

eventum

A Journal of Medieval Arts & Rituals

The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage



VOL 1 • 2023

eventum

A Journal of Medieval Arts & Rituals

VOL 1 • 2023

Published by

Università degli Studi di Milano
Milano University Press
<https://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/eventum>

Edited by

Stavroula Constantinou (Editor-in-Chief)
Maria Parani and Michalis Olympios (Co-Editors)

Initiated by

Centre for Medieval Arts & Rituals (University of Cyprus)
with funding from H2020 project
“Network for Medieval Arts and Rituals” (NetMAR;
Grant Agreement no. 951875)

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO
CENTRE FOR MEDIEVAL ARTS & RITUALS

Cover design: Nasia Demetriou

Cover Image: giorgos A. Konstantinou, details of *Kyreneian Pilgrimage II, Church of Virgin Mary Chrysopolitissa*, 2023, printmaking, 55x25 cm - The artist created this work for the cover of *Eventum* 01. The work has undergone a digital recreation.

Contents

The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage

The Editor-In-Chief	<i>Eventum: A Journal of Medieval Arts and Rituals</i> and its First Issue	7 – 18
Georgia Frank	Egeria’s “Panoramic Now”: Time and Temporality in Late Antique Pilgrimage	19 – 32
Ourania Perdiki	Revisiting the Pilgrimage Site of St John Lampadistis: Art and Ritual Space	33 – 68
Gerhard Jaritz	Postmortem Proxy Pilgrimages from Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages: The Examples of Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava)	69 – 81
Nils Holger Petersen	W. A. Mozart’s <i>Litaniae lauretanae</i> Compositions and the Loreto Pilgrimage	82 – 105
Simon Coleman and Evgenia Mesaritou	Sacred Saliences? Afterlives of Archaeology in the Restoration of Medieval Shrines	106 – 127

Nils Holger Petersen

Orcid ID: [0000-0002-8568-6595](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8568-6595)

University of Copenhagen

W. A. Mozart's Litaniae lauretanae Compositions and the Loreto Pilgrimage

Abstract

The *Litaniae lauretanae* (the *Litany of Loreto*), a Marian litany with medieval roots, has been set numerous times in polyphony, as well as in grand settings with soloists and orchestra, to be performed all over Catholic Europe. Famous musicians who composed settings of the *Litany of Loreto* include Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Claudio Monteverdi, Heinrich Biber, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. This article discusses Mozart's two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* that were composed in May 1771 and in 1774. The analysis of parts of Mozart's settings in the light of the historical background of Loreto pilgrimages and the litany's ritual and musical uses highlights some of their remarkable musical features. It is argued that Mozart's settings, more than any other major contemporary ones, constitute musical reenactments of ritual experience.

Keywords

litaniae lauretanae, Mozart, Loreto pilgrimage; ritual experience

Introduction

In this article, I propose to discuss the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's (1756–91) two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* (the *Litany of Loreto*), composed in May 1771 and in 1774. The first of these was composed less than a year after the fourteen-year-old Wolfgang and his father Leopold visited the shrine in Loreto in July 1770 on their way home from Rome. My analysis of parts of these settings aims to highlight some remarkable musical features, especially in the first setting, which will be interpreted in the light of the historical background of Loreto pilgrimages and the litany's ritual and musical uses up to Mozart's time. I shall argue that Mozart's settings, more than other major contemporary ones, constitute



musical reenactments of ritual experience. In Mozart's settings, one finds what I call "ritual markers", involving musical means whereby the musical flow is slowed down in order to draw attention to particular parts of the text. Along the way, the discussion will draw on contemporary as well as later understandings of the notions of the sacred and the sublime.

W. A. Mozart's *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 109 (1771) and KV 195 (1774)

W. A. Mozart's first setting, in B flat major, has an approximate duration of little more than ten minutes. It is composed for soloists, chorus, and a small group of instruments, including three trombones, two violins, and continuo. His second setting, in D major, with an approximate duration of half an hour, is set with a somewhat larger instrumentation, also including oboes, horns, and violas (Konrad 24–25).

Litany texts consist of series of invocations. The Loreto litany is similar to numerous other traditional litanies in the Catholic Church (see further below). Being a Marian litany, it addresses the Virgin Mary through a large number of invocations with varying, mostly extra-biblical but traditional titles expressing Catholic notions of Mary in three main groups: (1) The saintly Mary, e.g. "sancta dei genitrix" ("Holy Mother of God"); (2) Mary taking part in human salvation, e.g. "salus infirmorum" ("salvation of the frail") and "refugium peccatorum" ("refuge of sinners"); and, finally, (3) Mary as queen, e.g. "regina angelorum" ("queen of angels") and "regina virginum" ("queen of virgins"). Each of the Marian invocations, forty-four altogether, ends with the formula "ora pro nobis" ("pray for us").

The three groups of Marian invocations are placed between an introductory "Kyrie eleison" part and a concluding "Agnus Dei"; the latter differs only slightly in its wording from the "Agnus Dei" of the Roman Mass. The *Agnus Dei* focuses solely on Christ carrying the sins of the world. Thus, the litany as a whole, while emphasizing the Virgin Mary, from the outset stresses a traditional Christian belief in the triune God: God the Creator, Christ the redeemer, and the vivifying Holy Spirit, and, towards the end, concludes with a Christological focus. The *Litaniae lauretanae* thus stands as a symbol

1. For detailed discussions of the litany and its theological contents, see Kammer and Dürig.

2. For a general discussion of Salzburg settings of the clauses *ora pro nobis* and *miserere nobis*, see Zybina 131–69. Zybina concludes that most Salzburg composers “and above all the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart” (“und vor allem der junge Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart”) took advantage of the rare possibility of directly approaching God in a musical setting. “By prolonging pleading sections in their works, they created a kind of grandiose emotional musical prayer, as if they could enter into a conversation with God” (“Indem sie die flehenden Abschnitte in ihren Werken verlängerten, schufen sie eine Art grandioser emotionaler musikalischer Bitte, als ob sie ins Gespräch mit Gott kommen könnten”; Zybina 169).

for the general Catholic faith, with a focus on the Virgin Mary.¹ For the full text and an English translation of the *Litaniae lauretanae*, see the appendix at the end of this article.

One may be surprised or impressed not only by the young Wolfgang Mozart's inventiveness at establishing a musical flow in setting these repetitive grammatical structures, but certainly also by his older colleagues. The larger *Litaniae lauretanae* compositions, including those by Michael Haydn (1737–1806) and Leopold Mozart (1719–87), show a great capacity for varying and representing the formulas in a musical flow, to a great extent determined by shorter musical forms and harmonic progressions. Tensions are built up, not least in sections of invocations that imply believers praying in need, such as in the “*Salus infirmorum*” section, which, for both Leopold Mozart and Wolfgang, constitutes a movement of its own (a common structure for settings of Loreto litanies in Salzburg; see Zybina 395). This section also includes invocations to Mary as “*refugium peccatorum*” (“refuge of sinners”), “*consolatrix afflictorum*” (“comforter of the afflicted”), and “*auxilium Christianorum*” (“supporter of Christians”).²

In the following, I shall focus on the last part of the *Litany of Loreto*, the *Agnus Dei* with its three invocations: “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis Domine*” (“Lamb of God who carries the sins of the world, spare us, Lord”). “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos Domine*” (“Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, hear us, Lord”). “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*” (“Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, have mercy upon us”). I am particularly interested in moments where the musical flow comes to a halt. Among the Loreto litanies I have studied in this context (see below, n. 10), such moments only appear in Wolfgang's two Loreto settings.

They appear at points where the composer apparently felt it important to call special attention to certain words of the prayer. This happens mainly towards the end of the *Agnus Dei*, during the last invocation, the “*miserere nobis*”, which in all the works studied carries great musical weight. For Wolfgang it must have seemed necessary to call attention to this part of the prayer by letting the setting stand out in a radical manner from the general course of the music until that point. As we shall see further below, in the

discussion of his very early musical drama *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* (1767), written when Wolfgang was eleven years old, such a musical framing can be achieved by a change of tempo as well as through general pauses. Furthermore, the setting of a few words may, in a manner of speaking, be taken out of the musical context in which they belong, by changing the dynamics. Suddenly lowering the voice may bring about a hushed atmosphere of near silence in the setting. Leaving out instruments, modulating, i.e. changing the tonal stability, are other ways of drawing attention to, or marking out a section from the context. Let us now look at Wolfgang's first setting of the *Agnus Dei*, in his *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 109 of 1771.

At the end of the last invocation, the "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis", the supplication intensifies the tonality from B flat major to E flat minor just at the setting of the *miserere* (bar 31, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 21). In the following bars, up to bar 55, always repeating the *miserere nobis*, the tonality moves ambiguously between E flat minor, B flat minor (clearly so in bar 37), and (only in bars 52 and 53) B flat major, the opening key of the movement. The movement (and thus the whole composition) has an ambiguous cadence, ending on a B flat major chord after an E flat minor chord. This may be understood either as a plagal cadence in B flat major (as *tonica*) or as a cadence in E flat minor, but then on its dominant, B flat major (bar 54 features an E flat minor chord before the final B flat major chord of bar 55; Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 21).

In other words, the final chord of the cadence *may* be read, with a view to the overall B flat major tonality of the movement, clearly established during the first "Agnus Dei" invocation, so that the music only at the very last moment modulates back to B flat major with the aforementioned plagal cadence: minor subdominant – *tonica*. But the cadence *may also* be understood, and maybe more naturally, as a cadence in E flat minor, because of the long period of E flat minor and B flat minor (twenty bars out of the movement's total fifty-five bars). If so, as mentioned, it is as a cadence on the dominant. In the latter interpretation, the cadence provides only a preliminary ending, which, in contemporary tradition, would make it clear that something must follow. In the first interpretation, on the other hand, we have an unusual, so-called plagal, not entirely satisfactory ending for a piece, again according to contemporary expectations.

What can be heard by anyone who is even slightly accustomed to listening to classical music, is that the piece ends without making an entirely convincing tonal conclusion. Even without knowledge of the traditional harmonic system of classical music at the time, the ambiguity of the ending makes it apparent that the prayer still lingers in the air. In the liturgical context in which the litany would have been performed, there would, of course, have followed (spoken) prayers and most likely also other music, something which would have lessened the impact of the ending of the litany, or, rather, would have connected it to what followed.³

3. In his discussion, Hartmut Schick comments on the ending of the *Agnus Dei* (interpreting the cadence as a plagal cadence in B flat major, option one in my discussion). He states that it is original and almost constitutes a style breach, and that the plagal cadence because of the twenty-five bar long plaintive atmosphere is unable to get away from the sphere of the minor mode. "Originell und fast wie ein Stilbruch aber wirkt der breit ausgeführte Schluss des Agnus Dei: Zu 'miserere nobis' verdunkelt sich die Grundtonart überraschend zu B-Moll, und der Ton wird in den letzten 25 Takten so ernst und klagend, dass sich selbst die plagale Schlusskadenz nicht mehr ganz von der Mollsphäre lösen kann" (Schick 214). Zybina, in her discussion of the *Agnus Dei* movement of KV 109, does not go into detail with the setting of the *miserere nobis*, pointing only to a final cadence in the tonica, B flat major, in table 94, giving an overall structure of the movement (Zybina 275). Further, in a brief note on the remarkable darkening of tonality at the end of the movement ("tonartliche Verdunklung"), she refers to Schick (Zybina 286). See also the brief reference to the plagal cadence at the end and the surprisingly dark harmonic setting in Marx-Weber 204–5, noting that this has been noticed in all older literature.

4. I am indebted to Stephen Jaeger and his use of the notion of 'arrested moment' in a literary context, as presented in a keynote lecture at the conference "The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage" (1–2 December 2022), arranged by the international network NetMAR.

Furthermore, at the outset of this final section of the *Agnus Dei*, in bar 31, the full scoring (for trombones, strings, and chorus) is thinned out, so that the "miserere nobis" is sung only by a tenor solo, accompanied by the bass, and even without the organ, which otherwise has been part of the so-called continuo group. When the solo soprano takes over and repeats the "miserere nobis", she also sings alone, only accompanied by the first and second violin. Between these two solos, a brief abrupt figure (in quavers) in the first and second violin, played forte, also call attention to the setting in these bars as a break with the previous musical flow.

Altogether, the conclusion to Wolfgang's first setting presents a strong example of what may be called 'arrested time' towards the end of the composition.⁴ But already the second invocation of the movement, where the "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi" is followed by "exaudi nos Domine" (sung twice by the solo soprano, here in g minor) represents a similar thinning out of the scoring. The "Agnus Dei" sentence is sung by the full chorus with all instruments (including the trombones), whereas the solo soprano is accompanied by only violins and continuo. The second iteration of the "exaudi nos" is stretched out, so that the syllable 'au' is sung over three bars, with one sustained tone in each. This short section (of six bars altogether) is prepared by a chromatic setting of the (second iteration of the) "Agnus Dei" sentence. Here the soprano voice carries out a lament figure (see further below), a descending musical figure in halftone steps, not only over an interval of a fourth as required for a traditional lament figure, but over an interval of a small sixth, i.e. from F down to A in halftone steps (bars 13 to 17, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 20).

Altogether, the two invocations are lifted out of the musical flow of the movement, which was established by the first iteration of the “Agnus Dei” invocation and its *parce nobis* in B flat major. The two indicated passages, bars 19–24 and 31–55, exemplify an idea of ‘arrested time’, which appears to emphasize the importance that Wolfgang at the time attached to these invocations. Especially the ambiguous tonality of the ending begs such an interpretation of the music.

In Wolfgang’s second setting (KV 195) of the Loreto litany, too, one finds similar instances of arrested time, none, however, as remarkable as the ending of KV 109. In this much larger, more demanding and sophisticated setting, there are some few more or less similar short instances of arrested time. A setting of the words “Kyrie eleison” (“Lord, have mercy upon us”) in the opening “Kyrie” movement is marked out from the general musical flow by longer note values to be performed in a sudden piano (bars 10–11, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 138). But although there are several such instances where the musical flow is broken up and the listener is alerted for a moment, it is again the ending of the “Agnus Dei” movement that stands out in particular from the previous musical course. It concludes, again, in a plagal cadence (subdominant G major to tonica D major). Here, however, there is no doubt that the work does end in D major, which is firmly consolidated in the previous bars although it ends in a subdued conclusion, leaving the prayer without a firm end. In bar 41, the “miserere” invocation of the third “Agnus Dei” begins in a sudden piano, with the soprano voice (of the chorus) performing a lament figure (from C down to F sharp, i.e. over an augmented fourth, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 249). A forceful choral “miserere” follows, which is then repeated calmly and in piano, with the soprano voice, now doubled by the first violin, carrying out another lament figure over an interval of a fourth (this time from A down to E; bar 45, Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* 250).

The Loreto Pilgrimage and the *Litany of Loreto*

According to late medieval/early modern narratives, the Virgin Mary’s house in Nazareth miraculously arrived in Loreto (in North-Eastern Italy) in 1295 after a short stop-over of three years in Dalmatia, today’s Croatia. The House of Loreto became a major (Roman Catholic) pilgrimage site, at least from the sixteenth

century onwards. Printed stories of the miraculous event began to appear in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, one of the first governors of the sanctuary, wrote the first history of its origins in Latin, publishing it in 1472. His book was translated into several languages, its text also providing explanatory displays for visitors at the shrine. Half a century later, another history, Girolamo Angelitta's *Lauretanae Virginis historia*, published around 1531, reached a large readership with several republications at the end of the sixteenth century in Italian and French translations (Vélez 51–52).

Karin Vélez has understood the myth of the House of Loreto and its early modern dissemination over the entire Catholic world with replicas or architectural quotations of the Loreto house as a parable of Catholic expansion at this time:

[The parable] turns out to be a strikingly accurate one for rendering a lesson about how Catholics moved. Numerous Catholic devotees of Loreto literally charted miraculous escape routes out of desperate situations of fear, violence, forced coexistence, and death, somehow reintegrating themselves into new, faith-filled communities. Trailing the footsteps of such refugees was an odd and uncomfortable road for Catholic expansion to take, and an even stranger one to glorify. But the historical record shows that whenever and wherever these experiences of flight and landing repeated, the Loreto devotion could find new roots (Vélez 244).

In the seventeenth century, going on a pilgrimage to Loreto was “a ritual of spiritual cleansing” (Vélez 77). Vélez points to a spiritual guide for Loreto pilgrims written by the French Jesuit Louis Richeôme. His *Le Pelerin de Lorete* (1604) “reads like a paean to interiority” (Vélez 77):

In the conclusion to his book, Richeôme advises the reader on exactly what to ponder on one's journey home from Loreto: not the material remnants of the miraculous flying Holy House at Loreto, but the life of Christ. The Jesuit's generalized afterthoughts for pilgrimage are not tied to the physical shrine center of Loreto but could apply to *any* holy site, imagined or real. Richeôme's book is thus frequently interpreted as representing a turning point for European pilgrimages, a moment when literal visits to specific shrines were being replaced by purely interior journeys. (Vélez 77–78)

Some of the agents behind the rise of Loreto's widespread popularity belonged to the powerful elite. Some were influenced by the episcopal reforms of the Council of Trent; many were members of the Jesuit Order, but among the agents there were also more ordinary Catholics. Among these were numerous Slavic pilgrims who arrived in the middle of the sixteenth century (Vélez 49–50 and 75). The interiority of Richeôme's guide was part of a general trend during the long seventeenth century for austere interior spirituality, possibly influenced also by exterior circumstances, and not necessarily excluding (sometimes even pompous) exterior ritual events. Not least what has been referred to as the Little Ice Age had among other factors providing a general atmosphere of crisis since the end of the sixteenth century (Lehmann, esp. 209–12).⁵

s. Lehmann points out similarities in Catholic and Protestant responses to an overall feeling of crisis.

Among the consequences of this general atmosphere of crisis was a widespread emphasis on interior religious piety, part of a long, ascetic religious tradition, rejecting the value of all worldly aspirations and goods, and indeed in some cases the created world altogether. This was clearly manifested for instance in Emilio de' Cavalieri's musical drama *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo* (*The Play of Soul and Body*, Rome 1600), to a text by Padre Agostino Manni professing the renunciation of the world. The musical and theatrical means employed to convey its austere message, however, seem, at least to modern sensibilities, to contradict the message itself. Apparently, at the time the religious message was seen to justify the extravagance involved in the actual performance (Petersen, "Musical", esp. 245–47). The same would be true for the performative aspects connected to pilgrimage practices, which would often include musical and visual splendour, although the intended aim would be purely spiritual.

6. Blazey 18: "For Loreto itself, we have little information concerning the performance practices associated with the litany: apart from the fact that the text was universally associated with the Santa Casa, and that the litany was frequently described on title pages as 'the litanies which are sung at the Holy House of Loreto', there is no direct evidence concerning its role there beyond the existence of several litany collections and isolated settings (all for two or three choirs) by several *maestri di cappella* employed at the Santa Casa."

The *Litaniae lauretanae* (the *Litany of Loreto*), associated with the House of Loreto,⁶ and with Loreto devotions all over the Catholic world, does not mention Loreto or the myth of the Virgin's travelling house. Like the Loreto myth, the litany in its aforementioned structure, beginning with a "Kyrie" section and ending with an "Agnus Dei", stands as a parable of Catholic faith (with an emphasis on the Virgin Mary) and its expansion. Also, the Loreto litany had spread to all Catholic parts of the world since its first appearance in the sixteenth century. Physical representations of the house of Loreto were built in many places all over the Catholic world, not

7. Original German text: "Letania Loretana. Ordnung der Letaney von unser lieben frawen, wie sy zu Loreto alle Samstag gehalten, sampt etlichen gebetten, mit eüsserlicher stimme und innerlichen gedanken, welche von den Theologis vocales und mentales orationes genent werden . . ." English translations, here and elsewhere, are mine, unless otherwise indicated. See also Kammer 11–13 and Dürig 9–15, discussing various more or less similar Marian litanies going back several centuries. Blazey mentions that its origins have been traced to the Byzantine Akathistos hymn (Blazey 4). Cf. also Vélez 206.

8. Original German text: "Erstlich singt die Clerisey die Letaney wie folgt."

9. Blazey 17–18: "In spite of its being as standard a text as, for example, the Marian antiphons with which it is often associated, the positioning of the Litany of Loreto in liturgical books rarely gives any clue as to where or when it was to be performed. [...] While [...] the only known 'official' liturgy to include the text, may seem unequivocally to indicate the allocation of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin to a particular association with Marian feasts, it is in the statutes and similar documents concerning the activities of particular institutions, rather than in manuals intended for the Church as a whole, that the most informative references are made to the recitation or singing of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin." For Mozart's early *Litaniae lauretanae* (KV 109), it seems likely that it was performed in the chapel of the Mirabell Palace in Salzburg, where the court would spend the summer and where, during the first week after the move, devotions were held daily, concluding with a litany (Zybina 69–71). See also Kammer 11–13; Vélez 206.

least during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Vélez 117–52). During the same period, frequent performances of Marian ceremonies with the *Litany of Loreto* (in various musical settings) in such symbolic Loreto houses, as well as pious individual recitations of the litany, constituted a popular tradition of Marian invocation and spiritual, symbolic "Loreto" pilgrimages all over early modern Catholicism (Vélez 203–208).

The earliest known printed edition of the litany, published in 1558, introduces it as:

Letania Loretana. Order of the litany of our beloved Lady, as it is held in Loreto each Saturday with exterior voices and heartfelt thoughts, together with some prayers.⁷ The Theologians describe the ceremony as vocal and mental prayers. (Paulus 576)

The order points out that the ceremony begins with the clergy singing the litany, whereafter the Latin text of the litany is given (Paulus 576).⁸ The text given only deviates slightly from later common versions of the *Litany of Loreto*.

The *Litaniae lauretanae* was officially approved by Pope Sixtus V in 1587, who also granted an indulgence of two hundred days for its recitation (Vélez 206). Despite its official position in the Catholic Church from this time onwards, it is not easy to find precise descriptions of its uses in liturgical books.⁹ The *Litany of Loreto* was sometimes sung on Saturdays after Compline in the Office for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and maybe for all Marian feasts. Also, it seems that it was sung in public worship and confraternity meetings during Lent. The litany was sung during the Devotion of the Forty Hours as a preface to the spiritual exercises of the Oratorians. In some churches, the litany was sung in procession; at San Marco in Venice, the litany was sung before an icon of the Virgin. Also, it was used to invoke the intercession of the Virgin during the 1630 plague (Blazey 27).

As already stated, the text does not mention Loreto. Only the title and its use for Loreto devotions bring about associations to the House of Loreto. In this way, it parallels Richeôme's understanding of the Loreto pilgrimage. The focus, in the end, is Christ and his salvific life and death. This is evident from the textual invocations and the overall form of the litany.

Musical Settings of the *Litany of Loreto*

The *Litany of Loreto* has been set in polyphony numerous times since the sixteenth century, as well as in grand settings with soloists and orchestra in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all over Catholic Europe. Roth lists forty settings in polyphony from the late sixteenth century, e.g. by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–94), Orlande de Lassus (1532–94), Giovanni Gabrieli (1557–1612), Felice Anerio (1560–1614), and Hans Leo Haßler (1564–1612), to mention some of the most well-known composers of the time (Roth 11–21). In the seventeenth century, it was set e.g. by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Alessandro Grandi (1590–1630), Giovanni Rovetta (1595/97–1668; for all three composers' settings, see Blazey 24), Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704; see Hitchcock), and Heinrich Biber (1644–1704; see Dann and Sehna), again to mention only a few particularly famous composers. In the eighteenth century, such settings were still in great demand at the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg, in whose service Biber had worked.

W. A. Mozart's two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* in May 1771 and in 1774 belong in the context of a local Salzburg tradition. During Wolfgang's first twenty-five years, until he left Salzburg for good, his father Leopold had set the *Litany of Loreto* three times, his older friend and colleague Michael Haydn had made six settings, and another older colleague, Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729–77), had set the litany five times (Zybina 66, 68). Altogether, numerous Salzburg composers from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century set the *Litany of Loreto* (Fellerer 109–10). Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702–62) made twenty-two settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae* (Hintermaier, "Vorwort", in Mozart, Leopold xii).

Prominent settings in eighteenth-century Salzburg emphasized the Christological frame of the litany as much as the Marian parts. In performances of four Loreto litanies by Leopold Mozart and Michael Haydn, as well as the two by the young Wolfgang, made available on the website *YouTube*, the "Agnus Dei" takes up about a quarter of the whole litany, although its text constitutes three out of the total fifty-six lines of the litany.¹⁰

10. (1) Leopold Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* (c. 1760), conducted by Howard Arman, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6H0kMHFYV0&t=122s> (last accessed November 2021). This setting (in E flat major) of the *Litany of Loreto* is published in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (Mozart, Leopold), since Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, probably in the same year in which he composed his own second setting of the Loreto litany (1774), made a new version of the instrumental solo in the last part of the litany for oboe. It was originally composed for the alto trombone, but later for the viola by Leopold (see Hintermaier, "Vorwort", Mozart, Leopold ix).

(2) Michael Haydn, *Litaniae beatae Mariae virginis*, conducted by Martin Gester, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esNgkZsSWuE> (last accessed November 2021).

(3) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 109, conducted by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMt1eBc3wRs> (last accessed November 2021).

(4) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Litaniae lauretanae* KV 195, conducted by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oE8aGRFkQWk> (last accessed November 2021).

Wolfgang and His Father at Loreto

During their Italian travels, the young W. A. Mozart and his father Leopold stopped over at Loreto on more than one occasion. On one of these occasions, we know of their participation in a Marian devotion at Loreto (on 16 July 1770). In a letter dated 21 July 1770 written to his wife from Bologna during an Italian journey with the 14-year-old Wolfgang (on their way back from Rome), Leopold Mozart writes:

It just happened to be the 16th when we made our devotions in *Loretto*. I bought 6 little bells and various other things. *N.B.* besides relics, I am also bringing a piece of the Holy Cross from Rome with me. (*Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 199, including English translation)¹¹

11. Original German text: “Es traf eben auf den 16^{ten}, daß wir unsere Andacht in Loretto machten. Ich habe 6 Glöckl. und verschiedene andere Sachen gekauft. *NB* nebst Reliquien bringe ich auch einen heil: Kreuz *Particul* von Rom mit.”

Wolfgang added a postscript for both his mother and his older sister:

I congratulate Mama on her name-day and wish that Mama may live many 100 years yet and always enjoy good health, for which I always ask God, and I pray every day and will pray every day for both of you. When I get back, I cannot possibly regale you with anything, such as any little bells from Loreto and candles and little bonnets and fleas. In the meantime, may Mama keep well, I kiss Mama's hands 1000 times and remain unto death, your faithful son Wolfgang Mozart. (*Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 199, including English translation with a minor amendment)¹²

12. Original German text: “Ich gratuliere der mama zu dero namensfest, und wünsche das die mama noch möge viel 100 Jahr leben, und imer gesund bleiben, welches ich imer bey gott verlange, und bette alle tag und werde alle tag fleissig für ihnen beyde betten. Ich kann ohnmöglich mit etwas aufwarten, als mit etlichen loreto glökeln und kerzen und häubeln, und flöhe, wenn ich zurückkome, inzwischen lebe die mama wohl, ich küsse der mama 1000 mahl die hände und verbleibe bis in doth ihr getreuer sohn Wolfgang Mozart manu propria.”

Whereas Leopold's letter simply gives us the information that he and Wolfgang participated in a devotion in Loreto, Wolfgang's lively, affectionate, but also slightly ironic letter is difficult to assess. The pious, loving well wishes may in the first place seem to stand in opposition to the possibly condescending tone when he mentions the pious items from Loreto, including fleas. In one particular respect, however, his German text is ambiguous. In German, he writes “Ich kann ohnmöglich mit etwas aufwarten, als mit etlichen loreto glökeln und kerzen und häubeln, und flöhe, wenn ich zurückkome.” In the quoted translation, the German “als” has been (correctly) translated as “such as”. However, it may *also* mean “other than” and thus point to the small items Wolfgang (and his father) were indeed bringing home. I believe this to be a likely rendering of the meaning of the passage, since the fleas mentioned would likely be actual fleas that he was bringing with him.

In any case, the passage primarily seems to speak of his playfulness, jokingly juxtaposing the pious merchandise with the fleas that were probably unavoidable on a long road trip in those days (cf. Gutman 281). Clearly, the pious wishes are in no way ironically meant. Based on the letter, nothing can be said about Wolfgang's experience and thoughts about the Loreto devotion, and most likely, the boy would have taken it as something that simply belonged to the ecclesiastical culture, with which he – in general – must have been very familiar. At least since 1767, he had composed music for the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg, where his father was deputy *Kapellmeister*. In the fall of 1769, he was appointed (honorary) *Konzertmeister* at the court (i.e. without payment), participating frequently both as a composer and performer whenever he was present in Salzburg. In 1772, he was given formal employment with regular pay in this position (Eisen, "Leopold Mozart" 298; idem, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart" 307 and 309). Indeed, he must have been very accustomed to being around priests and other clergy in the Cathedral of Salzburg.

Another Example of Arrested Time in the Work of the Young Mozart

Before discussing the further implications of what I have called 'arrested time' in Wolfgang's *Litaniae lauretanae* compositions, I will point to one extremely clear example of such 'arrested time' in an even earlier composition of Wolfgang's, made when he was only 11 years old. It was his very first musical drama, *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* (*The Obligation of the First Commandment*, KV 35, to a libretto by Ignaz Anton Weiser), probably staged at the archbishop's residence in Salzburg on 12 March 1767. It was the first part of a trilogy, Michael Haydn and Anton Adlgasser setting the two other (now lost) parts, which were performed the following weeks (Konrad 26; Gutman 224). The commandment of the title refers to Matt. 22:37–38: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind." *Die Schuldigkeit* is an allegorical drama; it focuses on a 'lukewarm' Christian, Christ ('the Christian'), who is warned in his sleep by the figure of Justice, who reminds him of the upcoming Day of Judgement. He awakens terrified, and is calmed by the figure of Weltgeist ('Worldly Spirit'), but recalls the terrifying voice announcing the divine judgement.

The course of the devotional drama is altogether completely unsurprising; what stands out, however, is the way the young Mozart shaped the warning and the protagonist's recalling this warning. *Justice* sings an aria in A major, "Erwache, fauler Knecht" ("Awaken, lazy servant"; no. 3; Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 39–49, of 215 bars altogether in 2/4). The tempo is *andante* (calmly moving) in the first part. At bar 94, the tempo changes abruptly to *allegro* (fast) when *Justice* announces "Es rufet Höll' und Tod" ("Hell and Death call out") in a fanfare-like figure followed by fast string figures in semiquavers, ending abruptly with a general pause (bar 104). In bar 105, the tempo becomes *adagio* (slow) while *Justice* sings the actual warning in F sharp minor (accompanied by constant semiquaver triplets in the strings): "Du wirst von deinem Leben genaue Rechnung geben dem Richter, deinem Gott!" ("You will account in detail for your life to the Judge, your God!") (Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 44).

The subdued character of the calm soprano melody, sung (and accompanied) in *pianissimo*, is followed by a general pause (bar 116), after which the similar fast string figures (in *allegro*) as before the warning lead into a recapitulation of the first part of the aria ("Erwache, fauler Knecht"). The effect is not least that the flow of the aria is abruptly interrupted with the announcement of the Day of Judgement, whereas the actual cited warning receives its weight especially through its musical understatement.¹³ It seems to me to be a particularly impressive example of a consciously shaped 'arrested time' to emphasize what essentially is a ritual moment of impressing the fear of the ultimate judgement on the sleeping Christian. This becomes even more evident as the Worldly Spirit attempts to calm the awakening lukewarm, but now frightened, Christian (after the end of the aria) in a following recitative (Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 50–56). The Christian (Christ), however, cannot forget what he heard in his sleep, and briefly recalls the judgement warning, singing the first half of that sentence in exactly the same way (introduced also by the same string figure as before *Justice's* warning; Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit* 55, bars 48–51). It is sung in the same tempo with the same melody and accompaniment, to which, however, is now added a subdued solo trombone in *pianissimo* ('the last trumpet' or 'letzte Posaune', in German Bible translations is always rendered as a trombone; Petersen, "Music" col. 314). Here, again, the flow of the recitative is interrupted, with very much the same basic contents.

13. As pointed out in Petersen, "Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht" 191–92, the biblically based scene of the Final Judgement conjured up here is the same as described in the *Dies irae* sequence in the stanzas beginning with the *Tuba mirum*. This was set as a separate movement in Mozart's Requiem: "The probably eleven-year-old Mozart seems to have had the same overall musical approach to the last judgment as the thirty-five-year-old mature Mozart, notwithstanding the technical and compositional superiority of the grown-up Mozart" (Petersen, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus" col. 46).

The 'arrested time' of these passages serves to underline the urgency of the ritual confrontation with the imminent judgement, and the effect is heightened by the addition of the trombone the second time.

W. A. Mozart and the Notions of the Sacred and the Sublime

The notion of the sublime was important in literary and philosophical aesthetics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the notion only gradually came to be applied to music during the late eighteenth century, not least in appreciations of George Frideric Handel's music. Mozart does not seem to have been occupied with the idea of the sublime. In his youth in Salzburg he was to a large extent concerned with sacred music as a church musician and composer. This is clearly manifested in the large output of liturgical music from this period of his life. But also in his later life in Vienna, no longer employed by the church, his interest in church music continued, as is made clear in a letter to his father 12 April 1783, where, in passing, wanting his father to find and send him some of his (the father's) church music, he writes:

the *gusto* changes constantly – but – the changes in the *gusto* have unfortunately even extended to church music; but that should not happen – which is then also the reason why one finds the true church music – up under the roof – and almost eaten away by worms. (*Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 739, including English translation)¹⁴

14. Original German text: "daß sich der gusto immer ändert – und aber – daß sich die verränderung des gusto leider so gar bis auf die kirchen Music erstreckt hat; welches aber nicht seyn sollte – woher es dann auch kömmt, daß man die wahre kirchen Music – unter dem dache – und fast von würmern gefressen – findet."

His late Mass compositions, not least including his famous, already mentioned (unfinished) Requiem of 1791, attest to this interest. Much in Mozart's church music can be understood by reference to contemporary notions of the sublime (Petersen, "Sacred Space" 185–95; idem, "Time and Space", esp. 298–302; idem, "Notion" 343–47). Such interpretations, however, can only be made as an afterthought, based on the realization that the sacred and the sublime have much in common, as famously pointed out by Rudolf Otto in his *Das Heilige* (*The Idea of the Holy*, 1917, with numerous later revisions/editions).

There is indeed no evidence that Mozart was acquainted with the

philosophical, aesthetic discourses in which the sublime played an ever-increasing role in the eighteenth century, although he did use the German word “erhaben” (corresponding to the English “sublime”) in passing in a letter to his father, written 28 December 1782. Here he characterizes an ode (by the poet Johann Nepomuk Michael Denis) as “erhaben, schön, alles was sie wollen – allein – zu übertrieben schwülstig für meine feine Ohren” (“sublime, beautiful, everything you could wish – only – too exaggeratedly turgid for my fine ears”; *Digitale Mozart Edition*, BD 715, including English translation). He thus clearly understood “erhaben” (“sublime”) as a word to characterize the lofty style of the poem, but not as a general notion for a goal that art or music should strive to achieve.

The most impressive examples of grandeur and power in his music, which may be associated with a sublime musical style, include the element of terror, which in literary and philosophical aesthetics had been incorporated as an essential element in the notion of the sublime by Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant (in each their way). This is especially so in his opera *Don Giovanni* (1787 to a libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte) in the supernatural scenes in which Giovanni is confronted with the figure of the dead *commendatore* (Petersen, “Sacred Space” 191–92; idem, “Time and Space” 301). More or less similarly, such ‘sublime’ passages are found in the confrontations with numinous forces and figures in *Idomeneo* (1780–81; see Petersen, “Mozart und das Jüngste” 199–202 and Hammerstein 151–78).¹⁵ Such passages are also found in *Crucifixus* movements in the Credo of (especially some of) his Mass compositions, and in his Requiem Mass as well as in some other liturgical compositions, notably including the latest of his two sacramental litanies (KV 243, composed in 1776; see Petersen, “Sacred Space” 198–202 and 208–209).

15. Hammerstein gives clear descriptions of the features of this numinous style in Mozart's operas, also drawing up the historical background for such musical representations of the numinous in earlier operas by e.g. Monteverdi and Gluck. In my (here cited) contributions, I point out how these features in Mozart's works draw on his liturgical works and experiences.

One of the features to underline the spiritual weight of liturgical music was the so-called lament figure (used by Mozart in both of his settings of the *Litaniae lauretanae*), a chromatic descending line over an interval of a fourth (or more). Another traditional feature in German-speaking areas was the use of the trombone, ‘die letzte Posaune’, the trump of God (Hammerstein, esp. 156–70 and 173–78; Petersen, “Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht” 200–02; cf. also Petersen, “Music” col. 314).

The *Litaniae lauretanae* compositions are liturgical; *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* is a religious drama, a devotional but not liturgical work. In both cases, the music and the texts treat sacred matters. Although they belong in different discourses, the religious and the aesthetic, the notions of ‘the holy’ and ‘the sublime’ are closely related, as already mentioned. In *Das Heilige*, Rudolf Otto characterized the holy as a harmony of contrasts, the *mysterium tremendum* and *fascinatum*, further discussing the sublime as a “pale reflexion” of the holy:

No attempt of ours to describe this harmony of contrasts in the import of the *mysterium* can really succeed; but it may perhaps be adumbrated, as it were from a distance, by taking an analogy from a region belonging not to religion, but to aesthetics. In the category and feeling of the *sublime* we have a counterpart to it, though it is true it is but a pale reflexion, and moreover involves difficulties of analysis all its own. The analogies between the consciousness of the sublime and of the numinous may easily be grasped. [Note: We are often prone to resort to this familiar feeling-content to fill out the negative concept ‘transcendent’, explaining frankly God’s ‘transcendence’ by His ‘sublimity’. As a figurative analogical description this is perfectly allowable, but it would be an error if we meant it literally and in earnest. Religious feelings are not the same as aesthetic feelings, and ‘the sublime’ is as definitely an aesthetic term as ‘the beautiful’, however widely different may be the facts denoted by the words.] (Otto 41)

Recently, Stephen Jaeger, in his *The Sense of the Sublime in the Middle Ages* (2022), has suggested “turn[ing] the relationship around and argu[ing] that the aesthetic is prior to the religious” (Jaeger 15). Jaeger asserts:

the religious is named, circumscribed, and often depicted, while the object of the sublime is open to an infinity of forms and ideas producing an infinity of manifestations. [...] An argument can be made that awe, amazement, wonder, and fascination – as aesthetic responses – are the ground in which religious sentiments awaken, and that the powerful, the terrifying and the beautiful have equal shares in the creation of a conception of God. (Jaeger 15)

Inevitably, human religious experience will ultimately be based on interpretations of sensory experiences, including what one

might sometimes sense intuitively without understanding it. Thus, religion inevitably includes sensory experience, taken seriously as a basis for phenomenological interpretation and with a continuous dichotomy between sensory experience and intellectual, as well as emotional, subjective interpretation. Indeed, even revelations have to be experienced. In this sense, the aesthetic, the sensory, has a primary, prioritized position in religious understanding and expression. When music attempts to respond to the holy, it does so through the composer's experience of holiness.

This also comes to the fore in a statement, purportedly made by Mozart, referring to his childhood religious experiences.¹⁶ According to Friedrich Rochlitz, the author of this anecdote (as well as several other anecdotes) about Mozart, in a conversation in Leipzig in 1789 at the house of the then Thomas Cantor, Johann Friedrich Doles, Mozart used the composition of the *Agnus Dei* of the Roman Mass as an example, pointing to his childhood religious experience, which

admittedly tends to get lost as one goes through life on this earth; but – at least in my case – if one looks once again at those words heard a thousand times over with the intent of setting them to music, all of this revives and stands before you, and moves your soul. (Solomon 39; Petersen, “Sacred Space” 194; English translation by Solomon)

Much of Mozart's church music and much of his other music may be characterized by the notion of ‘the sublime’, and his Requiem, finished by his younger friend, the composer Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803), was called sublime only a few years after Mozart's death (Petersen, “Notions” 340; cf. Keefe 11–34). However, it seems more relevant to claim that this sublime church music represents or re-represents experiences, or memories of experiences, of the holy.

Mozart and ‘Arrested Time’

The feature of ‘arrested time’ that I have pointed to in Mozart's *Litaniae lauretanae* and in *Die Schuldigkeit* is by no means only found in these works, although at present I do not know of any systematic investigation of this feature in Mozart's work. A striking example is found in his *Don Giovanni* in the so-called churchyard scene, when the *commendatore* in the shape of a statue speaks to Giovanni from the realm of the dead in liturgical recitatives accompanied by

16. It has been debated whether the statement, which I quote and discuss in the following, may be trusted as a statement by Mozart. It was transmitted by Friedrich Rochlitz among other anecdotes about Mozart, the present one published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitschrift* in 1801 from a conversation at which Rochlitz claimed to have been present. See the discussion in Solomon, esp. 38–41 and 48–49. As pointed out in Petersen, “Sacred Space” 193–95, Solomon's critical attitude to Rochlitz's general trustworthiness should be taken *ad notam*. However, as Solomon also points out, there may indeed be cores of truth in the Rochlitz anecdotes. In view of Solomon's critical discussion, however, the text should not be taken as a true verbatim record of Mozart's words, but as a later paraphrase. Especially in the passage quoted here, the text rings true in the context of Mozart's biography and, not least, his liturgical compositions. Nothing concrete points to the statement being false in its general meaning. Indeed, Rochlitz himself, in his account, pointed out that he rendered Mozart's statement according to its meaning, not the exact words (Solomon 39).

wind instruments including trombones in a chorale-like setting completely upsetting the pace of the surrounding recitatives (cf. Petersen, “Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht” 199–202). It does not occur in the *Agnus Dei* movements in the two sacramental litanies (*Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento*, KV 125 of March 1772 and KV 243 of 1776). Nor is it generally found in the *Agnus Dei* movements of his early Masses (no *Agnus Dei* movement was composed during his time in Vienna, both the Mass in c minor KV 437 and the Requiem remaining unfinished). However, at the second “*Agnus Dei*” invocation in the *Agnus Dei* of his early *Waisenhaus Mass* KV 139 in c minor (1768) an instance of this feature stands out: the last iteration of the “*miserere nobis*” is preceded by a general pause (second half of bar 39). Then the *miserere* is sung (by the chorus) in long sustained chords, each lasting a full bar (bars 40–43; Mozart, “*Waisenhaus Mass*” 113–14).

‘Arrested Time’ and ‘Ritual Markers’ in Mozart’s Musical Loreto Pilgrimage

In the following, I am using the anthropological notion of ritual heuristically, in part since there is no general consensus about how to define ritual in general. In the context of medieval church ceremonies, however, the understanding of Clifford Geertz, brought into medieval liturgical studies by C. Clifford Flanigan in the 1980s, characterizes rituals as events through which general beliefs of participants are reinforced or confirmed. This is expressed in Geertz’s famous dictum, “in a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined [...] turn out to be the same world”, corresponding in substance to a long-standing traditional (medieval) theological understanding that the general Christian doctrine must agree with what is experienced in a liturgical ceremony: “*lex credendi, lex orandi*” (Petersen, “Ritual” 191–96). In the Middle Ages (and by extension also in the early modern ‘Tridentine’ liturgy that prevailed in the Catholic Church up to the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s), this basic understanding of medieval liturgical ceremonies is corroborated by theoretical considerations by medieval theologians and commentators of the liturgy itself, albeit in a sacramental terminology, which during the crucial centuries from the Carolingians to the High Middle Ages was not entirely stable. (Petersen, “Ritual” 195)

Looking at liturgical ceremonies in the Western Roman tradition (up to and including Lutheran liturgies after the Lutheran reformations of the sixteenth century), one may note that they tend to oscillate between narrative or linear time representation and moments of direct communication with the divine (Petersen, “Representation” 340–41). In a Mass, for instance, narrative readings and songs (for instance representing biblical episodes) are constantly alternating with prayers to God and (other) moments of particular sacramental intensity, such as baptism, communion, blessings, divine messages, and congregational responses to such messages. This may for instance be an announcement of Christ’s resurrection during the Easter Mass and the hallelujah responses of the congregation to this message; sometimes such moments are musically represented, and at other times they are shaped in different media. In medieval Latin services, what has – problematically – been subsumed under the notion of ‘liturgical drama’ shows this mechanism in a particularly obvious way. Narration (in music and enactment) of a biblical story comes to a standstill, while a sacramental, liturgical, direct (*hic et nunc*) communication between the divine and the congregation present at the ceremony takes place. Among many obvious examples, the twelfth-century *Danielis ludus* from Beauvais exemplifies this in sudden moments of lamentation or celebration that interrupt the narrative flow of the enacted story (Petersen, “*Danielis ludus*” 203–06).

Seen in this perspective, the ‘arrested time’ in Mozart’s *Litaniae lauretanae* and other compositions mentioned here seems to represent a ‘ritual marker’. It seems to point to moments in a (musical) ritual, or in a (musical) representation of a ritual or ritual encounter (as in *Die Schuldigkeit* and *Don Giovanni*) where the experience of the numinous is intensified. Such moments point to a particular here and now, *hic et nunc*, standing out from what altogether may already be sacred, but as a moment where the experience of the ritual “revives and stands before you, and moves your soul”, as Mozart himself might have explained it.

In the early *Litaniae lauretanae*, the experience as it comes to the fore towards the end of the *Agnus Dei* as described in the analysis of the piece may be read to correspond to Richeôme’s aforementioned idea that the Loreto pilgrimage (and all pilgrimages) should continue in the minds of people, focusing on Christ. While there

is absolutely no reason to believe that Wolfgang would have known about Richeôme and his understanding of pilgrimage, such an understanding would likely have been integrated into the minds of many Catholics. Thus, it could well have been part of the ritual experience of a sensitive teenage boy like Wolfgang. Such an understanding of the meaning of the pilgrimage could give rise to what appears as a ritual afterthought in his response to what he had recently experienced in Loreto: a sacred moment of praying to Christ for mercy that would linger in his musical mind and could not end with the closure of a perfect cadence (dominant to tonica).¹⁷

17. I thank Fran Hopenwasser for helpful language polishing.

Appendix

Litaniae lauretanae, The *Litany of Loreto*, Latin–English, as used and divided according to the movements in Mozart's two *Litaniae lauretanae*:

Kyrie:

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. Christe audi nos. Christe exaudi nos. Pater de coelis Deus, miserere nobis. Fili redemptor mundi Deus, miserere nobis. Spiritus Sancte Deus, miserere nobis. Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis.

[Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Christ, hear us, Christ, hear us. Father in heaven, God, have mercy. Son, Saviour of the world, have mercy. Holy Spirit, God, have mercy. Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy.]

Sancta Maria:

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei genitrix, ora pro nobis. Sancta Virgo virginum, ora pro nobis. Mater Christi, o.p.n. Mater divinae gratiae, o.p.n. Mater purissima, o.p.n. Mater castissima, o.p.n. Mater inviolata, o.p.n. Mater intemerata, o.p.n. Mater amabilis, o.p.n. Mater admirabilis, o.p.n. Mater Creatoris, o.p.n. Mater Salvatoris, o.p.n. Virgo prudentissima, o.p.n. Virgo veneranda, o.p.n. Virgo praedicanda, o.p.n. Virgo potens, o.p.n. Virgo clemens, o.p.n. Virgo fidelis, o.p.n. Speculum justitiae, o.p.n. Sedes sapientiae, o.p.n. Causa nostrae laetitiae, o.p.n. Vas spirituale, o.p.n. Vas honorabile, o.p.n. Vas insigne devotionis, o.p.n. Rosa mystica, o.p.n. Turris Davidica, o.p.n. Turris eburnea, o.p.n. Domus aurea, o.p.n. Foederis arca, o.p.n. Janua coeli, o.p.n. Stella matutina, ora pro nobis.

[Holy Mary, pray for us. Holy mother of God, pray for us. Holy virgin of virgins, pray for us. Mother of Christ, p.f.u. Mother of divine grace, p.f.u. Mother most pure, p.f.u. Mother most chaste,

p.f.u. Mother inviolate, p.f.u. Mother undefiled, p.f.u. Mother most amiable, p.f.u. Mother most admirable, p.f.u. Mother of our Creator, p.f.u. Mother of our Saviour, p.f.u. Virgin most prudent, p.f.u. Virgin most venerable, p.f.u. Virgin most renowned, p.f.u. Virgin most powerful, p.f.u. Virgin most merciful, p.f.u. Virgin most faithful, p.f.u. Mirror of justice, p.f.u. Seat of wisdom, p.f.u. Cause of our joy, p.f.u. Spiritual vessel, p.f.u. Vessel of honour, p.f.u. Distinguished vessel of devotion, p.f.u. Mystical rose, p.f.u. Tower of David, p.f.u. Tower of ivory, p.f.u. House of gold, p.f.u. Ark of the covenant, p.f.u. Gate of heaven, p.f.u. Morning star, pray for us.]

Salus infirmorum:

Salus infirmorum, ora pro nobis. Refugium peccatorum, o.p.n. Consolatrix afflictorum, o.p.n. Auxilium Christianorum, ora pro nobis.

[Salvation of the frail, pray for us. Refuge of sinners, p.f.u. Comforter of the afflicted, p.f.u. Supporter of Christians, pray for us.]

Regina Angelorum:

Regina Angelorum, ora pro nobis. Regina Patriarcharum, o.p.n. Regina Prophetarum, o.p.n. Regina Apostolorum, o.p.n. Regina Martyrum, o.p.n. Regina Confessorum, o.p.n. Regina Virginum, o.p.n. Regina Sanctorum omnium, ora pro nobis.

[Queen of angels, pray for us. Queen of patriarchs, p.f.u. Queen of prophets, p.f.u. Queen of apostles, p.f.u. Queen of martyrs, p.f.u. Queen of confessors, p.f.u. Queen of virgins, p.f.u. Queen of all saints, pray for us.]

Agnus Dei:

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis Domine. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos Domine. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

[Lamb of God who carries the sins of the world, spare us, Lord. Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, hear us, Lord. Lamb of God, who carries the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.]

Bibliography

Musical Editions

Mozart, Leopold. *Lauretani-sche Litanei in Es*. Bearbeitet von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Hrsg. Ernst Hintermaier. W. A. Mozart. *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie X: Supplement, Werkgruppe 28: Bearbeitungen, Ergänzungen und Übertragungen fremder Werke, Band 1a. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1990.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots*. Vorgelegt von Franz Giegling. *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie I: Geistliche Gesangswerke, Werkgruppe 4: Oratorien, Geistliche Singspiele und Kantaten, Band 1. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958.

---. *Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento* KV 125. Vorgelegt von Hellmut Federhofer und Renate Federhofer-Königs. Urtext of the New Mozart Edition. Score. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1969.

---. *Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento* KV 243. Vorgelegt von Hellmut Federhofer und Renate Federhofer-Königs. Urtext of the New Mozart Edition. Score. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1969.

---. "Litaniae Lauretanae B.M.V. KV 109" und "Litaniae Lauretanae B.M.V. KV

195." Vorgelegt von Hellmut Federhofer und Renate Federhofer-Königs. *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie I: Geistliche Gesangswerke, Werkgruppe 2: Litanien, Vespern, Band 1: Litaneien. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1969. 3–22, 135–250.

---. Missa in c minor "Waisenhaus Mass" KV 139. Ed. by Walter Senn. Urtext of the New Mozart Edition. Score. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1968.

Books and Articles

Blazey, David Anthony. "The Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy." PhD Dissertation, University of Durham, 1990.

Dann, Elias and Jiří Sehnal. "Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz von." *Grove Music Online*. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (last accessed January 2023).

Digitale Mozart Edition (DME), Briefe und Dokumente, ed. by Anja Morgenstein, with English translations. <https://dme.mozarteum.at/en/letter-documents/> (last accessed January 2023).

Dürig, Walter. *Die Lauretani-sche Litanei: Entstehung, Verfasser, Aufbau und mariologi-*

scher Inhalt. St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1990.

Eisen, Cliff. "Mozart, (Johann Georg) Leopold." *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*. Ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon Patrick Keefe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 297–301.

---. "Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus. A. Biography." *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*. Ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon Patrick Keefe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 304–20.

Fellerer, Karl Gustav. *Die Kirchenmusik W. A. Mozarts*. Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1985.

Gutman, Robert. *W. Mozart: A Cultural Biography*. London: Pimlico, 1999.

Hammerstein, Reinhold. *Die Stimme aus der anderen Welt: über die Darstellung des Numinosen in der Oper von Monteverdi bis Mozart*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998.

Hitchcock, H. Wiley.

"Charpentier, Marc-Antoine." *Grove Music Online*. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (last accessed January 2023).

- Jaeger, Charles Stephen. *The Sense of the Sublime in the Middle Ages*. Revised and expanded edition, available at <https://illinois.academia.edu/StephenJaeger> (last accessed January 2023). Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 2022.
- Kammer, Carl. *Die Lauretanische Litanei*. Innsbruck: Verlag Felizian Rauch, 1960.
- Keefe, Simon Patrick. *Mozart's Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Konrad, Ulrich. *Mozart-Werkverzeichnis*. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2005.
- Lehmann, Hartmut. "Saving One's Soul in an Age of Crises." *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 1, no. 2 (2014): 207–17.
- Marx-Weber, Magda. "Litaneien." *Mozarts Kirchenmusik, Lieder und Chormusik: das Handbuch*. Ed. Thomas Hochradner und Günther Massenkeil. Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2006. 201–20.
- Otto, Rudolf. *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, trans. John Wilfred Harvey. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958 [1923].
- Paulus, Nikolaus. "Die Einführung der lauretanischen Litanei in Deutschland durch den seligen Canisius." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 26, no. 3 (1902): 574–83.
- Petersen, Nils Holger. "Danielis ludus: Transforming Clerics in the Twelfth Century." *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 31 (2019): 197–209.
- . "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus." *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, Vol. 20. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2022. Cols 43–49.
- . "Mozart und das Jüngste Gericht: der Komtur, die Posaune Gottes und ... Søren Kierkegaard." *Mozart und die Religion*. Ed. Peter Tschuggnall. Anif and Salzburg: Verlag Mueller-Speiser, 2010. 191–205.
- . "Music and Musical Instruments X. Music." *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, Vol. 20. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2022. Cols 309–315.
- . "A Musical Fight between Soul and Body in 1600." *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 1, no. 2 (2014): 233–47.
- . "The Notion of an Imaginary Space in Music: Interpreting Mozart's Requiem in Liturgical, Denominational, and Secular Contexts." *Invisibility: Reflections upon Visibility and Transcendence in Theology, Philosophy and the Arts*. Ed. Anna Vind, Iben Damgaard, Kirsten Busch Nielsen, and Sven Rune Havsteen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage, 2020. 339–59.
- . "Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy." *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*. Ed. Eric Csapo and Margaret Christina Miller. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 329–60.
- . "Ritual. Medieval Liturgy and the Senses: The Case of the Mandatum." *The Saturated Sensorium: Principles of Perception and Mediation in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen, Henning Laugerud, and Laura Katrine Skinnebach. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2015. 180–205.
- . "Sacred Space and Sublime Sacramental Piety: The Devotion of the Forty Hours and W. A. Mozart's Two Sacramental Litanies (Salzburg 1772

- and 1776).” *Espaces sacrés I*. Ed. Diana Mite Colceriu. Bucarest: Editura universității bucurestii, 2012 [= *Heterotopos 5* (2012)]: 171–211.
- . “Time and Space in W. A. Mozart’s Ave Verum Corpus (1791): Transcendence and the Fictive Space of the Musical Work.” *Transcendence and Sensoriness: Perceptions, Revelation, and the Arts*. Ed. Svein Aage Christoffersen, Geir Hellemo, Leonora Onarheim, Nils Holger Petersen, and Margunn Sandal. Leiden: Brill, 2015. 287–325.
- Roth, Joachim. *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1959.
- Schick, Hartmut. “Die Geistliche Musik.” *Mozart Handbuch*. Ed. Silke Leopold. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag: 2005. 164–247.
- Schmid, Manfred Hermann. *Mozart in Salzburg: ein Ort für sein Talent*. Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2006.
- Solomon, Maynard. “The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography.” *Mozart Studies*. Ed. Cliff Eisen. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. 1–59.
- Vélez, Karin. *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019.
- Zybina, Karina. *Die Litaneien von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart und die Salzburger Tradition*. Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2020.