7). They divide the words of the titles themselves, ‘Regina’ versus ‘Angelorum’ for example, joining together for grand proclamations of ‘ora pro nobis’.<sup>94</sup> Victorinus’s setting concludes with a kaleidoscopic ‘miserere nobis’ for full ensemble that rivals any other setting in the *Thesaurus* for its opulence

( $c_1-c_1-c_1-c_4$ ) and five low voices ( $c_1-c_3-c_4-c_4-f_3$ ), the latter group continually echoing the former’s petitions in a more ample texture. What might ordinarily be a highly static harmonic profile in such a lengthy piece – firmly anchored in the tonal type [flat- $c_1$ -G] – is relieved by explorations of related tonal areas like B flat, F and E flat.

<sup>93</sup> Kendrick, “Honore a dio”, pp. 33–4.

<sup>94</sup> One possible model for this may be found in Lasso’s eight-voice Litany of Loreto (II/34), which features a similar, rapid exchange of ‘Regina’ titles between its two choirs. See Bergquist’s edition of Lasso, *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze*, pp. 59–63.



*Thesaurus litaniarum*

Example 6 Annibale Stabile, Litany of Loreto (*Thesaurus* II/40), bb. 44–54

(a)

Nota: Has Litanias constare triplici Choro.

1. Chorus est cantus Gregorianus & incipit à S. MARIA.

2. Est Musicus & subiungit S. DEI GENITRIX.

3. Chorus iterum Musicus S. VIRGO VIRGINVM.

Et sic deinceps alternatim absoluntur.

Musical score for Example 6(a). It features a grand staff with two vocal staves and two piano accompaniment staves. The top vocal staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The bottom vocal staff has a bass clef and a common time signature. The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand staff with a treble clef and a left-hand staff with a bass clef. The lyrics are: "Cantus seu Tonus Gregorianus præcinitur à pueris vel Tenoristis hoc modo. San - cta De - i Ge - ni - trix, o - ra pro no - Sancta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - bis." The score shows a series of chords and rests, indicating a Gregorian chant style.

(b)

Musical score for Example 6(b). It features a grand staff with two vocal staves and two piano accompaniment staves. The top vocal staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The bottom vocal staff has a bass clef and a common time signature. The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand staff with a treble clef and a left-hand staff with a bass clef. The lyrics are: "bis. San - cta Vir - go vir - gi - num, o - ra pro no - bis." The score shows a series of chords and rests, indicating a Gregorian chant style.

(Example 8). In settings such as these, fashionable double-choir writing conveniently suggests the traditional alternation of the litanic prayer, without slavishly mirroring its static exchanges between individual titles and collective petitions.

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Example 7 Georg Victorinus, Litany of Loreto (*Thesaurus* II/44), b. 17

An - ge - lo - rum, o - ra pro no - bis.

An - ge - lo - rum, o - ra pro no - bis.

Re - gi - na o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis.

Re - gi - na o - ra pro no - bis, <o - ra pro no - bis.>

Brief mention is due of the three motets that conclude each portion of the volume, providing a capstone to the sets of Christological, Marian, and sanctoral litanies in turn. Philippe de Monte's *O bone Jesu exaudi me*, a large Christological motet in three *partes*, is based on prayer texts from the *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis*, a version of which was evidently printed in Rome as early as 1571.<sup>95</sup> Scored for six voices and featuring frequent passages of homophonic declamation, the motet is first extant here in the *Thesaurus* and may have been solicited by the editor himself.<sup>96</sup> It could have been through his Jesuit connections that Victorinus obtained the five-voice motet *Ego flos campi* by Christophorus Clavius (*c.* 1538–1612), a native of Bamberg who had joined the Jesuit order and taught mathematics at the Roman College between 1565 and around 1580.<sup>97</sup> His motet, divided into two *partes*, sets a pastiche of Canticles texts (2:1 with 4:15; 5:1 with 6:1) on the allurements of the *sponsa* allegorised as Mary, set to Netherlandish counterpoint in a predominantly syllabic format. Victorinus surely

<sup>95</sup> According to Patrick Macey in 'Josquin, Good King René, and "O bone dulcissime Jesu"', in D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford, 1997), p. 239, n. 22. See discussion in M. Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)* (Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte, 16; Göttingen, 2009), p. 593.

<sup>96</sup> On the style of this motet see Silies, *Die Motetten*, p. 322.

<sup>97</sup> E. F. Flindell, 'Clavius, Christophorus [Christoph]', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

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commissioned the concluding six-voice *O quam gloriosum est regnum* directly from Rudolph di Lasso (c. 1563–1625), Orlando's younger son who served as ducal court organist at the time of the anthology's publication. Setting a Matins Responsory for the feast of All Saints, Lasso begins by deploying the chant melody as a cantus firmus in even semibreves in the discantus and then tenor primus, following with free

Example 8 Georg Victorinus, Litany of Loreto (*Thesaurus* II/44), bb. 28–9

(a)

mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re - re

mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re - re

mi - se - re - re no - bis, <mi - se - re - re

De - i vi - vi, mi - se - re - re no - bis, <mi - se - re - re

i vi - vi, mi - se - re - re no - bis, <mi - se - re - re no -

De - i vi - vi, mi - se - re - re no - bis, <mi - se - re - re

mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re - re

De - i vi - vi, mi - se - re - re no - bis, <mi - se - re - re

De - i vi - vi, mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re - re

De - i vi - vi, mi - se - re - re no - bis, <mi - se - re - re

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Example 8 *Continued*

(b)

The musical score consists of ten staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the last five are in bass clef. The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: no - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis, no - bis. no - bis, no - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - bis,> mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - bis,> mi - se - re - re no - bis. bis,> mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - bis,> mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - bis, no - bis, mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - bis,> mi - se - re - re no - bis. no - bis, mi - se - re - re, <mi - se - re - re> no - bis. no - bis,> mi - se - re - re no - bis.

counterpoint and mostly syllabic declamation. It is not impossible that Victorinus intended the three motets to be performed in connection with the litanies of the *Thesaurus*, but they serve no obvious functional purpose apart from exegesis on the volume's main devotional objects.

The wide range of musical approaches seen in the *Thesaurus* does not allow for a reductive view of the volume's function. The more

ambitious, larger-scale litanies certainly suggest stationary ensembles, as complex counterpoint, overlapping entries and irregular alternations of antiphonal choirs (such as we have seen above in Victorinus's litany no. II/44) would likely have posed difficulties for walking singers. The most rudimentary litanies, such as those for smaller ensembles by Orlando di Lasso and his companions in the Munich court chapel, are perhaps best suited for processional performance – including the 'pilgrimages undertaken to holy places' indicated by Victorinus in his preface – but even here we must be cautious. Litanies of extreme simplicity like Lasso's Litany of Loreto, no. II/11 could certainly be negotiated by a processing four-voice choir, the regular semibreve and breve rhythms coordinating more or less with the singers' footfalls. On the other hand, note that the source for five of Lasso's simpler settings, BSB Mus. ms. 14, is in fact a folio-size choirbook (52.5 × 37.5 cm) that also contains masses, canticles, and other Office music that certainly would have been performed by a stationary choir; the same is true for his four-voice Marian litany *ex sacra scriptura* (not in the *Thesaurus*) that is transmitted in BSB Mus. ms. 2748, a folio-size choirbook copied between 1576 and 1581 that is otherwise dominated by Magnificat settings.<sup>98</sup> Rudimentary polyphonic litanies such as these by Lasso, or those of Johann Haym's *Litaniae textus triplex* – again, 'for the use of sodalities and fraternities going here and there to holy places' – were practical for singing while under way, but performance by stationary choirs is equally plausible. More relevant here is the fact that most of the litanies in the volume, whether for smaller or larger forces, project the litany's alternation of title and petition, and thus its aural sense of spatial distinction and the implication of motion.

As the paratexts of these collections strongly suggest, the post-Tridentine confraternities and sodalities that processed ever more frequently in the cities and the countryside were key audiences for polyphonic litanies, whether or not they hired professional singers or deployed their own members who were capable of reading mensural notation.<sup>99</sup> But the more complex and ambitious settings must have

<sup>98</sup> Bergquist's preface to Lasso, *Litaneien, Falsibordoni und Offiziumssätze*, pp. xv–xvi. It is less surprising, of course, that the extant manuscript sources for Lasso's larger-scored litanies are also folio-sized choirbooks intended for stationary choirs – see, for example, his Marian litany no. II/41 for nine voices, in BSB Mus. ms. 21, or his ten-voice Litany of Loreto (not in the *Thesaurus*; no. 10 in Bergquist's edition), in BSB Mus. ms. 48. See *ibid.*, p. xv.

<sup>99</sup> This holds as well for Palestrina's two Marian litanies published in 1600 as the *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis quae in sacellis societatis SS. Rosarii Mariae Virginis ubique dicatis concinuntur*

proved attractive to court chapels, monastic churches, larger urban parishes, and, naturally, the growing network of Jesuit colleges and churches that Victorinus praised in his dedication. We have seen that monophonic or polyphonic litanies were prescribed at the Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich as part of a distinct and elaborate ceremony by the mid-seventeenth century, and the nearby parish church of Unsere Liebe Frau also featured polyphonic litanies as part of endowed services. Not far away at the Bavarian ducal court of Maximilian I, where a number of the composers represented in the *Thesaurus* had been active (the Lasso family, Johannes à Fossa, Heinrich de Plau, Fileno Cornazzano, Giulio Gigli, Giacomo Perlazio), the new court chapel of the Immaculate Conception (built between 1601 and 1603) would have been a congenial home for polyphonic litanies. It is significant that the decorative scheme of the new chapel included on the surface of its barrel vault an elaborate cycle of stucco emblems and captions, probably designed by Hans Krumper and executed in part by Michele Castelli around 1615, that were drawn from the Marian titles of the Litany of Loreto and the Marian litany *ex sacra scriptura*.<sup>100</sup> Beyond their reflection of Maximilian's intense Marian piety, they would have provided a rich visual counterpoint to the sound of litanies performed in that space.

#### CONCLUSION

Having attracted only limited scholarly attention, the litany was a genre of remarkable flexibility that remained poised on the boundaries of oral and written performance, ranging in its expressions from silent or private prayer to speech, recitation, and finally to polyphonic composition. It was in the Catholic German orbit that the litany, both

(Venice, 1600); the wording of the title page, of course, implies a stationary rather than mobile choir, which corresponds to the prevailing motet-like, contrapuntal profile of these works.

<sup>100</sup> On the stucco decorations see E. Schalkhaußer, 'Die Münchner Schule in der Stuckdecoration des 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Stukkaturen der Michaelskirche und des maximilianischen Residenzbaues in München und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Entwicklung der Stuckdecoration in Altbayern, Schwaben und Tirol im 17. Jahrhundert', *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte*, 81/82 (1957), pp. 1–140, at 28–32; see also my discussion in Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 100–1. J. C. Smith, in 'The Art of Salvation in Bavaria', in J. O'Malley, et al. (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto, 1999), pp. 582–8, has also pointed to a similar decorative scheme for the Jesuit church of Unsere Liebe Frau in Neuburg (1616–18), a formerly Lutheran church, following on the conspicuous conversion to Catholicism of Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg in 1613. Michele Castelli was one of several artists commissioned to execute the Neuburg stucco cycle.

as prayer and as music, saw an explosion of interest in the decades immediately preceding the Thirty Years War. As Kendrick has argued, musical settings of litanies linked the spiritual power of their invocatory titles to the principles of sounding number; they increased the honour accorded to their divine object; and by incorporating traditional recitation tones and structures they remained intelligible and accessible to a broad audience.<sup>101</sup> This accessibility, a product of the litany's liminal position on the oral-written spectrum, afforded lay participation in a manner uncharacteristic of more 'sophisticated' types of sacred polyphony. The *Mariensäule* devotions in seventeenth-century Munich, for example, suggest that the genre found a degree of popular success.

If the litany was an key vector for lay participation, it was simultaneously a strongly programmatic genre that projected official notions of sanctoral intercession and reinforced hierarchies of clerical and lay, of social class and gender. Unlike the Latin Mass, the motet, the Magnificat, and sacred song, all of which crossed confessional boundaries with relative ease, the litany marked a clearer sense of Catholic space in a religiously contested geography. Its characteristic call-and-response format lent a distinctive sonic profile to processions in cities (sometimes with mixed confessional populations) and to the pilgrimages that traced the spiritual landscape of Catholic Germany. Stories of its power to banish evil spirits and move the saints to miraculous intercession only increased its identification with Catholic spirituality. Whether miraculously effective or merely idolatrous, the litany was perhaps the most insistently confessionalist genre of music produced in the age of Catholic reform and Counter-Reformation.

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<sup>101</sup> Kendrick, "Honore a dio", pp. 45–6.

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APPENDIX

Inventory of Georg Victorinus, *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich, 1596)

Types:

- A = Single choir, monophonic titles followed by short polyphonic petitions  
B = Single choir, *falsobordone* titles followed by short polyphonic petitions  
C = Single choir, through-composed ('motet'-style) settings  
D = Double-choir or polychoral settings with *falsobordone* titles  
E = Double-choir or polychoral settings, through-composed

**Book I: Litanies for the Name of Christ**

No.	Composer	Voices	Type	Remarks
1	Ferdinand di Lasso	4	A	
2	Rudolph di Lasso	4	B	
3	Georg Victorinus	4	B	
4	Orlando di Lasso	5	A	Originally a Marian litany from BSB Mus. ms. 14; probably retexted by Victorinus
5	Fileno Cornazzano	6	B	
6	Cesare de Zacharia	7	C	'Litaniae de venerabili Sacramento'
7	Annibale Stabile	8	E	
8	[anonymous]	8	E	
9	[anonymous]	8	E	
10	[anonymous]	8	E	
11	Philippe de Monte	6		'Cantio sacra de nomine Iesu': <i>O bone Iesu exaudi me</i> , 2.p. <i>Ergo Iesu</i> , 3.p. <i>O amantissime Iesu</i>



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**Book II: Litanies for the Blessed Virgin Mary**

No.	Composer	Voices	Type	Remarks
1	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
2	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
3	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
4	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
5	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
6	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
7	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
8	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
9	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
10	G. P. da Palestrina	4	C	From Rome ed. by 1596 (lost)
11	Orlando di Lasso	4	A	
12	Johannes à Fossa	4	A	Concordance in BSB Mus. ms. 14. Monophonic titles are repeated immediately in <i>falsobordone</i>
13	Giacomo Perlazio	4	C	Some limited use of <i>falsobordone</i> in initial sets of titles
14	Orlando di Lasso	5	A	
15	Orlando di Lasso	5	A	Concordance in BSB Mus. ms. 14
16	Orlando di Lasso	5	A	Concordance in BSB Mus. ms. 14
17	Orlando di Lasso	5	A	Concordance in BSB Mus. ms. 14
18	Annibale Stabile	5	C	
19	Rudolph di Lasso	5	B	
20	Fileno Cornazzano	5	B	
21	Rinaldo de Mel	5	B	
22	Franz Sales	5	B	
23	Heinrich de Plau	5	A	Monophonic titles are repeated immediately in <i>falsobordone</i>
24	Wolfgang Püchler	5	B	
25	Christian Erbach	5	C	
26	Orlando di Lasso	6	A	Concordance in BSB Mus. ms. 14
27	Jacob Regnard	6	C	
28	Tiburzio Massaino	6	C	
29	Conrad Stuber	6	C	
30	Hans Leo Hassler	6	C	
31	Gioseffo Ascanio	6	B	

**Book II:** *Continued*

No.	Composer	Voices	Type	Remarks
32	Philippe de Monte	7	C	
33	Costanzo Porta	7	E	
34	Orlando di Lasso	8	E	
35	Tomás Luis de Victoria	8	E	
36	[anonymous]	8	E	
37	Gregor Aichinger	8	E	
38	Annibale Stabile	8	E	
39	[anonymous]	8	E	
40	Annibale Stabile	8	E	
41	Orlando di Lasso	9	D	
42	[anonymous]	10	D	
43	Martin Roeber	10	D	
44	Georg Victorinus	10	D	
45	[anonymous]	12	D	
46	Christophorus Clavius	5		'Cantio sacra de Beata Virgine Maria': <i>Ego flos campi</i>

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**Book III: Litanies for the Saints**

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No.	Composer	Voices	Type	Remarks
1	Orlando di Lasso	4	A	
2	Georg Victorinus	4	B	
3	Orlando di Lasso	5	B	
4	Giulio Gigli	5	B	
5	Jacob Reiner	6	C	
6	Wolfgang Püchler	6	A	
7	Orlando di Lasso	7	E	
8	Giovanni Cavaccio	8	E	
9	Bernhard Klingenstein	8	E	
10	[anonymous]	8	E	
11	[anonymous]	10	D	
12	[anonymous]	10	D	'Litaniae pro defunctis'
13	Rudolph di Lasso	6		'Cantio sacra de omnibus sanctis': <i>O quam gloriosum est regnum</i>

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