TRANSLATING "TRANSITION": A CASE STUDY IN INTERPRETING SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN CHURCH MUSIC THROUGH A SURVEY OF THREE SETTINGS OF *CHRIST LAG IN TODESBANDEN*

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Abstract

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The sacred music of central Germany in the eighteenth century, particularly that of Johann Sebastian Bach, has been studied extensively. This scholarship extends well beyond the typical scope of inquiry, and (perhaps rightfully) seems to magnify the minutest details in its quest for authenticity and perfection. While the style that came to be synonymous with composers of the Baroque era has been expounded upon, the evolution of conventions that led to its refinement provide a further layer of intrigue. Seventeenth-century music was not a transition, but a fluent continuation, and even more so, a refinement of thought in its own right. This fluency can be seen through music of Sebastian Knüpfer (1633-1676) and Johann Kuhnau, who represent similar shifts into the height of music making in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Presented as a conductor's compendium, this paper presents a case study into research of historical performance practices of seventeenth-century protestant Germany, and samples a wide but focused range of sources in order to reach its conclusions. The three works being compared are based on the same text and represent different developmental periods beginning with the most well-known and working backward, creating a conduit through which to present these conventions in context. The ideals of dramatic intent and textual clarity (with particular importance on rhetoric) highlight specific areas of emphasis for the performer including form, function, and instrumentation. Still, it is not enough to simply consider these works as a part of some overarching lineage. An approach more reflective of current scholarship would be for performer and scholar alike to consider each composer or work individually, while simultaneously placing them in the proper historical context.

A survey of manuscripts (which to this point are unpublished as performing editions) between Knüpfer and Kuhnau reveal a wealth of music written in a style that elucidates the foundations of the now famed eighteenth-century protestant church cantatas. An analysis of a new performing edition of Knüpfer's *Christ lag in Todesbanden* prepared as part of this study and compared with existing editions by Bach and Kuhnau, will help to survey the performing conventions and style during this period, ultimately making it more accessible to a modern audience. This further emphasizes that the fluency of seventeenth-century music, partially codified through Kuhnau, Knüpfer, and Bach, was both the summation of an idea, and the flowering of an ideal.

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Dedication

This paper is dedicated to the remembrance of my grandparents:

Dzia Dzia (Charles), Busia (Loretta), Pappy (John), and Gram (Sara).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Topic Overview

Historically informed performance in early music (referring at least colloquially to that which was written before the likes of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart) was, even in the latter part of twentieth century, something that seemed unthinkable to most modern conductors and ensembles.[1] The latter half of the century benefited from evolving research, aided by the likes of many pioneers in the field. This led to both the birth of this H.I.P. movement as well as countless very public feuds amongst performers and scholars alike. One need only recall the famed Rifkin-Koopman debate that graced the pages of *Early Music* for several years in the late nineteen-nineties for one such example. While even this remains a polarizing subject to date,[2] the waves of interest and scholarship surrounding historically informed performance have laid the groundwork for a more discerning, if not accurate approach to the performance of early music. This provides musicians the benefit of detailed guidance, for example, regarding what cadences should be foreshortened or whether an *acciaccatura* was an

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[1]Nicholas Temperley, "The Movement puts a Stronger Premium on Novelty than on

[2] For the initial response by Ton Koopman to the writings of Rifkin and Andrew Parrott see "Bach's Choir: an ongoing story," *Early Music* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Feb., 1998), pp. 109-121. This is the continuation of an argument that arose following a 1981 presentation by Rifkin to the American Musicological Society, and followed up with an article "Bach's Chorus: A Preliminary Report" in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 123, No. 1677 (Nov. 1982). Rifkin's assertions were subsequently rebutted by Robert Marshall in "Bach's Chorus: A Preliminary Reply to Joshua Rifkin," Vol. 124, No. 1679 (Jan. 1983).

appropriate addition to the realization of the continuo player's figures. While the previous example detailing the size of Bach's choir is well reasoned on both sides, and strives for authenticity, are we able to discern what is truly authentic in every case? Perhaps more importantly, does this scholarship imply the same set of standards for music that preceded the likes of Bach?

The preponderance of recent scholarship specifically into eighteenth century music has empowered a new generation of performances by modern orchestras, often with a knowledgeable "specialist" leading the ensemble. The renewed interest in this repertory is in large part to the devotion of those scholars who have scoured through various primary sources in order to better interpret the unwritten musical conventions of an era. As such, mainstream ensembles feel empowered to re-establish these works as a part of their own repertory introducing a new generation of listeners to a style that is arguably steeped in expressive freedom and unpredictable excitement. This is not to say that every modern conductor has a copy of *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*[3] on their shelf, but they (at very least) recognize and often implement much of this type of valuable scholarship into their performances. There are unmistakable benefits to a newly developed accessibility to this music, but the adage that a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing should give us pause.

In a similar guise, historically informed performances of eighteenth century masterworks are hardly *avant-garde* in the present generation; still, there is a pioneering group of musicians who continue to delve into new and unexplored repertory and its requisite historical performance standards. This

[3] A treatise by Quantz entitled "On Playing the Flute."

trend now extends further into the canon of later eighteenth and nineteenth century works with ensembles such as Gardiner's *Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique* leading the way. While there is a concurrent movement into the further study of performance practice of seventeenth century works, it does not extend far beyond the historically informed movement. This is perhaps in small part because of its fluent nature, with more variables that, the least of which, include instruments for which no modern equivalent exist.[4] Given that this newly substantiated understanding of eighteenth century music was vital to the incursion of historically informed performances reaching into nineteenth century music, could it not be a similarly essential gateway to analyzing music of the previous century as well?

As a result of these complexities, many have disregarded or incorrectly labeled the seventeenth century as transitional, having been dotted with certain gifted composers including the likes of Monteverdi, Schütz, and Buxtehude. While historians are correct to draw attention to these individuals, it is misguided to maintain them as the only bright spots of what was at worst, a period of great invention. In fact, there is much information to be gleaned from the precursors to the Protestant chorale cantata, especially as regards German musical accomplishments on the whole, as much of this music is worthy of performance in its own right. More often than not, scholars focus on tying the influence of one composer to the next, and in so doing create an indelible link to a more eminent style or trend. Yet the fluidity of seventeenth century, in all of its development,

[4] Jeffrey Kite-Powell and Stuart Carter, *A Performers Guide to Seventeenth Century Music,* 2nd edition (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012): xv.

takes this task from the traditional realm of musicology, to the practical application of performance, a discipline far more freeing than exacting. This assessment will inevitably draw links to the well-known church music hub of Leipzig, which presents familiar territory and those necessary compositional links that are undoubtedly important in the study of historical musicology. Yet as a performer compendium, this does little to inform actual music making.

Instead, we must remove the music from previously understood categories, and evaluate each individual work based on its musical and rhetorical characteristics. This methodology will, in turn, leave preconceived notions of style behind, and allow for fresh approach to music making that strives for both an egoless interpretation of the composer's intentions and a practical application of period performing conventions. It is true that designated "conductors" of the period share little resemblance with those of present day symphony orchestras. Within these modern circles, following generalized hard-and-fast rules arbitrarily extracted from informed performance practice, can lead to lackluster and unimaginative performances. As such, it is clear that a case-study for those outside the historically informed performance movement is needed to show that development from the seventeenth into the eighteenth century is fluid, organically changing in style and practice based on unique circumstances in each country and region. This dissertation, by way of studying three settings by composers who each held the same position, will demonstrate this variability, the need for a flexible approach by the conductor, and draw a connection from Renaissance to the Baroque while simultaneously demonstrating the details that make them distinct from each other.

Scope and Desired Outcomes

This study is designed as a compendium (from the prospective of a conductor) to performing seventeenth century sacred music using a chronological approach to trace the evolution of style from 1640-1730 in central Germany. This paper will expound upon the broader knowledge, resources, and analysis required in rendering this music in a way that befits its brilliance. As such, a comparison will be drawn between three works of the same text, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, by different composers holding the position of *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig: Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Kuhnau, and Johann Sebastian Bach. In addition to the previously mentioned connections, which form a baseline for assessment, the main means for evaluation will be performing materials from the period and those prepared from relevant manuscripts, including the new critical edition of Knüpfer's that was prepared as part of this paper. A succinct discussion of several national musical traditions that influenced the music of Protestant Germany and the state of other musical establishments will be discussed in order to place the proceedings in a historical context alongside the overall musical trends within continental Europe.

This study will address topics which will speak to the following desired outcomes: 1) A representative understanding of seventeenth century sacred music with respect to formal designs, forces, and performance practices and their subsequent application, 2) demonstrate the necessity of a fluid view of performance practice by establishing a clear lineage and development among sacred music in Leipzig, 3) provide a model for insightful and expressive study and performance of these works and finally, 4) enhance exposure to a seldom

heard repertory that is worthy of performance. Finally, the historical facts presented in the opening chapters will be used to help frame the eventual rhetorical (chapter 4) and musical (chapter 5) analyses of the three settings being compared in this study by tracing conventional eighteenth-century knowledge to seventeenth-century roots.

Such a comparison as this one does well to serve the larger intent of this paper; that is, to provide a methodology through which to analyze each individual work based on an investigation that considers historical and cultural trends and does not rely on a style guide, or even a study of a specific composer. It is important to keep in mind that a position of employment, surrounding regions or cities, and aspects of culture had varying effects on each of these composers and their musical output. This was particularly pronounced in the German speaking lands for myriad reasons. As such, it is necessary to establish the categories for evaluation that will be taken up in order to match the historical context that will be laid out in the succeeding chapters, with the music itself. There are three principal component categories within which a fluid comparison will be made between all three pieces: 1) Formal Design, 2) Texture & Harmony, and 3) Ensemble considerations.

Formal design will encompass areas of compositional structure, scoring and instrumentation, and structural elements that include borrowed or quoted thematic material. Harmony, which by the term itself seems self-evident to the listener, is further codified with respect to seventeenth century sensibilities and its increasingly complex palate, as well as considering specific textures which complement the overall congruence. Textual treatment will be peripherally

discussed in the context of the composer's use of rhetorical devices and their desired affect within the music. Finally, ensemble considerations will (briefly) address the complexities of tuning, temperament and the increasing importance and evolution of the basso continuo group.

Present State of Research

To begin (in a somewhat unorthodox manner), I'd like to layout a few particularly discernible misunderstandings surrounding early music that may be obviously inaccurate to some, but have come to be accepted by a previous generation as indisputable: 1) The inclusion of organ as the standard thoroughbass instrument for sacred music, 2) Palestrina was the savior of renaissance polyphony, and 3) that final cadential figures in oratorio always sound after the singer has finished.[5] Stuart Carter, in his preface to the first edition of *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth Century Music*, asserts that "It is trite, but nonetheless accurate, to say that the seventeenth century was an age of transition between the High Renaissance and the High Baroque."[6] The qualifying word "high," as it relates to these musical eras, implies that this "transition" was somehow inferior to the advances that both preceded and followed it. On the contrary, given the myriad changes that a term such as transitional would certainly cover, it would seem more appropriate to highlight the evolution of this era in order to spur further study into its many developments. To believe that a

[5] Stuart Carter takes up this cause in his preface to *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth Century Music*, yet my intention is to survey three aphorisms that are upheld as major tenets of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries respectively.
[6] Kite-Powell, *Performers Guide*, xv.

composer would have considered themselves transitional is not only a distortion of history, but serves to undercut the idea of Historically Informed Performance on the whole. If our objective as performers is to faithfully render such works as the composer had intended, providing them a meaningless label seems a curious movement away from the desired result. A better method seems to consider a composer or piece as an isolated entity whose performance is better informed by understanding the conventions and resources available during a given period and/or region. Accordingly, we should consider these performance practices in parallel strains, not one overarching style that governed all composers.

Glancing over so large a period with broad generalizations has inevitably led to many of the current confusions surrounding seventeenth-century practices. All-encompassing introductions to Baroque practices such as those of Mary Cyr for one example[7] are good summaries of an era, but non-starters with regard to comprehending style. Admittedly, the concept of performance practice and the ability to come to an understanding of such a fluid topic (especially given Carter's assertion of its "transitional" nature), is quite the daunting proposition. The hallmark of the *seconda prattica* is the freedom of its melodic lines that were strengthened by harmonic support, creating an overall affect with or without the inclusion of text.[8] Along with this newfound freedom came the opportunity for an adventurous harmonic structure that more ably included unprepared dissonances and tonal shifts that were wrought with dramatic intent. The tenets of this second practice are seen most clearly in the madrigals of Claudio Monteverdi, and

[7] Mary Cyr's *Performing Baroque Music* is a concise overview of generalizations surrounding Baroque music originally published in 1992.
[8] Kite-Powell, *Performers Guide,* xvi.

spelled out in an introduction to his fifth book of Madrigals (1605), which represented a turning point in the composer's output. Monteverdi endeavored to "let [the listeners] be assured that, with regard to the consonances and dissonances, there is still another way of considering them…with satisfaction and reason to the senses, [which] defends the modern method of composing."[9] The pairing, or rather combination, of voices and instruments added additional color and intrigue to ensembles that were in the previous century more homogenous as consorts which included different size instruments from the same family. The developing *concertato* style, from the Italian verb *concertare* (to coordinate or unite), provided composers with a further expressive tool that would imitate, enhance, and/or oppose vocal colors.[10] These circumstances were codified in part within the well-known writings of Michael Praetorius in *Syntagma Musicum* III. In this context, instruments served three primary purposes: 1) a replacement or doubling of vocal color, 2) to help elucidate a special affect or timbre, and 3) as an idiomatic representation of the instruments capabilities in a mixed ensemble.[11] Given the increasingly more elaborate harmonic language and its subsequent improvement and amalgamation within the *concertato* principle, it would seem crude to not acknowledge these masterful refinements as both a pinnacle and a continuation. There must also then be a way to codify seventeenth-century music that does not involve washing over it in sweeping oversimplifications. Such an

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[9] Claudio Monteverdi, "Foreword – Fifth Book of Madrigals" in *Source Readings in Music History,* ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), 409-410.
[10] Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), 66.
[11] James Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music at Braunshweig-Wolfenbüttel: A Study of Changing Tastes in the Seventeenth Century,* Vols. 1 and 2 (Ph. D. Diss.: City University of New York, 1983), 152-3

analysis begins with a simple and most important question: What is important to the musicians of this era?

What makes the response to this question even more complex is the state of (sacred) music in the German-speaking lands within the early seventeenth century. After Ludwig Senfl and Heinrich Isaac propagated a musical tradition that is equal parts secular medieval grit and competent floridity[12], northern composers such as Johann Hermann Schein and Samuel Scheidt focused more on a tradition of homophony, which would lead to the refinement of the chorale. Michael Praetorius, as outlined above, sought to advance this process by finding various combinations of instruments and voices to lengthen and expand musical textures into concerted works – a technique that was rooted in Italian practices.[13] This process would later be adopted and refined by Heinrich Schütz, whose years in Dresden were dramatically colored by two sojourns to Italy. His seeming disinterest with settings utilizing a chorale tune brings to light the fact that Lutheranism, despite its foothold in Saxony, did not reach into the country's substantial Catholic lands.[14] The eventual failure of the Peace of Augsburg that inevitably led to the dreaded Thirty Years War, engulfing an entire continent, left a country not only searching for a musical culture, but an identity.

The idea of text being central to both religion and music is paramount to demonstrating the eventually narrowing divide between secular and sacred music within the new *stile rappresentativo* (representative style). In addition to

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[12] Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 112.
[13] Brauer, *Instruments,* 105.
[14] Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work,* trans. Carl F. Pfatteicher (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 106.

Luther's assertion that the liturgy should be celebrated in the vernacular so that the congregant could be more connected with the ritual actions of the service, the Counter (or rather Tridentine) -Reformation demanded that the delivery of text in the Mass be rendered clearly and if needed, simply.[15] For example, Orlando di Lasso worked in Munich for the Duke of Bavaria, who was staunchly in favor of the liturgical reforms made by the Council of Trent. As Lasso's music (mostly) reflected this trend through his sublime polyphony, it also emphasized the ever important clarity of the Latin text. In an effort to advance this technique in Rome (and most of England) the homophonic technique *falsobordone* helped to point chant and other monophonic liturgical settings with underlying syllabic harmony for multiple voices that represented the text's natural inflection.[16] This technique also leant itself well to homophonic multi-voice structure as found in the music of Gregorio Allegri[17], Ludovico Viadana, and perhaps more famously within Monteverdi's *Vespro della beata Virgine* of 1610.[18] To demonstrate this closing gap between the sacred and dramatic, the example of *Sfogava con le Stelle,* from Monteverdi's fourth book of madrigals of 1603 demonstrates a similar use in secular music of the time. This textual clarity was not only paramount in sacred music but also in the dramatic music of the emerging *stile moderno*, emphasizing the natural inflection of the words. While monody was being taken to new heights in Florence, the development of *Recitar cantando* (speaking in song) provided

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[15] Alan W. Atlas, "Music For the Mass" in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2006), 112.
[16] Noel O'Regan, "Italy 1560-1600" in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2006), 89-90.
[17] For an example, see Figure 3 on pg. 25
[18] Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 56

composers the expressivity of speech like patterns within a musical framework. The most notable early instances of this stem from dramatic works by Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini (both members of the *Florentine Camerata*) but is mentioned specifically as part of the title in Emilio de Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo* (representation of the body and the soul) of 1600.[19]

Musique mesurée, a similar method to *falsobordone* was derived from the air de cour that also reflected the musical developments in France. This stemmed from a movement by the poets of *La Pléaide* in the middle of the sixteenth century that placed a similar premium on the proper accentuation of the text in dramatic music. This, too, hearkened back to the same Greek roots, which inspired Bardi's *Camerata* and was heard most notably in the music of Claude Le Jeune.[20] The result of these several simultaneous strains of declamatory style that arose throughout Europe and their eventual melding would become the basis for *recitativo semplice*.[21] The ensuing refinement of this genre became an important standard form in sacred music that was mastered by the Protestant German composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Johann Mattheson, a composer and music theorist who spent nearly his entire career in Hamburg, was well aware of these mingling national tendencies in music. Hamburg served as the most important German city for secular music and the development of opera, providing him a unique perspective that was well

[19] Ibid., 31.
[20] Jeanice Brooks, "France, 1560-1600" in *European Music*, 180.
[21] Mark A. Radice, "Heinrich Schütz and the Foundations of the 'Stile Recitativo' in Germany," *Bach,* Vol. 16, no. 4 (Oct., 1985): 11-12.

respected among musicians. Mattheson corroborates these stereotypes through his account that the "Italians execute the best, the French entertain the best, the Germans…study the best, and the English judge the best."[22]

As much as these various practices parallel each other in their development, a benchmark is needed in order to make a comparison that considers so many different variables. It is therefore entirely appropriate to approach the question of stylistic analysis from the standpoint of textual treatment, a common thread particularly in the ritualistic liturgies that encompass sacred music. Saxony was without question the musical epicenter of Germany for church music, and while Dresden's court exceeded no other in its opulent musical investments, it was Leipzig that held a more unique role in the propagation of Protestant music. Several factors contributed to the city's stature, the most important of which was its renowned University that served as an obvious destination for the learned, raising the level of civil discourse within its boundaries. The church's infrastructure was also intertwined with that of its schools including the university, and as a result the use of Latin (including within the liturgy) was continued into the eighteenth century, well after Luther's reforms were realized in this Protestant stronghold.[23] While there was undoubtedly a slowly declining percentage of Latin texts used within the principal church service in Leipzig, with vespers being the exception to that rule, such a transition is made evident beginning with the examination of the music of Sebastian

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[22] Margaret Seares, *Johann Mattheson's Pièces de clavecin and Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre: Mattheson's Universal Style in theory and Practice,* Royal Music Association Monographs 25 (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 18-19.
[23] Stephen A. Rose, ed., *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection* (Middletown, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 2014), xii-xiii.

Knüpfer, who served as *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig during the middle of the seventeenth century. One prominent example is a concerted work for voices and instruments, which included text in both Latin and German. The indication of two languages being interchangeable, not to mention the possibility of a macaronic text, signals a very clear transition in Leipzig church music. This topic will be expounded upon in a subsequent chapter and remains one of the primary inspirations for this study.

With this knowledge in mind, the scholarship presented here attempts to answer the previous question "what is important to [the musicians of] this era?" This will ultimately lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the music, that will be informed by trends and performance standards common on the continent that are not necessarily easily perceived simply by looking at a score. Certainly, the case above as regards text can be applied generically to many generations, and therefore seems a logical element to use as the baseline for comparison. At present, at least one or more detailed studies of Knüpfer's extant Latin church music has been undertaken, but his German church works remain largely neglected. In contrast, the extant music of J. S. Bach has been combed over in such an exhaustive fashion that can often become a point of contention. These modern elements, combined with Leipzig's lineage of great composers, the propensity of their concerted works to highlight German chorale, and the inherent familiarity with chorale texts presents a prime opportunity for further inquiry. As such, this study hopes to trace the evolution of style from the seventeenth to eighteenth century in central Germany using the examination of

three musical settings of the text *Christ Lag in Todesbanden* as a vehicle for extended analysis.

Provided the myriad regional developments (laid out in chapter 2) that began to arise around the state, and the fluid international tendencies that influenced the German-speaking lands, it is inevitable that summarizing each of these composers, like chapters in a book, allows us to take account of the entire scope of seventeenth-century music while also identifying individual contributions. Admittedly, these limitations reduce the scope of analysis to a microcosm of musical style that took hold in the Protestant lands of Saxony and beyond. The development of new variants on Lutheranism throughout what is now present day Germany, would further divide the country through the rise of Pietism and Calvinism in the North, which effectively countered the already staunchly Catholic South and East.[24] It is in the concentrated study of these lineages and their developments in musical and cultural trends that we can truly understand the music of this era as well as the tenets and influences that shaped its style. Moreover, it is not merely the regions and traditions that directly influenced Germany, but the concurrent composers working in other countries, principalities, and courts. Detailed knowledge of this kind will dispel the blanket notions of early music scholarship and provide performers with the resources they need to make informed decisions based on historical fact and not simply token knowledge. This approach alone will render seventeenth-century sacred music more accessible to the modern performer.

[24] John G. Gagliardo, *Germany Under the Old Regime, 1600-1790* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1991), 13.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Thirty Years War had engulfed most of present day Europe in violent conflict, and decimated many of the necessary functions of daily life on the continent. Although the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 allowed for the tolerance of Lutheranism within the Holy Roman Empire, the staunchly Catholic Emperor Ferdinand III once again tried to suppress such tolerance during his reign. What began as a religious war between Protestants and Catholics became more of a posturing for power throughout greater Europe pitting the house of Habsburg against the obviously Catholic Kingdom of France, underscoring the incredibly fluent nature of this conflict.[25] As tensions escalated, these powers were left searching for more nation states to join their causes, to augment their strength in numbers and resources. Despite the sheer size of the Protestant side, which included support from Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, the Roman Protestant States, France along with outside support from the Ottoman Empire and Russia, the magnitude of the Empire and its support from the east and South (Bohemia, Austria) remained a formidable force against these countries. Also siding with the Habsburg states was Catholic Spain, whose even longer standing conflict with the Dutch

[25] Derek Croxton and Tischer Anuschka, *The Peace of Westphalia: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), xv.

effectively moved the war west into an already formidable engagement among territorial neighbors.[26]

Because the Thirty Years War was waged primarily within the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, most notably in the areas that make up present day Germany, Italy, and the Czech Republic, these regions were not only physically damaged but also economically devastated. Even though Saxony did not join in the war effort in earnest until mid-1630, war raged on until the Peace of Westphalia was achieved in two stages beginning in May 1648. The Treaty of Münster marked the end of conflict with France on October 24, 1648, while perhaps the more significant Treaty of Osnabrück achieved peace among the Protestant lands. A much longer conflict (the Eighty Years War) between Spain and the Netherlands was also resolved following the signing of the Peace of Münster.[27] Vitally important to the former agreement was the establishment of sovereign nation states within Europe, created by the principle of self-determination also known as Westphalian Sovereignty. As such, a new map of Europe was established identifying new borders between countries and principalities, which allowed for worship and tolerance for other religious practices that were not the majority recognized Christian faith within a certain nation or imperial state.[28]

These boundaries serve as a stopping point to briefly survey the major musical establishments within Europe. Figure 1 shows the newly established map and the distribution of well-known composers serving in or moving among major

[26] Ibid., xiii.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

cities at the time immediately following the Peace of Westphalia. As mentioned above, the war effort had a devastating effect on the Habsburg lands with regard

Figure 1 – Modern European Map with composer locations following the Peace of Westphailia 1648.

to regional economic conditions, a situation which directly affected the quality of courtly (and even city) life. With funding being diverted away from every non-

essential entity, the arts and specifically music, suffered great setbacks as musicians were dismissed, leaving composers meager resources with which to write.[29] One need look no further than the city of Dresden to understand the toll the war took on court musicians. Heinrich Schütz, whose career in the employ of the elector of Saxony spanned nearly sixty years, best encapsulated this tribulation in his own words:

> "All can see how the praiseworthy [art of] music, among the other liberal arts, has not only been thrown into great decline and in some places utterly devastated through the continual, dangerous events of war in the dear fatherland of our German Nation, standing alongside other general ruin and widespread disorder which this unholy war brings with it. I myself also suffer this with regard to some of my musical compositions which I have had to set aside owing to a lack of publishers up to now, as at present, and until the Almighty might perhaps most quickly and graciously grant better times. In the meantime, however, and so that my God-given talent in so noble an art does not fall completely into disuse, but rather might create and offer something, if only slight, I decided to compose and now publish sundry small concertos, as harbingers, so to speak, of my musical works to the glory of God…"[30]

Yet beyond the obvious tumult surrounding the public practicing of Lutheranism during the war, the use of personal devotion and study became a common solution for worshippers. Time was spent considering scripture and religious themes in private in an effort to draw a personal connection to its substance and teaching. So too was music a part of this practice, as mentioned in the above example of Schütz, allows for smaller ensembles that were easier to

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[29] Michael Hughes, *Early Modern Germany, 1477-1806* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1992), 106.
[30] Heinrich Schütz and Gregory S. Johnston, *The Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105-106.

perform with fewer people in a more intimate setting. The chorale for example, which will be detailed later on as a primary vehicle to better reach congregants took on a much more personal, perhaps transcendent tone. These ideals gave rise to Pietism, a religious movement that took hold in the northern part of Germany and particularly in Dresden. In addition to the emphasis on personal piety, the movement railed against Lutheran doctrine, arguing that any outward displays of grandeur, including liturgical celebrations and services themselves, were meaningless and perfunctory.[31] With the pervasiveness of these offshoots within the region, which also included heavily Calvinist Berlin, Schütz likely had little use for the chorale. This circumstance, along with his training at the hands of Monteverdi in the late 1620's, would explain its curious absence as a thematic tool in his music.[32]

Leipzig on the other hand, in addition to being a University town, had another important distinction: it was a free imperial city, not governed by a single ruler making decisions. A legislative body set the municipality's laws and policies, an indication of the pluralistic nature of the city and its population. Beyond its mainstream Lutheran adherence, Leipzig's tolerant cosmopolitan populace still recognized, and in fact advocated for, a liturgy that included Latin, which was declining in popularity in this period, though it notably continued on at least through the time of Bach in his performance of the *Magnificat* in E-flat in 1723. This illustrates a tolerant culture that would have accepted the tenets of Pietism,

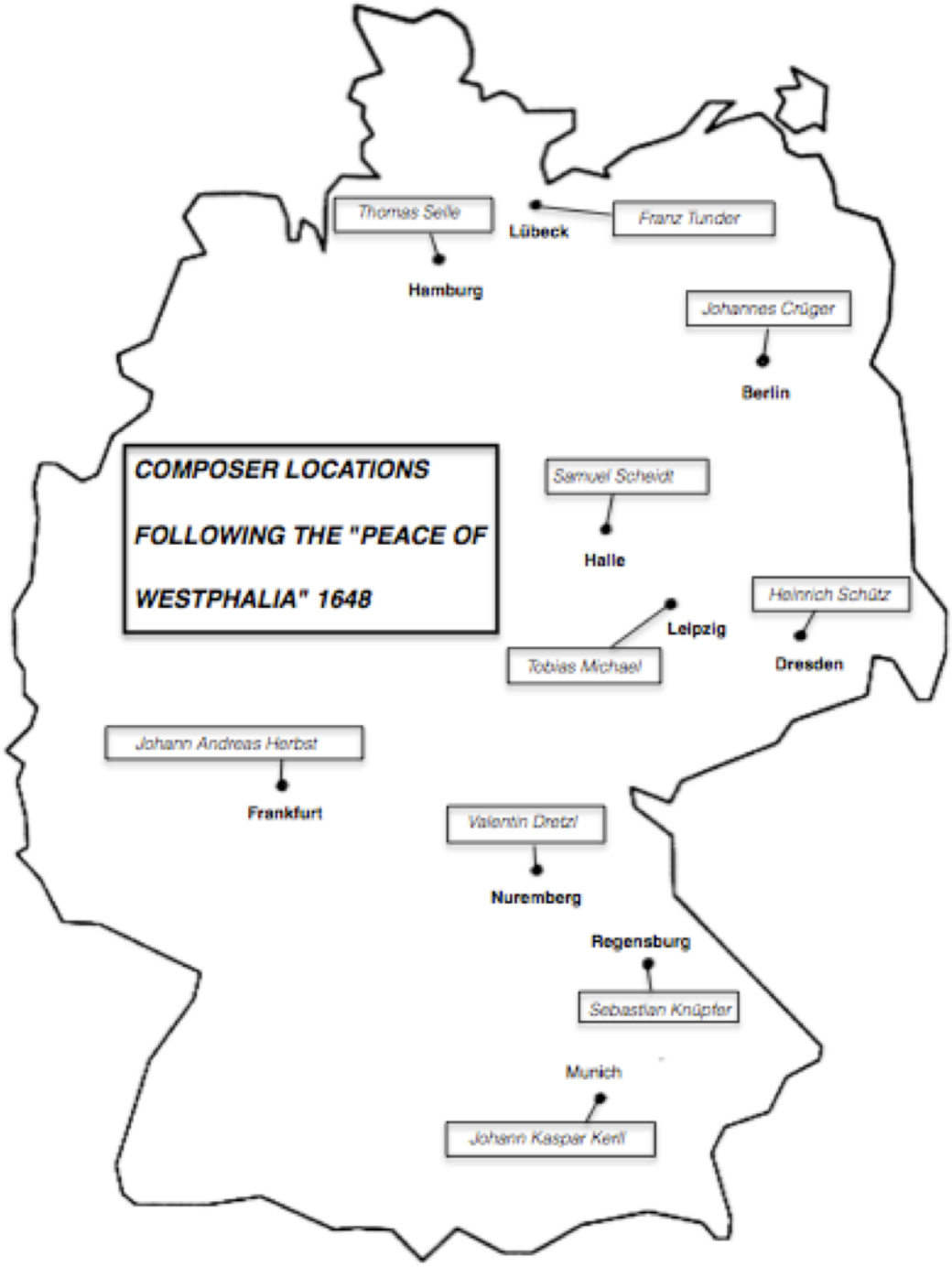
[31] Stephen Sturk, "Development of the German Protestant Cantata from 1648-1722" (DMA diss., North Dakota State University, 2009), 30.
[32] Moser, *Schütz,* 106.

though not to the extremes of Halle and other cities to the north.[33] In a broader sense, the city of Leipzig was representative of German music on the whole, particularly being immediately removed from the Thirty Years War. The city had the chance to reinvent itself through the influences of many different cultures and styles, and came to develop perhaps the most important invention of German sacred music of the period: the cantata, as it is now known.

With this revelation, it would be helpful to revisit the new boundaries established as a result of the Peace of Westphalia, but with focused attention on Germany as seen in Figure 2. Also relevant in this evaluation are its neighboring countries and other composers of note for either for their compositional prowess, or their employment in a prominent job. In 1648, Tobias Michael served as *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig, and although he was afforded the opportunity to enjoy the resurgence of music in that city brought about by Schein, his declining health would subsequently begin to diminish the functionality of the city's musical establishment. At the same time, a relatively young Sebastian Knüpfer was studying a coterie of subjects in addition to music at Regensburg, a Protestant stronghold in Germany's southeast. Beyond the fact that the composer's intellectual background was a logical fit for the city of Leipzig (and his initial sojourn there was to further his studies)[34], his exposure to the majority Catholic culture in Bavaria would surely affect his affinity for, or at least knowledge of Latin church music when he would replace Michael over a decade later. Leipzig

[33] Rose, *Leipzig Church Music,* xii-xiii
[34] David William Krause, "The Latin Choral Music of Sebastian Knüpfer with a Practical Edition of the Extant Works," (Ph. D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974), 12.

Figure 2 – Composers in Prominent German Cities 1648



was further encircled by the highly regarded Heinrich Schütz and later Matthias Weckman to the west in Dresden, with Samuel Scheidt in Halle and (illustrating just how long Bach's famed trek to hear Dietrich Buxtehude was) Franz Tunder in Lübeck.

Considering the location of Leipzig in the context of the other major musical centers in present day Germany and its neighboring nations, some specific conclusions can be drawn regarding the influx of non-native musical styles. Beyond the obvious connections between the Saxon city of Dresden and Venice, Carissimi's appointment as maestro di cappella at the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome would have provided an obvious link to an adventurous new sacred music that was both markedly different from its polyphonic background and rich in elements of the *seconda prattica*. On the Secular side of the spectrum, Johann Jacob Froberger's tenure in his post in Catholic Vienna was also augmented by a sojourn to Italy. His trek included a stop in Dresden to visit Matthias Weckmann, offering one example of his contact with a major court composer.[35] Froberger's virtuosic keyboard writing and development of the dance suite, an entity that already embodied French culture, helped define many elements of instrumental music during this period. A further connection is made via Johann Heinrich Schmeltzer, whose service in Austria (and subsequent appointments within the Hapsburg court chapel), along with his connections with the successive Italian *kapellmeisters*.[36] This preponderance of evidence makes it

[35] Howard Schott, "Froberger, Johann Jacob," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 30,2017.
[36] Schmeltzer assumed the position of Kapellmeister from Giovanni Felice Sances and Antonio Bertali likey served as a mentor to him at a young age.

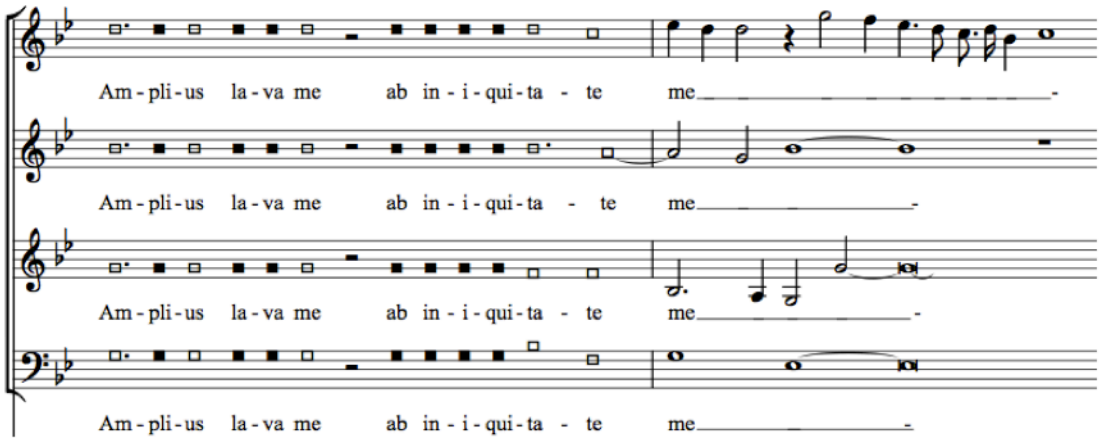
increasingly clear that Italy (and by proxy Austria) had the most profound effect on Germany's music in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The Florentine Camerata raised quite a vigorous argument against polyphony citing its limitations as regards expressivity and intelligibility of text. This group of scholars, under the patronage of Count Giovanni di Bardi, sought to make art (specifically music) become more related to affect in the late sixteenth century. The idea of monody, an ode sung by a single actor, was developed in order to provide a dramatic rendering of text or poetry, in advancement of an affect or (in more developed structures) a plot. This amounts to a solo melodic line, which was often delivered non-metrically, ornamented significantly, and was pitted against an independent supporting harmonic entity. Unrestricted by the contrapuntal molds of the previous century, these texts were allowed to more closely represent human emotion as articulated in Vincenzo Gallilei's *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* (Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music) of 1581: "its sole aim is to delight the ear, while that of ancient [Greek] music is to induce in another the same passion that one feels oneself."[37] The best-known composer who translated these values to dramatic music was Giulio Caccini; his views are encapsulated in his collection *Le nuove musiche* (the new music) of 1602.[38] The church too, in its use of *falsobordone*, found a medium through which to emphasize speech-like rhythms while adding a harmonic component. From its earliest improvised form, to the refined passages that adorned much of early seventeenth century church music, this modest harmonization of chant or

[37] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music* in Strunk (Vol. 3), 187.
[38] Tim Carter, "Italy 1600-1640" in *European Music*, 93.

plainsong served as a vehicle for pointing chant based melodies of, in particular, Psalm texts. One such famous example is found in Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere mei, Deus* that features plainsong with the more organized tenets of *falsobordone* and polyphony in one setting. An example of this form, featuring the homophonic chant texture is found at Figure 3. The eventual amalgamation of these two strains of speech-inflected singing led to the modern application of recitative, which proved to be a vital tool in the eventual refinement of the German Protestant church cantata.[39]

Figure 3 - Allegri: *Miserere mei, Deus* (m. 14-15)[40]



Elsewhere, Venice was, at its core, the very definition of a cosmopolitan center, serving as a port that welcomed traditions and styles from both east and west. Its reputation as an innovative city that strived to represent the latest cultural trends, not just music, resulted in a melding of sacred and secular that blurred any concrete distinction between the two spheres. Even the church in Venice operated on what can be best described as insular and proprietary

[39] Radice, *Recitativo*, 9.
[40] Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere mei, Deus,* ed. Rod Mather.

regulations regarding their liturgical practices, which seemed to be condoned by the blissful ignorance of Rome.[41]

Another earlier example is found in the very few settings of the polyphonic Mass Ordinary either written or in use in Venice, which was brought about by the tradition of only setting selected ordinary texts polyphonically.[42] It is well known that the Venetian polychoral style established at *San Marco* and refined by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrielli featured a divided ensemble taking up multiple positions within the church. Featured were multiple consorts, a term that in the seventeenth century represents a group(s) of voices, instruments, or a combination of both entities. These individual choirs would dovetail over each other, sharing cadential tonic chords that would both conclude one phrase and begin the next, sounding in what was known as antiphonal style. This alternation or joining at various intervals throughout a specific work was markedly different from Monteverdi's clear transition to *stile moderno* at the turn of the seventeenth century, as evidenced in both his motets and madrigals. His innovative use of independent vocal lines combined with an expanded harmonic palette that highlighted dissonance and harmony in combination was a concurrent refinement on the vocal styles being propagated in other cities. It was this confluence of style that provided a model for concerted music that infiltrated other regions and nations.

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[41] For an example of further reading see Michelle Fromson, "Themes of Exile in Willaert's Musica Nova," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 47 (3) (Fall 1994), 442-487.
[42] Alan W. Atlas, "Music for the Mass," in *European Music 1520-1640,* ed. James Harr (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 115.

The Venetian *cori spezzati* was a precursor to the large-scale concerted works of the late seventeenth century and is quite helpful in tracing the lineage of the German Baroque as it pertains to connections and influence derived from the performing and musical styles of Italy. Much of this association surrounds the court composers working at Dresden through the turn of the century. Michael Praetorius, who came to temporarily assist the Elector of Saxony's ailing court composer, was introduced to the newest Italian styles while present at the court, a place where he would also have occasion to encounter Heinrich Schütz several years later. Schütz, having traveled to Venice to work and study with the younger Giovanni Gabrielli, had assimilated these Venetian techniques into his own works[43] and was likely a valuable resource to Praetorius. While both composers employed various forms of concerted music as was championed in Italy, it is Praetorius's multi-volume treatise *Syntagma Musicum* that clearly outlines the processes and beliefs encompassed in his compositional style, specifically volume 2 which describes the uses for various instruments and volume 3 which details the process of combining those instruments and voices into twelve possible ensembles.[44]

While this development produced an obvious way to incorporate instruments into vocal music where notably no stringent formal instructions on the subject had yet existed, it also established what amounted to larger broken consorts. These individual entities would also have included the likes of a *coro favorito* and *capella,* distinctions given to vocal groups, which would play a large

[43] Palisca, *Baroque Music,* 102-103.
[44] Brauer, "Instruments," 113-130.

role in the middle of the century. The former was made up of a smaller group of solo singers or instrumentalists that often performed more intricate passages and would be highlighted by the entire ensemble in an effort to not only reinforce larger textures and ideas, but also to clarify form. Instruments filled one of three roles: they 1) substituted for voices, 2) created special timbres within a work, and finally 3) were used idiomatically where appropriate.[45] What is notably lacking, and a principle tenet of the Protestant German church music of the eighteenth century, is an independence of both vocal and instrumental lines within a concerted work. Championed by Monteverdi, the new dramatic style (talking again of the *seconda prattica*) was learned by Schütz during his second sojourn to Venice at the height of the Thirty Years war. While in Venice he was able to study and assimilate Monteverdi's musical style, and after purchasing instruments on behalf of the Elector of Saxony for his court, completed his first major offering in this new style, *Symphoniae Sacrae I* in 1629.[46]

Based on this overly abridged history, there are some generalizations about performance standards that can be gleaned from the continent's overall tendencies toward a new concerted style. The importance of dramatic intent cannot be overstated within the context of sacred music. This not only affects words and poetry, but also harmonic language, which served a primary vehicle to support the prevailing affect. Such a feat was achieved through the emergence of a basso continuo practice that provided a stable bass line, complete with harmonic underpinning that allowed a melody or melodies to sound as related to

[45] Ibid., 152-153
[46] Ibid., 189.

its foundation. Whether instruments or voices, these obbligato lines would be florid and often ornamented in contrast to the continuous bass, in an effort to clearly define affect or rhetoric.[47] While the practice of ornamenting in vocal music considers altering notes, singer and composer Christoph Bernhard, whose positions in both Hamburg and Dresden in the middle of the sixteenth century place him at the height of musical life in Germany, speaks to the difference between ornamentation and dramatic intent. In his treatise *Von der Singe-Kunst oder manier* (On the Art, or Manner of Singing), Bernhard divides the use of ornamentation into three categories: 1) the preservation of the notes, 2) the preservation of the text, and 3) the changing of the notes.[48] This second category, which he called *Cantar alla d'affetto* (singing with the affect) focused solely on the preservation of the words and not rhetoric for a clearly established dramatic intent. Bernhard also asserts that these same principles, while mainly for singers, could and should be applied by instrumentalists as well.[49]

While instruments would still double voices *colla parte* or play ritornelli as a consort, these amalgamated variants created the *concertato* style that was a hallmark of the seventeenth century. In contrast, other performance practices represent an overarching national style, but could vary from region to region. In Italy, for example, eight foot bowed bass instruments (like the violoncello) were not part of the standard basso continuo ensemble, but included only when called for as a melodic obbligato instrument, or when specified to double the bass as in

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[47] Kite-Powell, *Performers Guide,* xiv.
[48] Christoph Bernhard, "Von der Singe-Kunst, oder Manier (On the art of singing; or, Manier)," The Music Forum, Volume III, ed. William J. Mitchell and Felix Salzer, trans. Walter Hilse, 1-196 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 20.
[49] Ibid.

one famous example, *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* from Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* (1638).[50] It would have been a common participant within the continuo group in large-scale works for the church or theater to help project and reinforce the bass line in large spaces, a practice which was non-specific to any national style. *Chiavette* or high clefs, were also common in Italy, and would often notate scores either a third or fourth higher than actually intended in order to avoid ledger lines, making the notation more easily readable. This would require the performers to transpose at sight, a skill common among musicians of the time.[51] Pitch levels also varied widely from region to region, even within Italy. Considering the pitch standard of A in Venice can be approximated to 465 Hz, and the frequency of A in Rome was at least as low as 392 Hz, it is easy to conclude that there would have been many variants in between these benchmarks in other cities throughout the country.[52]

Beyond the obvious differences in pitch standards, there are further connections to be made regarding their various uses and the influence they had on musical centers in Germany. Following the model that traced the evolution of *concertato* style as was described previously, pitch levels can also be used to make direct correlations between instruments in use and how they both influenced a musical culture, and were treated musically within a composition. Perhaps the most stable example of this would be the cornetto, whose pitch standard did not waver temporally or geographically far from A≈465. In fact, this

[50] Kite-Powell, *Performers Guide,* 272.
[51] Ibid., 335.
[52] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow, Press, 2002), xlvii.

instrument and would remain that way for nearly three centuries until it fell out of use with the birth of the galant style. This was in no small part due to the physical limitations of the instrument, which if enlarged would render itself unplayable to most as a result of the near impossible reach needed to cover the finger holes.[53] Thus, the regular existence of *cornetti* in music necessitated a pitch level of at least A≈440 and by extension would almost certainly indicate knowledge of Venetian style and music. Yet the fluid nature of musical developments, illustrated by the wave of French style that captivated German-speaking lands at the turn of the eighteenth century, would see the oboe serve as a direct replacement for the limited *cornetto* and the requisite change in pitch standard (to between A≈415 to A≈392) that accompanied the introduction of these new instruments would eventually render this instrument obsolete.[54] One such record of this is found in Nuremberg, where cornetti were included on an instrument list as late as 1694 but were replaced by *hautboys* by 1697.[55] It is with this lens that the present study will attempt to assess the musical centers of German society and in particular, of Leipzig.

[53] Ibid., xl.
[54] Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, 137.
[55] Ibid., 136

CHAPTER 3

PERFORMANCE STANDARDS IN GERMAN CITIES

Because the musical milieu in Germany varied widely during the Baroque era, the cities and musical centers considered here are done so in order to draw a correlation to Leipzig and, by extension, to help limit the scope of the study. The hallmark of seventeenth-century music was a shift away from the limitations of modal polyphony into a style that was arguably more expressive and accessible; this hardly qualifies as a transition to the eighteenth century. The task is not merely to identify what constitutes this genre, but where and how it was nurtured. For the German-speaking lands, the regional variants of a less cultivated national musical identity would not allow any one particular "style" to be identified as German church music. The overall landscape of these musical developments began to flourish toward the latter decades of the century with rehabilitated musical resources and renewed interest in establishing a style that saw the juxtaposition of imported cosmopolitan trends (mainly from Italy and France) into something inherently German.[56]

While Italian influences were the basis for the newest imported forms and mediums, it was French style that swept through the country during the turn of the century leading to new norms in areas of pitch standards, instruments, and by extension, orchestration and formal designs. The city of Hamburg was largely spared the destruction that most German-speaking cities faced in the wake of the Thirty Years War and a result prospered in its role as the only public opera house

[56] Seares, *Das neu-eröffnete,* 21-22.

outside of Venice.[57] The establishment of the Hamburg Opera in 1678 saw its first works for the stage composed by Johann Theile, the court composer to Duke Christian Albrecht who relocated to Hamburg in exile during the war.[58] Theile would later serve as Kapellmeister in Wolfenbüttel and was no doubt influential in helping to establish opera there after his arrival in 1685.[59] Opera in Hamburg truly arrived by the early 1690's with the premiere of Johann Georg Conradi's *Die schöne und getreue Ariadne*, a work that well represents a shift to French sensibilities.

George Buelow asserts that *Ariadne* "is a cosmopolitan mixture of Venetian, German, and French musical styles in which the French spirit totally dominates everything by the recitatives."[60] With this shift in style comes a shift in instrumentation that would not be limited to the swapping of cornetto and oboe as mentioned in chapter 2. The addition of the bassoon and traverso (flute) among others, would have seen a shift in not only pitch, but timbre as well. Bruce Haynes cites the pitch standard for the Hamburg between A≈403, which the French would call *ton de chambre* (chamber pitch) and as low as A≈392. The opera would see continued success under the prolific output of Reinhard Keiser, whose tenure at the head of the opera would see a brief stint by G. F. Handel in the early eighteenth century. Even Handel's lone surviving opera from this

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[57] John Warrack, *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2001), 34-35.
[58] Heinz Becker and Lesle Lutz, "Hamburg," *Grove Music Online*, 27 May 2018. http:////www.oxfordmusiconline/grovemusic/10/1093/gmo/8781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000012268.
[59] Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, 135.
[60] George Buelow, "Die schöne und getreue Ariadne (Hamburg 1691): A Lost Opera by J. G. Conradi Rediscovered" in *Acta Musicologica* Vol 44., Fasc. 1 (Jan. – Jun., 1972), 111.

period, *Almira,* displays the full breadth of the mutli-national Hamburg conventions in contrast to his later works, which were likely shaped by his time in Italy.[61]

In a similar way to Hamburg, several musical centers throughout what is now present day Germany represented the most innovative and supportive havens for church musicians and composers. In most cases, the benefactors of these composers were more influenced by styles which infiltrated their courts and cities from abroad. A dated, yet accurate description given my Manfred Bukofzer proves a worthy summary of the varied sources for this new German style:

> "The wave of Italian influence that rolled over Germany in the first half of the [seventeenth] century was followed in its wake by a French one, and the assimilation and transformation of these stimuli gave German music its special problems. While the Catholic composers adopted the Italian style without essential changes the Protestant composers were faced with the task of bringing their precious heritage, the chorale, in harmony with the concertato style. The result of this fusion was the most original German contribution to the history of baroque music."[62]

Dresden

As previously mentioned, Dresden was one of the most prominent destinations for music in all of Germany. Although the town had its own municipal musicians, the most sought after posts were at the court of the Elector of Saxony. While the city's religious alliance changed with the convictions of its elector, the town remained staunchly protestant through the majority of the seventeenth century, and boasted an abundance of resources including a

[61] Warrack, *German Opera,* 55-56.
[62] Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1947), 78.

collection of instruments that in 1593 numbered 13 trumpets, 12 viols, 11 cornetts, 8 crumhorns, 8 dulcians and 5 one hand flutes.[63] Beyond these physical resources, the court boasted a list of first-rate composers the likes of which included noted renaissance composer Hans Leo Hassler, and Michael Praetorius whose incredible output of sacred music was unmatched among his contemporaries. Heinrich Schütz would later join Praetorius in 1615, and though he took over the Kapellmeister duties almost immediately, he would not officially hold that title until after Praetorius's death in 1621. Like other arts centers, the city was not immune to the plight of the Thirty Years war, which saw Schütz adapt his compositional method to a smaller ensemble, the makeup of which typically included pairs of instruments (violins)[64] with solo singers and basso continuo. At its prime under elector Johann Georg II, the court musicians totaled 53 in number in 1666, and though Schütz remained in the elector's employ, his role was reduced and his compositions came to be regarded as archaic.

The Northern Italian influence on the court of Dresden is readily apparent in every aspect of the music being composed for its auspices. Schütz was well known to have continued to use a pitch standard (likely from Praetorius) akin to that of Venice, which was A≈477 and referred to as *CammerThon*. This would have been consistent with the previously described list of instruments on hand from the turn of the century. The subsequent Italian influences at court (the likes of Antonio Lotti) under the tenure of Johann David Heinichen and the modern

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[63] Wolfram Steude, et al. "Dresden." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 31, 2017

[64] Brauer, "Instruments," 211-212.

obsession with all things French, saw a common usage of both A≈392 and A≈415, the latter of which won favor of Dresden's then Catholic court by 1730.[65]

Nuremberg

The city of Nuremberg touted a population of nearly 40,000 residents in the seventeenth century, earning it the distinction of the largest metropolitan hub in the region located south of Leipzig and halfway to Munich. The church there was reformed in 1524 and remained a central tenet of the city's patronage of the fine arts, even if the *Kapellmeister* position was not always filled with the most gifted of musicians.[66] In addition to a vibrant patronage of music, which continued long after the cities subsequent decline toward the middle of the seventeenth century, it was also a center for instrument makers, particularly wind instruments. Though *CammerThon* or *Cornet-ton* at A≈465 was common for the illustrious cornetti the city produced, it remained home to some of the best French woodwind makers through the middle of the eighteenth century.[67] Thus, while the pitch of the cornetto remained constant, the more common pitch standards became A≈415 (Cammerton) or the lower A≈392 (Tief-Cammerton), mirroring the standards at Leipzig.

Despite its prowess among the rest of Germany, the musicians working in Nuremberg remained curiously insular, with most of their schooling and subsequent employment was found within the confines of the city, despite a

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[65] Haynes, *Performing Pitch,* 217.
[66] Harold E. Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg During the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), 9.
[67] Haynes, *Performing Pitch,* 217.

select few who had brief sojourns abroad. Prominent composers from Nuremberg include the likes of both Johann and Johann Phillip Krieger and Johann Pachelbel. There were many notable developments there to the design of what would come to be known as the cantata, though it should be pointed out that few lack the refinement of the best Italian-influenced music of the day. The role of the continuo, for example, was not an independent bass line, but a doubling of the lowest sounding part that included figures; this practice, referred to here as *basso pro organo*[68] is more commonly known as *basso seguente*. A particular area where composers did excel in adapting the ideals of the *seconda prattica* was in their application of rhetorical figures within the music. This discipline, better known within music by the Latin concept *Musica Poetica,* used rhetorical and musical gestures that either emphasize or mimic a desired action or statement.

The basis of this practice is taken from Greek and Roman roots and is grounded in the practice of oratory developed by the likes of Cicero. This was codified for modern usage, particularly as it relates to music, Joachim Burmeister whose *Musica Poetica* of 1606 took the liberty of grouping these compositional devices into groups of "ornaments."[69] These could vary from simple repetition in sequence (*gradatio*) to a simple rising pitch at the end of a phrase as if to indicate a question in the singer's inflection (*interrogatio*).[70] The application of these elements was one example of a practice uniquely German in an age that was

[68] Samuel, *Cantata in Nuremberg*, 158.
[69] Bettina Varwig, "'Mutato Semper Habitu': Heinrich Schütz and the Culture of Rhetoric" in *Music & Letters,* Vol. 90, No. 2 (May, 2009), 220.
[70] Ibid., 182.

dominated by French and Italian Elements.[71] Though this practice was common among composers in the German speaking lands, it enjoyed a special prominence in the music of Nuremberg.

Lübeck

Germany's northern most musical hub was Lübeck, a free imperial city similar to Leipzig and Nuremberg where church music played a prominent role. Records of the period indicate that there was a Kantor at the Marienkirche as early as 1248, a choir as early as 1462, and municipal musicians totaling 12 in number by 1474.[72] While the singing of sixteenth-century polyphony gave way to polychoral music, it was Franz Tunder whose tenure introduced the Italian influenced dramatic concerto following his arrival in 1641.

The organ featured prominently into daily life in the city, not only entertaining businessmen awaiting the opening of the stock exchange[73], but also playing entire sections of the Mass by itself, a development that was proprietary to this northern city. In addition to the typical instrumental music required as preludes (organ) and during communion (often additional instruments or vocalists) for Sunday morning services, chorales were sung by the congregation, and special choral music which reflected the scriptural themes of the day was also performed.

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[71] Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica : Musical-rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), ix.
[72] Kerala J. Snyder, "Buxtehude, Dietrich," *Grove Music Online*, retrieved Aug 29, 2017
[73] Kerala J. Snyder, "Tunder, Franz," *Grove Music Online,* retrieved 26 May 2018.

Dietrich Buxtehude arrived at the Marienkirche in Lübeck upon the death of Franz Tunder in 1667.[74] Acceptance of the position of Kantor the following year provided him the responsibility of three weekend services including the office of vespers on Saturday evening for which he was to provide music. Though little is known of Tunder's early responsibilities, it is likely that Buxtehude's would have been similar. Having held this post for nearly forty years, there is little doubt why all but eight of his extant vocal works are sacred in nature.[75] Even the *Abendmusiken*, a concert series for which Buxtehude was responsible for expanding beyond Tunder's basic framework of organ music, focused almost strictly on sacred repertory (at the Marienkirche) and gave Buxtehude and his contemporaries a stage to perform larger dramatic works with an expanded chorus and orchestra.

The notably high pitch levels at Lübeck (reaching) as high as A≈495, as well as neighboring Hamburg, were likely the result of Buxtehude trying to lower the cost on materials for the organ. Instead he invested in proprietary instruments made to match the pitch of the Marienkirche organ. At the height of his lengthy tenure, his typical ensemble for concerted music would have consisted of a solo quartet of singers and between 10-14 instrumentalists depending on the occasion or feast day.[76] This by many accounts would have been akin to the size of Bach's regular weekly ensemble in Leipzig.

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Kerala J. Snyder, "Dietrich Buxtehude," in *The Composer Biography Series: North European Baroque Masters,* ed. Stanley Sadie, 173-216 (London: Macmillan London Ltd., 1985), 179.
[76] Kite-Powell, *Performers Guide*, 58.

Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel

Compared to other cities included in relation to Leipzig, this court city seems rather small or perhaps insignificant by contrast. Yet this municipality, more than any of those previously mentioned, mirrors the working conditions of the court at Dresden. In fact, the court at Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel employed many of Dresden's most influential court musicians during the seventeenth century. Michael Praetorius, whose prolific number of compositions and writings on music was a significant influence in not only the new Italian styles but its subsequent propagation and development throughout Germany, published the third (and final) volume of his famed treatise *Syntagma Musicum* here in 1619.[77] Moreover, Schütz, who was mentioned to be Praetorius' colleague and eventual heir at Dresden, also served as musical advisor to the court at the behest of Sophie Elizabeth, wife of Duke August in the middle of the century. After sending Johann Jacob Löwe in 1652 to essentially fill the role as his prefect, and upon upgrading the stock of musicians serving the court, it was well known that Schütz began sending his own music to Wolfenbüttel to be performed at court, reflecting the styles that he employed in his current position.[78]

Given the leadership he put into place, Praetorius' meticulous instructions and the detailed records of instruments purchased and used at court suggest a similar working environment to that of Dresden. Further research into these preforming conditions and the investment into musical resources in a rural city, affords us a clearer understanding of regional standards in music. The norms

[77] Brauer, *Instruments*, 130.
[78] None of the music Schütz sent was specifically composed for Wolfenbüttel.

which would have been adopted in a smaller principality, would certainly represent the standard practice in other musical hubs throughout the region.

Leipzig

From the middle part of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the educational and cultural stature of the City of Leipzig far exceeded most cities of its size. This reputation drew not only on the presence of a prestigious University, then unrivaled in central Germany, but also the public financial support of a range of musical activities from the sacred (paying musicians for supplementing musical offerings at the principal church), to the secular (public performances).[79] It is no surprise that this rich atmosphere attracted a stream of first-rate composers that graced the city with their presence like a royal lineage.

In this "Apostolic" succession, it is also possible in part to trace the evolution, or perhaps the emancipation of what became German protestant music from its humble beginnings, from a homophonic cantional style to the height of its musical prowess in the mid-eighteenth century. Among the members of this esteemed group, Sebastian Knüpfer (1633-1676) became *Thomaskantor* in 1657, several years after moving to the city. By re-establishing a standard of musical excellence after a brief period of decline, he helped "pave the way" to the eventual establishment of the cantata through his successors, Johann Schelle, Johann Kuhnau, and finally Johann Sebastian Bach.[80]

By the time the war had ended in 1648, and after the extended illness and

[79] George B. Stauffer. "Leipzig." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 31, 2017.
[80] Ibid.

incapacitation of Tobias Michael, Leipzig was looking to be revived to the musical prowess it maintained under Schein (Thomaskantor from 1616-1630). The responsibilities held by Knüpfer were not only to the churches in Leipzig, but to the town's collegium, an assumed existing relationship between his position and the municipal government[81]. Access to these forces was readily available to the principal Leipzig composers, and as a result, works from this time particularly of Knüpfer and Johann Schelle (his student and successor) feature large forces of instrumentalists and singers offering grand sonorities for grand occasions both inside and outside the walls of the church (elections, anniversaries, etc.).

When J. S. Bach first applied for a job in Leipzig as Thomaskantor, he was a clear third on the list of offers for the post. The first choice was the more experienced Georg Phillip Telemann, who would eventually refuse the position mainly at the behest of his current employer in Hamburg. Telemann, who was one of the most famous musical figures of the day, not only in Germany, but also throughout present-day Western Europe, was no stranger to Leipzig having founded the town's collegium while a student at the University. He was also quite the bother to Kuhnau, as many of the best boy choristers were lost from the ranks of the church choirs in order to participate in opera productions under a young Telemann's tenure there. Christoph Graupner, the next in line to be considered favorable after Telemann for Leipzig's premier musical post, was also not permitted by his patron to leave his current post in Darmstadt[82], forcing the town council to turn to Sebastian Bach to succeed Kuhnau.

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[81] Krause, "Knüpfer," 12-13.
[82] Stauffer, "Leipzig."

Background on the Three *Thomaskantors*

Knüpfer

The significance of Sebastian Knüpfer and his music is still widely undervalued among the canon of western classical music, including the role that it played in establishing a concerted style of music that has remained relevant for centuries following its development. This assertion is made if only to combat the knowledge of outdated scholarship, such as the idea that "none of his students is recognized for any significant contribution to music."[83] On the contrary, his pupil and predecessor Johann Schelle did much to expand and further his movement toward a truly modern church music. Many of the composers' manuscripts, particularly his German works are largely unpublished (such as the one considered as part of this study), some of the most valuable sources of which were copied for performance in Grimma by Samuel Jacobi[84]. Knüpfer's style is characterized by a juxtaposition of elements of the *prima and seconda prattica* that similarly concerns sonority and affect in equal measure.

In Knüpfer's case, his tenure as Thomaskantor sits at a turning point of compositional style in the seventeenth century. The development and the use of the chorale in both full iterations and small fragments displaced throughout various voice parts becomes the groundwork for the chorale cantatas crafted by the masters of the early eighteenth century. The form of the Italian vocal concerto served as the basis of German sacred music at the time that was used both during

[83] Krause, "Knüpfer," 18.
[84] Andrea Hartmann, "Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Fürstenschule (Grimma, Dresden: RISM-Arbeitsgruppe Deutschland e. V., 2009), 339-355.

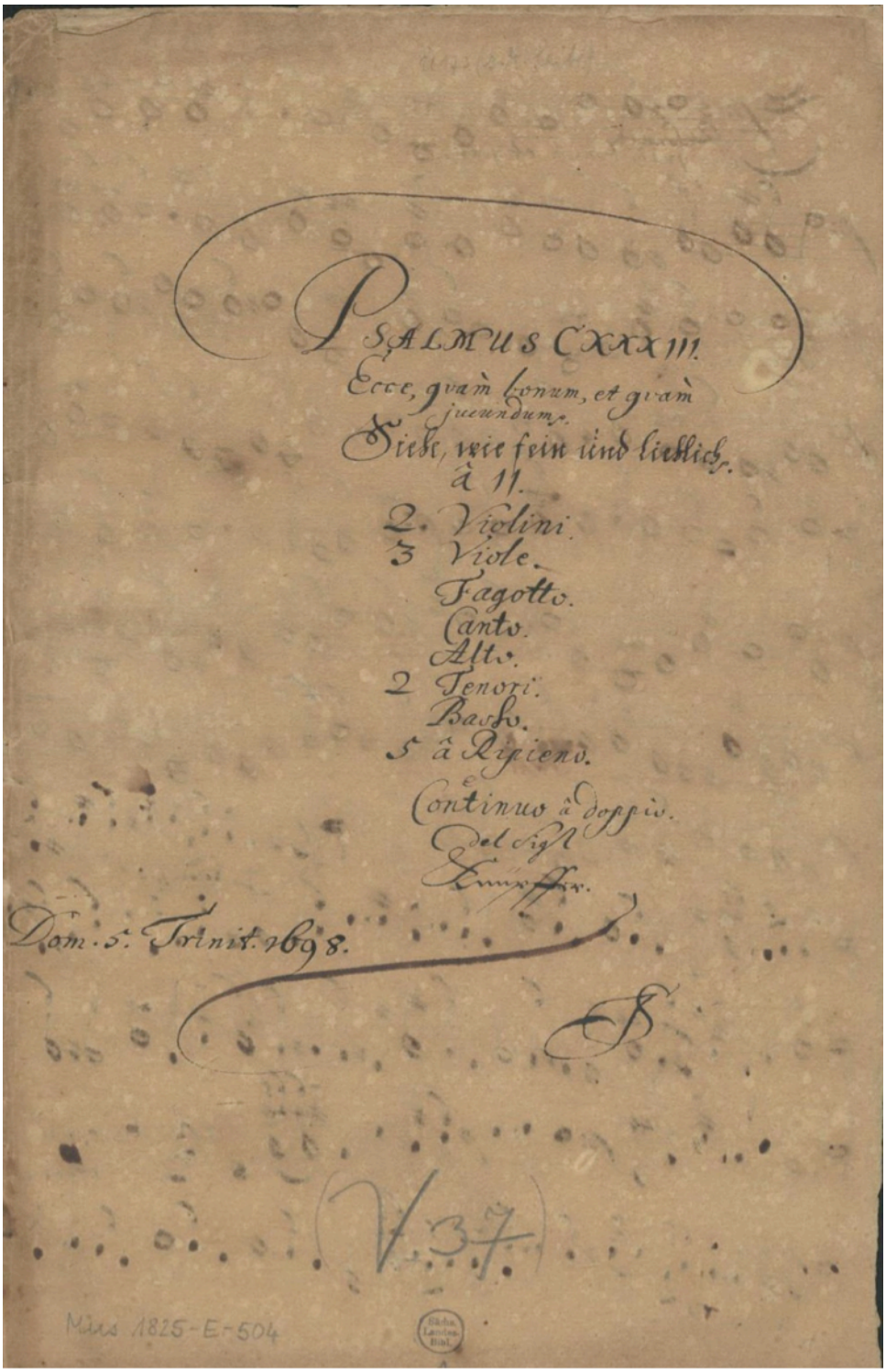
the principal liturgy and the major hours of the office.[85] These compositions were nearly always sacred in nature and combined the forces of one or more choirs of voices and instruments accompanied by a supporting continuo group. One of the Hallmarks of this style is a texture that, while sectionalized, remains mostly continuous. This is achieved by alternating meter and texture to render the text more effectively and the addition of connecting ritornello-like interjections from the orchestra.

The debate surrounding the use of Latin text was a central consideration of composers. The Pietist stronghold of Halle banned Latin liturgical texts indefinitely in 1702.[86] An attempt was made to remove the language from the liturgy in Leipzig in 1683, but it was well known that Latin texts existed in Leipzig churches through Kuhnau and Bach's tenure, and being a university town of stature, lingered for some time after 1700. A comparison of Knüpfer's 41 known sacred pieces in German compared to the only nine extant Latin works of is a prime illustration of the language's decline in usage.[87] Interestingly there is at least one instance where one of Knüpfer's manuscripts contains two separate set of text indicating that the same work may have been performed in both Latin and German. Figure 4 shows a copy of the wrapper for *Ecce quam bonum* that also includes the German text *Seihe, wie fein und leiblich* as found in Grimma copied by Jacobi and performed there on the 5th Sunday after Trinity 1698.

Ecce, quam bonum is a quintessential example of a composer whose use of

[85] Sturk, "Development," 67.
[86] Rose, *Leipzig Church Music*, xiii.
[87] Ibid. xiv.

Figure 4 – Wrapper from MSS, *Ecce quam bonum* – Knüpfer[88]

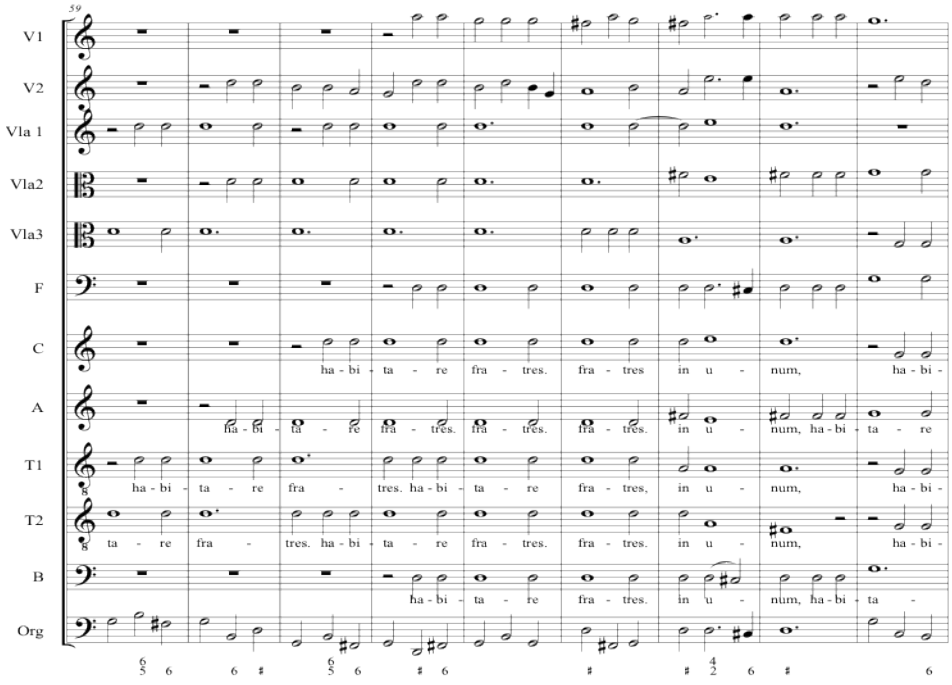


[88] Sebastian Knüpfer, "Christ Lag in Todesbanden" (manuscript, Musikhandschriften der Fürstenschule Grimma).

affect manifested itself in the texture of his music. With a simple through-composed concerto style setting of the Latin text of Psalm 133, Knüpfer finds a delicate balance between delight and exuberance alternating the reflective triple-meter "refrain" against the fleeting duple-meter stanzas. The use of unisons and octaves at the words *habitare fratres in unum* (live as brothers together) is an interesting example of the text painting mentioned above. Figure 5 shows an excerpt of *Ecce quam bonum* featuring the repeated text mentioned above, with the layering of voices and instruments creating a continuous and interactive texture within one tonal center. As the Lutheran movement spread throughout central Germany, the debate surrounding the use of Latin text was a central consideration of composers.

A brief word on Johann Schelle is warranted, as his compositions are both integral to the development of Protestant church music in Germany, particularly in connecting the lineage of Leipzig as the Thomaskantor between Knüpfer and Kuhnau. While the extant Latin texted works of Schelle are yet fewer than that of his predecessor, his greatest development to the oeuvre of church music was the vast instrumentation and full sonorities that adorned most of his compositions including amalgamations of both Italian renaissance and new French baroque instruments in the same work. Being a pupil of Knüpfer, this step to a more expansive texture was a logical one. Though his music may have more sparingly used the detailed counterpoint of his teacher and predecessor these sonorities along with a tuneful melody helped to deliver the text clearly. This detail was paramount to Schelle as evidenced by his printing of copies of the text that were

Figure 5: Knüpfer's *Ecce quam bonum*, mm. 59-67[89]



made available to the congregation.[90] Taking the idea a step further, it was Schelle who for an entire year while serving as *Thomaskantor,* composed works based on a chorale chosen for each Sunday of the liturgical year by the pastor on which he was to give a sermon. The establishment of this list of weekly works continued in Leipzig, and served as a model for those who followed his tenure. His music, like that of Knüpfer and Kuhnau, is notably impressive and worthy of inclusion both here, and in future studies of this repertory.

[89] Sebastian Knüpfer, "Ecce quam bonum" (unpublished edition, Lyle Nordstrom).
[90] Rose, *Leipzig Church Music,* xv.

Kuhnau

Similar to the way that the Italian influence gripped Germany in the seventeenth century, it was French style that swept through the country as a fad that would ultimately shape the remainder of the galant, and by extension, the craft of orchestration for the next three hundred years. One need look no further than the writings of regarded German composer and theorist Johann Mattheson, whose seminal treatise on music, *Das neu-eröffnete orchestre,* indicates a different focus in its title alone. Using a French spelling of the word "orchestra," Mattheson goes on to express his admiration for the ever-present *Galanterie* of French music and for the mastery in the realms of instrumental, choral, and dance music. Moreover, Mattheson was a great proponent of Johann Kuhnau and particularly admired his larger keyboard collection entitled *Neue Klavier Übung*. These works espoused a French sensibility in both style and form, embracing the dance suite as its model. For these efforts Mattheson himself referred to Kuhnau as a consummate "musician, composer, and choir conductor."[91]

Performances of French opera, particularly those of Jean Baptiste Lully, began taking place in Regensburg (Knüpfer's station before coming to Leipzig) as early as 1683, and in Wolfenbüttel in the mid 1680's.[92] As such, the inclusion of instruments that were inherently French would have been obligatory to performing these operas, a fact that implies further distinct changes and considerations to the work's required performance criteria. Specifically the

[91] Seares, *Das neu-eröffnete,* 23.
[92] Haynes, *Performing Pitch,* 135.

inclusion of woodwind instruments such as the *Traversiere, hautbois,* and *basson* necessitated different pitch standards in order to perform, and provided their characteristic sounds and versatility (as compared to their Renaissance counterparts) were considered indispensible when performing this music. This required the adoption of a lower pitch, which composer's (particularly those in around France) generally found more agreeable. Quantz provides a poignant summary of this phenomenon, indicating that "[T]he result of a higher pitch would be that…the traverso would once more become a German cross-pipe, the hautboy a shawm, the violin the violin piccolo and the bassoon a bombard."[93]

The noted shift in pitch level began in Germany as early as the 1660's with the appearance of A≈403, which the French considered *ton de chambre*, and another level around A≈392. The latter approximation became more common abroad not only in Germany, but England as well.[94] This transition to a lower pitch level was true of most German cities of the time and varied depending on the prevailing religious beliefs. Berlin for example, with Calvinist roots and a large Huguenot population maintained the *ton de chambre* as their primary standard while Nuremberg, which was staunchly Protestant was, as mentioned before, one of the revered woodwind makers of the time and as such, shared a propensity for German and French pitch standards.[95] Yet fairly quickly thereafter, French pitch levels were actually becoming German pitch standards, as well.

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[93]Ibib.„ xxxix.
[94] This was the pitch standard most frequently used by Henry Purcell, noted for the French influence on his works.
[95] Haynes, *Performing Pitch,* 209.

This transition was introduced in Leipzig through the music of Kuhnau, who assimilated the French style to the needs of a cosmopolitan audience. Previously (corresponding to the overwhelming trend of German composers studying in Italy) pitch standards in Leipzig[96] were A≈465 or *CammerThon,* which suited Renaissance wind instruments like the Cornetto, and A≈413 or *Chorton*, which was common for concerted music with voices. By at least the turn of the century, these terms had been reversed to their new purpose with *Chorton* (Choir and organ pitch) becoming the higher A≈465, *Cammerton* (chamber pitch) at A≈413 becoming the standard for instruments, and the new *Tief-cammerton* at A≈392 to accommodate those woodwind instruments that are functional at a slightly lower tessitura. Thus, the cornetto and many other instruments of the Renaissance that are at their highest functionality using high pitch were largely rendered obsolete and began to be replaced by the newer oboe at the end of the seventeenth century.[97] Still, this transition caused quite a problem to try and adapt instruments to new pitch standards that were built and tuned differently, a problem that Kuhnau no doubt would have encountered frequently. An account of this difficulty comes in his written instructions on how to perform his work *Daran erkennen wir daß wir in ihm verbleiben,* as seen below.

> *"1. NB This piece is in Chorton for the violins, voices, and continuo in B-flat 2. The trumpets are written in C-Natural to make everything work properly, so they should add a crook at the mouthpiece so they sound a tone lower, that is, in Cammerton. . . 3. The Hautboys and the bassoon should be in Cammerton, and*

[96] As codified by Michael Praetorius.
[97] Haynes, *Performing Pitch,* 136.

their parts are already written out transposed up a step, so in this way everything will be in a accord." [98]

J. S. Bach

Bach's time in Leipzig (from spring 1723 until his death in 1750) was unquestionably his most prolific. Upon provisional acceptance of his new position as Thomaskantor, he was required to perform two of his own cantatas as the final part of his audition. After successful completion of this process, Bach was charged with the duties of supervising music for four different churches. A cantata was to be performed in both of Leipzig's principal churches every Sunday and, concerted-music with soloist, orchestra and choir was to be heard on ten additional festival days throughout the liturgical year.[99] Between the demands of this new post, and the lack of any real need for sacred music during his time at Cöthen, Bach had little time to waste upon his arrival. It is under Bach, and through the groundwork laid by his predecessors, that the town of Leipzig and the German cantata reach their zenith.

At his disposal were forces that included 8 *Stadtspfeiferi,*[100] all of whom played multiple instruments, and the choristers of the Thomasschule who numbered some fifty singers of varying skill levels. These were further divided into upward of six groups on specific occasions and subsequently led either by a prefect of his choosing or the resident organist of the particular church where it

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[98] "1. NB Dieses Stück geht in dem Chorton in denen Violen, Singestimmen und dem Generalbass auß dem B. 2. Sind die trompeten ex C [natural] geschreiben. Muß also auff der trompete ein Aufsatz bey dem Mundstück gesetzt warden, dass die trompeten einen Ton niedriger biß in dem Cammerton klingen . . . 3. Die Hautboi und Bassono müßen Cammerton stimmen und sind diese Art alles accordiret."
[99] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 244-245.
[100] Herz, *Cantata 4,* 10.

was being performed. There is further evidence that even the choristers were often employed as instrumentalists forming a vastly different ensemble. Such is the claim of Andrew Parrott who advocates (rather convincingly) that Bach's vocal group was on a typical Sunday, much smaller than scholars once thought. While this argument won't be taken up within the context of this study,[101] a quote from Bach's *Entwurff* to the Leipzig Town Council of 1730 sheds some light on the shortcomings of his musical resources:

> But as the current state of music is now quite different in nature from before (with Schelle and Kuhnau), [and as] artistry has progressed very much [and] taste [has] changed astonishingly – such that music of the former kind no longer sounds [good] to our ears and [such that] one is all the more in need of considerable assistance, so that subject can be chosen and appointed who can assimilate current musical taste, get to grips with the new kinds of music, [and] thus be in a position to satisfy the composer and do justice to his work…"[102]

Regardless of the rather large orchestra and sixteen voice chorus that the composer suggests as ideal (and what side of Parrott's argument is most appealing), it seems more likely that the point of the *entwurff* was to demonstrate the investment the council should make in the music program, not represent an instruction on performance practice. Yet provided with the previous evidence, it seems sound to deduce that Bach's ripieno group, depending on the magnitude of the occasion, would warrant multiple singers per part. A determination on what sections would be sung by concertists alone as well as whether extra singers would have been available on a typical weekend can only be

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[101] For further reading see Andrew Parrott's *The Essential Bach Choir*.
[102] Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000), 119.

addressed on a case-by-case basis. The previous quote from the *Entwurff* would also seem to indicate that, despite the departure from the musical style of his immediate predecessors, at least Kuhnau and likely Schelle and Knüpfer, would have had similar resources and conditions to those that Bach was describing unfavorably in his correspondence.

After completing two full cantata cycles of approximately fifty-nine cantatas each over his first two years as *Thomaskantor*, there are indications that his output slowed significantly. Additionally, many of the works he performed (including BWV 4) were likely early compositions that were re-tooled for use in Leipzig. Unlike Telemann, Bach was not in any way concerned with volume of musical output, but in resourcefulness and quality. Moreover (and given the resources detailed above), it is reasonable to assume that there was not another ensemble besides the one lead by the composer himself that was skilled enough to execute his weekly concerted music.[103]

That he was also able to codify a genre further by seamlessly combining biblical verse with sacred prose and chorale texts effectively ties together new and old practices in a cosmopolitan university center. This is not dissimilar to the medieval tropes that were included in both the ordinary and proper of the Mass which were often more descriptive and tangible than the text they were elaborating upon.[104] Yet this was not the only portion of the city's Lutheran liturgy that hearkened back to an earlier time.

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[103] Ibid., 20.
[104] Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach,* trans. Richard D. P. Jones (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.

Given Robert Cammarota's account of the extant *Magnificat* settings identified in libraries associated with Leipzig, there is little doubt that the office of Vespers took on a more formal liturgical proceeding that would include the use of Latin, evidenced by Bach's own setting of the text from 1723. Moreover, the tradition of a near standard formal design of this concerted music would have been known to Bach through the work of his predecessors, which he had access to in the library of the *Thomasschule*. Such unwritten stipulations would include the notable absence of *da capo* arias or recitative of any kind, though this development had no doubt reached not only Leipzig (certainly at the opera house) but also Bach's own compositional palette.[105] Compare with his penchant for works no longer associated with the madrigalian ideal of Neumeister (the Mass in B Minor for one example), and it is easier to come to an understanding of not only Bach's later years, but the true desires and spirit for a style that he both masterfully consummated and summarized.

A word should be mentioned regarding temperament, though the subject cannot be approached but on a surface level with any brevity. Many attempts were made to develop a method of tuning that renders all chromatic keys suitable in which to write, and Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* means to explore the usability of these keys within a well-tempered circular tuning system. There was glaring need for a way to avoid the dreaded Wolf fifth, which Andreas Werckmeister maintained, "could insidiously destroy a piece of music intentionally written for a circular well temperament…[causing] a musical train

[105] Robert Cammarota, "The repertoire of Magnificats in Leipzig at the Time of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Manuscript Sources Vol. 1 and 2" (Ph. D. Diss., New York University, 1986), .

wreck to the finer sensibilities of the well-healed German Baroque Connoisseur."[106] The most widely spread and (arguably) successful of these were developed by Werckmeister, referring specifically to his third (III) temperament. Bach undoubtedly knew and favored the 1/6 comma temperaments developed by Werckmeister, as first evidenced by writings and ideologies long before he came to Leipzig in his proposal for the organ renovation in Mühlhausen. Though this development was not proprietary to Bach, and existed in Leipzig during the tenure of his predecessors, it was Bach's penchant for an affective and adventurous chromatic palette that traversed the far reaches of the circle of keys.

[106] Johnny Reinhard, *Bach and Tuning,* Vol. 47 (Peter Lang AG, 2016), 56.

CHAPTER 4

THE LUTHERAN CANTATA TRADITION

The tradition of the Protestant cantata seems to be applied in less formal scenarios as something inherent to all of Germany. One need look no further than the Pietist movement that opposed the use of concerted music or to the Calvinists in Berlin whose focus was on relatively simple psalmody[107] to know that this is not the case. The principle of amalgamating these two elements indelibly links the formal design of the cantata, and by extension the music to which it is set, to an independently developed text. It is, in fact, more essential to identify that the genre itself existed as a result of poets writing cantata texts like those used by Bach during his first years at Leipzig. Specifically, those by the hand Erdmann Neumeister, a noted pastor and hymnologist in Saxony, were preferred by many composers as well as others that Bach enjoyed including Picander, Salomon Franck and Philip Nicolai. These texts would feature the Italian conventions of the later cantatas including asymmetrical and madrigal like poetic texts that lent themselves to alternation of recitative and aria.[108] This is in contrast to the format of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* with strophes of equal length and similar scansion. But if it is this idiom that amalgamates poetry, chorales, and biblical text into a formal design that defines the cantata in Leipzig, it is vital to understand its origins.

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[107] Jean Calvin, "Foreword – Geneva Psalter" in *Source Readings in Music History,* ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), 348.
[108] Johann Sebastian Bach and Gerhard Herz, *Cantata No. 4 – Christ Lag in Todesbanden; An Authoritative Score, Backgrounds, Analysis, Views and Comments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), 7.

The cantata at the turn of the seventeenth century was radically different from the mid-eighteenth century models of Protestant church music. Beyond its strictly secular existence in Italy, the genre endured in simple strophic designs that were song-like and lyrical, the importance of which is reinforced by Alessandro Scarlatti (arguably the founder of the form), whose output included upwards of 345 cantatas. As the form evolved into the eighteenth century in Italy (and France), it took on a more dramatic flair, so that its length and contents reflected more of an operatic tradition. This style is reflected in both secular and sacred cantatas written by Handel during his time in Italy from 1706-1710, which included most formal elements of its German counterpart except for choruses.[109] In short, the Italian secular cantata of the seventeenth century was a vehicle for solo voice and continuo, a far cry from any definition of the Protestant church cantata of the German-speaking lands. In fact, the question could be asked if they have anything in common at all except a name. Unsurprisingly, given their propensity to adopt other established national styles during this period, composers in Germany did not take up the formal model of the cantata until well after publication of similar works in Italy all but ceased. [110] Yet early in the seventeenth century, not only the propagation of manuscripts, but also the publishing of cantatas was incredibly common in many prominent cities including that most influential city of Venice.

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[109] Based on a survey of Handel's cantata output in Italy. For a timeline of his life and compositions during this period see Carlo Vitali, "Italy – political, religious, and musical contexts" in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 40-44.

[110] Reinmar Emans, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cantata Publication in Bologna and Venice, c. 1650-1700," in *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy,* ed. Michael Talbot (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 105.

While thanks can be heaped upon the likes of Carissimi and Rossi for further developing the realm of sacred dramatic works elsewhere, the earliest collections of secular cantatas begin to appear in the 1630's by such well-known composers as Girolamo Frescobaldi. In fact, collections of cantatas published as early as 1633 and 1641 written by Benedetto Ferrari reveal a formal design that deliberately alternates between recitative and aria, identifying a definitive development in establishing this genre.[111] It should not be overlooked that these works were not only more widely available than those circulating in manuscript form, but must be regarded (in many cases) as leaving less speculation about composer's intentions regarding typical aspects of performance. Granted that published works would have been more widely distributed, they would also not have been under the composer's constant scrutiny following their performance. This, as history tells us, is a period that often led to myriad revisions and improvements. Another factor that played into the standardization of the Cantata design was text. Although there is no doubt the Italian model focused on predominantly secular dramatic text with the occasional spiritual work appearing later in the century, there is evidence of an amalgamation of texts containing different metric implications and scansion. Moreover, their subject matter was as diverse as descriptions of war with the Ottoman Empire, or the plight of a singer adversely affected by the changing of the seasons.[112]

It is then easy to speculate, based on the evidence presented above combined with their inherent admiration of Italian musical style and the

[111] Ibid., 80.
[112] Ibid., 89.

multitude of connections German composers had to Venice, that they were in fact familiar with the refined model of the Italian cantata and its structure. Still, there is cause to look inward toward those few dramatic influences that are inherently German in nature. Early *bicinia and tricinia* of Michael Praetorius that were regarded as exercises for choristers become the basis for the sacred chorale, whose homophonic nature allows for a clear rendering of the text and a (later) refined harmonic palette.[113] This genre forms the basis of the chorale concerto, a term that loosely defines the dramatic sacred works of seventeenth-century composers using hymnody as the basis of their larger work for instruments and voices. Similar to the ancient practice that each liturgical celebration have its own appointed readings reflecting a recognized occasion, so too did liturgical music. During Johann Schelle's tenure as *Thomaskantor* the pastor of the *Thomaskirche* decided to base each week's sermon on a particular chorale. Accordingly, Schelle then adapted and composed concerted music based on that same chorale to be included within the service, beginning the trend of performing cyclic church music that expounds upon the scripture and sermon of the day.[114]

At the same time, monody influenced the development of recitative and further allowed for an expressive device that permitted Gospel accounts on festival days of particular importance within the church to take on a more dramatic character. This became an expansion of the passion accounts that were traditionally proclaimed on Good Friday (where clergy and choir would musically – and modestly – portray various characters within the narrative), to additional

[113] Dürr, *Cantatas,* 8.
[114] Ibid., 9.

occasions including Christmas. This genre became known as *Historia*,[115] a middle ground between the chant tones of the early modern Roman Catholic Church, and the profoundly affective passion settings of Sebastian Bach and his contemporaries. The German model of the cantata proved similar to its Italian counterpart, beginning with humble origins and referred to with varying terms including *motetto, actus tragicus, concerto,* or *ode* among other names.[116] Whatever its name, *Kirchenmusik* (as it was commonly called) was, for Luther, an opportunity to reinforce not only the Sermon, but the gospel reading itself, taking a decidedly sacred tack away from its dramatic roots.

Aside from Luther's obvious objections to the dogmatic tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church, his vision of liturgy actually maintained a close adherence to that of Rome. The most notable requirement for the liturgical celebration was the full and conscious participation of the congregants during the service, a tenet which was made possible by conducting the proceedings in the vernacular. While the Bible was translated into German and the service adapted to be more (for lack of a better word) approachable, the use of Latin was still quite common including the retention of the Kyrie in Greek and the Gloria. Music, too, would need to be adapted, a perhaps more tenuous process than that of the monophonic or spoken parts of the liturgy.[117] Polyphonic motets in Latin, which were used frequently within the service, would not automatically lend their musical properties to the same scansion in German, which necessitated a new body of repertory. This did not mean that Latin texted works disappeared, a point

[115] Radice, *Recitativo,* 9.
[116] Herz, *Cantata No. 4,* 5.
[117] Ibid., 25-26.

that has been emphasized, and can be once again identified by Luther's well-known predilection for the music of Josquin. Yet German texted works would allow the congregation to not only participate more fully, but to internalize the meanings of the texts more deeply, bringing out the salient points of each day's sermon. Thus if music "next to the word of God…deserves the highest praise"[118] as Luther believed, and the importance of affect is a hallmark of the early eighteenth century, when wedded to text it proves a powerful and effective entity for the conversion of souls.

Arguably, the principal merit found in the comparison taken up by this study stems from the choice of text, tracing its origins back to Martin Luther himself in 1524. Many of the cantata texts set during the early part of the eighteenth century such as those referenced earlier by Neumeister, were an amalgamation of several different sources. The use of text quoted from scripture combined with the Lutheran chorale repertory and poetic verse amounted to the equivalent of a trope, reflecting on a scriptural passage just like those from the earliest days of the Roman Church.[119] Following the theme of certain parallels to Catholicism, this hymn text of Luther is an unabashed adaptation of the Easter sequence *Victimae Paschali Laudes*. This is further evidenced by a comparison of both the opening the sequence and Luther's chorale tune. The indication that this chorale text remained in the repertory and was set *per omnes versus* by two of the three composers considered here, gives an indication of the reverence with which this and other texts like it were treated. Unlike those cantata cycles by

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[118] Martin Luther, "Luther and Music," in *Music in the Western World,* Pietro Weiss and Richard Taruskin, annotators (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), 102.
[119] Dürr, *Cantatas,* 2.

Neumeister, which were by many standards utilitarian, the translation of Latin text had a richness of imagery that leant itself well to composers seeking to exploit its affective properties.

Johann Kuhnau, in the preface to his 1709-10 publication of his first volume of cantata texts (which was, in fact, the first volume of its kind anywhere) echoes this very sentiment in reference to Latin when he writes, "the original language contributes a great deal to invention."[120] Here he asserts that the use of Latin, a language that while not spoken regularly in society was still prevalent in many cities even as the Protestant movement flourished, had its merits. While it may also emphasize a certain formality or seriousness as indicated by the seasonal inclusion of the *Credo*,[121] or perhaps even a universality of Christian belief, Kuhnau views this principally in the guise of a vehicle for a clear and affect driven rendering of a text. He goes on to explain in more general terms, that the text's scansion and setting to a melody proves vital to the way it is received by the congregants. The example Kuhnau provides of the opening two words of Psalm 1 (Wohl dem) in German, references what he considers a somewhat flimsy articulation of the words that do not reflect their truest meaning. The solution: substitute a foreign language to find out how to best set the text to music, as explained below.

> "This will arouse my mind to no invention, so I read the Hebrew words: Aschre haisch. That can signify an exclamation: O! beatudines huius viri; O! the blessedness of this man…This meditation, while I certainly know full well that Aschre is not used all the time with this emphasis brings me to the point that I

[120] Rimbach, *Kuhnau,* 58-59.
[121] Rose, *Leipzig Church Music,* xii.

> express Wohl dem by a force of many voices or in several choirs or, however, in the absence of [enough] students, by many passages, coloratura and the like, in one or several voices."[122]

There is also an intrinsic value to this statement of belief being included unaltered and in Latin; Its maximum impact is felt in time-honored reference to centuries old convictions in its traditional form and language as codified in 1041.[123] In this way, the affect and the context work together to create an immersive experience during the liturgy which Luther desired.

In retrospect, a comparison of Kuhnau's output of sacred Latin vocal works with those of Sebastian Knüpfer is revealing in more ways than one. To begin with, Knüpfer's Latin works, which number thirty-nine in total, more than quadruple those of Kuhnau, even though only nine of those works remain extant today. This distinction should not go over looked, if only for an illustration of the continued Protestant influence spreading throughout Germany over time. Knüpfer, a contemporary of both Buxtehude and Schütz, gives no indication in his compositional output that one particular colleague influenced him in any overwhelming or specific way. Yet an extensive study of his music reveals an understanding of form and texture that hearkens back to the likes of Schütz with a continuity and flow akin to that of the freedom found in arioso of Buxtehude, who was also an influence on a young J. S. Bach.[124]

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[122] Translation in Rimbach, *Kuhnau*, 57-59.
[123] The Roman Catholic Church approved the final translation and tones for the Nicene Creed in 1041.
[124] Krause, *Knüpfer*, 16.

The assimilation of these styles illustrates that Knüpfer had a firm grasp of the compositional devices that were championed during his lifetime and as a result, was able to summarize an era of textual clarity that stemmed from as far back as the Council of Trent. Contrasting sections *à la* Palestrina that feature both imitative and homophonic sections would alternate seamlessly with each other while highlighting the text standing on its own merits and unaffected by overtly conceived rhetorical devices. Along the same lines of the Renaissance's pristine modality, David William Krause, in his study of Knüpfer's Latin choral works goes on to describe the composer's harmonic palette as "a study in the use of primary chords," a description that remains a far cry from the music of Sebastian Bach.[125] Though this proves true at face value, such a description misrepresents the composer's intention.

One cannot help but recall the previous setting of *Ecce quam bonum* that features the alternate text *Seihe, wie fein und leiblich*. Surely adapting a German text to this soon to be antiquated style of composition does not lend itself to the same rules that Kuhnau outlines in the textual treatment of his sacred cantata texts of the same language. Indeed this revelation cements Knüpfer's place as both a refiner of an assimilated cosmopolitan style and a clear transition to the protestant cantata tradition that created a new German voice in sacred music. This assertion can be further corroborated by the alternation of simple hymn-like homophony with imitative polyphonic and concerted style (albeit doubled in this case by instruments) that foreshadows the more sectionalized distinction

[125] Ibid.

between recitative and aria that becomes standard with many of the chorale cantata texts of the eighteenth century.

A further examination of the extant Latin Church music of Bach will only serve to advance the premise outlined above. It is telling that the Latin music, which Bach favored in his lifetime was not comprised of proper texts, rather he set music that would have been used frequently in either a Roman Catholic or Protestant liturgical setting; among these are settings of the Mass ordinary (only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* for regular Lutheran use) and the Magnificat, which was the canticle appointed for *Vespers*. Music of other composers that Bach adapted for his own use, as well as individual movements aside, there are four extant Lutheran Masses (BWV 233-236), the assembled Mass in B Minor (BWV 232) and a concerted setting of the *Magnificat* in both E-flat Major and D Major respectively (BWV 243 and 243a).[126] The absence of any strictly biblical or poetically derived Latin texted works by Bach was certainly a "sign of the times" and an indication of just how wide the gap was even between Bach's arrival in Leipzig and the composition of the troublesome final bars of the *Et incarnatus est* in the *Symbolum Nicenum.*[127]

Though this study is not concerned with the state of the Latin texted church music in the eighteenth century, the fact that newly composed Latin music of Sebastian Bach's time was either ritual-based or adaptations of earlier

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[126] Christoph Wolff and Walter Emery, "Bach, Johann Sebastian," *Grove Music Online,* 7 January 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-e6002278195.

[127] Bach struggled with the composition of m. 138-39 of this movement, one of the last movements composed in the *Symbolum Nicenum.*

works indicates a clearly demarcated period of transition in Leipzig. The beginning of this period clearly established with the work of Knüpfer, sees a steady decline in Latin texted works (or increase in German texted works) through both of his Leipzig successors. Given the parameters of the time period outlined above, it is meaningful to note that Bach, Kuhnau and Knüpfer saw fit to set a Luther text from 1524, that was penned at least a century before the first of them was born. Just as with the Latin works discussed previously, this text is transcendent of time and provides the pivotal basis for comparison of compositional style through each phase of the seventeenth century. After all, Luther's inspiration came (at least in part) from the adaptation of a Latin sequence, so the sentiment of the original biblical text must have resonated with his protestant sensibilities for worship.

The chorale *Christ Lag in Todesbanden* was no doubt well known during the Reformation period, and was set by a number of composers in varying musical formats including as an organ fantasia by Georg Böhm, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Franz Tunder; a chorale by Samuel Scheidt and Johann Hermann Schein; and as a concerted setting for voices and instruments by Johann Pachelbel and Georg Philip Telemann.[128] This list would of course include the other three settings being discussed as part of this study. For Luther's part, his text of 1524 takes a macaronic approach to its composition, paraphrasing a variety of New and Old Testament texts along with direct quotations from the eleventh-century sequence attributed to Wipo of Burgundy.[129]

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[128] Amassed from a compilation of prominent composers on Grove Music Online.
[129] Herz, *Cantata 4,* 26.

While several of Luther's biblical citations are nearly direct quotes of scripture, others are either indirect references or paraphrases, the general suggestion of which is to that of the Passover sacrifice. The chorale text cross-references this topic, which details the liberation of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt, with that of the Easter sacrifice of Christ to free the world of its slavery to sin and death. The majority of references to the Old Testament are from the book of Exodus, particularly in chapter 12 which offers a commentary on the purpose of the Passover and detailed instructions on the manner in which the meal is to be eaten, with your "loins girded, with sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it in haste."[130] This is juxtaposed with references to St. Paul's first letters to both the Corinthians and the Romans in describing Christ as the Easter sacrifice, and that the "old leaven shall not exist next to the word of grace." Although Gerhard Herz has attempted to amass the specific biblical passages and pair them to Luther's text, the process of trying to synchronize chorale verse with scripture, given the peripheral suggestions of some of the material, seems futile at best.[131] Even the sequence that informs most of verses 4 and 5 utilizes imagery from the same scripture passages quoted in the commentary to the Norton Critical Score of 1967. It then seems more accurate to suggest that these passages and their imagery influenced Luther's process, and were not always rigid quotations that can be traced verbatim to a definitive source. The resulting imagery conjured up by this adaptation, or more accurately,

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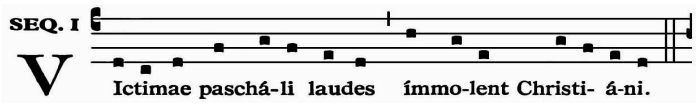
[130] Exodus 12:11, University of Michigan. Humanities Text Initiative. *Bible Revised Standard Version.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: Humanities Text Initiative, 1997.
[131] Ibid.

interpretation, affords composers (and ultimately congregants) with a more complete Lutheran view of spirituality.

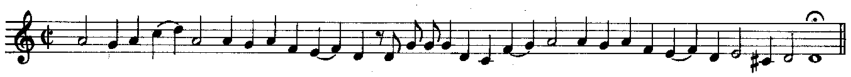
Beyond the text, the chorale tune itself shares a similar pattern of adaptability and combination that like Luther's text, was rampant during the Reformation movement. The determination with which the Protestant movement freely amended these existing sources was done so under the guise of reclaiming the treasures of the church and improving upon them. The roots of the 1524 tune as found published in hymnbooks are taken from various sources.

Figure 6 – Comparison of sources used for the eventual Chorale Tune *'Christ Lag in Todesbanden'*[132]

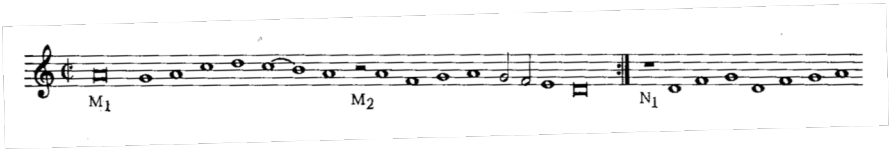
1. ***Victimae paschali laudes***



2. ***Christ ist erstanden***



3. ***Christ lag in Todesbanden***



Two chant sources, the Easter Sunday sequence, *Victimae Paschali Laudes,* from which it uses a direct quote of the first line, and *Christus resurgens,* an Alleluia

[132] Example 1 taken from *Liber usualis* (Desclee, 1962), 780. Examples 2 and 3 from Herz, *Cantata 4,* 26, 81.

verse for the fourth Sunday after Easter is featured prominently. There is also a noticeable similarity to the German Easter hymn *Christ ist erstanden* that dates from the twelfth century and had become a staple of the liturgy in German speaking lands.[133]

Aside from its attribution to the founder of the Protestant movement, it is easy to see why this chorale text held a prominent place for German composers through the next two hundred years after its composition. The imagery cultivated by Luther in the text lends itself well to the immersive experience that he hoped would enthrall his congregants and enlighten them to a deeper understanding of *Theologia Crucis*[134] and other tenets of their faith. While some may see this as a gross romanticism in its interpretation (a just assessment of many writers speaking to this period in history), there is no doubt a plethora of well-crafted rhetoric within these words. A comparison of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* with another cantata text written around the turn of the eighteenth century would reveal, even on a surface level, a depth that supports this chorale's elaborate treatment by the three composers being considered as part of this study.

It is interesting to note that of the three settings taken up here, at least the first two were likely written in Leipzig, and Bach's setting, though it was performed there, likely points to a date around his first major post in Arnstadt for an audition at Mühlhausen in 1707.[135] A definitive dating of Knüpfer's setting has not yet been identified. The idea of setting the text *per omnes versus* is a clear

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[133] Ibid., 26.
[134] A central tenet of Luther's theology upholding the cross as the sole source of knowing God and how the soul is to be saved.
[135] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 100.

convention of the seventeenth century and one that both Knüpfer and Bach work out with great skill. Given Knüpfer's dates, it is no surprise that his style is squarely situated in the seventeenth century, but Bach's choice to set this text as he does remains intriguing. Indeed it in many ways models the settings by both Knüpfer and Johann Pachelbel, two composers whose death predates Bach's earliest date of composition. One instance that considers Pachelbel's setting as a direct influence on Bach will be taken up in a subsequent chapter.

The same richness of text that doubtless inspired the faithful to heightened awareness had a similar influence on the composers who chose to set it to music. Aside from the obvious, the distinctions between these settings are the conventions of composition and are by extension, the developing reliance on rhetoric to inform affect. Taken even further (in fact to extremes by Sebastian Bach), this convention sees the inclusion of an expanded harmonic palette, which pushed the boundaries of chromaticism to its limits within the common decency of mid-eighteenth-century tonality. Temperament was also refined to allow use of closely related keys in the circle of fifths with the development of new tuning systems by Werckmeister.[136] This development has the added benefit of employing far-reaching tonal centers in opposition to those "useable" keys, creating a contrast for dramatic purposes; a *chiaroscuro* of sorts in order to define that which is moral, and that which is taboo.

This ideal is best summed up with the principal of *Affektenlehre,* a term that is admittedly applied too broadly by modern scholars, and had only a loose definition in its time. The famed Johann Mattheson makes reference to it, and

[136] Reinhard, *Tuning,* 85-86.

relates it to that of a theory by the philosopher René Descartes that emphasizes that affection and emotion are the result of nature and physical laws.[137] Put simply, if one can hear and perceive the emotion in music, one would obtain a heightened moral character, as the reception of virtuous affections would literally heal the soul. Mattheson famously expounds upon this in a tangible way in his best-known treatise *Das neu-eföffnete Orchestre* of 1713 where he lists "characteristic affections for the 17 most practical keys." Admittedly, these designations are subjective as was acknowledged by the author himself, and are often rather indecisive. Taking the key for C Major for example, Mattheson refers to it as "rude, bold, also tender," a designation that seems almost contradictory in its widely varied descriptions.[138]

A further and perhaps more practical example is found in the key of B minor, which Mattheson labels as "bizarre, morose, [and] melancholic." Bach certainly believed otherwise, using the key as the basis of his now monumental Mass in B Minor, among other works. Yet despite being a compilation of works conceived separately, its leanings to the *stile antico* tradition must not be recognized as a coincidence. One need look no further than the inclusion of two settings of the opening text of the Credo, the first in old style and the second in new style, as evidence. Most of Bach's writing at the end of his life, and particularly that of his sacred music, was homage to an earlier style. This could not have been simply to revisit his youth, or to attempt to try to expand or re-master a style; he must have seen merit in these forms and their textual

[137] Buelow, *New Mattheson*, 398-399.
[138] Ibid., 401.

treatment. No example better exemplifies this as the dual openings of the *symbolum nicenum* on the text "I believe in one God," which is rendered in both *stile antico* and *stile moderno*. It is unknown whether Sebastian Bach and Mattheson knew each other, though there is some evidence to suggest that the latter had some influence on his compositional output. Suffice it to say that, given the evidence, surely Bach knew of Mattheson and his position as a theorist; that would likely include his views on *Affektenlehre*, though it may not have influenced Bach directly.

Similarly, Bach would have known of the music of his predecessors and drawn some measure of inspiration from them, including those at Leipzig.[139] The admiration with which modern audiences regard the music of Bach begs the question of whether or not Knüpfer's music, as well as nearly all of his contemporaries was somehow inferior or perhaps the more classic assertion of many historians over time, transitional. The danger in this designation as it relates to historically informed performance is found in its context, which implies an inherently negativity. Was not the purpose of reforms imposed, or (perhaps more technically) implied in the decrees of the Council of Trent, to promote textual clarity so that the text could be intelligibly received by all present? Was it not also possible, given Knüpfer's upbringing and the preponderance of music circulating through the country from the likes of Austro-Germans such as *Lassus* and *Gallus*, or Italians like *Viadana, Allegri,* and *Lotti* that this was not only a style that was familiar but of great importance to let the text speak for itself? Was not *cantional* music a valued tool of *Praetorius*, *Scheidt*, and *Schein* that helped

[139] See Cammarota.

to further develop what we now know as hymnody that plays an important part of the German chorale cantata?[140] Put another way, part of the genius of Knüpfer's music is also found in the treatment of text, but not in the setting of each specific word. Rather, the result is a sonority that simultaneously reflects an affect while not impeding the delivery of text. Kuhnau, too, expands upon this principle when he speaks of texture and instrumentation on rendering an initial word to set up an affect in his preface to his first volume of cantata texts.[141] Thus, as Knüpfer looks forward, and Bach looks back, do we find Kuhnau representing the 'signs of the times.'

Perhaps the point is even more clearly corroborated in the study of implementation of rhetoric in music that featured specific devices that were originally intended for the spoken word. This practice, known as *Music Poetica* and first explained (with regard to music) in the early seventeenth century, is essentially a system of organization for setting text to music. This is in contrast to previous denominations such as *musica theoretica,* which focused principally on intervallic proportions, among others.[142] It is perhaps one of the more intangible practices of seventeenth-century music, principally because there is no one source that codifies and binds its tenets together neatly into one volume. Arnold Schwartz lists some one hundred sources up to 1745[143] that reference the topic in some manner, providing not only a case for its widespread usage, but for an incredibly varied range of application and opinions with regards to its

[140] Palisca, *Baroque Music* , 99-100.
[141] See prior discussion on p. 52
[142] Bartel, *Musica Poetica,* 18.
[143] Samuel, *Nuremberg,* 179.

components and its scope. Yet for its relative intangibility, it is certainly not vague, particularly given the amount of available literature. It should be made clear that these devices were not unfamiliar to the audiences of the seventeenth century, if not in their exact definitions, then in their rhetorical intentions. As such, their inclusion in music did not present the same challenges the modern listener may face in identifying them. This inability to identify the desired "ornament" or its interwoven theoretical complexities may have contributed to the present understanding of this music being labeled transitional or uninteresting. This begs the question whether identifying the composer's rhetorical devices within the music prevents the listener from experiencing the intent of such rhetoric? The answer is undoubtedly no, and while we may be able to identify these devices within the music considered here, the ultimate goal of the composers of this era was, as Bettina Varwig describes, "to conceive and arrange an artful discourse."[144]

Unsurprisingly, the Lutheran church music of the seventeenth century more closely resembled that of the sixteenth century motet tradition[145], with one main fundamental difference: a harmonic "awareness" that was previously considered secondary to the natural spinning out of counterpoint and its resulting sonorities took precedence. This newfound freedom, which forms the essence of the *seconda prattica* from its inception with the Florentine Camerata, provides the framework for the elements of *Musica Poetica*. In fact, it allows for basic application of these techniques to a text in two fundamentally different

[144] Varwig, *Mutato,* 225.
[145] Samuel, *Nuremberg,* 179.

ways, *oratio figura* and *oratio propria*. The former deals with adornment of specific figurations (*figura*) being applied to words and phrases in order to enhance the passages rhetorical principles, and the latter represents the normal speech (*propria*), standing on its own merits as a text and in this case enhanced by the music by which it is supported.[146] Furthermore, these must not only be employed in tandem within a piece, but must allow for a balance that weds musical phrase and spoken word into an artistic marriage.

A typical tenet of seventeenth-century Protestant sacred music features a balance between concerted homophony and polyphonic textures. On a larger scale, this provides a formal design within a work that would create continuity and result in a form that seems more contiguous and through composed. Take for example individual parts of a *Missa Brevis*: Separate sections, for example, are more often marked with cadences rather than the typical break in movements found in the later *Missa Solemnis*. Within these larger portions are textures such as those found in a sixteenth-century motet that, through contrast, would create separate micro sections. There is also the added consideration of instruments that would either accompany or alternate with text, a device that, particularly in the music of Bach, proves an effective tool. This is especially true when made its own individual voice and is pitted against one or two other voices singing text at the same time. It is in these sections, when the text is rendered clearly, that the principles of *Musica Poetica* prove most effective. This amalgamated style, with

[146] Bartel, *Musica Poetica,* xi.

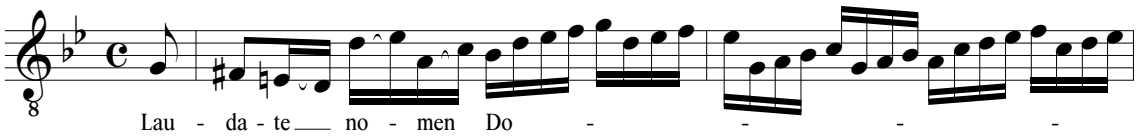
its concerted texture and the resulting rhetorical competency found in its importance of text, has been coined *Fundamentum Compositionis.*[147]

Indeed Christoph Bernhard makes the case that the music of this era has now become equal to speech: "Music has made such gains up to our day, that because of the numerous musical-rhetorical figures, especially in the newly invented and increasingly ornate *Stylo Recitativo*, it can be compared to a speech." [148] How then do these rhetorical principles of ancient origin, become affective vehicles for musical expression as they are applied to text? While a study of the many variants and offshoots of these devices is not warranted (and in some regards proves overly subjective), a discussion of the more salient details and frequently used devices, broken into principal categories, is helpful to a performer's understanding of this music.[149] Three of the six categories that form the basis of this discipline are focused on different forms of emphasis, the most obvious of which are those that center on repetition. These would include (for example) *gradatio,* which is made up of ascending stepwise repetitions or *polyptoton,* which features repetition at a new pitch level. Another category, based on pathos, proves equally affective but arguably more striking in its bluntness of repetition. *Pathopoieia* for example, features vibrant progressions (which are often chromatic or melismatic) that are emblematic of some type of passion or angst. Another from this category, the more obvious *passus duriusculus,* is represented by a stepwise progression that is atypical, strange or

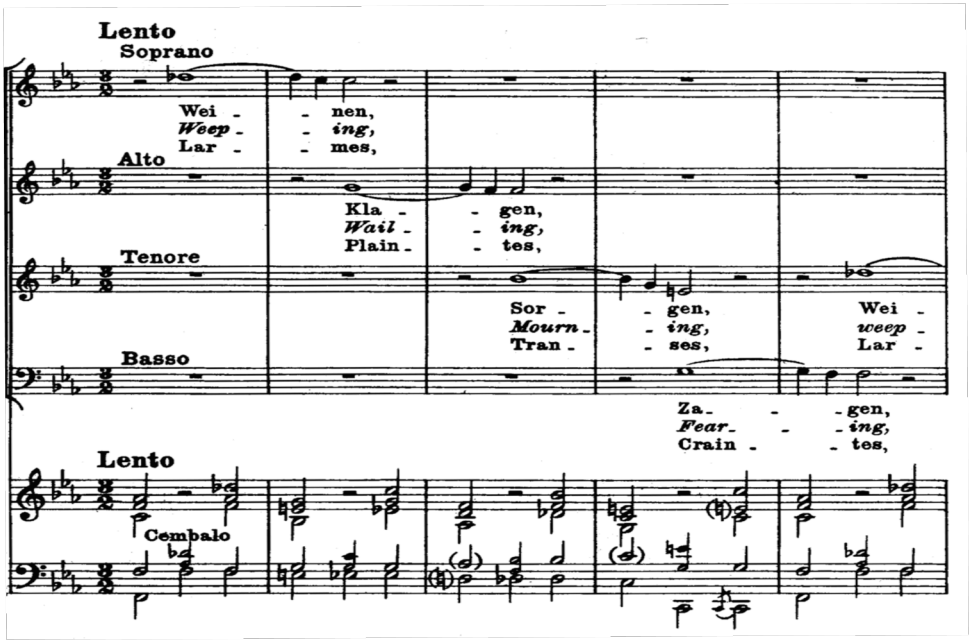
[147] Samuel, *Nuremberg*, 180.
[148] Ibid., 181.
[149] For a complete discussion of rhetorical figures in *Musica Poetica,* see Bartel.

Figure 7 – Three examples of *musica poetica* found in the repertory of Kuhnau, Knüpfer, and Bach

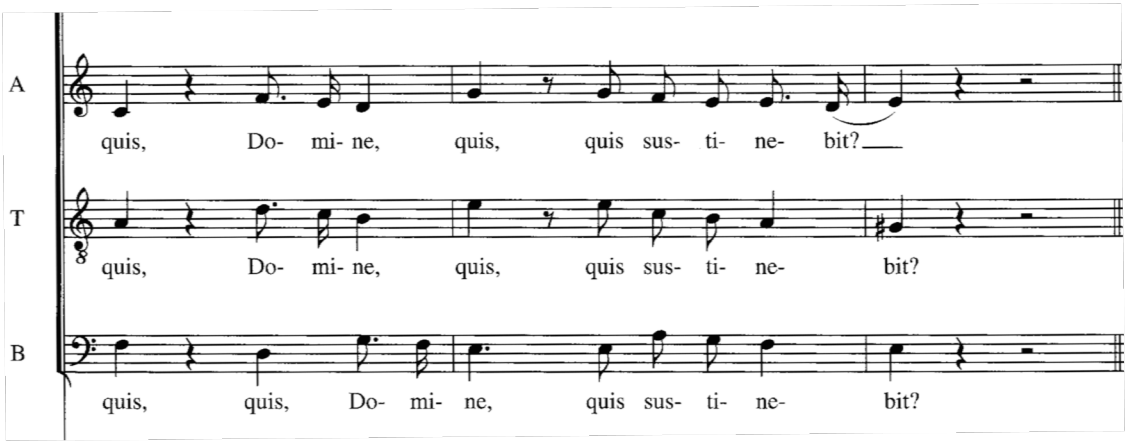
Example 1 – Pathopoeia (m. 23-24, *Laudate pueri* – Kuhnau)



Example 2 – Passus duriusculus (m. 1-5, BWV 12 – J. S. Bach)



Example 3 – Interrogatio (m. 30-32, *De profundis* – Knüpfer)



otherwise disconcerting as those commonly seen in the ground bass of a lament. Perhaps the most interesting (and subtle) of all, and perhaps the most speech like is that of *interrogatio*, which poses a question by concluding on a deceptive or striking half cadence.[150] This takes into account the natural inflection of western language and speech in the literal change in tone represented in normal speech. Examples of each of the figures from the repertory being considered are shown in Figure 7.

One final group of vital importance is that of the *hypotosis* group, featuring figures that in actual oration or speech are often somewhat onomatopoetic. In music however, these devices are most often associated with the direction of a musical phrase as involves word painting. These devices include *ascensus* – an ascending line that is often stepwise with consistent rhythmic values and its opposite, *descensus,* which is a descending line. *Circulatio,* which features notes that cross above and below a central note in the manner of a *mordent*,[151] is also common and can be used in sacred music to represent a literal encircling of a crowd or as a representation of the Cross.

It is made abundantly clear that throughout the development of the tradition of Protestant church music in Germany, text was the single most important element in any composition, and that even an opening instrumental sonata or ritornello was subservient to both its intended meaning and its poetic scansion. This fact is underscored by the very importance of this time-honored text *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, dating from the fore of the Lutheran tradition

[150] Samuel, *Nuremberg,* 186-187.
[151] Ibid., 182.

and representing some of its most vivid and sensational imagery to date. Its staying power is found in the variety of its verses and the invention of those composers who have chosen to set it in many different mediums. Yet the value Luther placed on music, must then elevate this text to another realm, and surely the skill with which Knüpfer, Kuhnau, and Bach would craft their concerted versions of this chorale would have no doubt pleased the visionary quite well. The care, or more appropriately comprehensiveness, with which these composers deliver this triumphant Easter message proves a worthy case for study. Christoph Bernhard, a contemporary of Knüpfer known predominantly his treatises on music theory, wrote almost entirely sacred vocal music during his lifetime.[152] Revisiting his treatise on singing and his three requisite categories for ornamentation, it is a testament to the importance of text as wedded to music in seventeenth-century style that two of Bernhard's three categories are considered in the guise of preservation, not alteration. While these figures are typically more overt in passages of recitative, a topic which will not be taken up in this study given the works in question, they do appear frequently in seventeenth-century concerted sacred music (as evidenced by the examples in Figure 7.1-7.3) in fluent arioso like passages.

It should be reiterated that while there was a certain familiarity with oratory and rhetorical devices during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these ancient principles are not lost on modern sensibilities. While the ability to identify such devices within a score is important for a performer, what seems

[152] Bernhard, *Manier*, 6.

most important is a thoughtful and artistic execution, so that they can be perceived and thereby internalized when hearing the music.

A Rhetorical (and Musical) Analysis of the Text

A substantive part of this study is identifying those elements that each of these three settings share, the majority of which are connected to the use of a common text. Based on the rhetorical principles outlined previously in this chapter, there are certain devices associated with musical settings of the text *Christ lag in Todesbanden* that are applied consistently by composers of this period. This type of analysis, including the less defined elements of rhetorical studies (as opposed to the very specific but albeit imposed categories of musica poetica) will provide valuable clues to performers interpreting this music. Let us consider each verse of the chorale's text independently with particular attention given to similarities in application of affect and rhetoric. This will establish connections between compositional practices in the region, and further accentuate the differences and links discussed in chapter five.

It is important to remember that concerted music based on a *cantus firmus* has a pre-existing set of musical parameters concerning the use of its melody and harmonic implications. Such limitations are further established by considering how strictly the composer decides to adhere to the melody being used thematically within each work. While Kuhnau does not set the text completely (he only includes verse 1 and portions of 5 and 6), we still have an opportunity to study the verses in detail and the occasion to cultivate the rhetorical possibilities

of each verse. It is also important to note that there are built in divisions within the scansion of the text itself from *stollen to abgesang* that will help delineate each affect more clearly and help guide our study. Finally, the contour of the chorale melody, which is wedded to the text, must also be taken into account for its inherent rhetorical properties. In an effective performance, the peaks and troughs of this melody should be utilized in extremes to illustrate the opposing forces of death and life, and to heighten the intersection (or literal crossing) of these two states.

1. **Christ lag** in Todesbanden Für unsre Sünd gegeben, Er ist wieder **erstanden** Und hat uns bracht das Leben; Des wir sollen **fröhlich** sein, Gott loben und ihm dankbar sein Und singen halleluja, Halleluja**!**	1. **Christ lay** in death's bonds handed over for our sins, he is **risen** again and has brought us life For this we should be **joyful**, praise God and be thankful to him and sing allelluia, Alleluia!

To begin, each of these works precedes the presentation of the chorale text with some type of instrumental introduction. This music will more or less directly feature some fragment or figure that will be utilized in the opening verse. A poignant example of this in verse 1 will usually include a two-note figure (often descending) taken directly from the first two notes of the chorale melody. When executed as strong-weak in succession, these notes represent more than just a descent (in their initial iteration), but a sighing motif that can occur at various points throughout the work. Such motifs would include moments of ascent in the texture, which subsequently remind the listener of the necessity of death, as it is

intrinsically liked to new life. This duality comes into play again in both settings by Knüpfer and in Bach's second *Stollen* of the first verse where a literal reiteration of his rising has taken place with an ornamented version of the word "erstanden" (risen), which then becomes standard within the context of this sighing rhythm. The same two-note figure also foreshadows the quick melismatic passages of joyfulness (fröhlich), as if transferred to mortals through a more overt display of outward musical pleasure. Finally, these ornamented passages extend to the "Hallelujah" at the end of each verse, which functions as a *jubilus* and bringing each verse to a close as a self-contained and varied narrative that points toward Christ's resurrection.[153]

The opening of verse 2 provides its entire premise: the power of death was inescapable before the existence of Christ. Considering the extant settings of this text, one consistent thematic portrayal of this verse is in the texture of a duet whose imitative voices depict death's pursuit of mere mortals. This chase is often underscored by a consistency in the basso continuo that walks along in steady eighth or quarter notes to keep time. As a result, it seems poignant to utilize contrasting delivery in each of the voices, employing the use of slightly flexible rhythmic inflections to create a push-pull among them. Such a contrast is yet another opportunity to utilize the thematic two-note sigh with slightly different intentions. In addition to the idea of death stalking its prey within a polyphonic texture, the interval created between the sounding of each voice varies (in these respective settings) from a perfect 5th to unison. By creating a framework in

[153] A melismatic extension of an Alleluia found in proper of the Roman Catholic Mass.

which closer intervals are emphasized with more stress, and wider intervals are starker, the text begins to become mutli-dimensional. For example, death could either have a wide path to swallow up its prey, or it could have distance to make up in order to take the lives of those it follows. Regardless, some form of this dichotomy seems necessary for interpreting this text.

2. Den Tod niemand zwingen kunnt Bei allen Menschenkindern, Das macht' alles unsre Sünd, Kein Unschuld war zu finden. Davon kam der Tod so bald Und nahm über uns Gewalt, Hielt uns in seinem Reich gefangen, Halleluja!	2. Nobody could overcome death among all children of mankind. Our sin was the cause of all this, no innocence was to be found. Therefore death came so quickly and seized power over us, held us captive in his kingdom. Alleluia**!**
3. Jesus Christus, **Gottes Sohn**, An unser Statt ist kommen Und hat die Sünde weggetan, Damit dem Tod genommen All sein Recht und sein Gewalt, Da bleibet nichts denn Tods Gestalt, **Den Stach'l** hat er verloren. Halleluja!	3. Jesus Christ, **God's son**, has come to our place and has put aside our sins, and this way from death has taken all his rights and his power, here remains nothing but death's outward form, it has lost **its sting**. Alleluia!

Once the problem is laid out in verse 2, then the solution arrives in verse 3 in the form of God's son. While there are many opportunities for emphasizing key words, and vastly different interpretations within extant concerted settings of this text, it is a prevalence of one definitive voice that seems the overwhelmingly favored interpretation. Perhaps this device serves as a representation of God himself. Bach chooses a simple solo setting of the chorale melody with a spirited Hallelujah, while Knüpfer elects for an imitative trio whose entrances at the word

"Den sacht'l" (its sting) in stretto, before they begin to lose their independence strains and eventually coalesce into one. It seems clear that these phrases of the chorale, on a larger scale, are meant to represent something of an antecedent-consequent pairing whose meaning organically develops when care is taken to create contrast between them. This contrast would include inflection of text, and highlighting of specific descriptive or action words within the overall pacing of the movements.

4. Es war ein **wunderlicher** Krieg, Da Tod und Leben rungen, Das Leben behielt den Sieg,, Es hat den Tod **verschlungen**. Die Schrift hat verkündigt das, Wie ein Tod den andern fraß, Ein **Spott** aus dem Tod ist worden. Halleluja**!**	4. It was a **strange** battle where death and life struggled. Life won the victory, it has **swallowed** up death Scripture has proclaimed how one death ate the other, death has become a **mockery**. Alleluia!

The central and inevitable turning point of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, is found in the battle between death and life described in verse 4, in most case musically expressed as some type of chaotic battle scene. This chaos would take on the form of a dense or expansive texture that includes a wealth of notes in small values (mostly eighth and sixteenth notes). The principal two-note motif once again lends itself well to a spun out polyphony whose imitative lines are an even more appropriate expression of the fundamental affect of conflict. Such complexity however, does not discount a simpler, more homophonic approach, which can also yield something equally intense as the individual voices (in vocal and/or instrumental texture) interact with each other. Beyond density of texture,

there are key words that offer an opportunity for a more overt coloring of the text that can lend some structure to the chaos. For example, the score may include an embellished rendering of the word “wunderlicher” (strange), a clearly stated “vershlungen” (swallowed), particularly if there is a stretto like overlap for more text painting, and a short, chirpy interpretation of mockery on the word “spott.”

5. Hier ist das rechte Osterlamm,	5. Here is the true Easter lamb
Davon Gott hat geboten,	that God has offered
Das ist hoch an des	**which high on the**
Kreuzes Stamm	**trunk of the cross**
In heißer Lieb gebraten,	is roasted in burning love,
Das Blut zeichnet unsre Tür,	**whose blood marks our doors**,
Das hält der Glaub dem	which faith holds in
Tode für,	front of death,
Der Würger kann uns	the strangler
nicht mehr schaden.	can harm us no more
Halleluja!	Alleluia!

Verses 5 and 6, when paired together (like verses 2 and 3), provide a more poetic opportunity for metaphor surrounding the mystery of Christ’s death and resurrection. In particular, attention should be drawn to the imagery that is represented in the similar terms presented in different contexts. One such example is the idea of the lamb being displayed high (*hoch*) on the cross in verse 5, where as the text of verse 6 celebrates the “höhe” (high) feast. Another instance comes in the form of the “blood that marks (*zeichnet*) our doors” versus the “grace that enlightens (*erleuchtet*) our hearts,” providing an opportunity for the death of Christ to be viewed as both sacrifice and gift. Interestingly, Knüpfer uses the exact same musical material for these inner verses as he did for the previous two and Bach simply reverses use of an accompanied solo aria and an imitative

duet. Kuhnau, who sets at least a portion of both of these texts, sets verse 5 simply in a triptych of two other strophic arias, and renders the festal celebration with a modestly imitative chorus.

6. So feiern wir **das hohe Fest** Mit Herzensfreud und Wonne, Das uns der Herre scheinen läßt, Er ist selber die Sonne, Der durch seiner Gnade Glanz **Erleuchtet unsre Herzen** ganz, Der Sünden Nacht ist verschwunden. Halleluja!	6. Thus we celebrate **the high feast** with joy in our hearts and delight that the Lord lets shine for us, He is himself the sun who through brilliance of his grace **enlightens our hearts** completely, the night of sin has disappeared. Alleluia!
7. Wir essen und leben wohl In rechten Osterfladen, Der alte **Sauerteig** nicht soll Sein bei dem **Wort Gnaden**, Christus will die Koste sein Und speisen die Seel allein, Der Glaub will keins andern leben. Halleluja!	7. We eat and live well on the right Easter cakes, the old **sourdough** should not be with the **word of grace**, Christ will be our food and alone feed the soul, Faith will in no other way live. Alleluia!

The final verse of this chorale represents (at least in this instance) a type of lesson to be garnered from the previous lofty expressions of rhetoric and amalgamates imagery in a way similar to how the metaphors were offered in previous verses. Examples include the juxtaposition of references to actual sustenance with those that exemplify more spiritual nourishment in the form of Christ. The implication of the first line of text is that Christ is all in all: "we [both] eat and live well," followed by a reference to bread (Sauerteig) and the word of grace (dem Wort Gnaden). We should not undercut the clout of such a text at this point, and allow it to speak clearly with its proper stress as Bach does in the form of closing chorale. In contrast, Knüpfer saves his most elaborate writing for last

with an imitative chorus whose ritornello suddenly becomes vocal and adds an exclamation point to what is possibly the most rhetorically powerful moment of the text–a final Hallelujah.

CHAPTER 5

AN ANALYSIS OF THREE SETTINGS OF *CHRIST LAG IN TODESBANDEN*

Provided the context and complexity of the volume of topics and sources that will be covered, and the varied audience for which it is hoped that this study will prove relevant (and helpful), the following primers are offered in the guise of program notes, to familiarize the reader with salient details and basic tenets of each work. Presented in this order, from the latest setting to the earliest, offers a framework for their eventual comparison, taking advantage of recent research into the music of Bach and his contemporaries in the eighteenth century. This allows the present and accepted scholarship to be traced backward through history in order to discover the origins of these conventions, leading to a deeper understanding of this repertory and its subsequent preforming standards.

J. S. Bach

The most recent of the settings if also the best known (and researched): BWV 4. In response (most likely) to the demands of transition from Cöthen that saw him focus predominantly on instrumental music, Bach re-visited some earlier works in his first year in this new job. This would include his cantata *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, which was originally written for an Easter day audition at Mühlhausen in 1707.[154] Given that the original location of performing materials of this cantata is unknown, it is difficult to say how extensively the work was revised for performance in Leipzig. Regardless, it seems reasonably certain to

[154] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 103.

assume the alterations were minimal and most likely fitted to the existing antiquated formal structure. A set of wind parts, which include cornetto and three trombones were also prepared in 1725 that double the vocal parts in multiple movements (and could reasonably included, though not indicated in *Versus* IV).[155] There are theories surrounding their inclusion in the work, but beyond speculating about these and other conditions, this would have been stylistically consistent with the practice of the seventeenth-century works. In this, Bach's first true "chorale cantata," we see the *cantus firmus* thoughtfully and creatively carried through in its entirety for all 8 movements. The three-pronged task of finding musical variation in each movement while maintaining the chorale melody, and vividly portraying the text is formidable, yet here a young Bach shows us his genius. One such example…

Along the same line, the *chiastic* layout of this work, a design that evokes that of the cross, is also quite significant. This device serves as not only a structural design, but is maintained by Herz as an affirmation of Bach's personal faith in its message.[156] While this claim is debatable, it surely provides a further layering of affect within the work. Excluding the opening *Sinfonia*, the seven vocal movements form this structure, which sets in perfect symmetry three choruses (Verses 1, 4, and 7) separated by a duet and a solo on either side (verses 2, 3, 5, and 6). Verse 4 is framed in the center as the *crux* of the work (the Latin word for "cross") highlighting the turning point between death and new life. Unlike the cantatas written while in Leipzig, many of the elements in this work

[155] Herz, *Cantata 4,* 22.
[156] Ibid., 85.

point to seventeenth-century traditions, including the notable absence of conventions that adorned later works including the use of recitative. A case could be made for the earlier works of Bach being notably more provincial, and is further corroborated by a more regular use of these forms while at Weimar.[157]

The orchestration too hearkens an earlier time with its multiple viola parts. This characteristic trait of seventeenth-century Italian music further reinforces its dating as one of Bach's earliest cantatas. Yet there must have been a reason why Bach revisited this work, beyond simple necessity. If nothing else, surely the idea of *Beschränkung* (self limitation) was appealing to Bach, a challenge that would allegedly not be lost on his talents later in life, particularly in the composition of his late keyboard works including the Art of Fugue.[158] This principle is also notably present in his treatment of pre-existing material thematic material juxtaposed with affect. On such example is the recurring motif, taken directly from the *cantus firmus*, is the two-note descending semi-tone, which represents a downward movement toward the grave. In contrast, the use of a three-step ascending figure, for instance, in *versus* 1 on the word "erstanden," represents the opposite concept of *Auferstehung* (rising from the dead).

Johann Kuhnau

In many ways, Johann Kuhnau's setting of this text, appearing some 14 years prior to Bach's, is the most modern of all three settings being considered. It is without a doubt the simplest of the three and ably bridges a divide between

[157] Ibid., 22.
[158] A case has been made that a challenge by Mattheson resulted in the Art of Fugue.

clear elements of the seventeenth century (instrumental ritornello) with some newer developments found in the century to follow (recitativo semplice). The principles that inform detailed textual treatment in Kuhnau's mature sacred works (as outlined in the preface to his first volume of Leipzig cantatas) are similarly present for a clearly defined affect in his instrumental music that both supports the voices and serves as its own consort in equal measure.[159] The use of the chorale tune is minimal and aside from the initial unadorned statement of versus 1 by a treble voice, the melodic material is often fragmented and suggestive of its original tune. Kuhnau's chosen text, which is handled in a similar fashion to the chorale tune itself, is often a paraphrase of Luther. This vivid text rendered simply and clearly, lends itself well to a more dramatic interpretation that might otherwise be represented in other eras by musical grandeur. It is important to note that this is only a handful of chorale based "canatas" by Kuhnau, which suggests any number of scenarios, including that these types of compositions were a tenet of the earlier part of his career, or that he was hearkening backward to an earlier style for the sake of affect.[160]

Given the date of 1693 that appears on the wrapper (which in fairness could represent a date of performance may not accurately depict the date of composition), this registers as the earliest listed date for any of his German sacred works according to George Buelow.[161] It is possible to surmise that this style of composition was still in favor at the time when Kuhnau wrote the work.

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[159] See discussion on p. 56.
[160] Evangeline Rimbach*, The Church Cantatas of Johann Kuhnau,* vol. 1 and 2, parts 1-5 (ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 1966), 133.
[161] This refers to the article by George Buelow in Grove Music Online.

With his position as organist of the *Thomaskirche* in Leipzig (at the behest of Schelle), it would be easy to assume that Kuhanu knew the works of both his supervisor, and of Schelle's predecessor, Knüpfer. Indeed, the chosen format of Kuhnau's setting represents something of a microcosm of Knüpfer's own setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*– that is, it represents exactly half of the length of Knüpfer's symmetrical setting up to versus IV (pivot point) and within that section, mirrors its same basic compositional design. Kuhnau foreshadows a new manner of composition by pairing simple *Strophenlieder* (strophic songs) with a recurring ritornello. This could be identified as a precursor to the use of the da capo aria of the eighteenth century Stemming from the paraphrased and interpolated chorale text that is set in contrasting affects within the sectionalized opening arioso and chorus, is found a wholly unique style that becomes the basis of many of Kuhnau's late Leipzig cantatas that prominently features these prevailing stylistic tendencies.

Sebastian Knüpfer

Most of the details presented here are presented in context of the edition of this work I have prepared as part of this study. The exact composition and performance dates of Sebastian Knüpfer's *Christ lag in Todesbanden* are unknown. The earliest known source is a complete set of parts housed at Grimma, Saxony and prepared by noted composer and copyist Samuel Jacobi. Presumably written for performance during services at the Fürstenschule of St. Augustine, the wrapper indicates two performances dating 16 April 1702 and 3 April 1714 respectively. In addition, the wrapper indicates the inclusion of three

bombards to the extant set of 16 parts, totaling 19 voices with the addition of a *basso continuo* written by Jacobi.[162]

Since this is the first known modern score of this work to have been prepared[163], some explanation of the materials is warranted. In general, the parts from Grimma are the closest representations of a fair copy of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* as can be identified, with no known full score in existence. While the parts themselves are reasonably clean, there are some inconsistencies that have been corrected and are notated accordingly. For the purposes of the modern edition included as part of this study, a key signature of d minor has been included in the full score (forsaking the practice of excluding the final accidental of each key signature, in the case of this work leaving it blank) and the editor has taken care to notate clearly b-naturals that are implied in the parts but are not notated (flat on a descending note can indicate a lower of a half step i.e. bombarde 2 m. 2, b. 2: c natural). Additionally, original clefs are notated on the first page of the score and have been converted to modern usage. The *violino piccolo*, which exists in several iterations during this period of history, is the only transposing instrument included, and in this case, sounds up a perfect fourth.[164]

One of the tenets of seventeenth-century manuscripts that offer scholars and editors the most difficulty is the legibility of text. For example, m. 33-35 of the alto (*cori favoriti*) is nearly indiscernible especially given the edits to correct

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[162] Andrea Hartmann, "Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Fürstenschule (Grimma, Dresden: RISM-Arbeitsgruppe Deutschland e. V., 2009), 341-342.
[163] During the completion of this study, the work received its modern premiere at First Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts by *Ensemble Origo* on Friday, February 9. It is assumed that a modern edition of the work was prepared.
[164] For a discussion of the violino piccolo, see Wainright.

and error made by the copyist. I have made every effort to reconstruct these faithfully and accurately. Additionally, Knüpfer's text setting differs slightly from the text of the chorale tune itself, for example, in his omission of the article *das* in versus IV, stanza 3 before the word *behielt*. Finally, punctuation has been added or altered in some cases for ease of reading for performers. A list of editorial changes and suggestions are found with the score at Appendix C.

Comparing the Works

The apex of this study is an actual evaluation of these three works, a task that is daunting (if not impossible) in that, for all of their similarities and potential influences, they are conceived quite differently. In any case, an assessment in the truest sense of the word will yield something that will elucidate as many differences as there are similarities. Bach's setting sets up a poignant comparison with his predecessors, due at least in part to his rather antiquated orchestration, made obvious by the inclusion of more than one viola. While most likely originally written while he was in Arnstadt for an audition in Mühlhausen[165], Bach added *colla parte* trombone doubling, remaining faithful to the earlier instrumentation of the work for its Leipzig debut in 1724, this may have been at least in part due to the additional forces available to him in his new post.[166]

At the opposite end of this spectrum is the setting by Knüpfer, which sets each of the seven stanzas of the chorale text, like Bach, *per omnes versus* (with all

[165] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 100.
[166] Herz, *Cantata No. 4,* 22.

verses). The cantata to this point has not been transcribed into a modern edition, perhaps partially because of its, dare I say, large and unusual orchestration for solo instruments some of which, bombardes for example, pre-date even seventeenth-century practices. The earliest known performance date (but likely not the premiere) based on the wrapper of the manuscript is 1693 which would have been posthumous to Knüpfer, and coincidentally the same year that Kuhnau's setting was written.[167] My own performing edition of this score provides the basis for the following analysis.

The pivot point in the evaluation of these three works focuses on a setting by Johann Kuhnau that dates from a time when as the composer was serving as organist at the *Thomaskirche*. In addition to the significant changes that the composer adopted at Leipzig, this work evenly divides itself between tenets of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Not only does this setting use various practices that hearken back to the Renaissance, including the use of ritornello to make the music more fluid, it also foreshadows the late baroque as stand-alone arias and duets help to establish new conventions in concerted church music, punctuated by simplistic basso continuo.[168]

Formal Design

There is a belief among some scholars that Bach used pre-existing settings by other composers as a compositional model for his setting of BWV 4. While

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[167] Sebastian Knüpfer, "Christ Lag in Todesbanden" in *Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Fürstenschule Grimma* erarbeitet von Andrea Hartmann (Dresden: RISM-Arbeitsgruppe Deutschland e. V., 2009), 341.
[168] Johann Kuhnau, *Christ Lag in Todesbanden (Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bonds),* ed. Horrace Fishback, III (Glen Rock, NJ: J. Fischer & Bro., 1966).

some of these theories are more convincing than others, the existing case for a setting by Pachelbel as a primary influence on Bach is the least far-fetched, however dubious that distinction may be. There is without question a resemblance, particularly in the figural language and the textures that color his writing. As is well known, Pachelbel's keyboard literature was quite the influence on a young Bach, particularly as it concerned settings of chorale tunes for which Bach was known to elaborate.[169] One such example see's Bach extend Pachelbel's own work by adding his own transition and conclusion (BWV 1096), more than doubling the length of the original work.[170]

How much this influence extended into Bach's vocal music is unclear, although there are several uncanny similarities in both of these works based on the Luther chorale. Yet this particular theory still relies on the presupposition of many events, which at present, cannot be sufficiently verified, one of the most important of which includes the date of composition for both settings. Still, given the criteria laid out to prove the plausibility of said connection, an equally compelling argument can be made for the setting by Sebastian Knüpfer, at least on the grounds of the works formal design. After all, Bach was known throughout his life to have a predilection for older material, designs, and forms in his compositions (one need look no further than the Latin choral music of his final years), using for the basis of his cantatas 34 hymn texts by either Luther or Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676).[171] Could this not also be the case with formal design and structure? Wolff even maintains that Bach's earliest hymn-based concerted works

[169] Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 49.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Herz, *Cantata 4*, 27.

for voices and instruments reference a refined seventeenth-century style but more closely represent the style of Buxtehude, rather than Pachelbel.[172]

Until the present edition, prepared as part of this study, there were no more than peripheral references to this work, and since its performing materials remained only in manuscript form, no comparison has of yet been made. One of the more measureable advantages that the Knüpfer comparison has to that of Pachelbel is that of known dates of performance in 1702, and again in 1714.[173] While these performances were posthumous of the composer, a performance location is also indicated in Grimma, a reasonable distance from both Leipzig where Knüpfer most likely composed the work, and Arnstadt where Bach would write his own setting. Beyond the lack of reliable dates, there is the further assumption to be made about where Pachelbel likely composed this particular work. Pachelbel met the Bach family in Eisenach, yet only stayed there for a single year in between posts in Catholic Vienna and then in Erfurt. Should it have been during his Nuremberg period, this would provide an environment that despite some basic similarity was markedly different from Saxony as regards performing standards.[174] Add to that the fact that Pachelbel also spent a brief stint in Regensburg (the birthplace of Knüpfer) and his eventual transfer to Eisenach and Erfurt might suggest that it was Knüpfer's setting of *Christ Lag in Todesbanden* that influenced Pachelbel. Though it seems unlikely the two ever met as Knüpfer died in Leipzig in 1676, a year before Pachelbel came to Eisenach, surely he knew of the composer and his works.

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[172] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 99.
[173] See wrapper of Knüpfer MS on pg. 38.
[174] Haynes, *Performing Pitch,* 196.

Still, Knüpfer's *Kirchenmusik* shares many salient formal designs with Bach and Pachelbel's setting, most notably the appearance of the chorale tune (at least in fragmented form) in each verse. Moreover, while not truly chiastic, Knüpfer more closely maintains the balance between *tutti* vocal movements (I, IV, and VII) with more sparse vocal textures and continuo that characterize the music for verses II and III and again in verses V and VI respectively. This is also not to say that Phillip Spitta's comparison of Kuhnau's setting with that of Bach does not share some similarities, but it must be maintained that his argument would be better served by more recent scholarship which helps to clarify and expand upon the depth (or lack thereof) of previously established norms in the particular area.[175] Yet with respect at least to formal design, this work too would point more clearly at Knüpfer as the model. Kuhnau, in the spirit of all things modern, chose to only set text from three of Luther's seven verses, a choice that seems to break with the norm for these types of works. This is complimented by several interpolated and paraphrased poetic texts, which liked to a trope diverts to a tangential thought or affect.[176] This macaronic approach, in this sense using combinations of texts rather than lends itself well to not only changes in affect but allows the music to be more sectionalized, providing more opportunity for drama in the form of contrasting affects. More developed instances of this appear as da capo arias in early eighteenth-century music, a feature that Kuhnau becomes the first to introduce into sacred music of the Leipzig church.[177] In this

[175] Taylor, *Pachelbel*, 23-24.
[176] Recognized liturgical texts would be followed by elaborate poetic verses on the same or similar theme, essentially further embellishing their meaning.
[177] Rimbach, *Kuhnau*,

instance however, Kuhnau has made the distinction in the opening chorus that precedes a series of strophic solo verses alternating with a ritornello, a style that was a staple of his seventeenth-century predecessors. Though *Ecce quam bonum* shares this characteristic, a side-by-side comparison of another work by Knüpfer, cast in a similar guise, will help to corroborate this assertion.

Though sharply contrasting with its grand instrumentation, *Was mein Gott will* of Knüpfer roughly parallels the previously referenced formal structure of Kuhnau's *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. Here, in *Was mein Gott will* (what my God wants), Knüpfer has connected five large sections: 1) a freely composed opening sonata 2) a chorus based on the chorale tune of the same name, 3) a trio of voices in a quasi-imitative texture and subsequent ritornello, 4) another trio (with different voicing) followed by a ritornello, and 5) a concluding chorus also based on the chorale tune. This more antiquated layout was common during the seventeenth century and must have been known to Kuhnau, even if he did not know the exact work referenced here written by Knüpfer.

While the form of these works is similar, the distinction is drawn in the texture of the various strophes (or verses) and the ritornello that follows. Even though *Christ lag in Todesbanden* is by all accounts comparatively early within the bulk of Kuhnau's sacred music, features simpler strophes for solo voices with basso continuo, this decision shows a further emergence of the aria in sacred music and its emancipation from the polyphonic or imitative idiom. Knüpfer, on the other hand, relies heavily on interaction of voices in both the verses found in *Was mein Gott will* and by extension, those in *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. The treatment provided in the instrumental writing also proves significant, evolving

from the principle of instrumental consorts[178] in the Knüpfer to a fuller, more integrated texture for the whole of the instrumental band.

Christoph Wolff has explained the creative manner in which Bach adapted the work of other composers, stating that he would "never slavishly imitate [a] model. What makes them stand out is their deliberate tendency to expand on [that] model, to go beyond it's scope- often cautiously, sometimes daringly- with new forms, consistent motivic construction, and chromatically enriched harmonic design."[179] While this quote is offered in the context of his troping of Pachelbel's organ chorales, it does provide a wider view of his compositional process, one that would inevitably (especially in his young age) have carried into his other compositions of the time. Suffice it to say that by the time Sebastian Bach revisited his setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* in 1724, he likely knew several concerted works on this text. It would be perilous speculation to suggest that any singular person or setting of this text was Bach's Model. It is however, within the realm of possibility that more than one setting provided some inspiration for his own work of the same title. The common thread that more clearly relates all of these settings is that of Knüpfer's. David William Krause, author of the most comprehensive study of Knüpfer to date, likens the "flow" of the composer's style to that of Buxtehude. Given Buxtehude's influence on Bach, this draws an additional link between him and Knüpfer.[180] No more than a fleeting survey of the score is needed to see the symmetrical design that was vitally important to both of these composers, and by extension a natural product

[178] Brauer, *Instruments*, 20.
[179] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 49.
[180] Krause, *Knüpfer,* 15.

of setting the chorale text *per omnes versus* (for all verses). Yet where one finds a more typical seventeenth-century approach through repetition, the other (notably Bach) finds invention in all seven verses.[181] In fact, Knüpfer's setting, were he not concerned with totality, could almost be a self contained form as in the case of *Was mein Gott will*. At the very least, given this model, Knüpfer's final three verses (two of which have identical music as verses II and III) could represent a structure that parallels the whole of Kuhnau's setting with an additional section that makes the form symmetrical.

Returning to an earlier reference to neighboring Braunshweig-Wolfenbüttel as the musical model for (or perhaps of) a smaller Saxon city, the elements of style begin to elucidate the true influences of these composers' formal designs. The court at Braunshweig notably taught what was considered "Lutheran Style," as opposed to Venice or Prague, which taught "Catholic Style." The latter, was characterized by the alternation of solo vocal lines accompanied by basso continuo alternating with *ritornelli*, furthering a case for links between each of these works at different levels. It is important to bear in mind that Kuhnau was, as has been established, a proponent of the most modern trends in composition, such as his adoption of the French wind instruments while *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig. Yet the use of these instruments had already made their way to the small neighboring court by 1694, several years before Kuhnau would assume that post. The music at that time in Braunschweig was headed up by Johann Rosenmüller, who had began his studies in Leipzig and subsequently moved on to Venice

[181] Herz, *Cantata 4*, 81-82.

before starting his tenure in this position in 1682.[182] Having spent time in Leipzig during Knüpfer's stint as *Thomaskantor,* the composer would have surely been familiar with his work before his sojourn in Italy.

In fact, one specific collection from the seventeenth century of over 1800 works, the so-called "Bokemeyer Collection" named after a successor of Rosenmüller, contains manuscripts of his music as well as that of Knüpfer. Around half of the collection was compiled before the eighteenth century by Georg Österreich, who after an extended period of time in Northern Germany, took up residence in Braunschweig and eventually sold the vast majority of his collection to his student Bokemeyer who continued to add to it through his death in 1751. Though this collection draws no definite correlations between the settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, it does, as Robert Cammarota points out, "form one of the largest extant collections of music from a period paralleling J. S. Bach's life,"[183] figuratively drawing circles of influence throughout central Germany and giving both performer and scholar clues to the basis of style through regional connections and analysis of these amalgamated resources. Circling back to the discussion of Pachelbel, there is no doubt that Bach knew of and was in some way influenced by his music of at an early age, and that their settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* share many formal characteristics. While it is impossible to determine the chronology and direct influences on Bach's setting, the strongest formal similarities are found in those by Knüpfer and Pachelbel.

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[182] Brauer, *Instruments,* 256.
[183] Cammarota, *Magnificats,* 47.

Instrumentation also serves as a critical point of analysis in these works and will allow for more clarification or distinction in this comparison. The previously mentioned consort principle as it was applied in the Renaissance was all but abandoned by 1600 for something that was not only more integrated, but also weighed heavily on the prominence of outer voices. It was thought that realizing continuo instruments could reinforce inner voices, beyond the implied sonorities in the melodic and bass voices, as was a hallmark of the *seconda prattica*.[184] By this standard, all three works considered here take on an oeuvre that is distinctly seventeenth century in character, though Knüpfer's scoring is certainly starkly different from that of Kuhnau and Bach. Figure 8 lays out the salient details of each work side-by-side. The latter two settings feature a similar ensemble: pairs of violins and violas with additional wind doubling (as noted, Bach likely added this feature in 1725), four-part voices, and basso continuo. The inclusion of multiple viola parts was a standard practice of the seventeenth century as was doubling of the vocal parts with both wind and string instruments with an increasing degree of specification regarding their usage and function. All of these same conventions are found in the setting by Knüpfer but taken to extremes.

In contrast, this score calls for an ensemble that includes 1 violin, 3 violas, 3 *bombardes*, five-part voices, and basso continuo. Two additional solo instruments, the violino piccolo and the cornettino, adorn the work adding ornamental flare in

[184] Brauer, *Instruments,* 21.

addition to their doubling responsibilities. The etymology of both of these instruments presents something of a crossroads within the work itself. The cornettino served as the descant or uppermost register of the cornetto family, and represents the fading renaissance application of the consort principle when families

of instruments played together.[185]As mentioned before, the pitch level of the cornetto remained nearly constant in Germany for nearly three centuries, and its usage in the latter part of that time was used as the wind counterpart of the violin until the emergence of the oboe in the eighteenth century. The violino piccolo on the other hand, first came into use in the sixteenth century, also as descant instrument, and Michael Praetorius makes reference to it his *Syntagma Musicum* III.[186] One of the principle purposes for the development of this instrument was to avoid more extreme shifting in playing technique, and while it was also tuned in fifths, it was typically pitched (as is the case here) a fourth above the violin.[187] In any case, these instruments were most often used for enhanced facility in extreme registers of a work, which typically called for a notable level of virtuosity.

So too, the bombardes notated here provide a curious case for modern (even eighteenth century) sensibilities. While the instrument with specific name

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[185] Ibid.
[186] Margaret Downie Banks, "Violono Piccolo," *Grove Music Online* (12 Feb. 2018), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/grovemusic/view/10/1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo9781561592630-e-0000029496.
[187] Ibid.

Figure 8 - Comparison of Materials and Preforming Forces

CHRIST LAG IN TODESBANDEN - COMPARISON OF SETTINGS

	Sebastian Knüpfer			**Johann Kuhnau**			**Johann Sebastian Bach**
Date/Loc.	unknown			1693/ Pre-Leipzig			c. 1707, rev. 1724/ Mühlhausen
MS	Fürsten- und Landensschule, Grimma/Parts			Staadtsbibliothek zu Berlin/Score			Bach-Archiv Leipzig/Parts (Partial Autograph)
Copyist	S. Jacobi			S. Dehn, F. Georg Fasch			C. G. Meissner, Copyist C
Scoring	Cornettino			2 cornetto (ad placitum)			1 cornetto*
	Violino Piccolo			2 Violino Piccolo			3 trombones*
	Violin			2 Violin			2 violin
	3 viola			2 viola			2 viola
	3 bombarde			SATB (soloists)			SATB (soloists)
	SSATB (soloists)			Ripieno (ad placitum)			Ripieno (assumed)
	Ripieno (si placet)			Basso Continuo			Basso Continuo
	Basso Continuo			_____			_____
		Text	**Inst.**	**Music**	**Text**	**Inst.**	**Music**		**Text**	**Inst.**	**Music**
	Sonata	n/a	band	d	_____				Sinfonia	n/a	band	e
	Versus I - Chorus (tutti)	Lu	tutti	d	I. Sonata	n/a	band	d	Versus I - Chorus	Lu	tutti	e
	Versus II - Duet + Rit.	Lu	SA+Bc	d	II. Choral - Solo	Lu		d	Versus II - Duet	Lu	SA+Bc	e
	Versus III - Trio + Rit.	Lu	ATB+Bc	d	III. Coro - Tutti	Inter-Lu. 3P		d-F	Versus III - Solo	Lu	T, 2 vln+Bc	e
	Versus IV - Chorus (tutti)	Lu	tutti	d	IV. Aria Vers 1 + Rit.	Lu. 1P		d	Versus IV - Chorus	Lu	tutti	e
	Versus V - Duet + Rit.	Lu	SA+Bc (=II)	d	V. Aria Vers 2 + Rit.	Lu. 5		d	Versus V - Solo	Lu	B, Str+Bc	e
	Versus VI - Trio + Rit.	Lu	ATB+Bc (=III)	d	VI. Aria Vers 3 + Rit	Lu. 5P		d	Versus VI - Duet	Lu	ST+Bc	e
	Versus VII - Chorus (tutti)	Lu	tutti	d	VII. Choral - Tutti	Lu. 6		d	Versus VII - Choral	Lu	tutti	e

Key:
1-7: Refers to Luther's Chorale Verses
I: Interpolation
P: Paraphrase
Lu: Luther's Original Text
Band: Instruments Only
S/A/T/B: Voices
Bc: Basso Continuo

"Bombarde" refers to something closer to the chanter of a bagpipe, the term was typically used to refer to a renaissance double-reed instrument. In the case of Knüpfer, the top two Bombarde parts of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* are likely written for Shawms,[188] while the third part which seems to function similar to a *basso seguente* part, occasionally independent but most often doubling the bass, was likely played by a Dulcian. In reality, this format more closely represents the most typical mid seventeenth-century style in Germany, and perhaps that of Knüpfer, who's writing "leans somewhat to the… showy…heroic [and] lofty…"[189]

Voices also present a significant challenge, and require an overall discussion of performing forces and conventions that include the existence of a chorus. As above, Knüpfer calls for the typical five-voice texture of the seventeenth century, while Kuhnau and Bach's settings, most likely as a result of a movement toward a new standard, require only four voices to be performed. In each case, the number of string instruments is directly proportionate to the number of voices, a vestige of the polychoral tradition of the seventeenth century.[190] A sampling of Knüpfer's own vocal/instrumental repertory corroborates this, as does the propensity for "Italian" five-part string writing of Rosenmüller who spent his last years (until 1685) in neighboring Wolfenbüttel.[191] To draw the most complete connection one must bear in mind Rosenmüller's early connections with Leipzig, in tandem with his work in Venice from 1658-

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[188] Bruce Haynes, "Baptiste's *Hautbois*: The Metamorphosis from Shawm to Hautboy in France, 1620-1670," *From Renaissance to Baroque*, ed. Jonathan Wainright (Burlington ,VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 23.
[189] Krause, *Knüpfer*, 16.
[190] Brauer, *Instruments,* 264.
[191] Ibid. (53).

1682, where this standard would have certainly been maintained.

Rosenmüller's successor, Johann Theile, utilized French woodwinds during his time at Wolfenbüttel, which he was no doubt exposed to during his stint in Hamburg.[192] Theile did maintain five-part string (and vocal) writing as his standard, but his successor Johann Kusser, also by way of Hamburg, who began to adapt his ensemble toward a four-part string/vocal model, both trends the Kuhanu would adopt in neighboring Leipzig upon his promotion to *Thomaskantor*. From this viewpoint, it is easy to identify trends of the times, but perhaps we must look further a field to truly corroborate this movement: Buxtehude in the northernmost city of Lübeck in would have had an ensemble of 10-14 instrumentalists and a quartet of singers[193] on any given day. This seems to more closely represent the conditions of the Leipzig known to Kuhnau or Bach.

Typical of *Kirchenmusik,* would have been the practice of employing a set of principal singers as soloists known as *favoriti* or concertists, with other available singers (i.e. the choir) known as the cappella or ripienists. Concertists would sing the entire work, which would often include passages that were typically more virtuosic or challenging in nature. Ripienists would join the soloists at specific times, typically when the music was more homophonic, to enhance the desired affect of a passage. Protestant cities, who had the benefit of a school attached to its principal churches with which to pull choristers[194], would in theory have enough singers (at least trebles and possibly altos) for more than one to a part, an addition that would occur on many an occasion. History remains

[192] Warrack, *German Opera,* 39.
[193] Kite-Powell, *Performers Guide,* 57.
[194] Ibid., 56.

inconclusive as to whether this was the norm on a typical Sunday.[195] Both Knüpfer and Kuhanu's compositions indicate that their setting of '*Christ lag'* is for some number of additional singers *si placet/ad placitum*, the most likely scenario of which, is one additional singer per part. Part of the challenge of this convention, however, is determining when the *ripienists* should sing.

Knüpfer has clearly marked this with the word *tutti* in his setting, but these indications are not as neatly laid out in those works of his predecessors. Kuhnau has delineated those movements that include an ensemble of singers or are related to the chorale material by labeling them "Choral" or "Coro." While this appears straight forward, there are several variables that are in play, which for the moment will be limited to matters of scoring. It is possible that the opening "choral" marked for *canto* is intended for either a solo voice or to be sung by a section of similar voices (given the congregational nature of the chorale). The following "Coro" is broken into two separate interpolations on the previous chorale verse: an "Alleluia" in homophonic texture with instruments that bookends an imitative "Des Todes" section with continuo only. These changes in forces and writing would in most cases indicate that the middle section of this movement would be an opportunity for just the *concertists* to sing. In reality, either option would be valid for conductor or director, but it is imperative to take into account the historical context of Kuhnau's position at the time.

This work carries a known date of 1693. At that point, Kuhnau was serving as organist of the Thomaskirche and would not assume the role of *Thomaskantor*

[195] See Parrott's *The Essential Bach Choir* for further reading.

until 1701.[196] Assuming further that Kuhnau led the first performance of his *Christ Lag in Todesbanden*, he may have done so at a church other than the Thomaskirche or *Nikolaikirche* given that would have been the responsibility of Johann Schelle. Despite the fact that Easter was one of the most important days of the liturgical year, it is not out of the question to assume that additional singers would have been available to him at the Peterskirche or another location (the university church had it's own organist, but Bach oversaw the music there at least 4 times a year).[197] Thus, it would have almost always been the bare minimum forces needed to perform a concerted work such as this one. As an aside, these must have been the very conditions (at least beginning the decline) that Sebastian Bach complained so vehemently about in his *Entwurff* of 1730.[198] The exception to this rule, of course, was always the principal churches, which hosted the main service on alternating weekends. As such, it might serve a better historically informed approach to perform with a simple quartet of voices, and moreover, indicate why (most likely not) Kuhnau chose not to specify the vocal forces beyond labeling the voice-type for each line.

Bach also does not specify the choral/vocal forces required to perform his *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, but this work was originally conceived for Arnstadt or Mühlhausen. Bach was not regularly writing church music in these posts[199] and church compositions that date from this period were always for a specific occasion (though the occasion for this work is unclear, beyond its association

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[196] Rimbach, *Kuhnau,* 19.
[197] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 242.
[198] Parrott, *Essential Bach,* 97-98
[199] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 100.

with Easter). As a result, the forces that would have been amassed for Bach were not based on a weekly routine, but engaged for that specific event to take place. There is then reason to believe that he would have engaged a group he saw fit to perform the piece on this special occasion, which in likelihood included an ensemble of multiple voices per part. In reviewing the score, the manner of writing and texture in the outer choral movements in addition to the *colla parte* doubling of instruments would tend to indicate that the *ripienists* would've likely sang with *concertists* throughout, though a case could be made for divisions in the final Hallelujah at the end of *Versus I*. One clear-cut case for a choral movement with *concertists* only is found in *Versus IV*. Not only does this movement form the *crux* of the work, but also is the only four-voice texture that doesn't indicate instrumental participation or doubling of any kind. Given that Bach revised this work in 1724, and added brass doubling on top of the strings in 1725 with one theory being that it was too difficult for the vocal ensemble, as there is verification to corroborate that both of these performances were given at the University Church with less experienced singers.[200] Would this not be enough evidence to make the case for a quartet only? Even beyond this evidence, provided (again) that it was Easter, it is a viable option that a fuller ensemble of voices was also employed even during this specific movement of if it was used again in subsequent years.

In summary, the compositions considered here give (for the most part) reasonably clear indications regarding vocal forces within the extant performance materials. This of course would include the participation of ripienists in addition

[200] Herz, *Cantata 4,* 22-23.

to a solo group of concertists as the principal singers. The question of how many singers would participate in the ripieno group, as well as when they sing should be considered based on an evaluation of overall ensemble, occasion of composition, and financial backing is outlined above. It is also important to draw attention to the meaning of the term coro as it pertains to seventeenth and early eighteenth century music. This could indicate any number of instrumental vocal combinations in the guise of a consort or "choir" of strings and instruments just the same as the word "choral" used in Kuhnau's setting could indicate the presence of a tune from a chorale. It is best to evaluate performing materials on their own merit, rather than making assumptions based on modern performing practice.

Texture (and Harmony)

In any study of sacred vocal music, harmonic language is indelibly linked to the setting of text. It is important to distinguish that this portion of the study will deal specifically with how harmony and texture serve as a vehicle for (i.e. highlight, contrast, or set-up) the text. Rhetorical devices and ornamentation that help define or enhance a particular affect should be included as part of a continuing discussion and will be referenced only tangentially here. Few would dispute Sebastian Bach's standing as the great summarizer of an era, stretching the expressive, or rather, adventurous conventions of a tonal hierarchy to match the complex textures or subject matter the composer would take on in his music. Whether masterful, unorthodox, or limiting, there is the danger of seeing this late style of Bach, wrought with chromaticism and intricacy, to become the very

definition of "baroque" music and as a result, render that which came before it as striving for such an ideal. From this vantage point, Krause's characterization of Knüpfer's harmonic language as "a study in the use of primary chords"[201] seems to not only corroborate the notion that compares him to a more well known entity, but asserts inferiority upon his music. While there is a certain truth to this statement as regards his basic tonal language, any analysis of such basic usage seems perfunctory, particularly when taken out of context of the compositions themselves. Instead, it is the function of these fundamental harmonies that remains the important criteria for analysis and not simply the complexity of chord structures that warrant study.

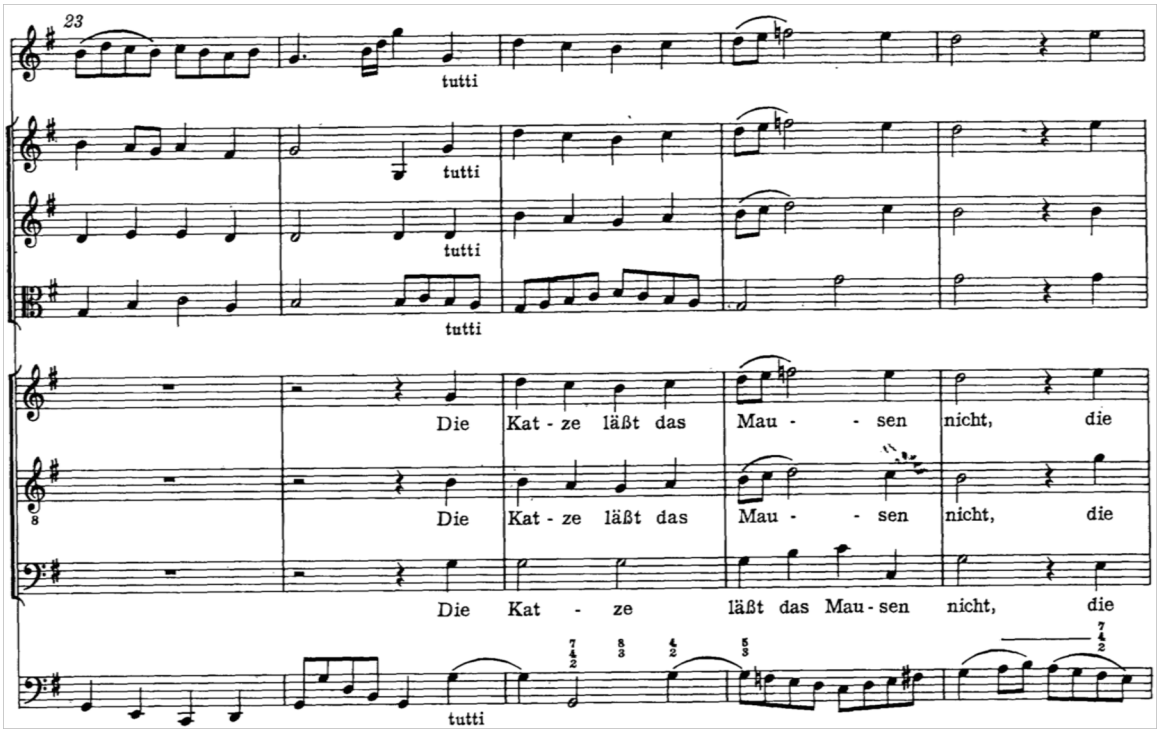
This is not to say that Bach did not have vocal works with more forward leaning sensibilities whose harmonic structure favored that of the galant. Many of these were in fact cantatas, but on secular texts, such as the famed "Coffee Cantata," BWV 211, known by it's first words *Schweight stille, plaudert nicht*. There are many possible explanations for exclusively secular cantatas as the vehicle for this effort from Bach to take on the trends of the times, including the possibly over romanticized notion that this new form was the lesser preferred in the context of sacred liturgy. In all probability, it was likely due to the decline in Bach's sacred cantata output as he had written several complete cycles upon his arrival in Leipzig, and would reuse them, along with those of his predecessors and colleagues.

With his focus shifted toward the city's Collegium musicum, Bach's cantata output was largely reserved for commissions honoring a specific occasion. As an

[201] Krause, *Knüpfer*, 29.

introduction, let us then briefly consider the so-called "Coffee Cantata" for its tendencies toward a symmetrical and vertically conceived harmony and texture. Of particular interest is the rather static progression, which helps to delineate larger sections, centering on a particular harmony, key, or tonicization (in this case G Major). One most important detail to bear in mind that late in his life,

Figure 9 – Final Chorus opening, BWV 211[202]

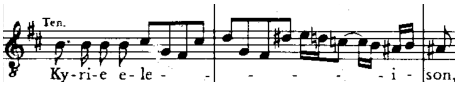


Bach was writing in an increasingly antiquated style from which most composers had moved on or evolved, yet that same style was complemented by a highly refined sense of affective chromatic harmony. Even then, he would take imitative formulaic structures, particularly that of the fugue, and weave within its structure

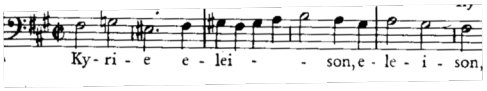
[202] J. S. Bach, "Schweight stille, plaudert nicht," BWV 211, in *Neue-Bach Ausgabe* I/xl, 195 (Kassel: Barenreiter Verlag, 2013).

Figure 10 - Kyrie I/II Fugue Subject from BWV 232[203]

Kyrie I



Kyrie II



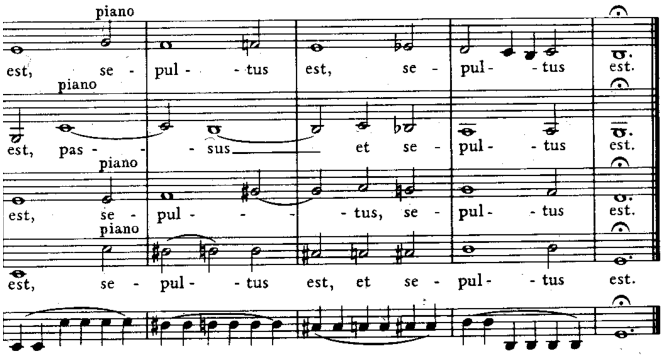
harmony that would exude a characteristic emotion or affect.

That these sonorities were the product of spinning out a texture that was equal parts linear and vertical provided even more expressive material for the composer to work with. Take for example the two settings of the text *Kyrie eleison* from the *Mass in B Minor*. The first iteration combines a short homophonic section, that gives way to a fugue for 5-voices with an instrumental figure (ritornello-like) introducing each of the new beginnings of the text "kyrie" from the ensemble. The harmonic rhythm moves in relatively slow half note pulses over two and half bars to complete the subject. The first bar and a half moves diatonically with the plea of the penitent becoming chromatic for the last bar to end up with a second entrance a 5th above. Contrasting is the second iteration of Kyrie that takes on the style of the *prima prattica*, whose subject is harmonized with a decidedly modern chromatic twist around it. This time, his setting is for 4-voice texture with instrumental doubling throughout. The key of f-sharp minor (a fifth away from the original b minor) and the fleeting half note harmonic rhythm in 3/2 provides not only a stark contrast with the movement's opening, but with a wholly different type of plea in an older style.

[203] J. S. Bach, "Messe in h-Moll," BWV 232 in *Neue Bach Ausgabe,* II/I (Kassel: Barenreiter verlag, 1954).

A different but equally poignant example of harmonic text painting that enlivens an older established form of the ground bass (*passus duriusculus*) comes in the final bars of the *Crucifixus*. At the arrival of the words *Et sepultus est*, which happens to be the beginning of the thirteenth repetition of the ground bass, e minor cleverly shifts upward through the use of a V 4/2 chord of A-flat Major functioning as a German diminished 3rdchord to cadence in G major. Bach's upward motion that escapes from the cadence and the pattern of constant decent in bar 49 begins to foreshadow the resurrection even at Christ's burial. It is precisely this mastery of tonal harmony that distinguishes Bach from the other composers of the first half of the eighteenth century in his role as summarizer; taking the conventional and shifting it to something that is striking and affective.

Figure 11 - Final bars of Crucifixus[204]



In order to give further credence to this principle, a short diversion into the instrumental realm in the form of *The Art of Fugue* (a work written around the same period as the compilation of the *Mass in B Minor*) will provide insight into another of Bach's great defining features of harmony: texture, by way of

[204] Ibid.

thematic transformation. While these formulaic textures were popular for both their stature and range of competency, they required certain creativity in their expression as their scope and limitations, like the canon, were clearly defined. Wolff asserts that throughout, "the entire multi sectional work is derived from the same thematic material, a musical plan that presupposes a far-reaching thought process regarding the harmonic-contrapuntal implications of the chosen theme. The result is more than just a study in fugue: it is a compendium of the range offered by the utmost concentration and the highest technical demands of instrumental counterpoint."[205] That Bach was able to vary his process to allow for a musical tour de force of this stature using the same material is impressive, but not altogether surprising for the composer; After all, he had achieved similar success some thirty years earlier.

In the context of *Christ lag in Todesbanden,* a youthful work for a twenty-something year-old Sebastian was already reaching back to an earlier time, a theme that would stay with Bach well into his last years. Based on the case laid out above, and given the similarities it shares with the Mass in B minor, including its chiastic design (*Gloria, Symbolum nicenum*), lack of recitative, and prominence of formulaic imitation along with the thematic limitations such as those imposed in the *Art of Fugue*. The key and harmony of the work is therefore (often) simple: e minor, with a brief foray into G Major in *Versus V,* as the chorale melody is omni-present if only in fragments. Where the work is arguably most successful is its innovative varied textures emphasizing harmonic rhythm, which further implies an affect over each separate *versus* and the *sinfonia*. Add to

[205] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 432.

this formula a choice chromatic pivot chord and/or a well-placed rhetorical device for dramatic effect, and the performance indications could not become clearer to the performer. Bach has taken exceptional care in wedding this text to music, and rendered with a tempo (based on the rhythmic values present) that allows the harmonic rhythm to speak in each sense, will allow for the overall distinction between verses to surface organically.

This idea of harmonic rhythm coupled with texture is critically important to the rendering of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century music. While much has been written about this particular work over the last century, there still remains some confusion surrounding its interpretation. This is, at least in part, due to a lack of overtly positioned tempo indications, diacritical markings, and modern performing guidance in the score. Granted, there are some circumstances where, due to lack of available information or records, one must trust knowledge of primary sources that may provide evidence of an overall performance standard in tandem with their own musical sensibilities. Yet in cases when the ability to assert this overall knowledge is also combined with research into a specific composer or work, there is a higher propensity for a faithfully executed rendition of a specific work. Returning to *Christ Lag in Todesbanden* in this guise, let us consider the ensemble sections of Bach's setting.

Versus I unfolds like any typical (mature) chorale cantata of Bach with the unadorned *cantus firmus* sounding in long note values in the soprano while the lower three voices enter and dance around in shorter thematic fragments doubled by instruments. The movement is divided unevenly between the text of a completed verse, one that quite literally jumps into a coda-like Hallelujah in

much shorter note values that present the final descending musical phrase of the chorale in diminution. The opening is marked with the Italian term *allegro,* which would not indicate a tempo as much as an affect, and one that Mattheson interestingly identifies with the word "comfort."[206] Beyond the double bar, there is a clear indication that composer desires this section to serve a purpose that the previous section (already complete with *Hallelujah)* did not – that is, a change in affect from confident resolve to jubilation. With the harmonic rhythm governed early on by the long notes in the *cantus firmus,* it is easy to assume that the eighth note values of the concluding Hallelujah while joyful should slow down as the harmonic rhythm increases and the duration of notes decreases. In order to clarify, Bach inserts the marking *alla breve*, which indicates that a half note pulse, relative to the previous section will get the beat, soliciting an exuberant tone. Lastly, the opening *sinfonia,* which is typically built into the opening of the choral fantasy at the beginning of Bach's later chorale cantatas, remains separate. With this example, one cannot help but recall the Kyrie(s) of the *Mass in B Minor* with their slow introduction, *Stile antico* first movement and a rousingly imitative *stile moderno* section to finish; Could this be an alpha-and-omega moment for Bach?

Fitting that Bach goes on to set the battle between death and life in *Versus* IV at the center of his chiastic-ly conceived work, a central tenet of Christian faith represented in music. The frantic eighth notes sound continuously throughout the movement set off by frequent rests that fall on the beat, in an almost exasperated quality. The *cantus firmus* has moved into an inner voice (alto) to

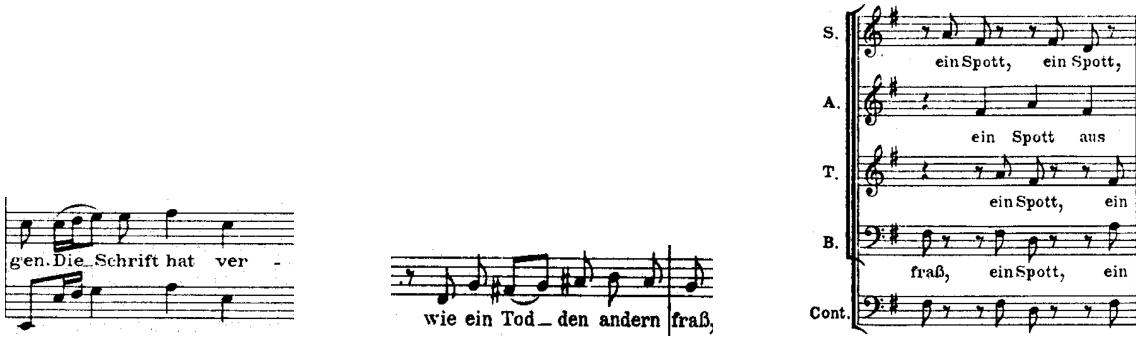
[206] Buelow, *New Mattheson,* 208.

further complicate the entanglement and moves in quarter note values to effectively govern the steady marching pulse of harmonic change. Yet continuity is not what this segment is lacking, with three other active voice parts bubbling with fragments of the chorale melody. Certainly, a level of clarity is important and should govern the tempo accordingly, but that does not seem to be Bach's primary goal in ordering this rather well conceived counterpoint. Instead he finds order in creating change within the figures from *Stollen* to *Abgesang* that govern the proceedings on a macro level. Put another way, the affect is changed by altering the rhythmic cells to stand out when important to the narrative. Examples of three specific changes found in the *abgesang* alone: 1) in bar 24 the arrival of a quarter note on beat three makes the words of the scriptural prophecy definite, 2) the slurs on the word *Tod* (death) in bar 29 with its *stretto*-like overlapping, and 3) the cheeky eighth notes on the words *ein Spott* (a mockery) that arrive in bar 35.

Because the work is limited in scope harmonically speaking, it is most important to maintain the fray that Bach has created. Yet it cannot simply be about precision, but clarity within the guise of changing articulation; this is laid out through his setting of the words, not by symbols around the note heads. As such, I would suggest the following articulations for the best effect: 1) three articulate ascending notes on the word "Die" followed by a slight separated eighth note on the word "Schrift," and a long, unaccented quarter note on the word "hat" with a small space before the next "ver," 2) two slightly separate eighth notes on the words "wie ein" with the second lighter than the first, followed by two connected eighth notes in the same strong-weak pattern on "Tod" followed by a

short-and-light "den," and finally 3) short, clipped repeated eighth notes for any iteration of the words "ein Spott."

Figure 12 - Three figures from Versus IV *Abgesang*[207]



"*The Art of Fugue* and the *B-Minor Mass* conform to the ever-present Bachian intention of excelling beyond himself and others," [208] Wolff goes on, showing novelty and profundity in abundance, while building on those who came before him. To this end, there is an account that Johann Matheson, who held Bach in the highest regard as a contrapuntist, publicly challenged the composer to write a fugue containing particularly tricky subjects, as he himself had done.[209] While it is unclear whether Bach and Mattheson ever met, much less communicated, this challenge was issued in 1739, and the *Art of Fugue* was begun in 1740. Mattheson also heaped praise upon the keyboard writings of Johann Kuhnau, particularly his *Neuer Clavier-Übung* as being an influence on him, referring to Kuhnau (mentioned previously) as a consummate "…musician,

[207] Herz, *Cantata 4*, 57-59.
[208] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 432.
[209] Buelow, *New Mattheson,* 360

composer, and choir conductor."[210] Yet just as the latter part of Kuhnau's life (and in general among German composers) saw a particular influence of the French style, it was Italian influences the likes of Archangelo Correlli that made an impact on both Kuhnau and Mattheson.[211] As such, there is a distinct difference between his mature compositional outputs as *Thomaskantor*, and earlier works, which favor Italian sensibilities and an expressive, yet restrained harmonic palette.

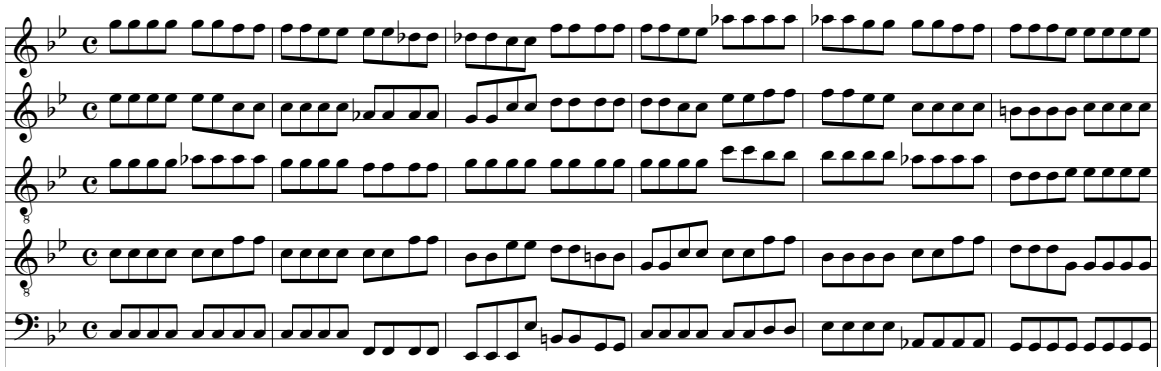
In considering the setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* of Kuhnau with regard to texture, it is of some use to revisit his words detailing the treatment of text that prefaced his 1709-10 collections of cantata texts.[212] Provided that his philosophy (designed to best accentuate the meaning of each word) would extend beyond just instrumentation to texture and harmonic design, it is reasonable to assume works included in this collection and beyond would yield his most refined compositional efforts with regard to eighteenth century protestant cantata. Knowing that Kuhnau introduced significant change to the church music of Leipzig, including the addition of recitative, it would be helpful to survey a work written after his appointment as *Thomaskantor* in 1701 but before publication of the cantatas of 1710. *Gott Sei mir gnädig* of 1705 not only serves this purpose, but gives a reference point to Bach's own setting which was written a mere two years later. This setting of Psalm 51 is scored for 2 violins, 2 violas, 4-part voices and basso continuo, a perpetuation of the inclusion of multiple violas in the band and the same orchestration (sans winds) as Bach's *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. The

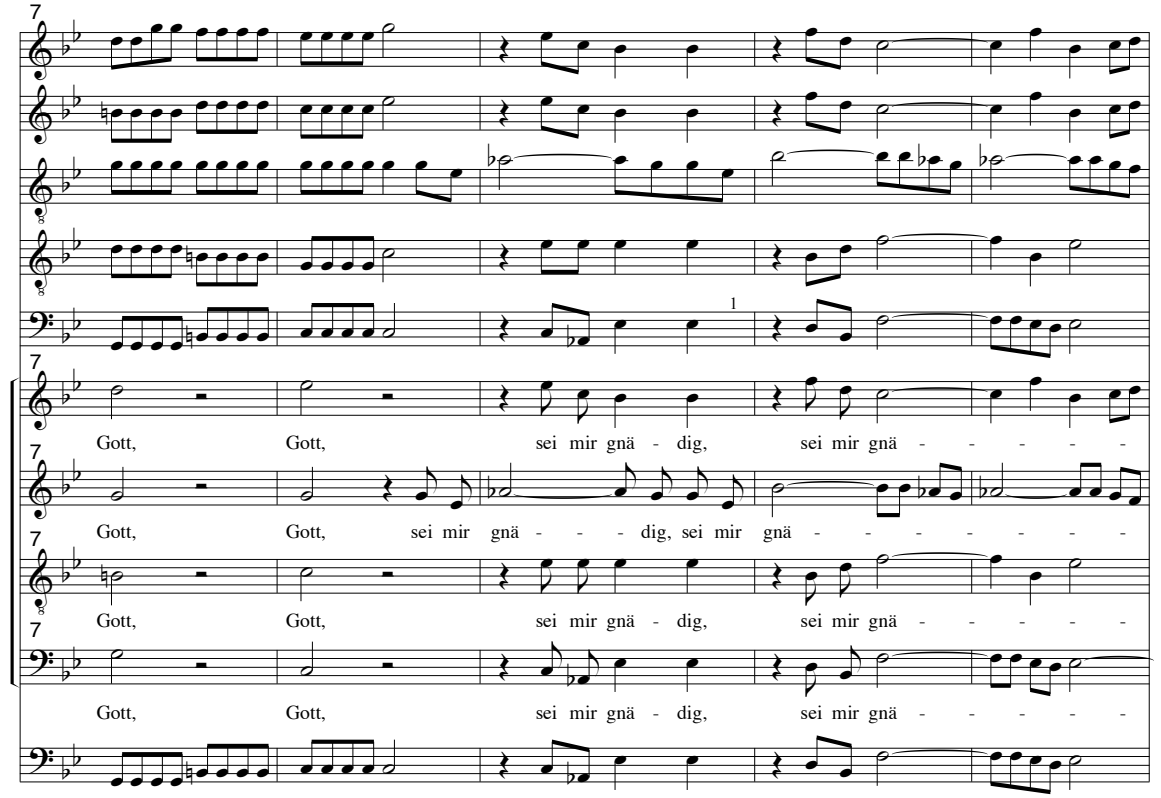
[210] Seares, *Mattheson*, 37.
[211] Ibid., 45.
[212] See discussion on page 60 detailing Kuhnau's 1709-10 preface.

Figure 13 – Three representative examples from *Gott sei mir gnädig* –

Johann Kuhnau[213]

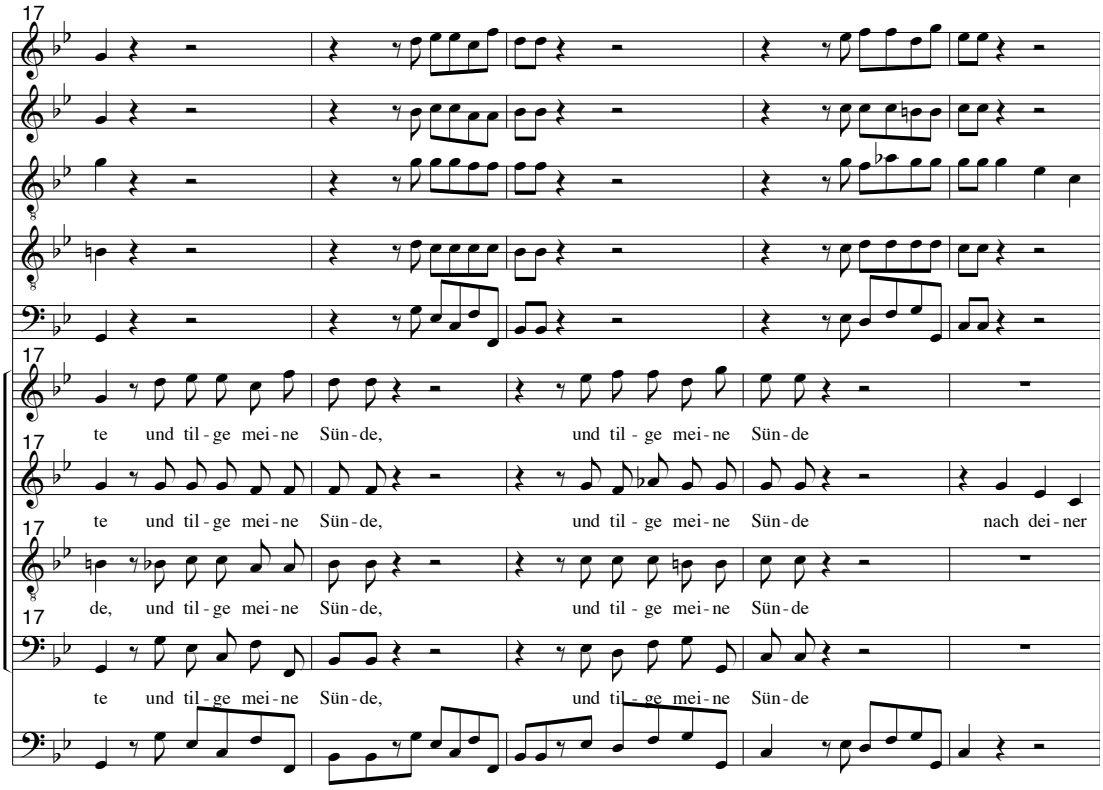
1. Opening *sinfonia* and subsequent chorus entrance



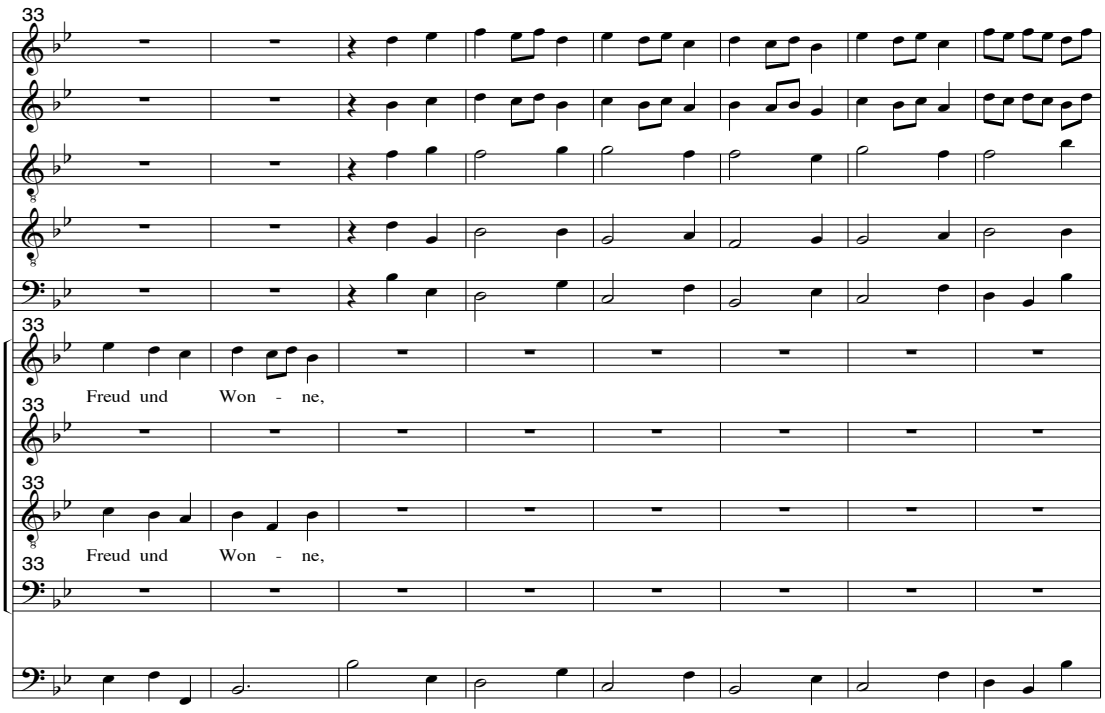


[213] Johann Kuhnau, *Gott sei mir gnädig,* ed. Sabine Cassola (Choral Public Domain Library, 2006).

2. Antiphonal ensemble writing



3. Solo/Duet texture into instrumental



opening chorus is introduced by the instrumental ensemble pulsing quarter notes before the voices enter on a long declamatory half note. The use of this mass of sound, which pits suspended tones over a static bass that moves, begrudgingly in pulsed half note values (13.1). This same technique foreshadows the opening of choruses of Bach's passion settings some twenty years later. This chorus goes on to feature an amalgamation of techniques both old and new in true concerted fashion, as does the remainder of the ensemble numbers: imitative writing with *colla parte* doubling, homophonic declamatory statements, polychoral writing, and consort style textures. Additionally many arioso-like solo or duet segments transition smoothly into choruses giving the work a more through-composed feeling (13.2). There are freer *accompagnato* passages, and one proper *recitativo semplice* included, but largely the distinction between aria and recitative is still both nebulous and lacks a larger clear-cut dramatic purpose. One notable absence is that of any ritornello, an indispensible player in Italian style concerted works, although there are hints of an instrumental passage functioning as one in the final chorus (13.3). This bears the marks of a work we can label as developmental in Kuhnau's output.

Twelve years earlier, the Kuhnau setting of *Christ Lag in Todesbanden*, (with the help of the previous analysis) now appears to be squarely in the seventeenth century realm with "forward leaning" suggestions that foreshadow some of the changes to come in the eighteenth century. The first signs of this are found in the very name of the opening instrumental sonata. With optional instrumental participation (a vestige of the Renaissance the likes of which did not find its way very far into the eighteenth century), this opening presents a

hallmark form of two related but opposing figures, one stately with some dotted variants, the other a set of florid quick notes in sequence, topped off with multiple internal cadences. Largely diatonic harmonies and the occasional suspension walk along a harmonic rhythm that supports the material seemingly unrelated to the chorale melody; perhaps it is more of an overture, than an introduction. Next, two pedantic violin parts carrying an unwavering two-note figure that moves in consonance with each other accompany a soprano line carrying the first verse of the chorale in long note values. Evangeline Rimbach asserts that the accompanying instruments are curiously static, but it seems from another perspective to represent a literal brokenness, as perhaps in case of the bonds of death, (a texture that in many ways recalls Bach's tenor aria in *versus* III). [214] These notes should be rendered as a short articulate eighth note anacrusis, followed by a long stressed quarter note downbeat, representing the breaking of the bonds of death and subsequent relief. Moreover, this two-note pattern can received more or less stress depending on the prevailing harmonic rhythm to reflect the overall affect of the text.

The succeeding chorus would make some sense of the imagery of the bands of death being triumphantly broken with its declamatory homophonic "Alleluias," and mentioning of victory in an interpolation from the chorale text. A shift to F major and a poetic verse with some teeth offers an opportunity for a freedom from the chorale itself, yet in largely homophonic fashion through a diatonic jaunt amongst dominant and tonic, is an arrival back at the "alleluias." This is a clear indication of not simply the importance of textual clarity but the

[214] Rimbach, *Kuhnau*, 134-135.

articulation and rhythm of affective delivery. It seems this is as much a part of Bach's setting in the early eighteenth century as it is now, and further reinforces the points made previously with regard to texture. A complicated harmony might get in the way of delivering the message, which Kuhnau would make clear years later, is paramount.

Reminded of his conundrum with the words "Wohl dem" which does not inherently elicit, (in its natural inflection) a rhythm that Kuhanu associates with the affect being represented. Instead of altering the text, he resorts to instrumentation that better accomplishes his desired affect:

> "I express Wohl dem by a force of many voices or in several choirs or, however, in the absence of [enough] students, by many passages, coloratura and the like, in one or several voices."[215]

Performers would do well to heed the composer's guidance when interpreting other works by Kuhnau and keep this directive in mind as a crucial tenet of the late seventeenth-century music. A series of what amounts to verses of strophic arias separated by extended representative *ritornelli,* all in triple time, give way to a final imitative chorus not unlike that of Bach's *Versus* IV. Its slightly paraphrased verse 6 of Luther's chorale once again has an opportunity to text paint something more elaborate, and perhaps the punchy quarter note fragments of the tune emphasized by a rest on the down beat accomplishes this feat, yet it still seems to suggest that the natural inflection and clarity of poetry takes precedence.

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[215] Translation in Rimbach, *Kuhnau,* 57-59.

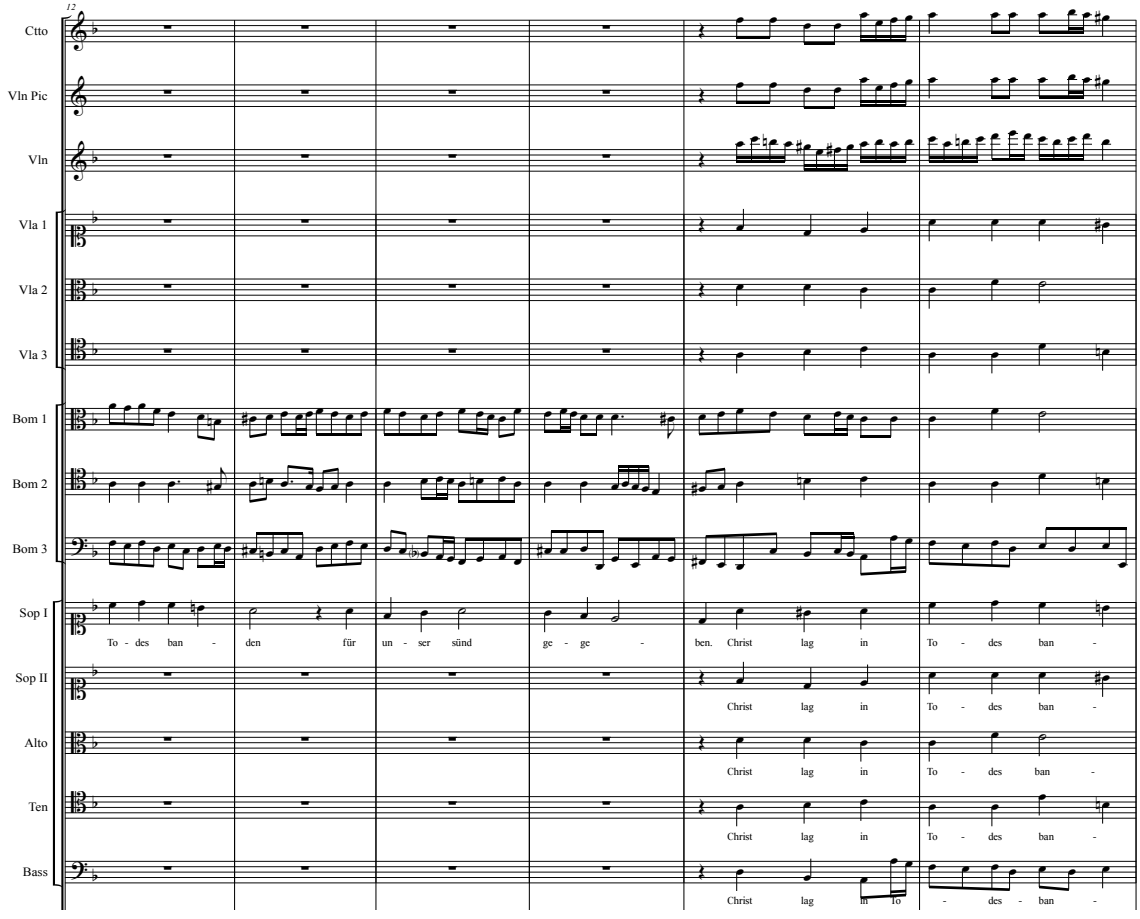
Arriving at Knüpfer's setting will now seem like familiar territory after the preceding analyses. The position of *Thomaskantor* carried with it a certain amount of prestige beginning (again) with the likes of Knüpfer after an uneven tenure of Tobias Michael's conditions in later years. Still, based on a number of factors, including Schein's time in the position and its eventual revitalization, it seems realistic to assert that Knüpfer's output in this position was prolific, and the resources which were afforded him were similar in their scope to his successors, despite compositional differences. It also seems fit to point out again, that the link between the two is not direct in that Johann Schelle fell in between, just as Michael did between Schein and Knüpfer. This is not to say that Schelle was not a fine composer in his own right, but that he, too, was a summarizer and expanded upon the seventeenth century form in which his predecessor worked.[216] So how then do we come to interpret the music of Sebastian Knüpfer, particularly with regard to his setting of *Christ Lag in Todesbanden*?

Simply browsing the opening *Sonata* and subsequent *versus* with voices, reveals notable similarities to those works of Bach and Kuhnau. The characteristic eighth note – quarter note of Kuhnau's opening chorale statement is found here in the viola parts that along with the basso continuo, lays the groundwork for a steady harmonic rhythm at the half-bar to be emphasized in performance. Above the obbligato solo instruments murmur away in sixteenth note passages that outline or at least suggest fragments of the chorale melody, while the bombardes provide a fleshed out version of the eighth note pulse that serves as a connective link to the opening "chorus." Yet we see Knüpfer, like Bach

[216] Rose, *Leipzig Church Music,* xv-xvi.

after him, limit himself by using both chorale text and tune as the thematic basis for each section of the work, again creating a circumstance for concerted music driven by rhythmic figures, and largely diatonic harmonies. The difference however, is not found so much in harmonic structure, but Knüpfer's use of sonority as an expressive tool. In transitioning to *versus 1*, where soprano(s) enter with the chorale melody, one primary organizing principle of seventeenth-century style emerges: broken consorts. This term could represent any combination of instruments, voices, or instruments and voices together.

Figure 14.1 - Knüpfer *Christ lag in Todesbanden, Versus 1*[217]



[217] Sebastian Knüpfer, *Christ lag in Todesbanden,* ed. Ryan Mullaney, unpublished.

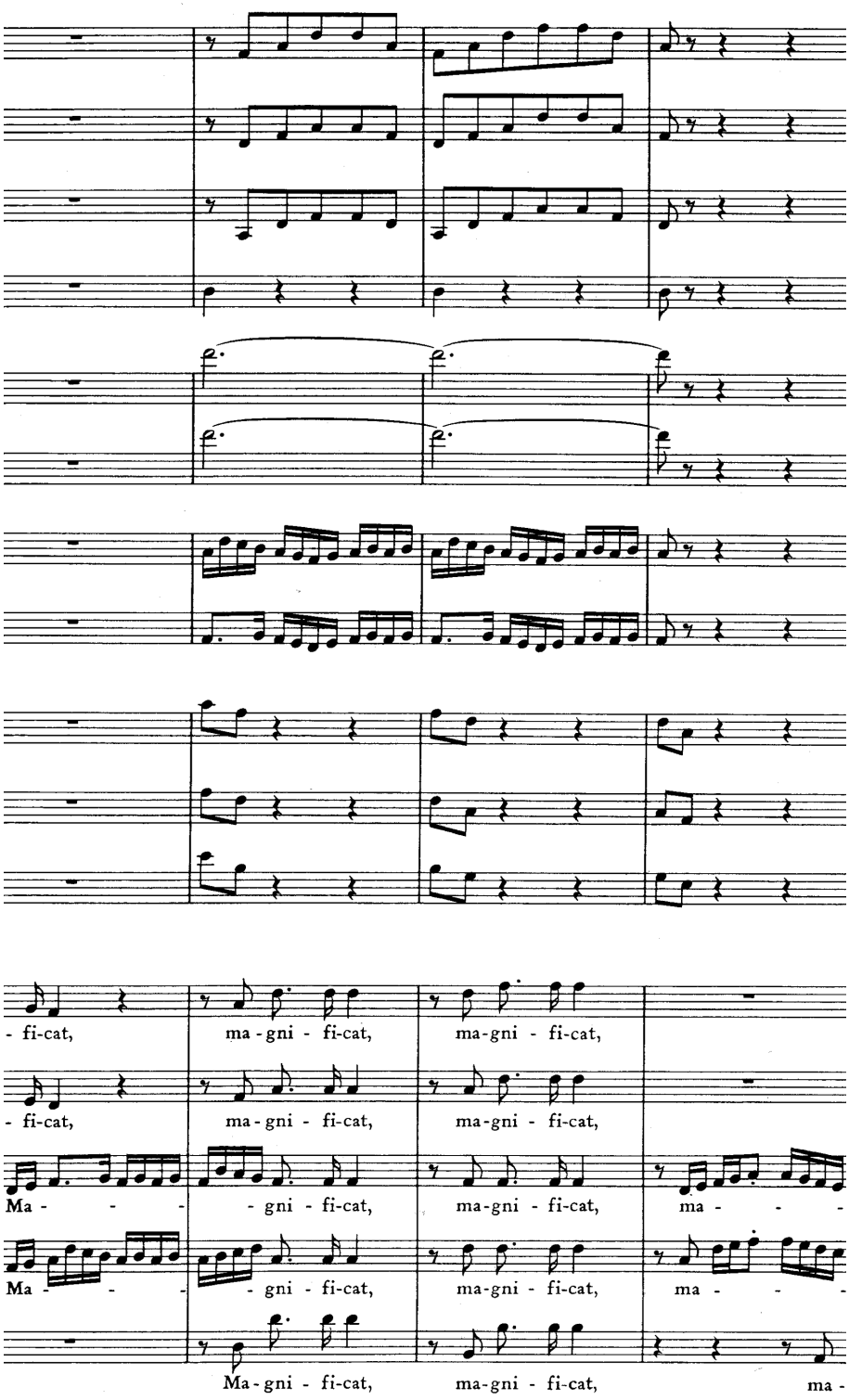
As mentioned previously, the term "coro" also refers to these groupings and does not necessarily indicate the modern equivalency of the term "choir."

In this case, a solo voice is accompanied by three bombardes, serving as alto, tenor, and bass voices in four-voice texture before the ensemble joins in bar 6. The *violino piccolo, cornettino*, and violin maintain their virtuosic obbligato roles, while the violas serve to reinforce the inner voices of the five-part chorus. A short imitative section gives way to homophony for several bars, rebuilding with each new phrase of the chorale and cadences with the governing punctuation of the text finalized by a melismatic alleluia from the lower three voices. The intrigue of Knüpfer's writing here lays in his juxtaposition of textual clarity, harmonic drive, and figural intensity that is only possible with an expansive texture. This is accomplished, as in to Venetian polychoral music, with basic diatonic harmony and limited tonicization (or modulation), that allows for a clear relationship between consorts and rhythms within the work. One of the most well known examples of this very same principle from the eighteenth century is the opening of Bach's *Magnificat*, BWV 243(a). Not only does this example elucidate Bach's predilection for earlier styles (though this was admittedly a standard for certain Latin Church Music in Leipzig)[218], but draws a clear link to other earlier styles like those used by Knüpfer that may have influenced Bach.

Versus IV represents a clear-cut example of *stile antico* imitation using the fragments of the *cantus firmus* (still maintained in the soprano) in the form of a motto Mass.[219] The *colla parte* doubling extends the total depth of the score in

[218] Cammarota, *Magnificats*, 24-26.
[219] A "motto" Mass uses the same head motif to begin each section.

Figure 14.2 – Bach *Magnificat*, BWV 243 (opening)[220]

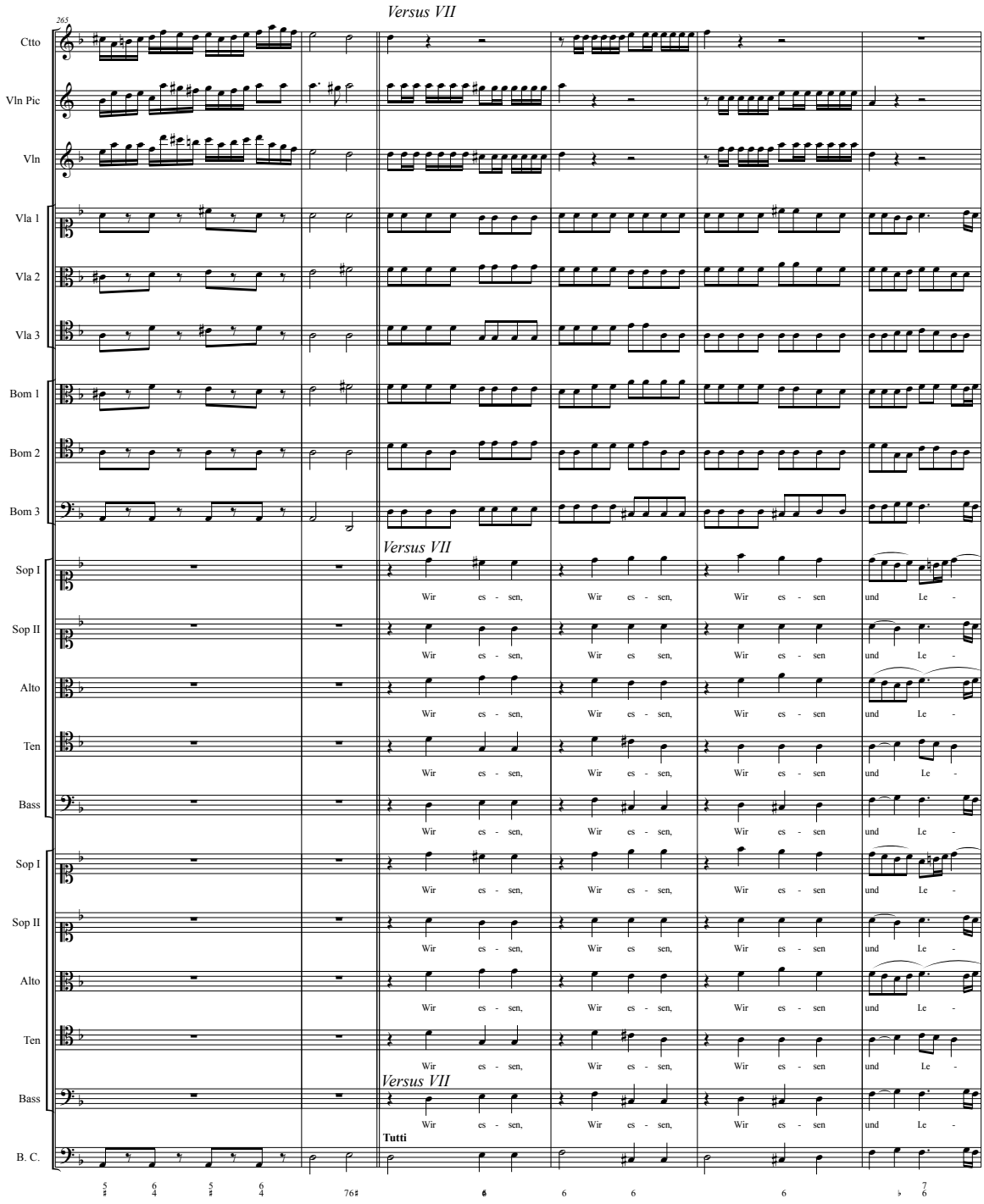


[220] J. S. Bach, "Magnificat," BWV 243 in *Neue Bach Ausgabe* II/iii (Kassel: Barenreiter, Verlag, 1977).

this instance to include the instruments that were obbligato in the last ensemble verse, creating an impressive sonority for the confrontation of life and death in Luther's text. Being *alla breve*, and with such sonic resources employed here, the drama is found in prepared dissonances mostly found in the flourishes of eighth notes that seem to become more prevalent as the counterpoint spins out. This increasingly complicated texture also sets the *cantus firmus* up to stand out, which becomes particularly affective following the words "wie ein Tod den andern Fraß," making clear who has won the battle, cascading downward to the characteristic D-major cadence.

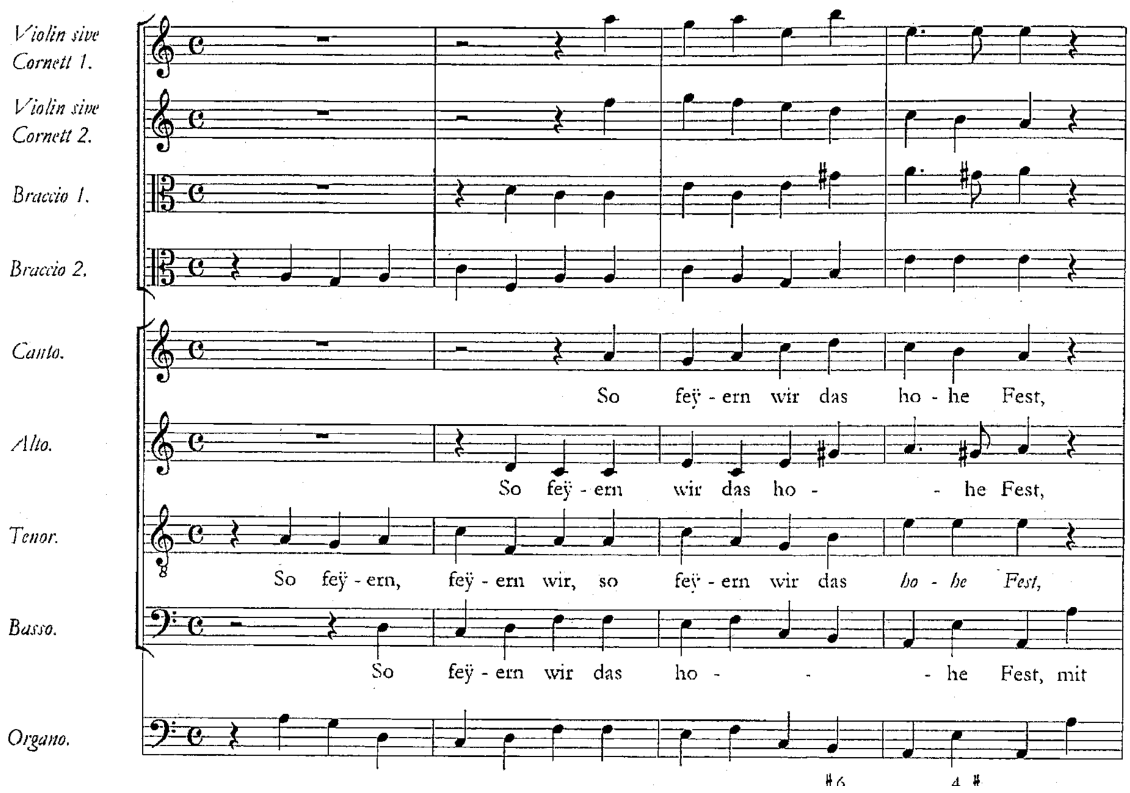
Knüpfer sets the final verse more elaborately than of any of the three composers being considered here, in a true tour de force. The moderate duple in quarter note values takes on certain buoyancy from the opening rests the voices have on the downbeat of each of the initial bars. This a figure shared with Kuhnau's final chorus. Yet interestingly, his 29 bars represent nearly the same length as Knüpfer's simple and repeated concerted passage for each of the *stollen*. What follows is a charming balance of imitation, antiphony, and the first overtly rhetorical figure in the whole of the work. The jubilant sixteenth notes that begin in bar 35, which cross over each other effectively making the gesture symmetrical represent the filling or "nourishment" of the soul the text speaks of found in Christ (circulation). Fittingly, the ritornello that ends each of the internal sections for solo voices, becomes fleshed out and developed, sounding in several terraced iterations that provide an undeniable flourish symbolizing that which was not finished before (in previous verses) has come to a close.

Figure 15.1 – Knüpfer *Christ lag in Todesbanden, Versus VII*[221]



221 Mullaney, *Knüpfer*.

Figure 15.2 – Kuhnau *Christ lag in Todesbanden, Versus VII*[222]



Finally, and following the contextualization of all three of these works' development, a brief discussion and direct comparison of their solo passages (arias) will help facilitate the previous connection between the compositions, particularly given their formal similarities. The design of each composer bookending several solo or small ensemble passages for voices with tutti movements seems to be a widely held convention even over the roughly 6-8 decades being considered here, but are there to be correlations drawn between their composition that can help in this comparison? In considering the simple

[222] Johann Kuhnau, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, ed. Jörg Jacobi (Bremen: Edition Baroque, 2013).

"*Strophenlied*"[223] approach of Kuhnau, the repetition of music must serve a greater purpose than merely facilitating multiple verses. This theory is given more credence by the fact that two of the three arias are not text belonging directly to Luther's chorale. Perhaps this represents a progression whose climax is realized in the second verse (a paraphrase of Luther's fifth verse of the chorale) further signified by the variants and elaboration in the music in the final verse transitioning to the final chorus, also on text by Luther.

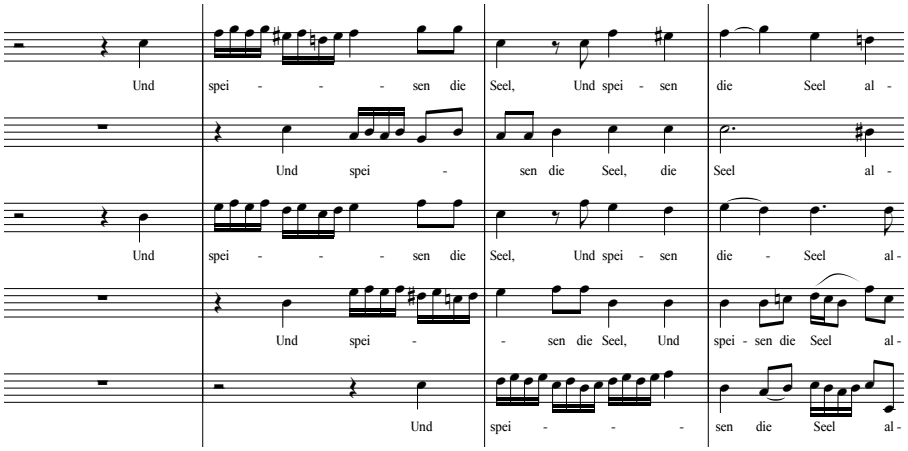
In considering those solo movements by both Bach and Knüpfer, which are laid out more similarly in number, position and format, there are some links or points worthy of mention to bring to the fore. Bach's arias and duets are complex beyond the glancing mention here, but will not be discussed in detail as countless others have already dissected them at length. While there are many accolades to be bestowed regarding their impressive composition, the principal merit as involves this study is found in their variety. Moreover, this extends extraordinarily well to their individual affects, helping with Bach's self-limiting inclusion of the chorale melody in each verse. While Knüpfer's repetition of his duet and trio on either side of *versus* IV seems purely functional, we can liken their textures to those seen in Bach's setting. Both settings of *versus* II feature an imitative duet between soprano and alto, which seems representative of the inability to defeat death, passed from generations (or from one voice to another). Similarly, the *hohe Fest* of *versus* VI is represented by a rousing trio that picks up intensity of note values and jubilation through dotted notes. While Knüpfer chooses 3 voices (alto, tenor, and bass), Bach's duo of soprano and tenor is joined

[223] Rimbach, *Kuhnau,* 134.

by a continuo part, also playing triplets. The prospect of festive passages of three interacting entities having deeper meaning, and furthermore, Bach's choice of triple meter within a signature that indicates duple should not be overlooked.

From one perspective, all of Bach's non-ensemble verses are inherently duets either with another voice or with instruments. The two clearest examples of

Figure 16 – Knüpfer m. 35-38, text painting "und speisen die Seel allein"[224]

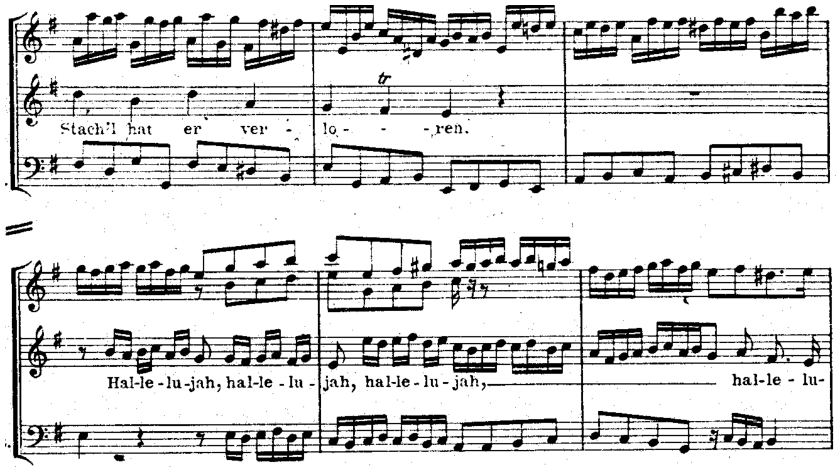


those are still *versus* II and VI, but *versus* III pits a solo tenor singing the chorale melody against a jubilant and virtuosic string of notes from the violins in unison. While this is a technique that Bach would employ frequently during his years writing chorale cantatas in Leipzig, it is hardly a new practice to want the text to speak simply and clearly as it does in this circumstance. Instead, the uncontrollably jubilant (*pathopoeia*) sixteenth notes of the violins, governed by the walking eighth notes of the basso continuo allow a resolute singer to deliver

[224] Mullaney, *Knüpfer.*

his message of hope until he too can no longer control himself adding fleeting sixteenth note "hallelujahs" at the aria's conclusion. This same principle is found in the bass aria of versus V with the soloist this time opposite the entire string band playing in homophony, yet instead of accompanying the voice, they are thematically imitative, removed by a 4-bar interval (again, not new). Strikingly, a shift in both mode an affect at bar 71 to G major does signal a change a radical

Figure 17 – Texture and Rhetoric in *Versus* III (Bach)[225]



change in affect that hearkens the impending arrival of the *da capo* aria from the opera stage.

The assertion that seventeenth-century German Church Music is not harmonically interesting can be upheld in some regards as accurate, but any argument that it is in some regard lesser to its eighteenth-century versions, is frankly invalid. It seems those who approach the music from this perspective are missing the point entirely – It is one of affect and sonority, not of complexity.

[225] Herz, *Cantata 4*, 53.

Ensemble Considerations

One of the most troubling (and certainly daunting) subject areas for performers of seventeenth and even eighteenth-century music is the selection and implementation of the basso continuo group. Indeed, the subject, its sources, and solutions vary widely over time and throughout the entirety of western Europe, with deviations even within principalities in the German-speaking lands. As noted before, this is exacerbated with Germany's adoption of popular styles and created a great deal of confusion with respect to regional norms and shifts in practice over time. There are also many related topics that are essential to settle on the makeup of not only the basso continuo group, but of instrumentation in works. This is not to mention further considerations such as local pitch standards, and the use of temperament to help render certain keys and instruments more usable within the make up of an ensemble and particular work. Since the discussion of such a massive topic would prove a challenge for the limits of this study each of these issues will be considered within the analysis of the basso continuo group in the works being discussed, and more generally within the context of their evolution in Leipzig and surrounding areas.

Perhaps the most logical place to begin when discussing basso continuo is with the participation of thoroughbass instruments, specifically the keyboard. The idea of dual accompaniment, expounded upon by Laurence Dreyfus in his formative volume on Bach's continuo group (and the subsequent work of many others) has debunked many of the old theories regarding accompaniment by one specific keyboard or another based on whether its subject matter was sacred or

secular. The least of these examples include correspondence requesting the repair of the harpsichord of the Nikolaikirche in advance of the debut of Bach's St. John Passion in 1724.[226] Perhaps even more convincing are multiple extant figured parts for the same work, which could often be labeled ambiguously as regards their function (*continuo* and *organo*, for example) but were regularly written out in different keys. This would most likely point toward two instruments playing simultaneously, with one having to be transposed by a whole step, the difference between the organ sounding in *Chorton* (A≈465) and the harpsichord sounding at *Cammerton* (A≈415). Further evidence of transposition of a part in Chorton but containing no figures suggests the likely participation of an organist who, among his necessary skills, would be able to transpose at sight. Moreover, it was not altogether uncommon for the harpsichord to serve as an accompanying instrument on its own, as was the established practice of accompanying the introit motet[227], works that were frequently taken from the *Florilegium Portense* and conceived in what would have been considered an antiquated style.

The participation of harpsichord in sacred music was not just relegated to the practices of eighteenth-century music. Heinrich Schütz was known for having included it in the musician's balconies during the performance of works requiring a large ensemble, as its percussiveness of the plucked strings helped to maintain the ensemble's timing and rhythm. While comparatively little has been written on these same practices before Bach, one must assume that Bach did not create the circumstances for such a convention. Seeing as how the harpsichord of the

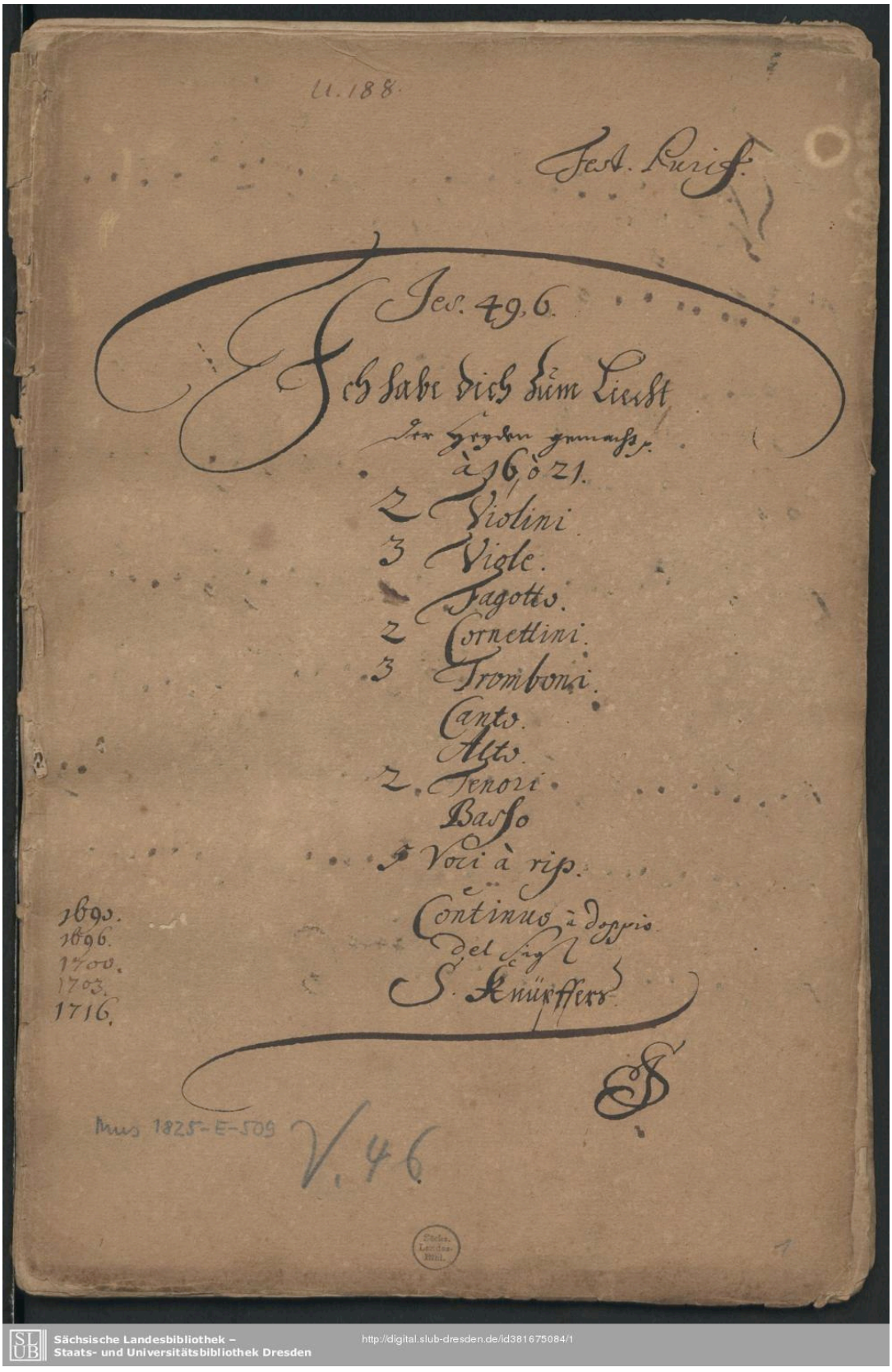
[226] Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo,* 25.
[227] Ibid, 21.

Nikolaikirche was in disarray in the winter immediately following his arrival in Leipzig, and would this further suggest that Kuhnau did not maintain them or use them with any frequency. On the contrary, Kuhnau's subsequent care for these instruments was emulated elsewhere in Germany. Still, if there were any doubt about this theory of dual accompaniment before Bach, a scan of extant manuscripts by Kuhnau would prove otherwise. One example of many is the work *Es steh Gott auf*, a work for Easter 1703 that bears a rather large orchestration and indicates *Continuo a doppio*[228] on the wrapper. The extant parts include a part labeled *organo*, and a separate figured part labeled *continuo*, and while this could be a plucked thoroughbass instrument, the movement to French conventions would likely negate that possibility. Furthermore a work also written for Easter in 1716, *Wenn ihr fröhlich seid ein euren Festen*, specifies the realizing thoroughbass instrument as *Basso per il organo*, Looking back further, Sebastian Knüpfer's work *Ich habe dich zum Licht der Heiden* (Figure 18) has the same specification *a doppio*, additionally indicating that this practice was rooted in the performance of scared vocal works of Leipzig well before the time of Bach.

In considering the thoroughbass instruments participating in each of the settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (also a work for Easter) it seems likely that these works would have simply included organ for various reasons. The least ambiguous case is that of Kuhnau, who calls specifically for organ, a specification that seems hard to refute given the previously established precedence. A case could be made that this was written when the full range of resources was not at his disposal given the date handed down to us. Knowing that Bach performed his

[228] translated "to double"

Figure 18– Wrapper of MSS *Ich habe dich* (Knüpfer)



work both in Mühlhausen and at Leipzig leaves for the possibility of dual accompaniment in at least the latter location. Yet seeing as how he revised the work there, and the extant parts date from 1724-25 it seems unlikely that he would have included a figured organ part and not one for harpsichord in *cammerton*. Provided his sacred concerted compositions were written for specific occasions in Mühlhausen, this might have warranted the expense of a designated instrument and harpsichordist, as there isn't an indication of one located within St. Blasius.[229] Either way, dual accompaniment is not out of the realm of possibility, but seems only a remote chance that it was Bach's intention. Regarding Knüpfer's setting, the extant parts from Grimma only provide a figured part labeled *"continuo"* in d minor, the overall key of the work. Three considerations arise from this revelation in no particular order: 1) Pitch standards were still considering A≈465 the standard performing pitch (given the instrumentation), 2) The surviving parts carry a date that is posthumous to Knüpfer and were performed in a different city, although they were likely copied carefully from the original, and 3) there is no additional continuo part in the set. It appears that Knüpfer intended only organ, despite the possibility that overall performance standards would render a dual accompaniment permissible.

It has been well established that Kuhnau ushered in inevitable change in pitch standards in Leipzig to allow for the use of French woodwind instruments

[229] There is at least no direct reference to a Harpsichord at St. Blasius, including the minimal available research into Bach's predecessors. Indications of the trends surrounding liturgy and sacred music at the church would indicate, at the very least, that the harpsichord did not take part in liturgical celebrations.

by 1701; He details this specifically to Johann Mattheson in a letter dated 1717.[230] This demonstrates a clear transition that differentiates between Italianate and French sensibilities that began in the 1680's. The fluidity represented in such a transition is also reflected in the fraternization of the sacred and secular. Just as Kuhnau inevitably brought recitative into the protestant music of Leipzig[231], so too were the conventions of the opera houses brought into church in seventeenth-century Italy including the use of the Theorbo. While there is no convincing reason to believe that this instrument was included as part of any of these settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, it also establishes a precedent for the evolution of the other part of the continuo group: the *basso*.

Bowed bass is the most familiar part of the basso continuo group to most modern audiences, especially those familiar with performance practice of the eighteenth century, most of which includes the use of the violoncello. Yet the basso continuo practices of the seventeenth century, especially those in Italy, which so thoroughly infiltrated Germany, provide a contentious and murky history to follow. In the sixteenth and seventeenth-century viols were quite common as the bowed members of the basso continuo group.[232] This would most often include large viols, which included the *violone* in G and the larger D (which we associate with those used by Bach in Leipzig) as well as the 8-foot sounding *viola da gamba*. The viol family proved more nimble and useful than the bass

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[230] Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo*, 21.
[231] Rimbach, *Kuhnau*, 232.
[232] There are many examples of this. For several different instances in one resource, which details instrumentations of particular ensembles see Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman, eds., *From Renaissance to Baroque* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 116, 237-240, 249.

violin and members of the violin family for concerted music on the basis of key, tuning, and range. The bass violin was for lack of a better word, clunky. In the key of B-flat, it's lowest string of four needed to be so thick in order to prevent it from breaking that it did not provide the clarity or agility needed to clearly render bass lines as the *violone* with six strings each covering a narrower assortment of pitches and a wider range overall. There was also less of a need to reinforce the clarity in the 8-foot register with the inclusion of the dulcian, the wind component of the *basso continuo*.

Despite the Bass violin's perceived shortcomings in a concerted ensemble, the violin enjoyed a certain prominence of its own in the sixteenth and seventeenth century as not just a solo instrument but also as an ensemble. While the groundbreaking number of instrumentalists assembled for Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* of 10 members of the violin family in 1607 is credited more to the occasion of the annual carnival in Mantua (representing a transition from the Renaissance)[233], it still establishes the standard of large orchestra-like ensembles that were becoming the norm, rather than consorts. Establishing the tradition of four and five part upper string writing (2 violins, 2 violas) with basso continuo. There is also the famous French example of the *Vingt-quatre violons du roi,* which ostensibly served the court of Louis XIII beginning in 1626 that may have been started as part of the court by Charles IX. It is further maintained that the king commissioned a complete set of instruments to be used at court, though this

[233] Brauer, *Instruments,* 13.

entire account has come into question by Peter Holman as being propagated over time without sufficient evidence.[234]

Whatever the controversy, the existence of such a band provided a French model that would be ushered into Germany at the end of the seventeenth century. Another improvement occurring around this same time was the advancement of overspun strings, which featured an added wrapping of thin wire. This allowed for a thinner gut string to be stretched further without danger of breaking, while maintaining a consistently pleasant tone. This development occurs around the same time when pitch standards were changing in Germany to accommodate the lower pitched French woodwinds. The lowering of high-pitched strings, especially the bass violin from B-flat to C (with a pitch standard of A≈415) combined with the innovation of overspun strings led to a new hybrid instrument: the violoncello. This became the standard 8-foot bowed bass instrument of the continuo group in the eighteenth century.[235]

Use of the violoncello starts to become common in principalities neighboring Leipzig in the latter portion of the seventeenth century. Johann Rosenmüller in his 130 extant sacred works calls for the use of violoncello only once (listed as violoncino) in his ninth setting (10 total) of the text *Laudate pueri Dominum*, which in all likelihood was written during the end of his life while in Wolfentbüttel.[236] In surveying Rosenmüller's body of sacred works, he indicates that the violone and or bassoon are continuo instruments of choice. The former refers less to a specific instrument, but rather simply a bowed bass instrument

[234]Wainwright, *Renaissance to Baroque,* 242.
[235] Ibid., 247.
[236] Brauer, *Instruments,* 263.

playing the lowest line. Rarely does the viola da gamba, when employed, serve as a continuo instrument.[237] Johann Kuhnau's work *Ich habe Lust* provides an ideal example for a Leipzig work containing the conventions of a new style as indicated by the wrapper in Figure 18. In the listing of instruments, the word *violoncello* appears in slightly darker ink, to the right of the word *fagoto*, as if to suggest the inclusion of the 'cello was an afterthought. It like was added in a later performance given the listed dates ranging from 1717-1731. The wrapper also contains the indication *continuo a doppio* and includes two figured parts: one labeled *organo* written in D-flat major and one labeled simply *continuo,* written in E-flat major.

Interestingly, there is no part in the bundle labeled *fagoto* (as the wrapper seems to indicate) but a part for *bassone* is included in F major, a whole step above the written key. This begs the question if Kuhnau intended for the more modern bassoon to replace what would have been a dulcian part in earlier years. The tradition of the *chorist-faggot*, that is essentially a dulcian playing a *basso seguente* part in a cappella motets (and the like). This was a Renaissance practice that persisted largely because much of this music was still used in the protestant liturgy of the early eighteenth century.[238] The bassoon prevailed in concerted works of the time and would eventually take over as the wind instrument of choice in the continuo group.

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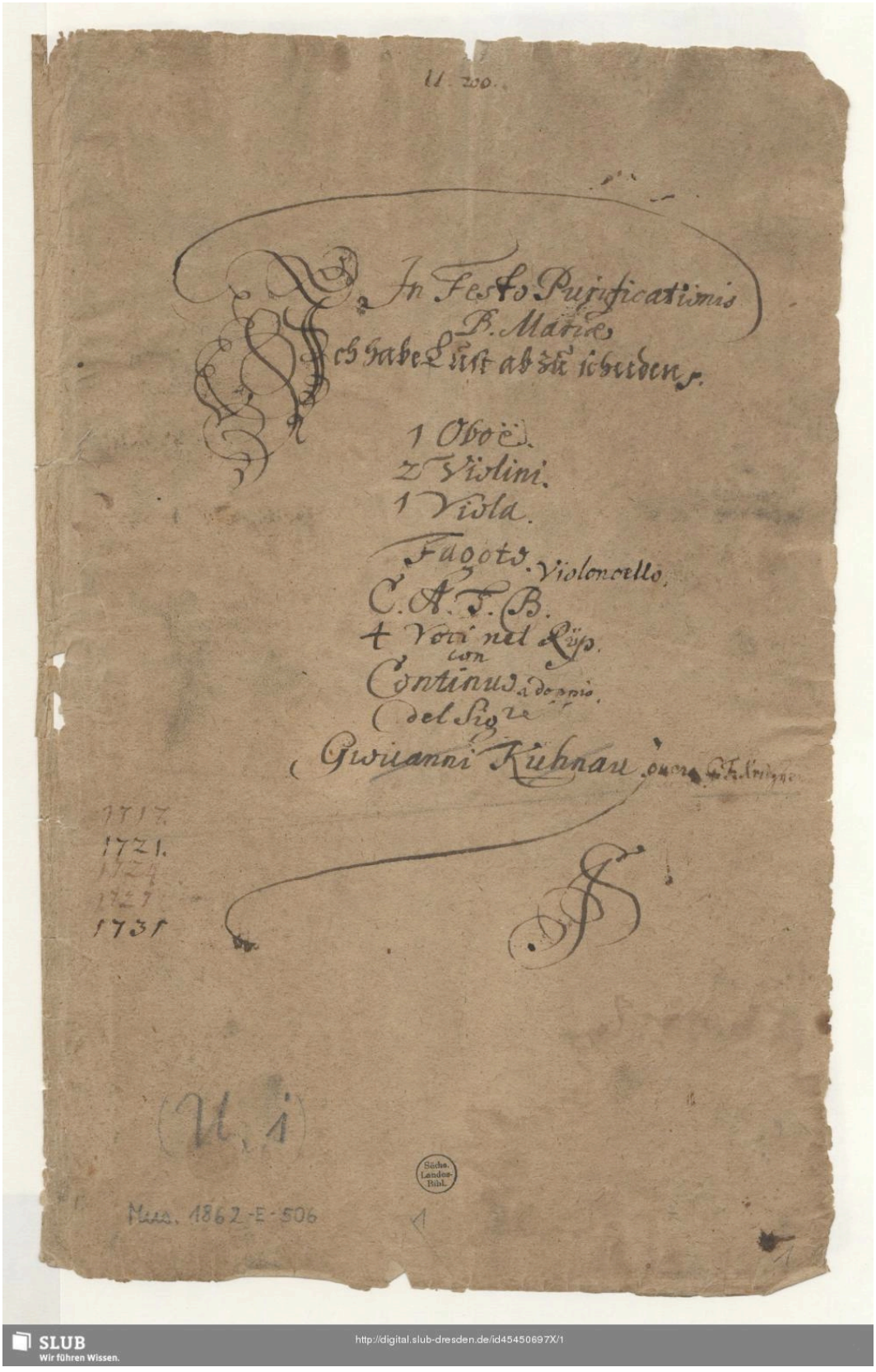
[237] Rosenmüller also specifies that the organ is the thoroughbass instrument of choice and harpsichord/theorbo, when required, is specified. See Brauer, *Instruments,* 262.
[238] Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 87.

Figure 19 – Wrapper of MSS *Ich habe lust* (Kuhnau)



What indications does the above have for rendering the settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* being considered within this study? While there are similarities in the thoroughbass practices, the make up/use of *basso continuo* instruments from Knüpfer to Bach presents a fairly wide gap, with a clear shift taking place via Kuhnau. In pondering the possibilities in Knüpfer's setting, it is safe to say that there was likely no 8-foot bowed bass included as part of the continuo group. There is however, a precedent of including contrabass instruments in larger ensembles to help fill the group sound, including one such account from Venice as early as 1608 of "two Violdegambaes of extrodinary greatnesse."[239] Given the size of this ensemble, it would be conceivable to have a 16-foot contrabass instrument, such as a *violone,* join in doubling the bass line an octave below. There is perhaps even a case for the *chittarone*[240] to join, resulting in added definition and solidifying the work's Italian sensibilities; Kuhnau will reference the need to purchase a *Colochon* instead of borrowing one during his time as *Thomaskantor,* a tradition which could have stemmed from an earlier tenure.[241] Already participating, as part of the instrumental texture is the *bombarde* 3, which was, as previously mentioned, likely a dulcian (high-pitch) playing a quasi-*basso seguente* part.

In surveying upwards of 20 individual manuscripts by Kuhnau (in no particular order except what was readily available), it is safe to conclude that the composer is reasonably specific about the instrumentation he stipulates. An interesting example from around the time Kuhnau wrote *Christ lag in*

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[239] Wainright, *Renaissance to Baroque,* 248.
[240] Translated as "large guitar." Another name for a Theorbo.
[241] Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo,* 170-172.

Todesbanden (i.e. while he was the organist of the *Thomaskirche*) is his *Laudate Pueri* for solo tenor, 2 *scordatura* violins, trombone or viola da gamba, and basso continuo, with the words "o vero violoncello" apparently added later. While this scoring is specific, it is representative of a piece that is much smaller in scale than *Christ lag in Todesbanden,* leaving the possibility of a contrabass instrument being added to the instrumentation of the latter as a potential option. The manuscript (1693) calls for organ in D, which given the scoring (including cornetto *ad placitum*) would reference a pitch level of A≈465. Despite the high pitch, and the precedent (even though the addition of an 8-foot double reed was common), it still doesn't seem that a dulcian was intended in this instance.

Oddly, mostly because of the vast amount of available scholarship, there are many possibilities to consider when rendering this setting of Bach. This is mainly due to the fact that it was written and performed c. 1707, but the performing materials from Leipzig represent a different set of circumstances spanning nearly 20 years time since the work's debut. As Dreyfus states, "Indeed, the ideal of a fixed text to which all philology aspires cannot help but misrepresent Bach's constantly shifting working conditions."[242] Removed from notably antiquated style in which the work was written (even for the beginning of the eighteenth century), the circumstances surrounding Bach's position at Mühlhausen were markedly different than those he experienced as *Thomaskantor*. This begs the question if the typical eighteenth century Leipzig continuo group (organ/harpsichord, violoncello, contrabass, and perhaps bassoon) is warranted? It surely would have been in 1724-5, specifically given the

[242] Ibid., 2.

gravitas of the festival day it marked. Bach does call for *violoncello* in BWV 150, which is arguably his first cantata, written in Arnstadt where the 'cello part elaborates upon the existing continuo line, and is called for again in BWV 71 *Gott ist mein König*[243]

The question of temperament and pitch is a logical extension of the discussion surrounding instrumentation. In particular, the consideration for concerted ensembles where winds and strings would play together created pitch issues that needed to be reconciled. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century wind instruments were tuned to a higher pitch than strings, in part to match organ pitch for sacred music, while strings were more flexible and able to comfortably adjust their tuning by a whole tone in either direction.[244] The most amicable solution was for each group of instruments to play in separate keys, yet given the fact that ¼ comma meantone temperament was the prevailing standard in seventeenth-century music and the number of usable keys was limited, an adjustment of a semitone or even a third could place one group of instruments in a precarious situation.[245] In tandem with this adjustment, came the need for an adjusted temperament as well that would literally help fine-tune the new mixed ensemble.

While there were many systems to follow including those by Johann Kirnberger (a pupil of Bach) and the later Francesco Valotti, it was no secret that Bach was first partial to the pioneering versions of six-comma meantone developed by Werckmeister. While he was certainly familiar with this system of

[243] Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 101, 111.
[244] Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, 185.
[245] Wainright, *Renaissance to Baroque*, 250.

"well temperament" from his first proper post at the New Church in Arnstadt where organ builder Wender also subscribed to Werckmeister's tuning,[246] it was ultimately his visit to Buxtehude in Lübeck that truly shaped his thinking. Buxtehude, who was both a friend and advocate of Werckmeister's, had the benefit of extraordinary flexibility in not only the genres in which he wrote (particularly in the way of dramatic concerted works), but also in the expanded palate afforded him through many more usable keys within this tuning system. This combination was something that Bach found inspiring and would, according to Wolff, "[allow] him to chart a daring harmonic course and to explore advanced chord progressions for which there were no precedents whatsoever."[247] Put another way, this system allows the fifths within a key to be tempered (flattened) by 1/6 comma[248] rendering most basic keys (to 4 flats and sharps) as usable. This is opposed to ¼ comma meantone, which follows the same process but tempers the fifths by a larger interval in order to keep the thirds in the most frequently used keys in tune.

Regarding tuning, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* does not venture far afield with two settings in d minor and one in e minor. This most likely represents the change in pitch standards from *Chorton* to *Cammerton* more than a proper key change. Mattheson attributes starkly different characteristics to these specific keys referring to d minor as gentle, contented, and devout (particularly in church

[246] Wolff, *Learned Musician,* 81.
[247] Ibid., 101.
[248] A comma refers to the difference (measured in cents) between two different systems of tuning.

music) where as e minor represents deep grieving, sorrow, and despair.[249] Notably, Mattheson considers *Cammerton* at A≈415 as his pitch standard for these noticeably personal descriptions. Recognizing that these works are in essentially the same key but at different pitch standards and were likely performed using different temperaments is of vital importance to their successful rendering. Knüpfer's setting was most likely to have been heard in ¼ comma meantone using the pitch standard A≈465. These circumstances, given that the work stays almost strictly in its home key, with modal shifts to a relative major, will allow for the instrumentation to speak clearly and the vast sonority of largely diatonic harmonies to highlight the delicately tuned thirds. Given that Bach's setting was likely rendered in eighteenth century *Cammerton*, and featured a mixture of archaic and new instruments, Werckmeister's third (III) tuning would ably suit this combination and circumstances. In the case of Kuhanu, who seems to once again bridge a gap, either condition would be acceptable and may depend on the makeup of the continuo group and the inclusion of the optional *cornetti*, though 1/6 comma seems an apt choice given Kuhnau's forward thinking.

[249] Buelow, *New Mattheson,*

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

There remains one question from the opening chapter of this study that has thus far remained unanswered, and quoted here: 'what is important to the musicians of this era, particularly those of the seventeenth century?' Central to each of their processes, regardless of time period was the clear rendering of text. This is a convention that would evolve in the latter part of the seventeenth century to texts that were derived more from poetic sources, or featured an amalgamation of biblical, ancient, or traditional texts interpolated with more modern prose. This was largely in an effort to make the subject matter more evocative to the congregant, and allow it to be executed more dramatically. With the new tenets of the *seconda prattica*, featuring a freeing of the melody line that was supported by vertically conceived harmonic sonorities as established in Italy during the late sixteenth century, a new range of textures, sonorities and dramatic vocal lines began to emerge. These forms continued to evolve throughout the entirety of the seventeenth century with the prevailing affections of the text as their guiding principle.

Formal design proved a vitally important part of music of this era, as it set the parameters and the pacing for the interpretation of the text. This often featured a quasi-continuous alternation of instrumental ritornelli, concerted ensemble music, and more intimate vocal passages. In order for the music to take shape, diatonic harmonies (that became increasingly more chromatic), with strategically placed dissonances, allowed the harmonic rhythm and articulations

to support the desired affect of the text. The evolution of instrumentation represented a clear shift in pitch standards and in textures, including new prominence of the violin family and its eventual combination with the likes of new French wind instruments (traverse, oboe) to create a wholly new texture that also saw the blurring of the lines between sacred and secular genres. The Italian influence on the music of not just Germany, but the entirety of the Holy Roman Empire throughout the seventeenth century, is undeniable, as is the clear-cut transition to a prevailing fashion for French elements at the beginning of the eighteenth century. What were once pillars of harmony designed to support a dramatic melody interspersed with passages of pre-modern polyphony, gave way in varying degrees to an intricate weaving of textures and instruments that were designed to mirror the affect being presented within the vocal line, and not simply serve as its support. At the core of this movement were new melodic lines for voices and instruments in combination that were equal parts expressive and structural and when combined with a continuo group, created a musical *tour-de-force*. New systems of tuning and temperament, particularly those 6-comma systems, allowed for an expanded use of individual keys (with their own individual characters) and a new chromatic palette that composers could use for the purposes of expressivity.

But why are these considered "developments?" Perhaps because that is what the ear of the modern audience has assimilated of classical music, and particularly of composers who are well known. This is precisely why starting with a known composer like Bach and working backward, is an approach that seems beneficial. While it seems cursory to focus such a study on facts and observations

surrounding a particular era or region instead of notating miniscule details of the works compared in the title, this is done purposefully. For too long, performers and some scholars have focused their efforts on the wrong matters and have attempted to analyze these works under a 19th or 20th century microscope. It's not that our present scholarship has failed us – on the contrary. Simply put, we are not focusing our analyses on what is important from the perspective of performance.

Mendelssohn was not wrong in his gargantuan performance of Bach's St. Matthew Passion; he operated on the best scholarship available to him. I also find little difference between this and Handel's transition from the opera to oratorio. The singers he engaged were undoubtedly from the opera, and in singing these dramatic religious works, would have transferred many of the conventions from the stage over into the church. This was the performance practice of that particular era, and I dare say it is no less valid than any other, scholarly or not. The historically informed performance movement of the twenty-first century has illuminated the importance of rendering works (including those by Mendelssohn) in a way that befits the composer's soundscape and intentions. Mendelssohn's goal was not to give an historically informed performance, after all, but to simply revive the music of Bach using mid-nineteenth century performing standards. In that same guise, this study attempts to bring to light tools for the performer to help interpret the German church music of the seventeenth century, a study which the true scholar hopes will become obsolete in the years ahead with the revelation of new ground breaking research into this era and repertory.

Given then the historical context and the preponderance of research into the early eighteenth-century music and composers, it would behoove scholars to use this information to their advantage. In comparing each of these three settings of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, and by studying and thoroughly understanding exhaustive scholarship of masters of the first part of the eighteenth century, musicians are better equipped to trace this scholarship backward to lesser known composers and periods. This is not only the source of new revelations to make grounded musical decisions but allows for more detailed fundamental knowledge of additional composers, techniques and regions. Moreover, the result is a greater understanding of seventeenth-century practices, that should not be dismissed as simply cursory or bland but served as both inspiration for those revered eighteenth-century composers, while standing on their own merits as the developers of an era. If their music was fit to be performed by the likes of Bach and Telemann on a regular basis at church, and served as a vehicle for new creativity utilizing what were antiquated styles, should we not recognize these contributions in the guise of refinement?

That is to say that the music of Knüpfer was a summary of the Renaissance, a mastery of the grandeur of the Italian *stile moderno,* and a nod to eighteenth century sensibilities as evidenced by the similarities to works by Bach and Kuhnau. Too often the focus is placed on the music of those composers whose music can fit neatly into neatly defined categories while those who were cultivating the music of the moment are lumped together and given non-descript labels. I would argue that, while connections can be made between composers or regions, we must begin to analyze individual works from this era as separate

entities that simply share certain characteristics or acquiesce to certain conventions. Knowing the "rules" is strictly an academic discipline, but making decisions for performance with these "rules" in mind will truly yield the results that each composer intended.

While taken slightly out of context, Peter Holman sums up my previously expressed sentiment quite nicely:

> "What all this shows, I think, is that we tend to be rather simplistic and complacent in the way we perform seventeenth-century (orchestral) music. In recent years the message has been slowly filtering through to period instrument groups that the standard eighteenth-century (string) layout is not suitable for Purcell, Lully, or even Bach. What we need to do now is to think much more carefully about exactly what sort of instruments are appropriate for particular areas of the repertory, at what pitch they should play, and in what combinations."[250]

Adding to these most thoughtful and succinct views, I would certainly include that the perceived simplicity of this music rendered clearly, is one of its greatest assets – that is, of course, should complacency not rule the day and careful thinking become a formula for triviality. A most intentional approach will warrant the desired result, particularly when fortified with historical knowledge to support an inspired interpretation. The study and detailed application of rhetoric in music of the seventeenth century was perhaps one of the few things that was uniquely German.[251] This seems a fitting place to start - with time-

[250] Wainright, *Renaissance to Baroque*, 257.
[251] Varwig, *Mutato*, 215.

honored texts as the manifestation of faith, the church as the prism, and the composers shining their individual lights to illuminate their meaning. I hope this approach will encourage conductors and performers to take another look at this under-appreciated repertory of music, and empower them in their artistry.

Recommendations for Further Study

Since the purpose of this study is to both elucidate the virtues of an underperformed canon of seventeenth-century German music and similarly promote a means by which to interpret it an informed an expressive way, the implied conclusion is that there is a need for more study in this subject area. There are countless manuscripts by Sebastian Knüpfer and Johann Schelle in particular that are available and accessible with a relatively minimal amount of investigation whose merits warrant the preparation of modern performing editions. Surveying these manuscripts has proven to be invaluable to this study and the subsequent understanding of these *Thomaskantors*, their compositional style, and the conditions under which the works were performed. An area of interest not considered in this study (mainly because of the works being compared) is the expansion of the use of recitative within the sacred music for the Leipzig church throughout the seventeenth century. Similarly, the considerations and applications of ornamentation as regards both rhetorical principles and local conventions concerning the church is also an area of great intrigue and would prove to be a worthwhile contribution to the study of this music.

APPENDIX A

TEXT OF CHRIST LAG IN TODESBANDEN (1524)

Christ lag in Todesbanden Für unsre Sünd gegeben, Er ist wieder erstanden Und hat uns bracht das Leben; Des wir sollen fröhlich sein, Gott loben und ihm dankbar sein Und singen halleluja, Halleluja!	Christ lay in death's bonds handed over for our sins, he is risen again and has brought us life For this we should be joyful, praise God and be thankful to him and sing allelluia, Alleluia!
Den Tod niemand zwingen kunnt Bei allen Menschenkindern, Das macht' alles unsre Sünd, Kein Unschuld war zu finden. Davon kam der Tod so bald Und nahm über uns Gewalt, Hielt uns in seinem Reich gefangen, Halleluja!	Nobody could overcome death among all children of mankind. Our sin was the cause of all this, no innocence was to be found. Therefore death came so quickly and seized power over us, held us captive in his kingdom. Alleluia!
Jesus Christus, Gottes Sohn, An unser Statt ist kommen Und hat die Sünde weggetan, Damit dem Tod genommen All sein Recht und sein Gewalt, Da bleibet nichts denn Tods Gestalt, Den Stach'l hat er verloren. Halleluja!	Jesus Christ, God's son, has come to our place and has put aside our sins, and this way from death has taken all his rights and his power, here remains nothing but death's outward form, it has lost its sting. Alleluia!
Es war ein wunderlicher Krieg, Da Tod und Leben rungen, Das Leben behielt den Sieg,, Es hat den Tod verschlungen. Die Schrift hat verkündigt das, Wie ein Tod den andern fraß, Ein Spott aus dem Tod ist worden. Halleluja!	It was a strange battle where death and life struggled. Life won the victory, it has swallowed up death Scripture has proclaimed how one death ate the other, death has become a mockery. Alleluia!

Hier ist das rechte Osterlamm,
Davon Gott hat geboten,
Das ist hoch an des
Kreuzes Stamm
In heißer Lieb gebraten,
Das Blut zeichnet unsre Tür,
Das hält der Glaub dem
Tode für,
Der Würger kann uns
nicht mehr schaden.
Halleluja!

Here is the true Easter lamb
that God has offered
which high on the
trunk of the cross
is roasted in burning love,
whose blood marks our doors,
which faith holds in
front of death,
the strangler
can harm us no more
Alleluia!

So feiern wir das hohe Fest
Mit Herzensfreud und Wonne,
Das uns der Herre scheinen läßt,
Er ist selber die Sonne,
Der durch seiner Gnade Glanz
Erleuchtet unsre Herzen ganz,
Der Sünden Nacht ist verschwunden.
Halleluja!

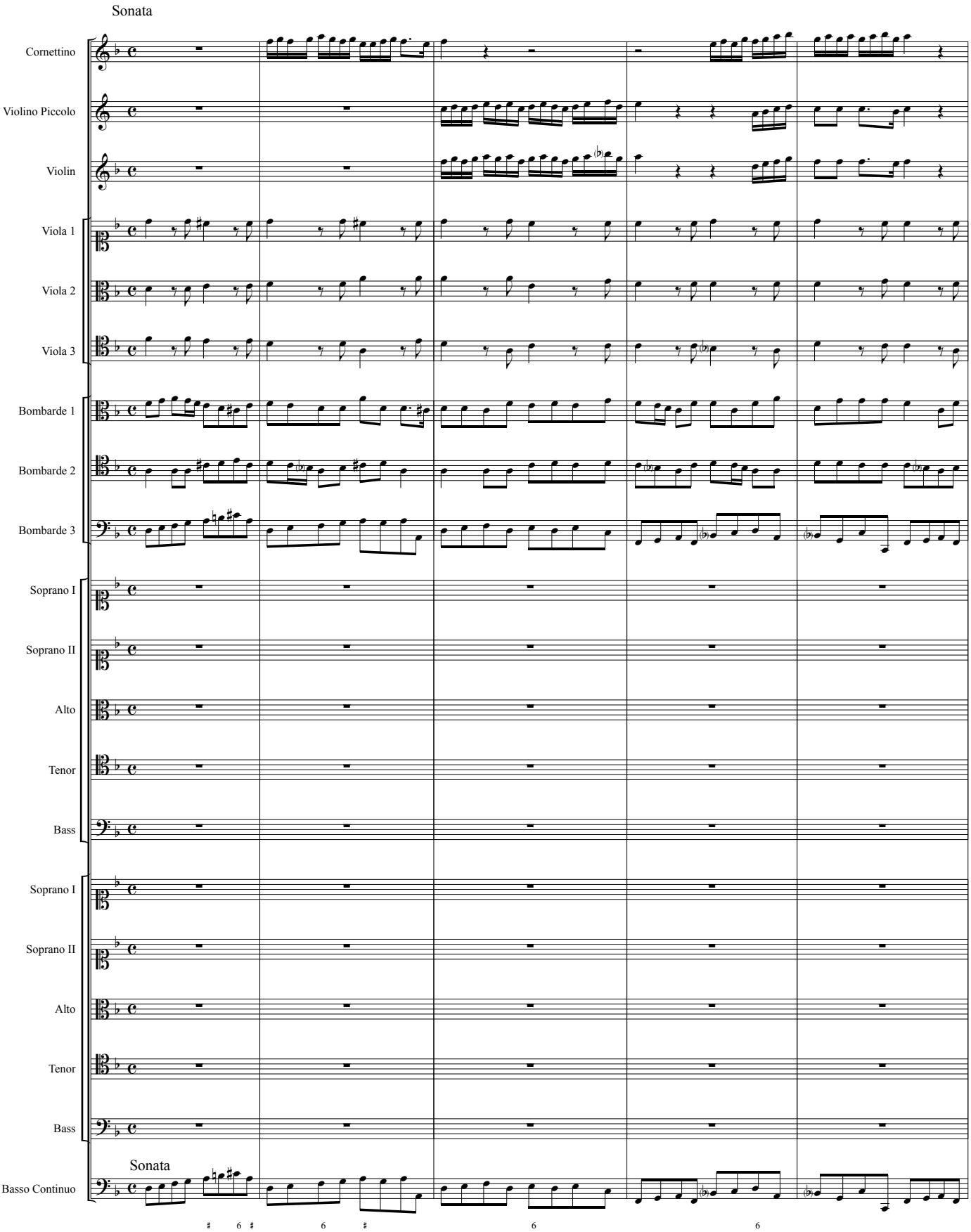
Thus we celebrate the high feast
with joy in our hearts and delight
that the Lord lets shine for us,
He is himself the sun
who through brilliance of his grace
enlightens our hearts completely,
the night of sin has disappeared.
Alleluia!

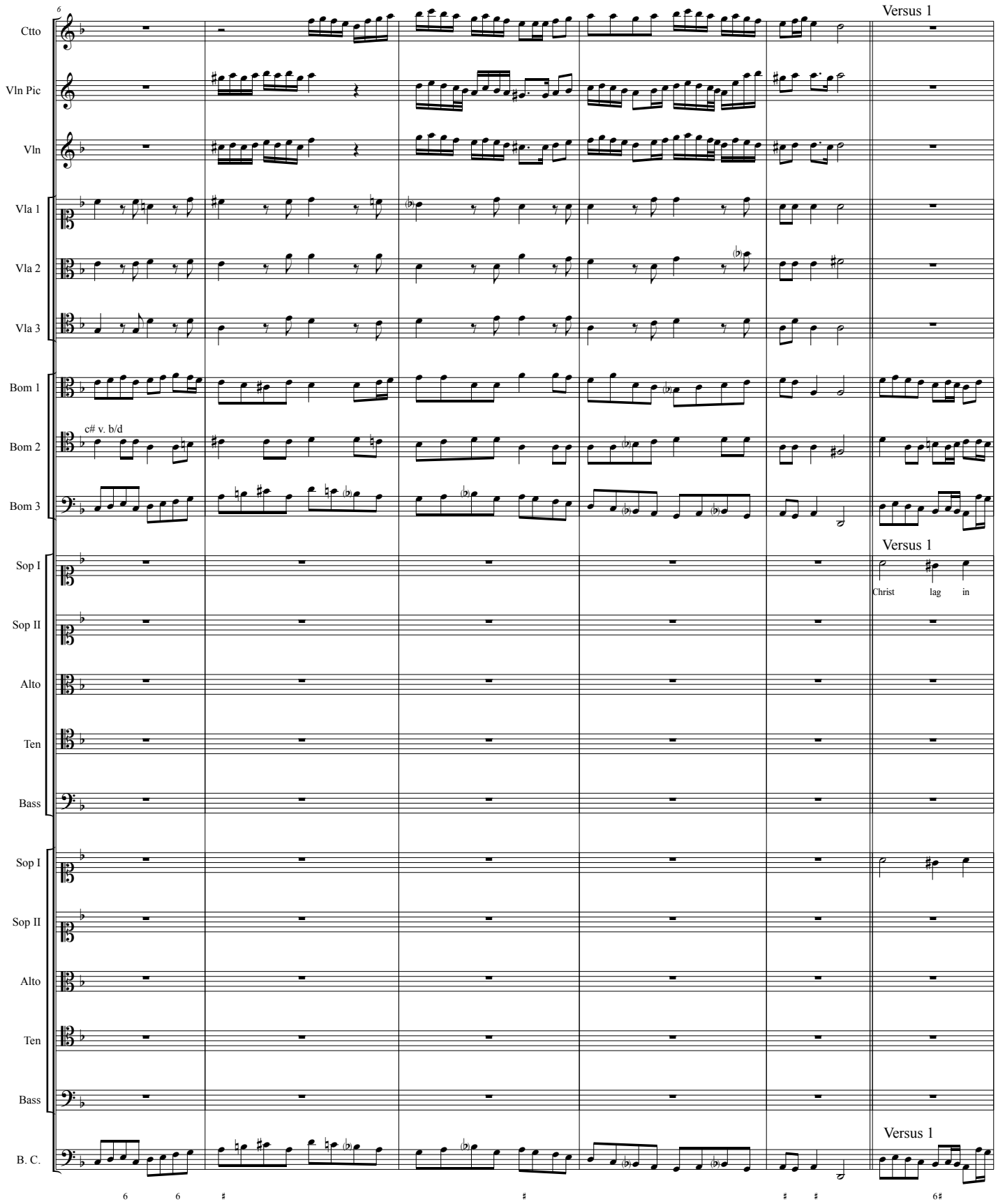
Wir essen und leben wohl
In rechten Osterfladen,
Der alte Sauerteig nicht soll
Sein bei dem Wort Gnaden,
Christus will die Koste sein
Und speisen die Seel allein,
Der Glaub will keins andern leben.
Halleluja!

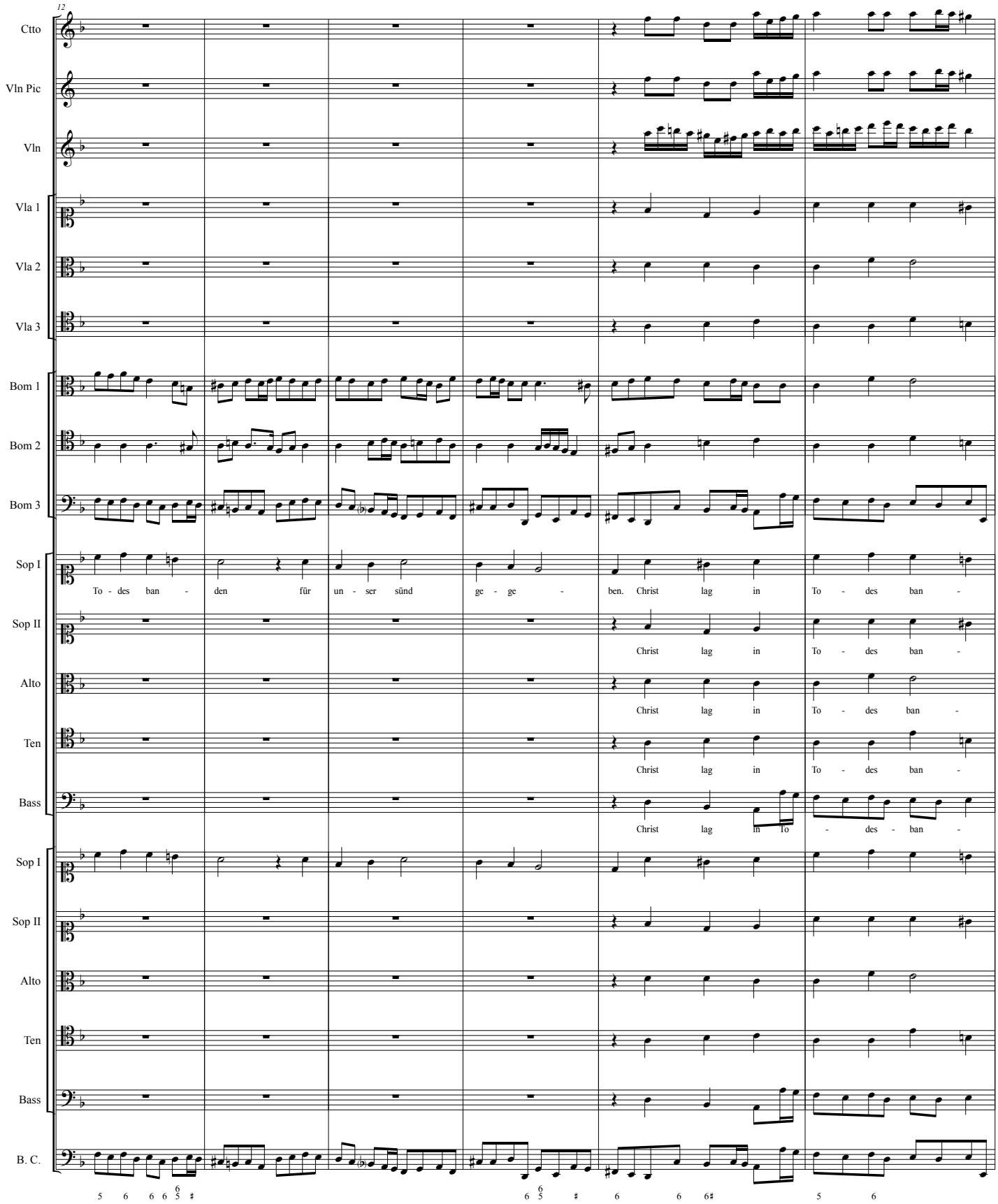
We eat and live well
on the right Easter cakes,
the old sourdough should not
be with the word grace,
Christ will be our food
and alone feed the soul,
Faith will in no other way live.
Alleluia!

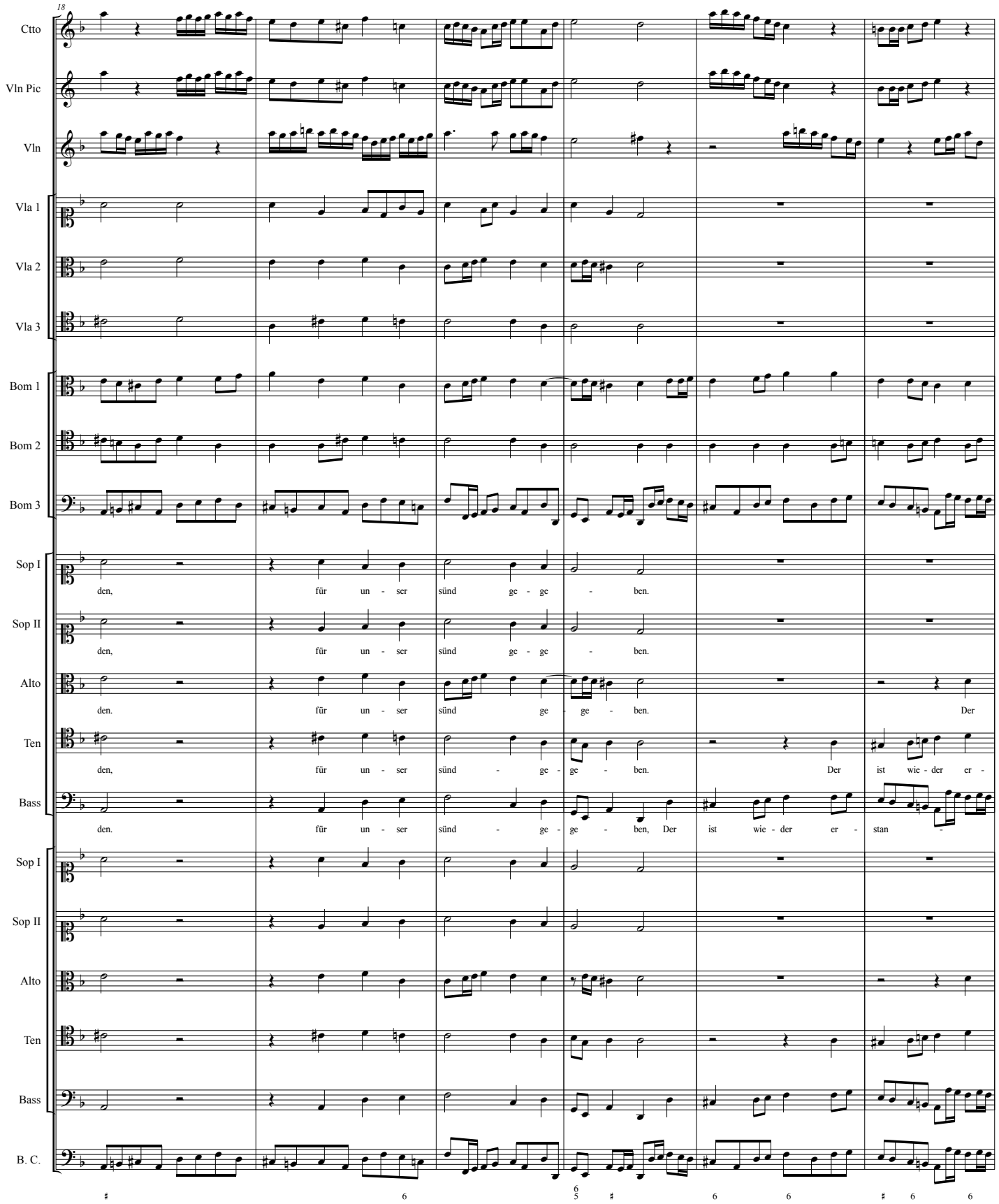
Christ lag in Todesbanden

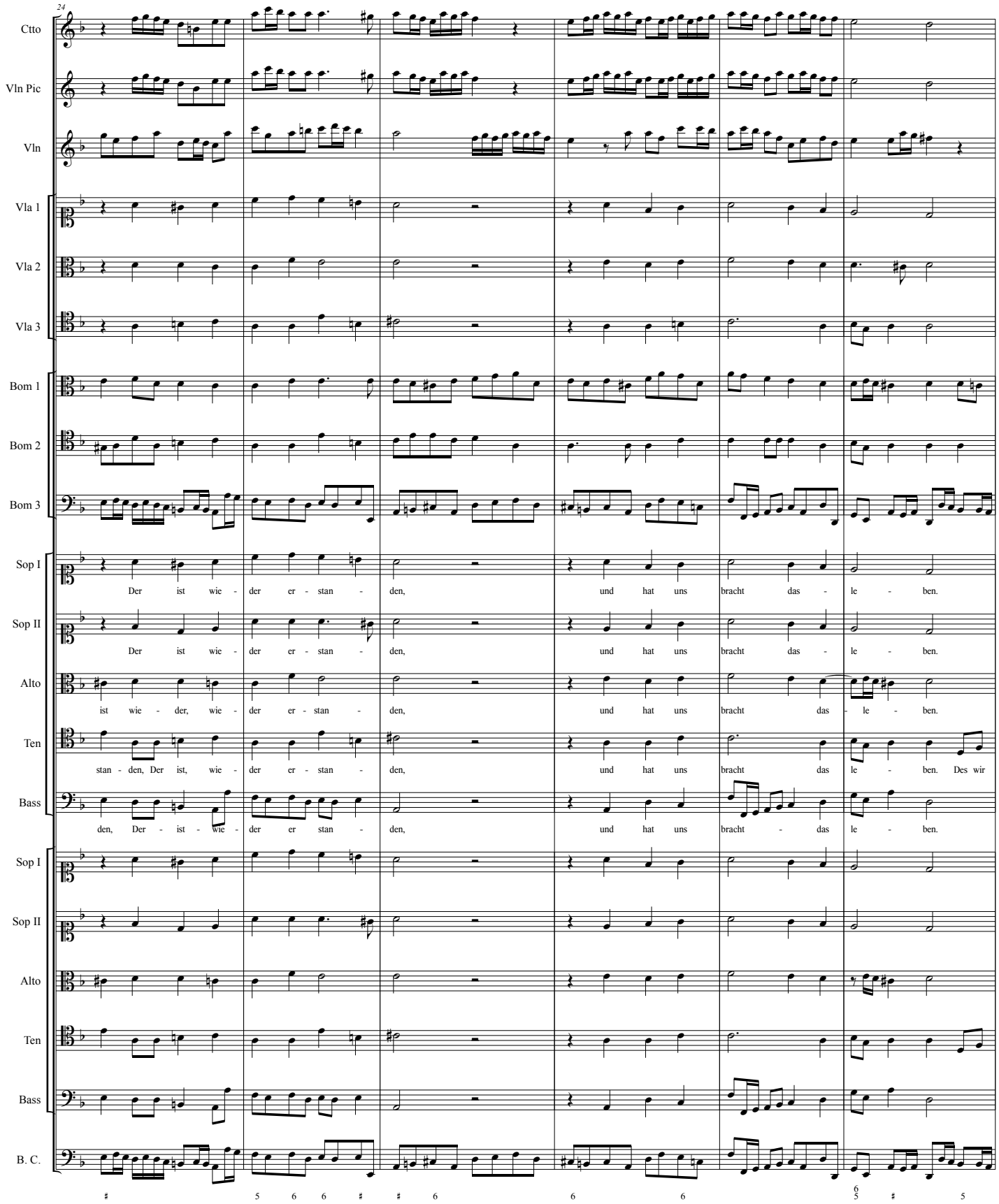
Sebastian Knüpfer (1633-1676)
Edition: Ryan Mullaney

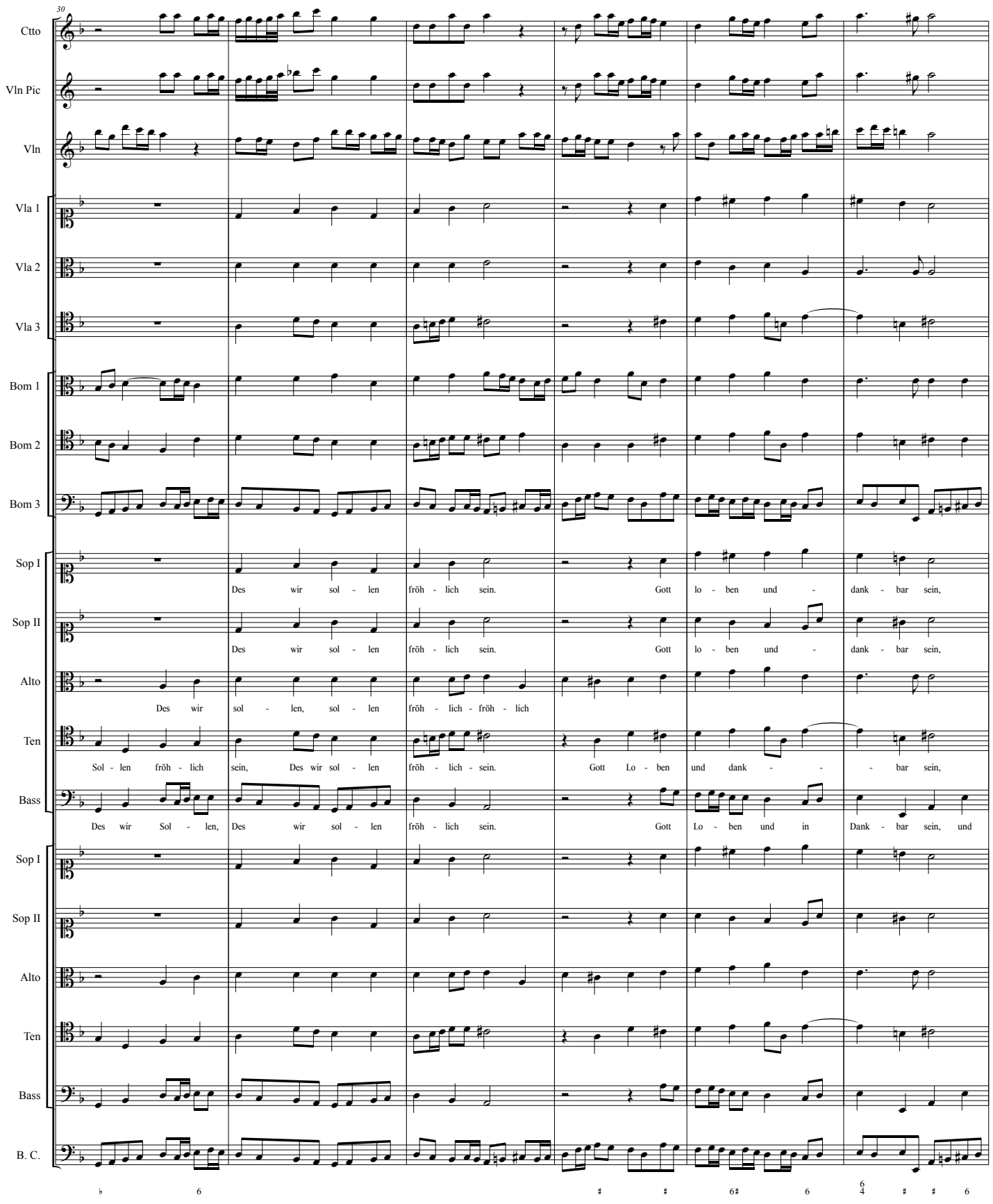


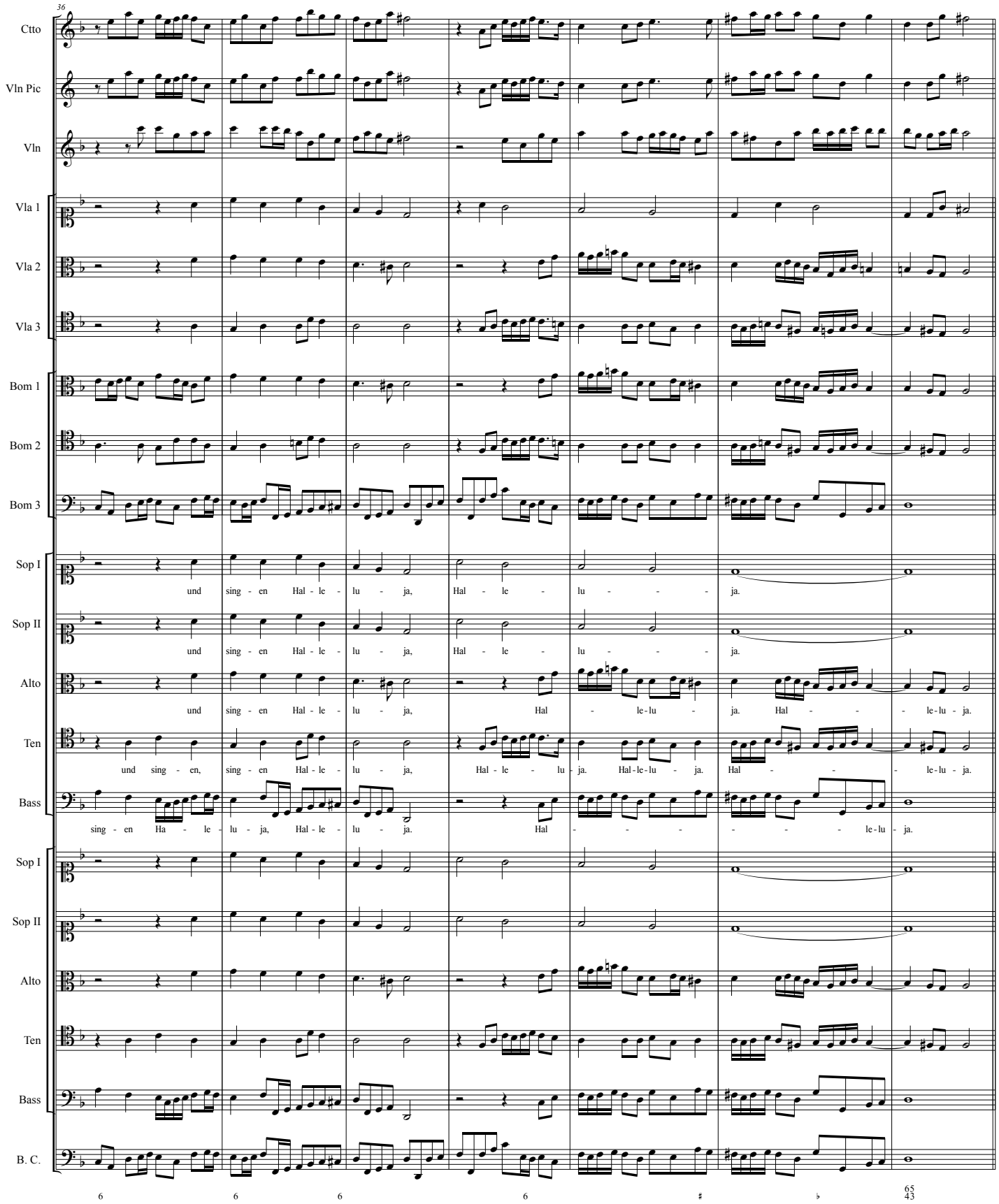

Versus 1
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
c# v. b/d
Bom 3
Versus 1
Sop I
Christ lag in
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Versus 1
B. C.

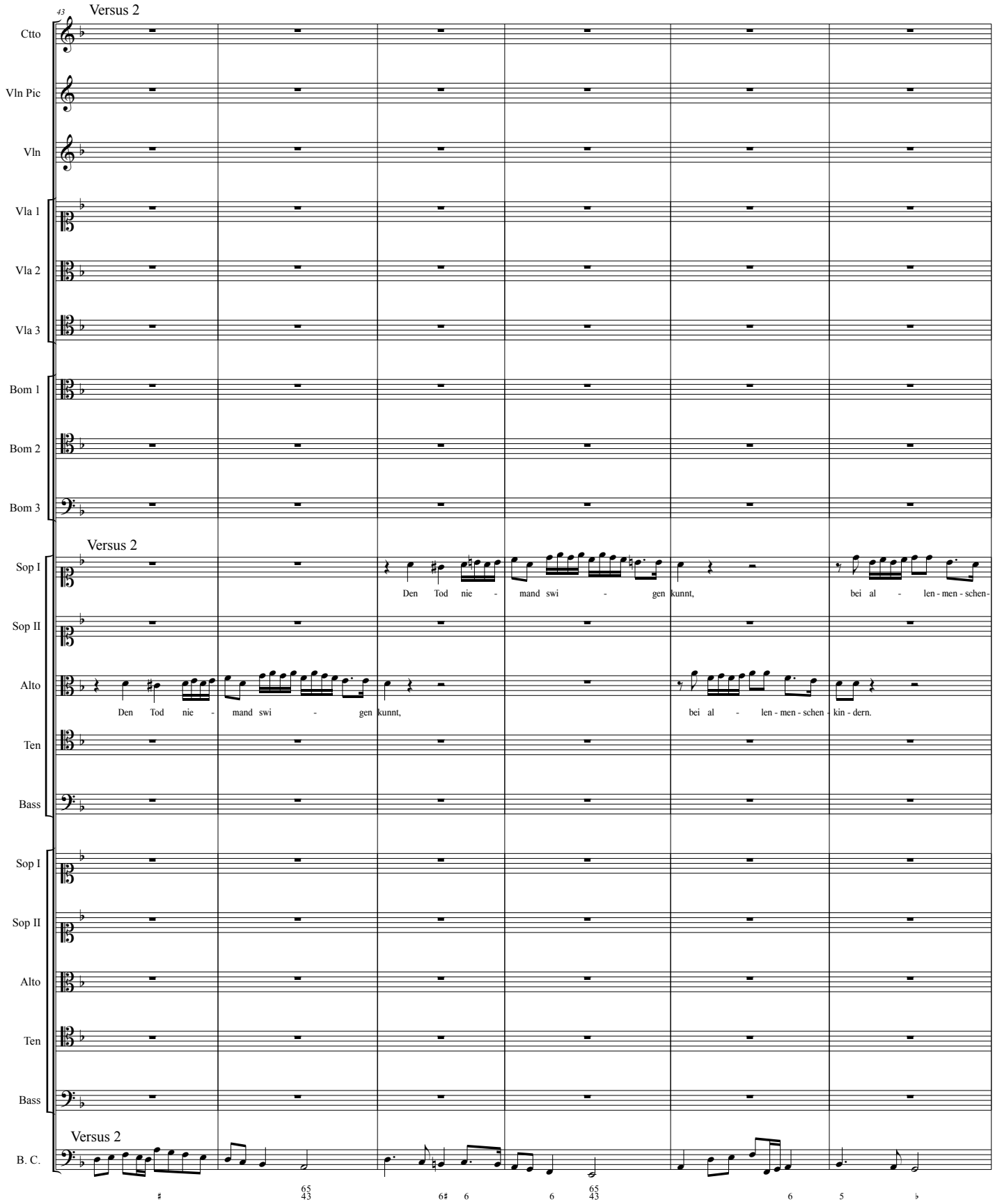

12
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
To - des ban - den für un - ser sünd ge - ge - ben. Christ lag in To - des ban -
Sop II
Christ lag in To - des ban -
Alto
Christ lag in To - des ban -
Ten
Christ lag in To - des ban -
Bass
Christ lag in To - des - ban -
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

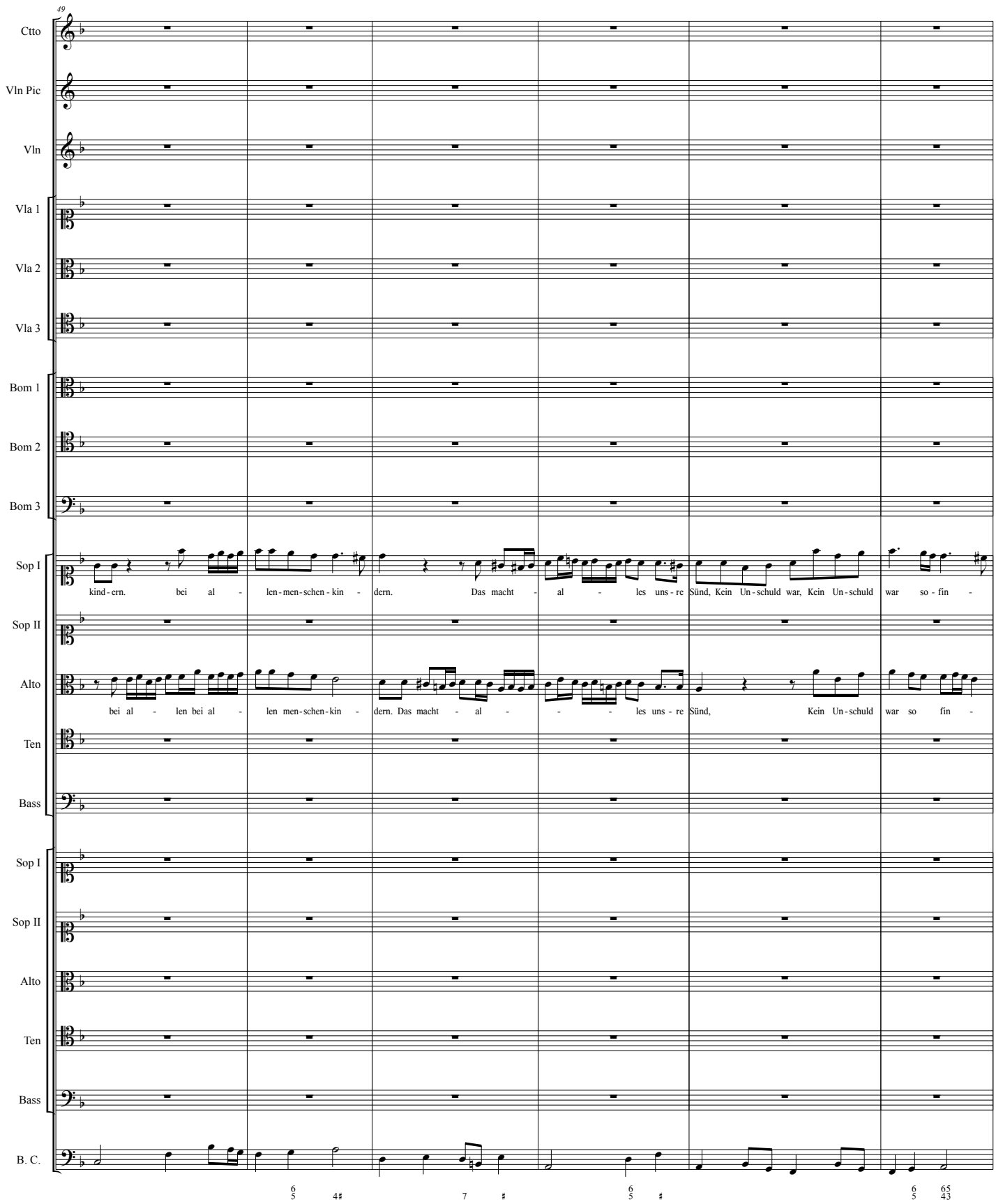

18
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
den, für un - ser sünd ge - ge - ben.
den, für un - ser sünd ge - ge - ben.
den. für un - ser sünd ge - ge - ben. Der
den, für un - ser sünd - ge - ge - ben. Der ist wie - der er -
den. für un - ser sünd - ge - ge - ben, Der ist wie - der er - stan -

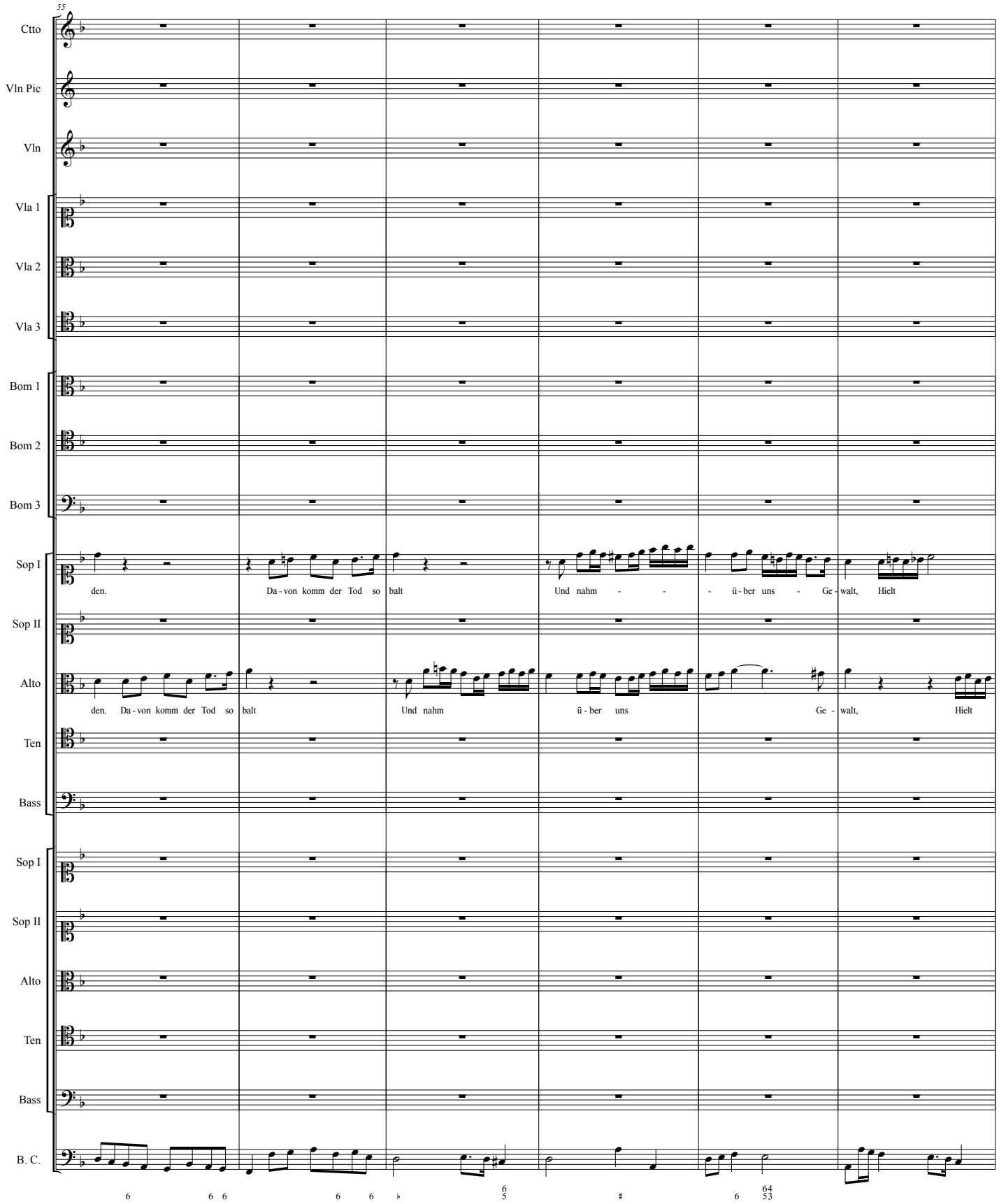

24
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Der ist wie - der er - stan - den, und hat uns bracht das - le - ben.
Der ist wie - der er - stan - den, und hat uns bracht das - le - ben.
ist wie - der, wie - der er - stan - den, und hat uns bracht das - le - ben.
stan - den, Der ist, wie - der er - stan - den, und hat uns bracht das le - ben. Des wir
den, Der - ist - wie - der er stan - den, und hat uns bracht - das le - ben.

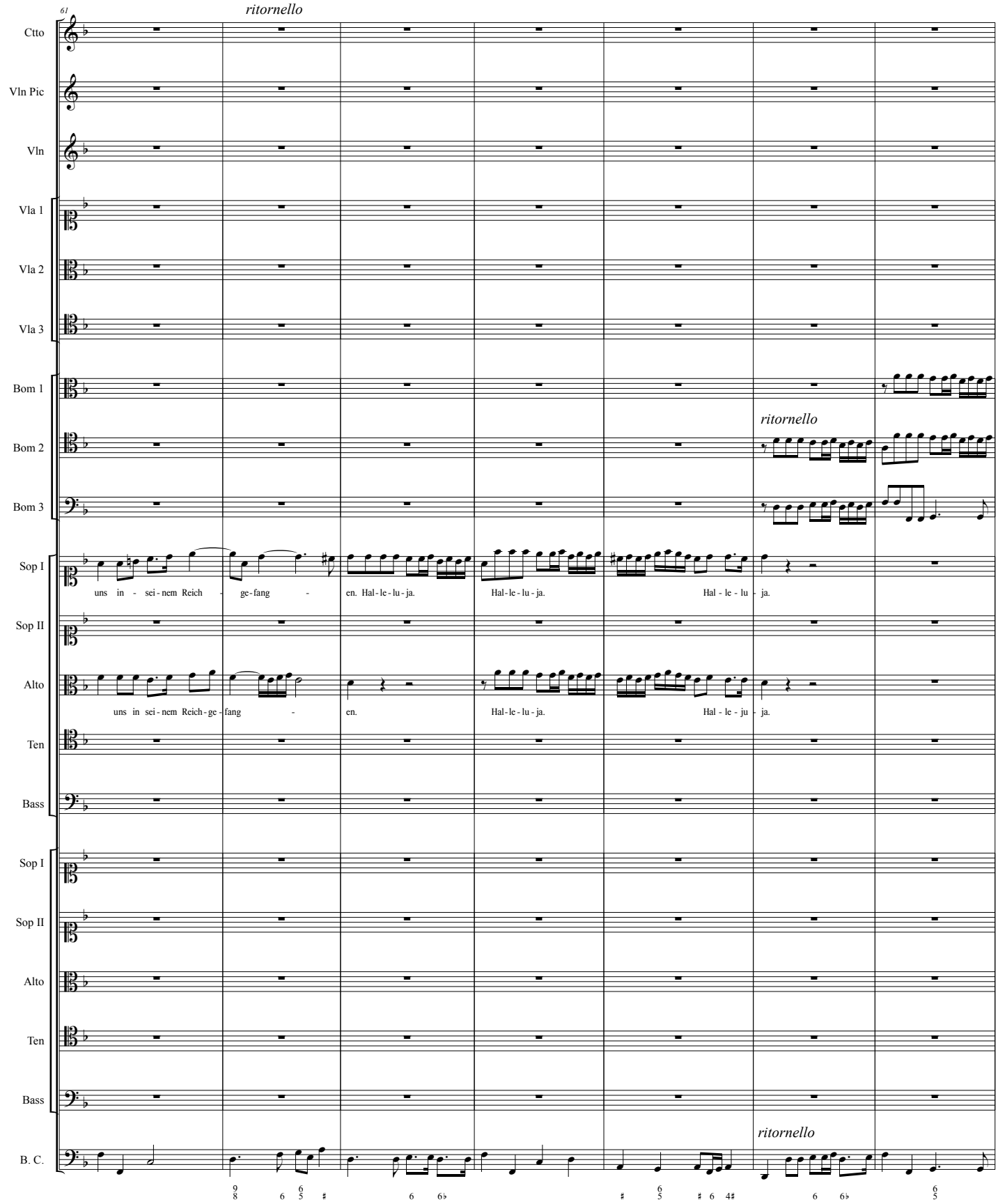

30
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Des wir sol - len fröh - lich sein. Gott lo - ben und - dank - bar sein,
Sop II
Des wir sol - len fröh - lich sein. Gott lo - ben und - dank - bar sein,
Alto
Des wir sol - len, sol - len fröh - lich - fröh - lich
Ten
Sol - len fröh - lich sein, Des wir sol - len fröh - lich - sein. Gott Lo - ben und dank - - - bar sein,
Bass
Des wir Sol - len, Des wir sol - len fröh - lich sein. Gott Lo - ben und in Dank - bar sein, und
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

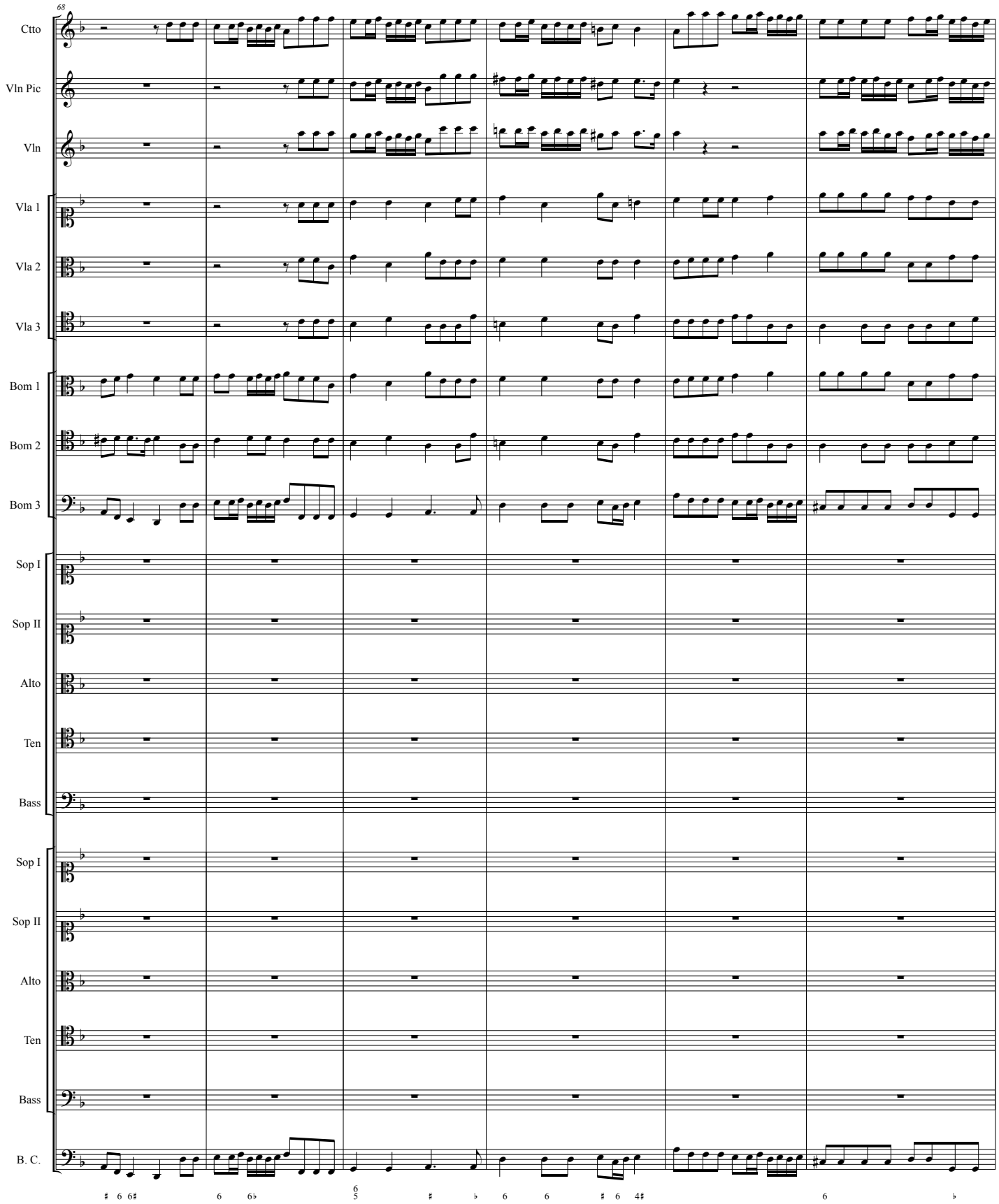

36
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
und sing - en Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - - - ja.
Sop II
und sing - en Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - - - ja.
Alto
und sing - en Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le-lu - ja. Hal - - - le-lu - ja.
Ten
und sing - en, sing - en Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal-le-lu - ja. Hal - - - le-lu - ja.
Bass
sing - en Ha - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - - - - - - le-lu - ja.
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
6
6
6
6
♯
♭
65
43

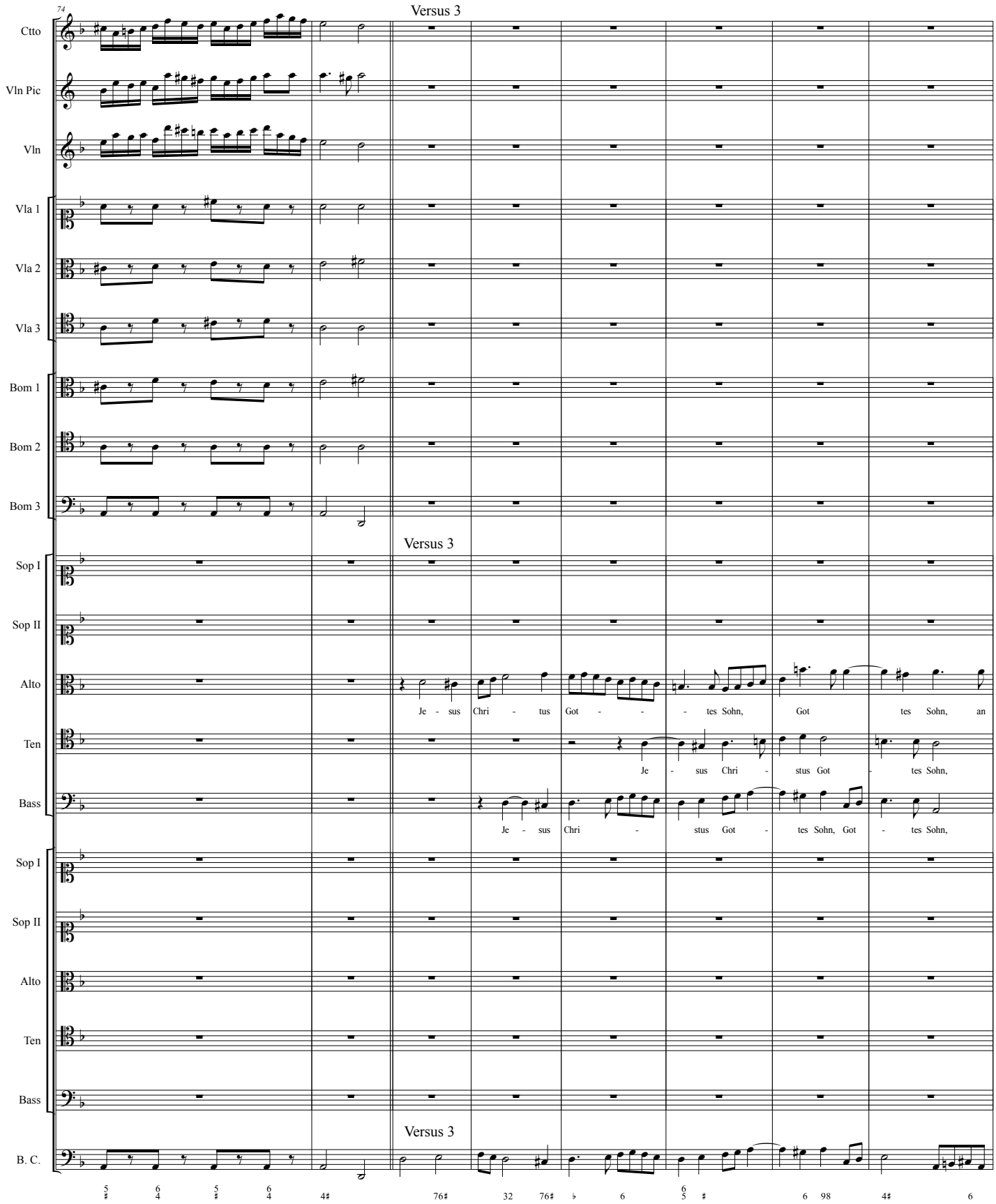

43
Versus 2
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Versus 2
Sop I
Den Tod nie - mand swi - gen kunnt, bei al - len - men - schen-
Sop II
Alto
Den Tod nie - mand swi - gen kunnt, bei al - len - men - schen - kin - dern.
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Versus 2
B. C.

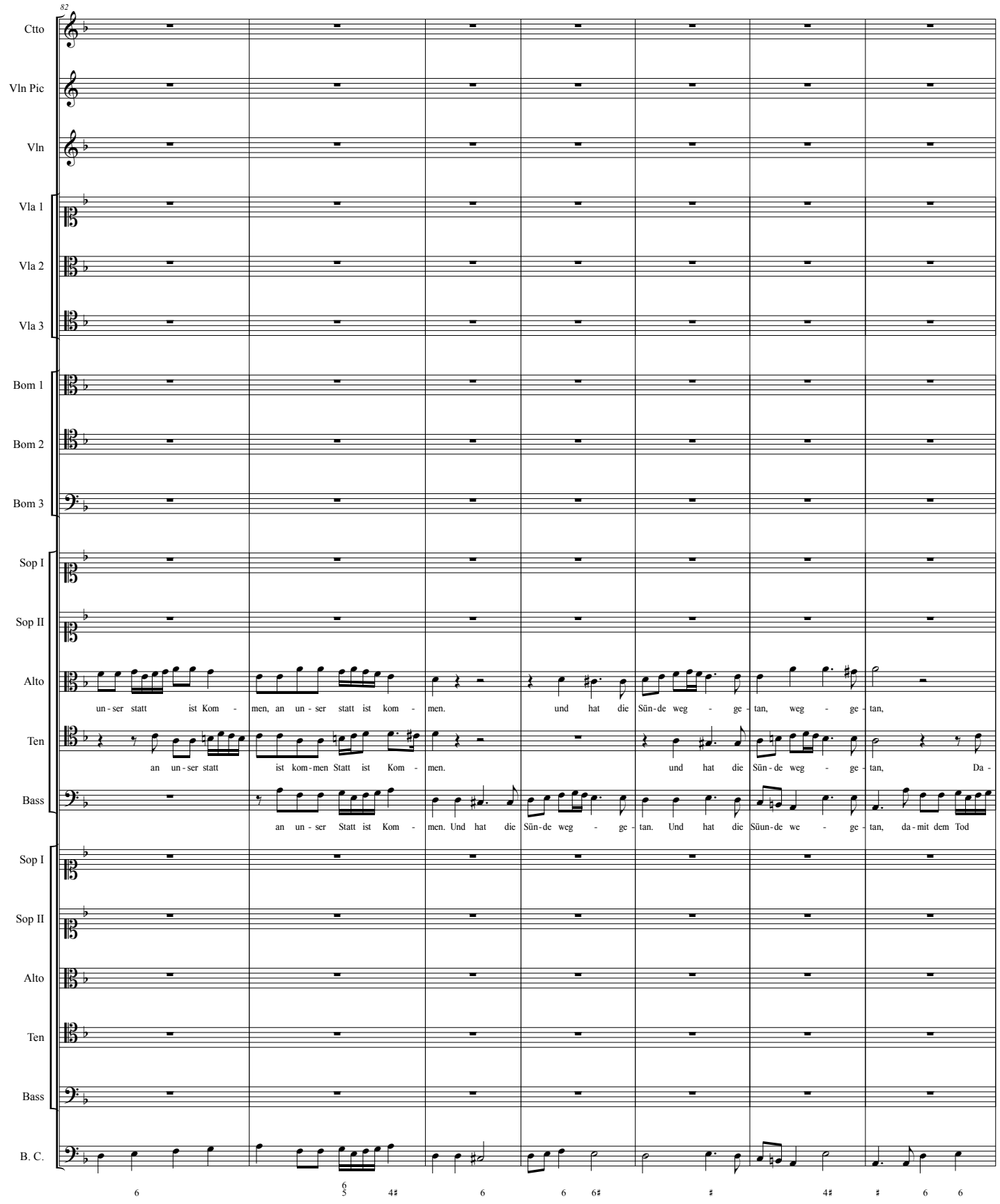

49
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
kind - ern. bei al - len - men - schen - kin - dern. Das macht - al - les uns - re Sünd, Kein Un - schuld war, Kein Un - schuld war so - fin -
Sop II
Alto
bei al - len bei al - len men - schen - kin - dern. Das macht - al - les uns - re Sünd, Kein Un - schuld war so fin -
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

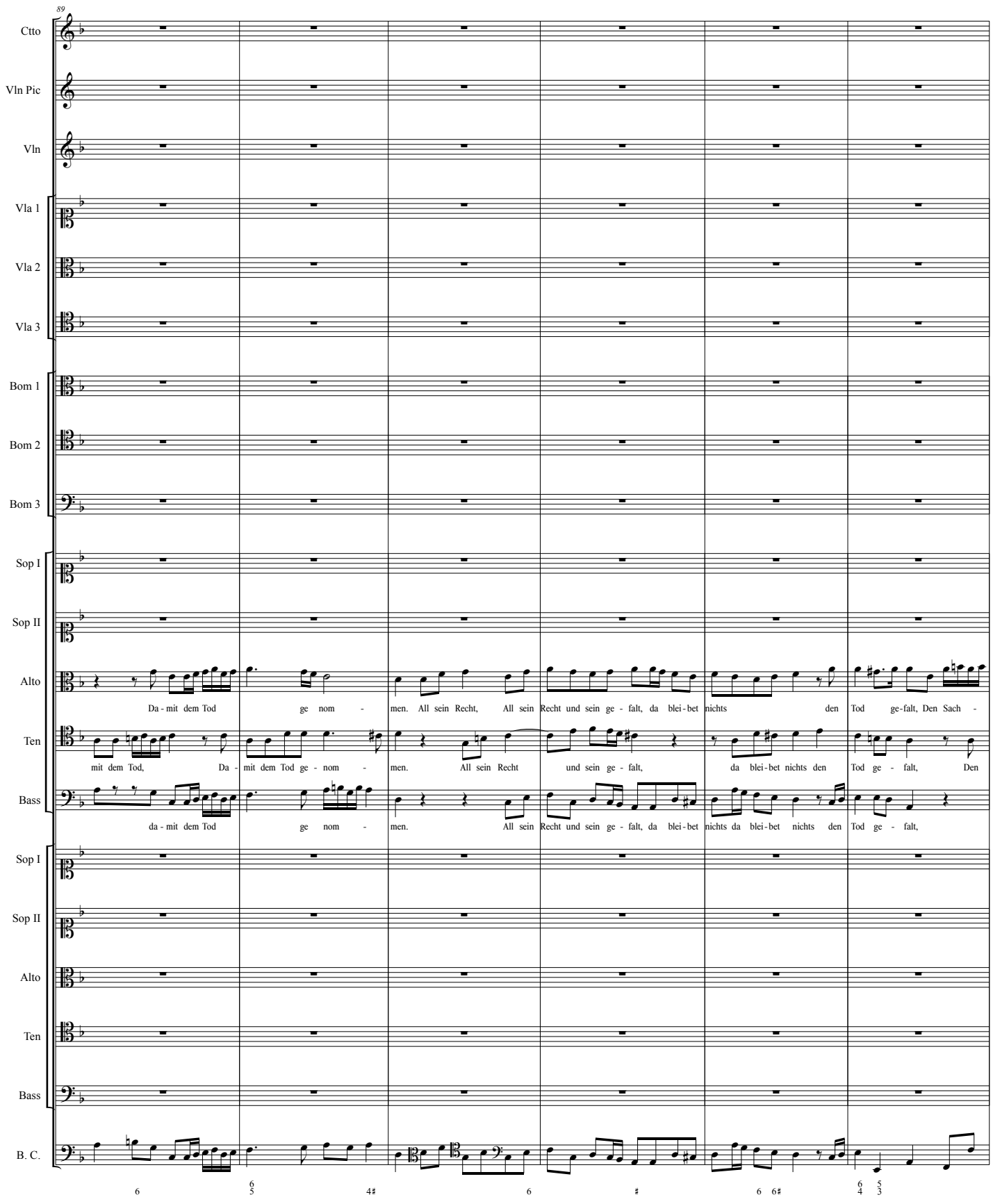

55
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
den.
Da - von komm der Tod so balt
Und nahm - - - ü - ber uns - Ge - walt,
Hielt
Sop II
Alto
den. Da - von komm der Tod so balt
Und nahm
ü - ber uns
Ge - walt,
Hielt
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

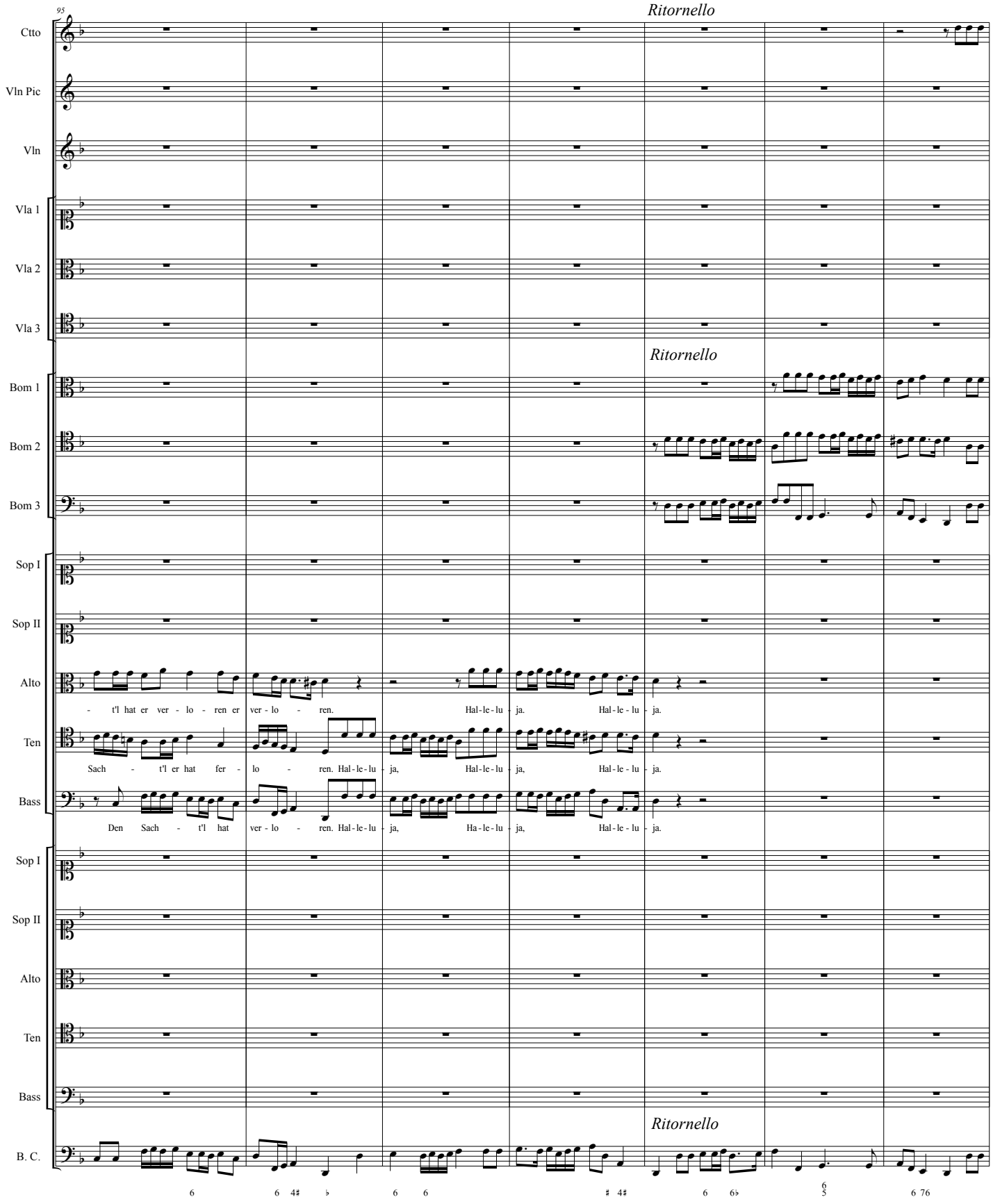

61
ritornello
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
ritornello
Sop I
uns in - sei - nem Reich - ge - fang - en. Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sop II
Alto
uns in sei - nem Reich - ge - fang - en.
Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - ju - ja.
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
ritornello
B. C.

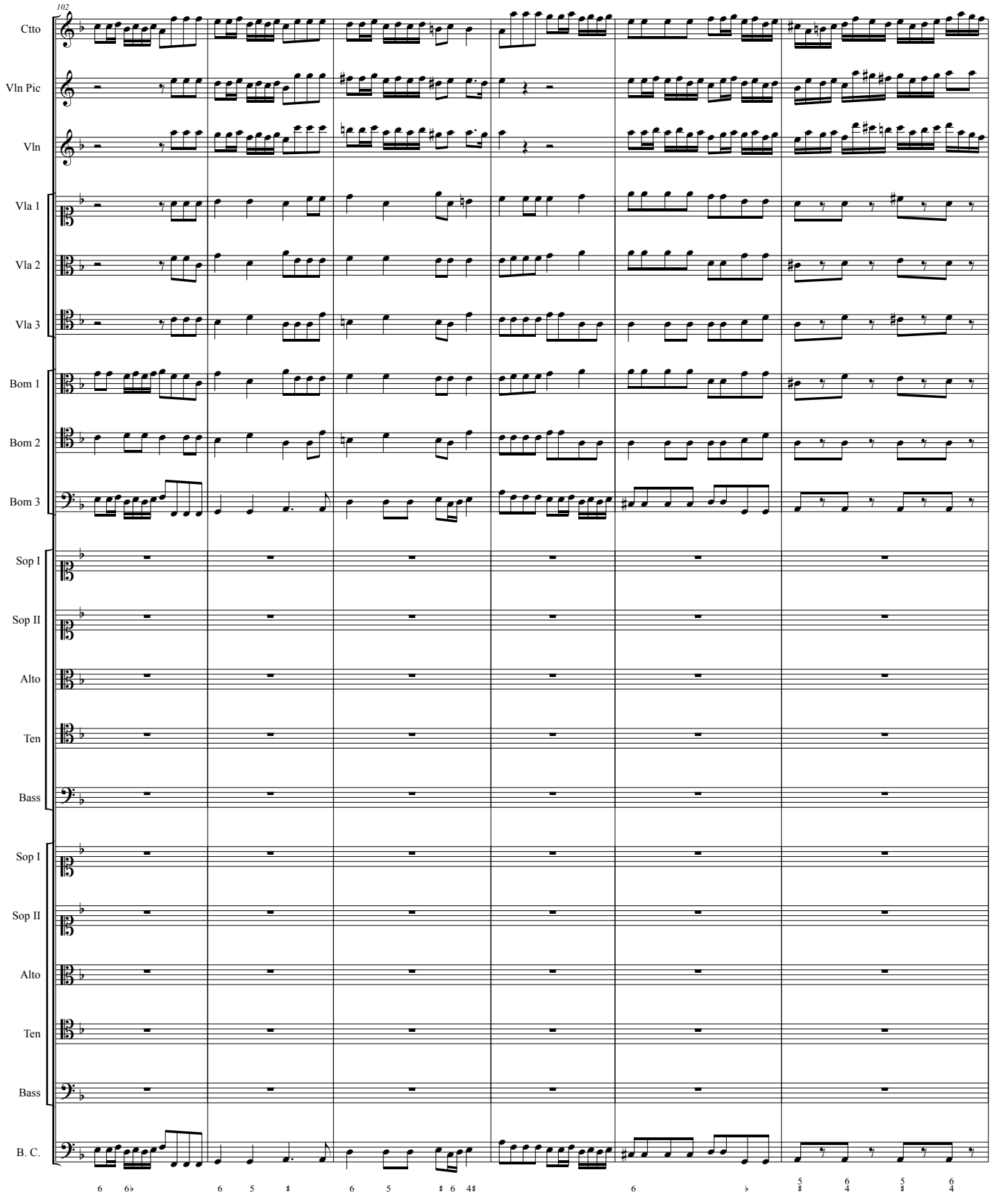

68
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

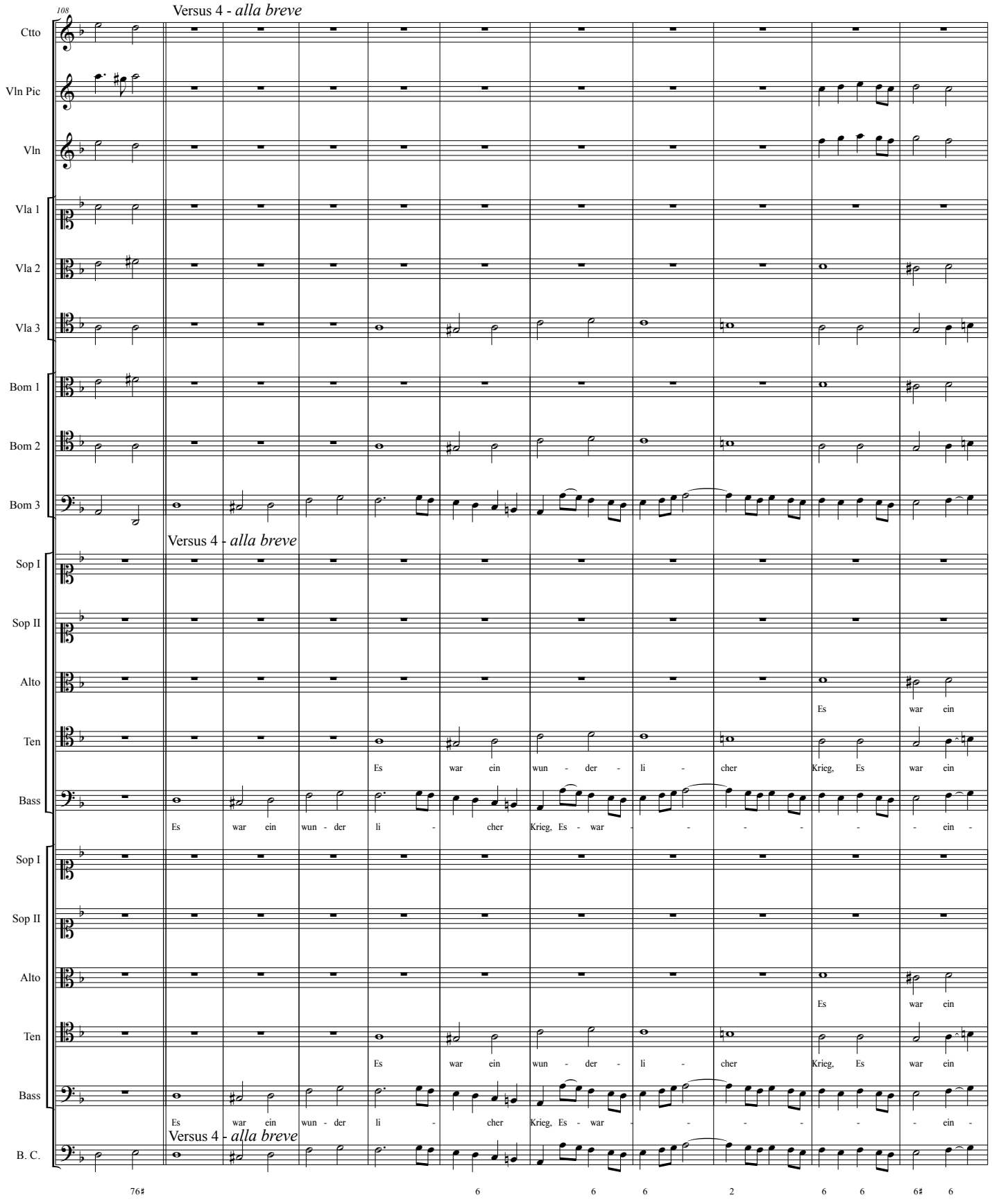

74
Versus 3
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Versus 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Je - sus Chri - tus Got - - - tes Sohn, Got tes Sohn, an
Je - sus Chri - stus Got - tes Sohn,
Je - sus Chri - stus Got - tes Sohn, Got - tes Sohn,
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Versus 3
B. C.

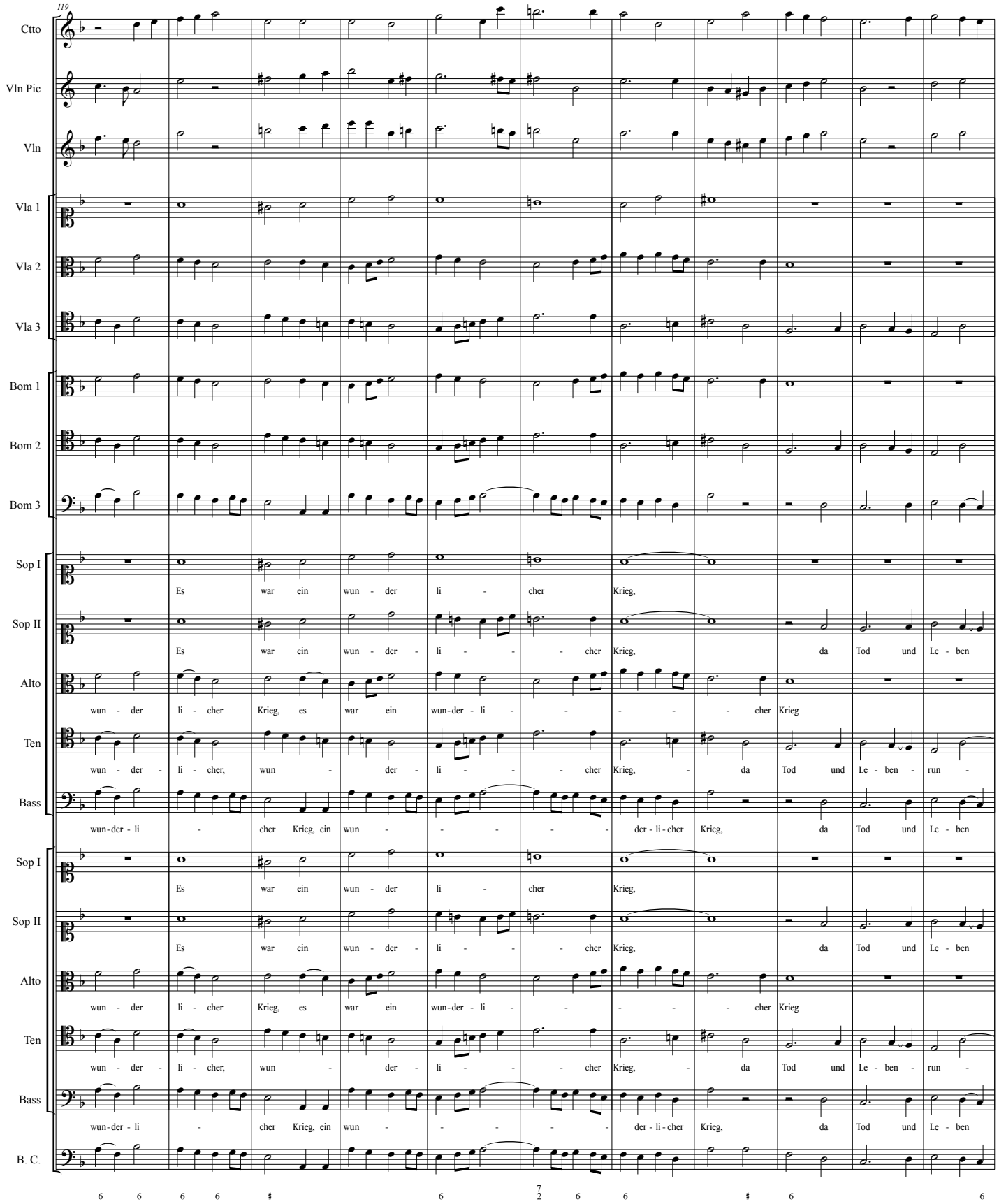

82
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
un - ser statt ist Kom - men, an un - ser statt ist kom - men. und hat die Sün - de weg - ge - tan, weg - ge - tan,
an un - ser statt ist kom - men Statt ist Kom - men. und hat die Sün - de weg - ge - tan, Da -
an un - ser Statt ist Kom - men. Und hat die Sün - de weg - ge - tan. Und hat die Süun - de we - ge - tan, da - mit dem Tod

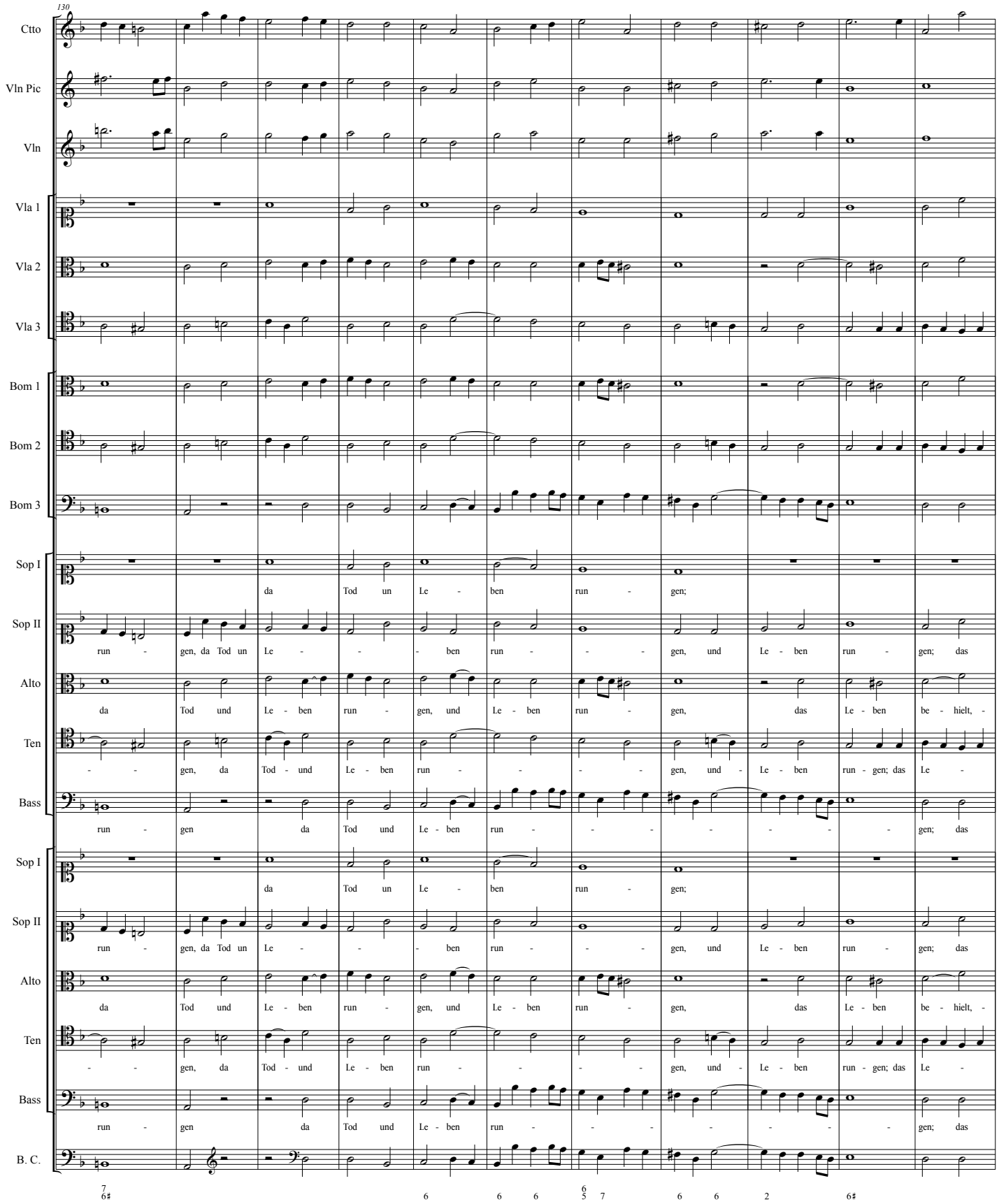

89
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Da - mit dem Tod ge nom - men. All sein Recht, All sein Recht und sein ge - falt, da blei - bet nichts den Tod ge-falt, Den Sach -
mit dem Tod, Da - mit dem Tod ge - nom - men. All sein Recht und sein ge - falt, da blei - bet nichts den Tod ge - falt, Den
da - mit dem Tod ge nom - men. All sein Recht und sein ge - falt, da blei - bet nichts da blei - bet nichts den Tod ge - falt,

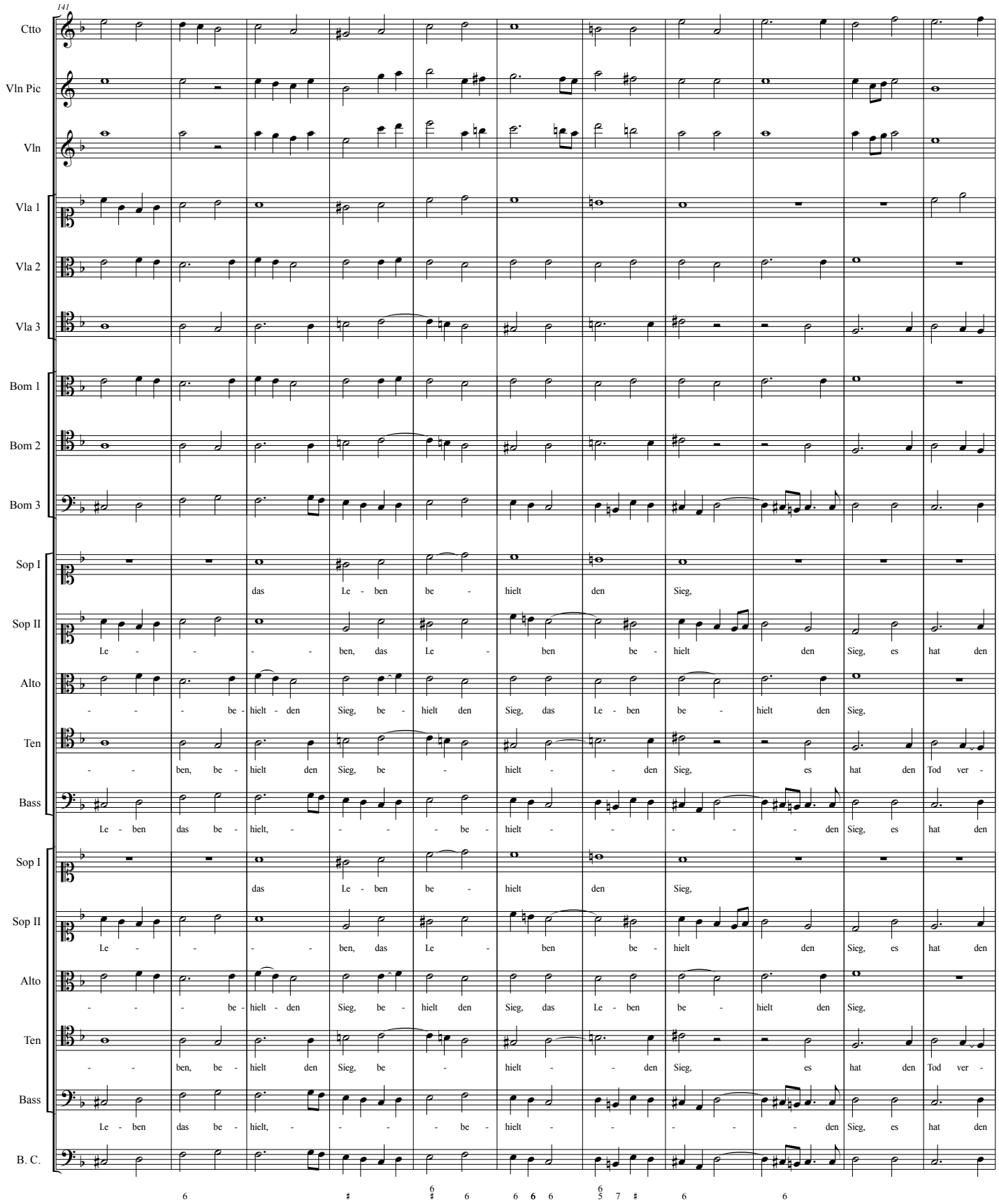

95
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Ritornello
Ritornello
Ritornello
- t'l hat er ver - lo - ren er ver - lo - ren. Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sach - t'l er hat fer - lo - ren. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Den Sach - t'l hat ver - lo - ren. Hal - le - lu - ja, Ha - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.

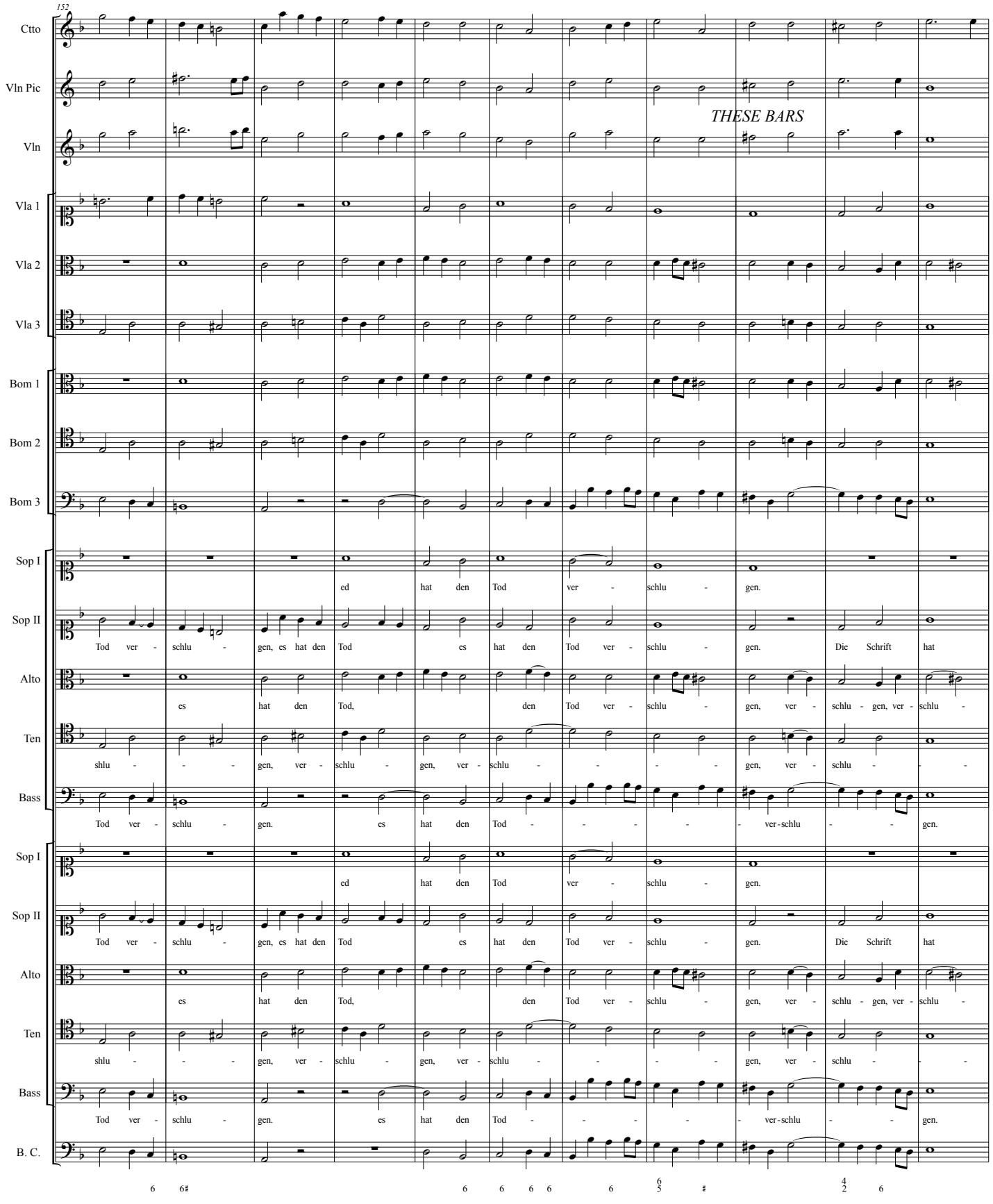

102
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

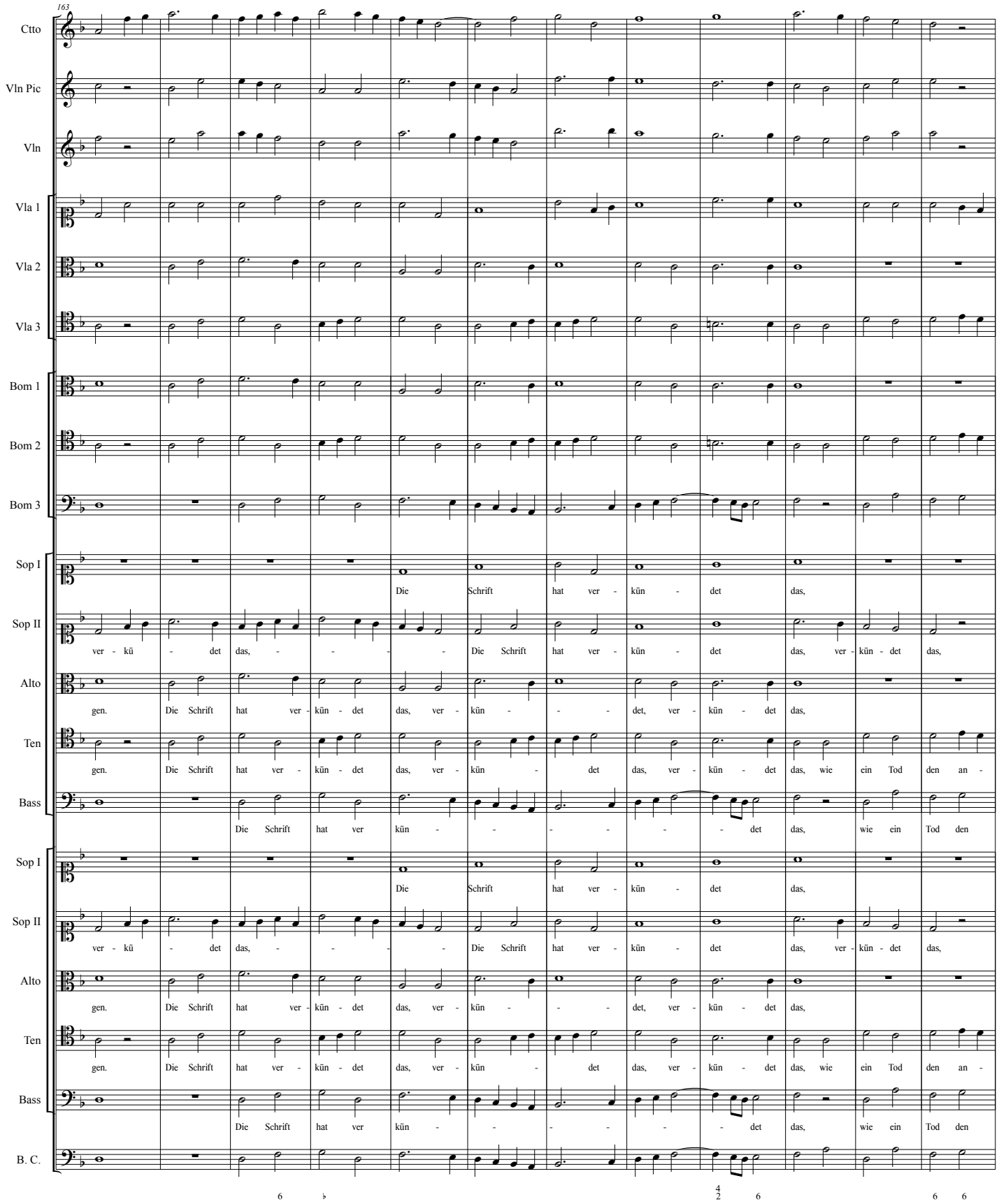

108
Versus 4 - alla breve
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Versus 4 - alla breve
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Es war ein wun - der li - cher Krieg, Es war ein
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Es war ein wun - der li - cher Krieg, Es war ein
Versus 4 - alla breve
B. C.
76♯ 6 6 6 2 6 6 6♯ 6

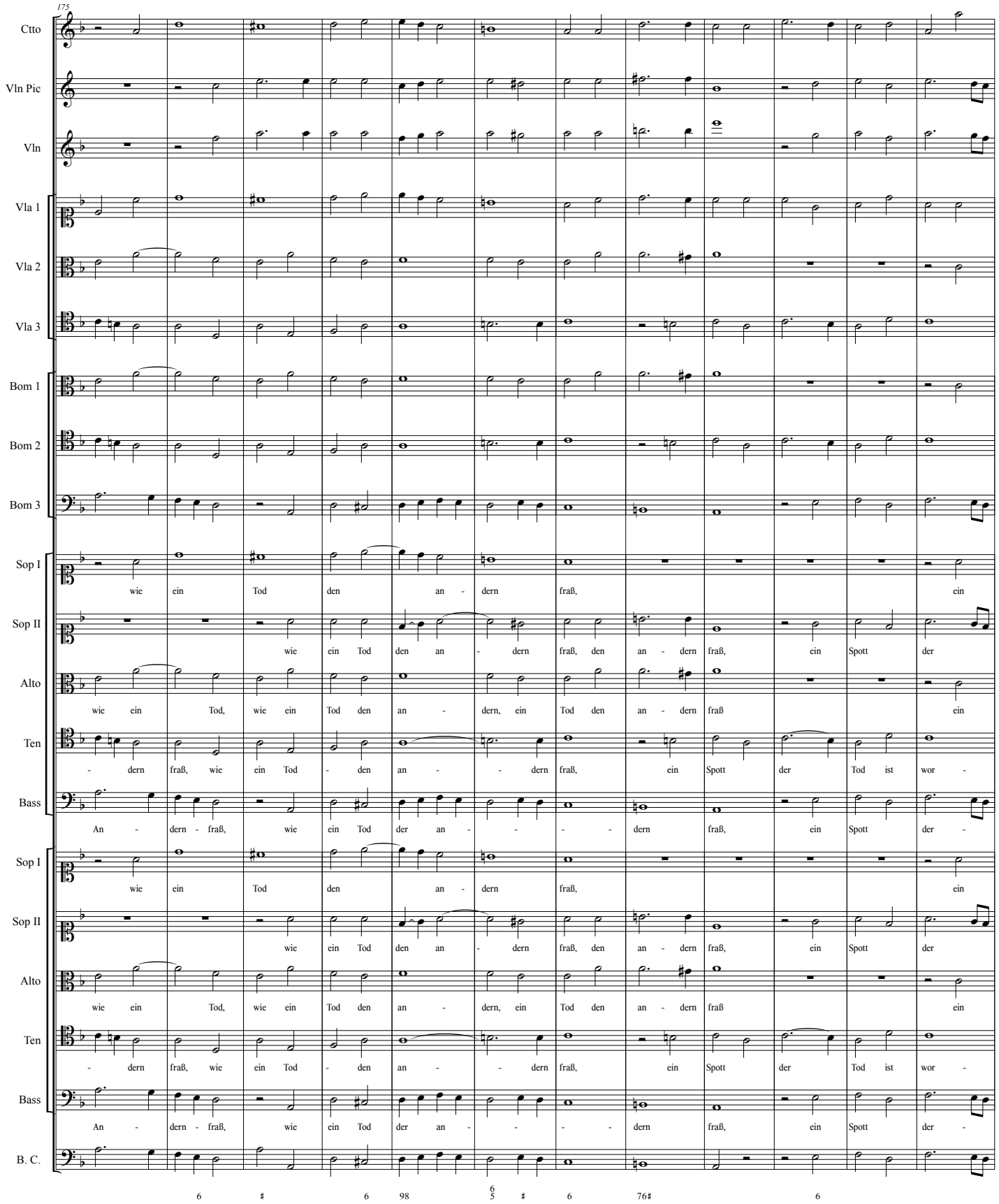

119
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Es war ein wun - der li - cher Krieg,
Sop II
Es war ein wun - der - li - - - cher Krieg, da Tod und Le - ben
Alto
wun - der li - cher Krieg, es war ein wun-der - li - - - - - cher Krieg
Ten
wun - der - li - cher, wun - der - li - - - cher Krieg, - da Tod und Le - ben - run -
Bass
wun-der - li - cher Krieg, ein wun - - - - - der - li - cher Krieg, da Tod und Le - ben
Sop I
Es war ein wun - der li - cher Krieg,
Sop II
Es war ein wun - der - li - - - cher Krieg, da Tod und Le - ben
Alto
wun - der li - cher Krieg, es war ein wun-der - li - - - - - cher Krieg
Ten
wun - der - li - cher, wun - der - li - - - cher Krieg, - da Tod und Le - ben - run -
Bass
wun-der - li - cher Krieg, ein wun - - - - - der - li - cher Krieg, da Tod und Le - ben
B. C.
6 6 6 6 ♯ 6 7/2 6 6 ♯ 6 6

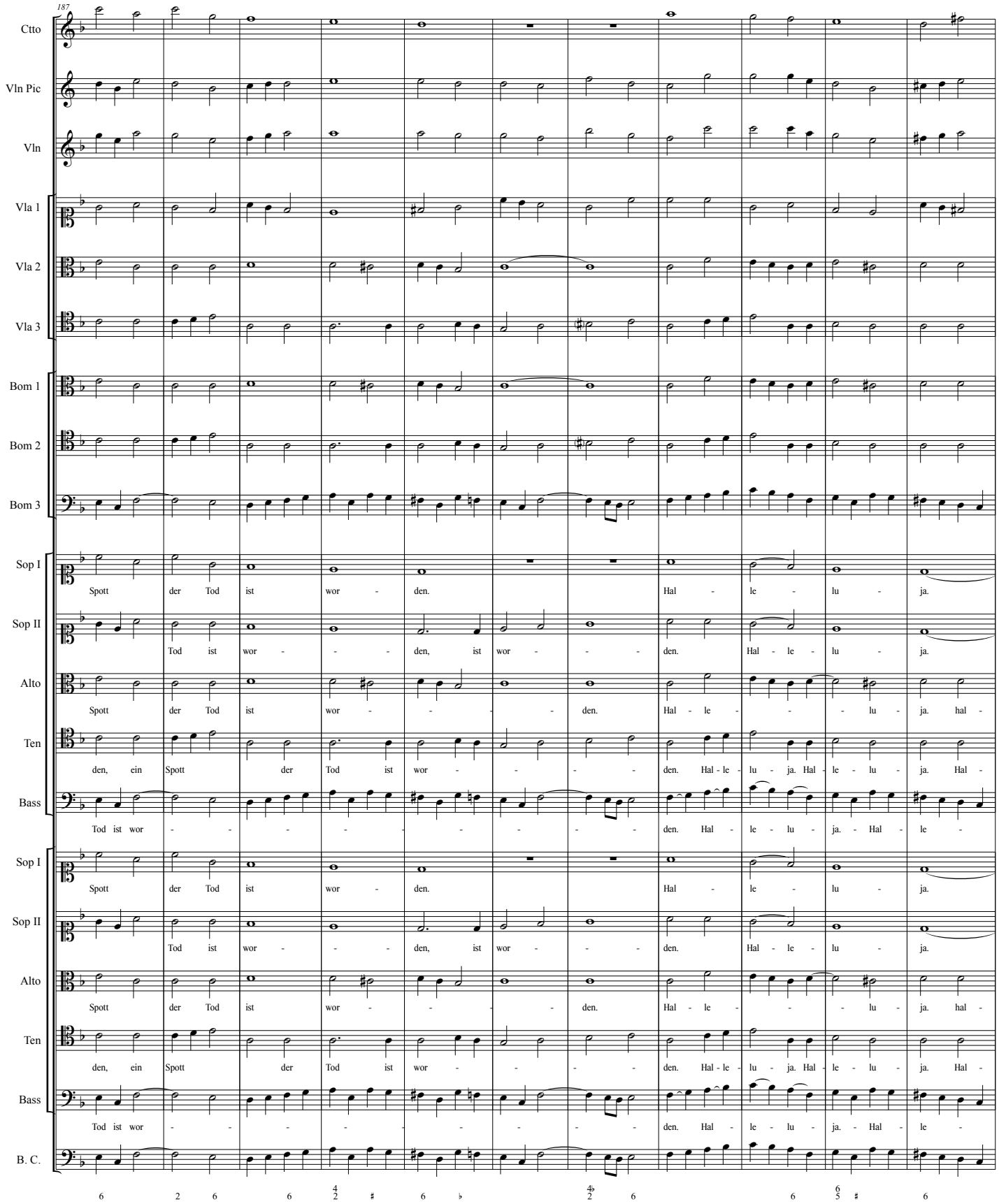

130
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
da Tod un Le - ben run - gen;
run - gen, da Tod un Le - - - ben run - - - gen, und Le - ben run - gen; das
da Tod und Le - ben run - gen, und Le - ben run - gen, das Le - ben be - hielt, -
- - gen, da Tod - und Le - ben run - - - - gen, und - Le - ben run - gen; das Le -
run - gen da Tod und Le - ben run - - - - - - gen; das
da Tod un Le - ben run - gen;
run - gen, da Tod un Le - - - ben run - - - gen, und Le - ben run - gen; das
da Tod und Le - ben run - gen, und Le - ben run - gen, das Le - ben be - hielt, -
- - gen, da Tod - und Le - ben run - - - - gen, und - Le - ben run - gen; das Le -
run - gen da Tod und Le - ben run - - - - - - gen; das

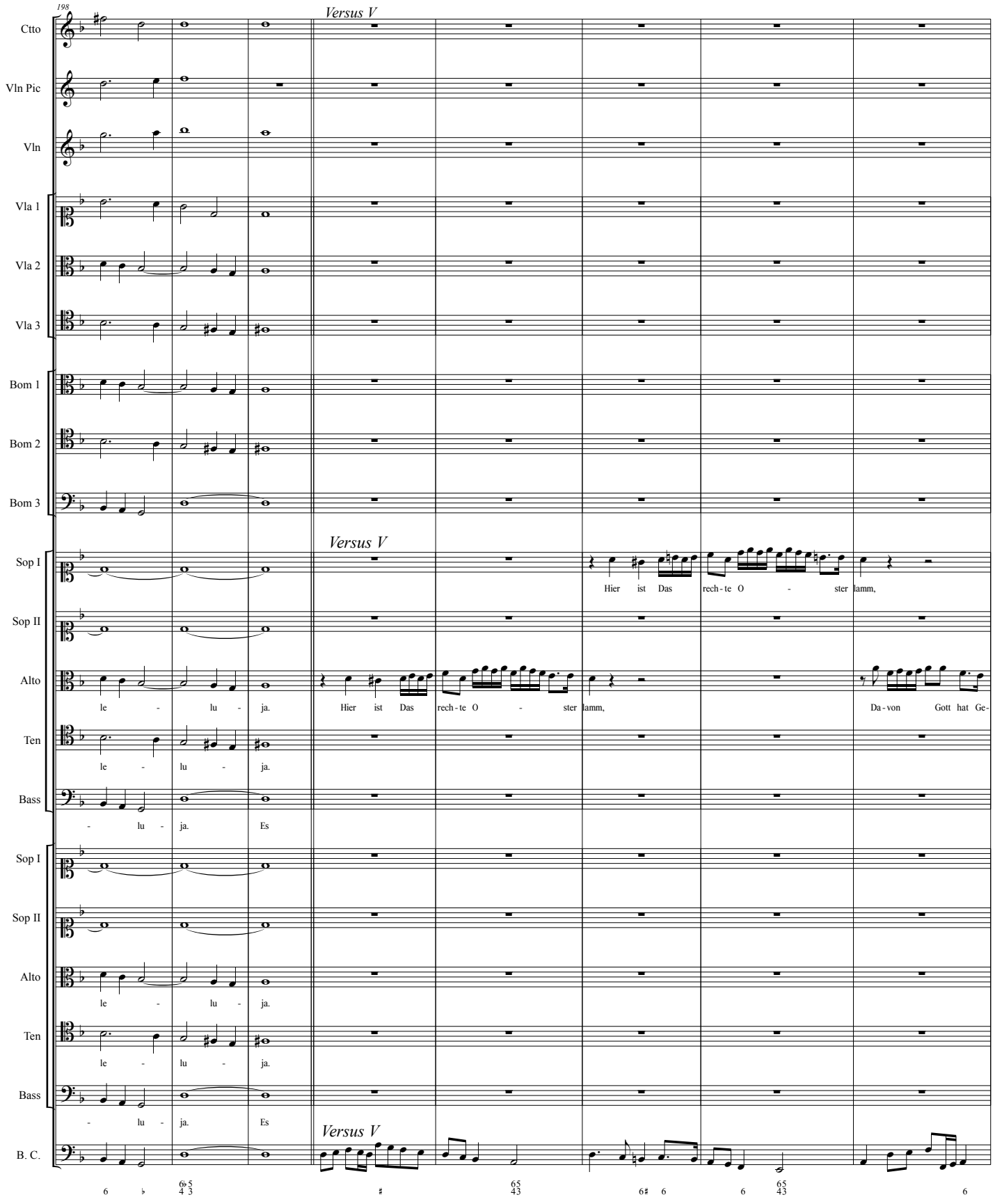

141
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
das Le - ben be - hielt den Sieg,
Le - - - - ben, das Le - ben be - hielt den Sieg, es hat den
- - - be - hielt - den Sieg, be - hielt den Sieg, das Le - ben be - hielt den Sieg,
- - ben, be - hielt den Sieg, be - hielt - - den Sieg, es hat den Tod ver -
Le - ben das be - hielt, - - - - be - hielt - - - - - den Sieg, es hat den

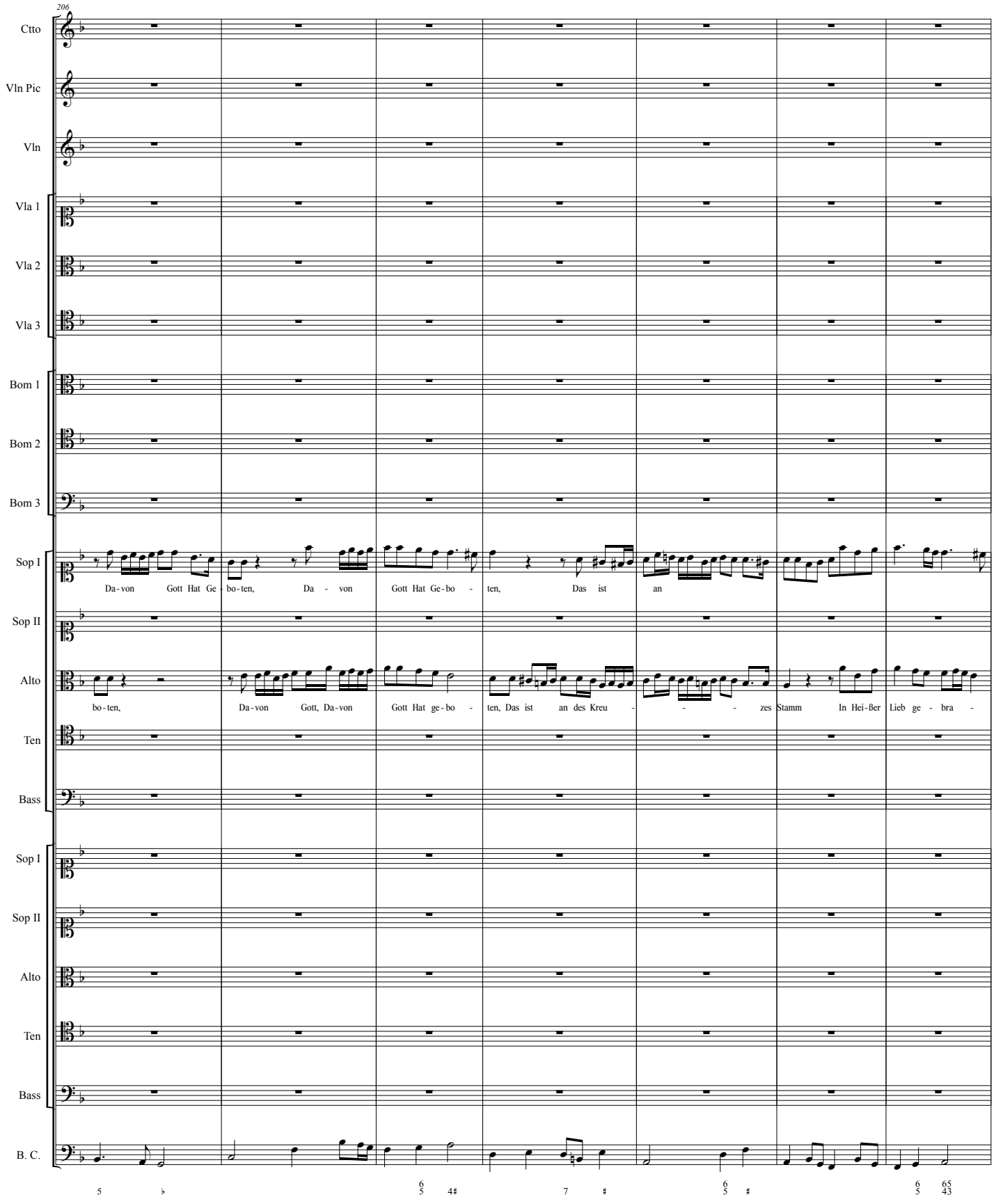

152
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
THESE BARS
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
ed hat den Tod ver - schlu - gen.
Sop II
Tod ver - schlu - gen, es hat den Tod es hat den Tod ver - schlu - gen. Die Schrift hat
Alto
es hat den Tod, den Tod ver - schlu - gen, ver - schlu - gen, ver - schlu -
Ten
shlu - - - gen, ver - schlu - gen, ver - schlu - - - - gen, ver - schlu - - -
Bass
Tod ver - schlu - gen. es hat den Tod - - - - ver-schlu - - gen.
Sop I
ed hat den Tod ver - schlu - gen.
Sop II
Tod ver - schlu - gen, es hat den Tod es hat den Tod ver - schlu - gen. Die Schrift hat
Alto
es hat den Tod, den Tod ver - schlu - gen, ver - schlu - gen, ver - schlu -
Ten
shlu - - - gen, ver - schlu - gen, ver - schlu - - - - gen, ver - schlu - - -
Bass
Tod ver - schlu - gen. es hat den Tod - - - - ver-schlu - - gen.
B. C.
6 6♯ 6 6 6 6 6 6/5 ♯ 4/2 6

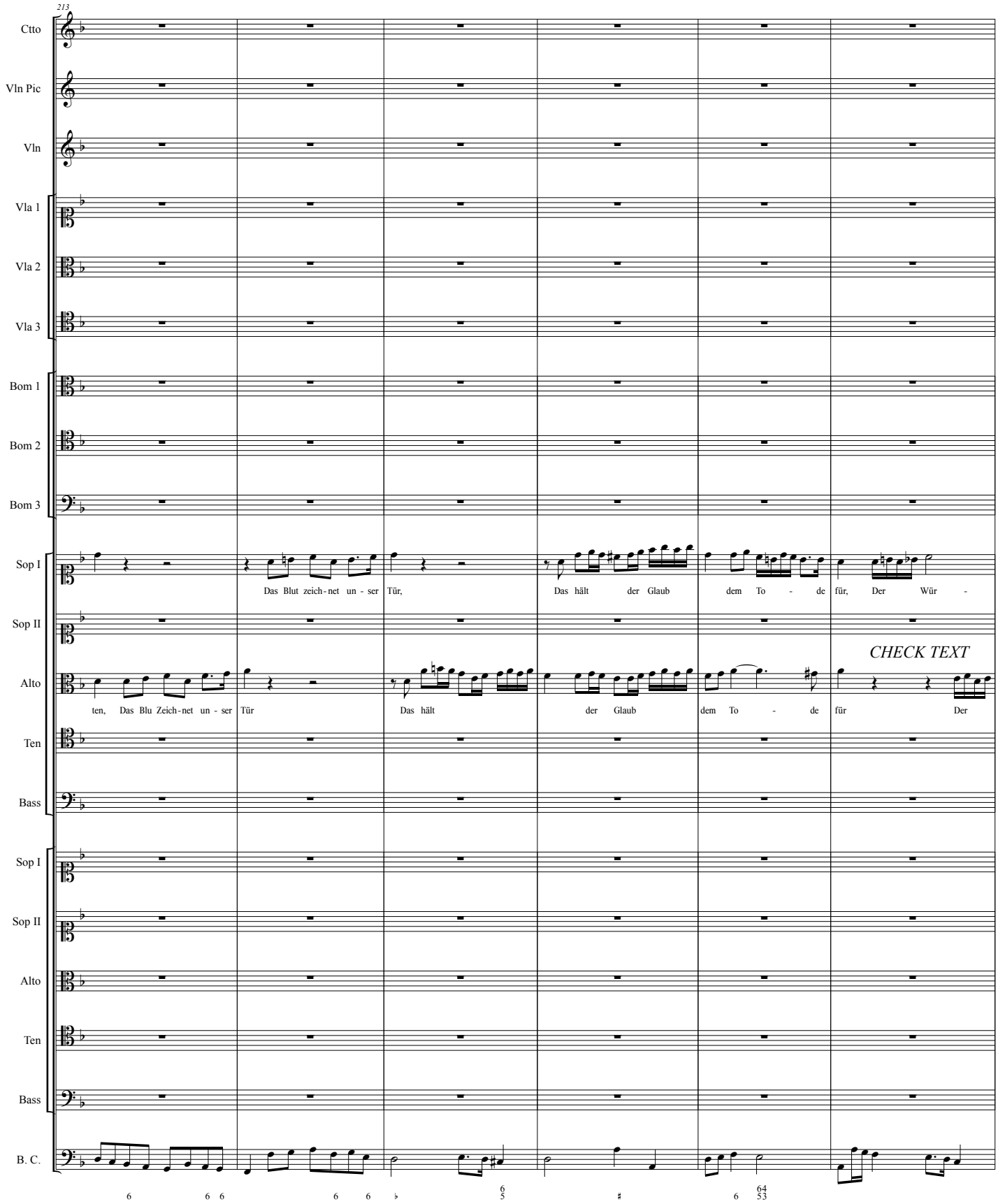

163
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das,
ver - kü - det das, - - - - Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - det das,
gen. Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - - - det, ver - kün - det das,
gen. Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - det das, wie ein Tod den an -
Die Schrift hat ver kün - - - - - - det das, wie ein Tod den
Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das,
ver - kü - det das, - - - - Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - det das,
gen. Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - - - det, ver - kün - det das,
gen. Die Schrift hat ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - det das, ver - kün - det das, wie ein Tod den an -
Die Schrift hat ver kün - - - - - - det das, wie ein Tod den
6 ♭ 4/2 6 6 6

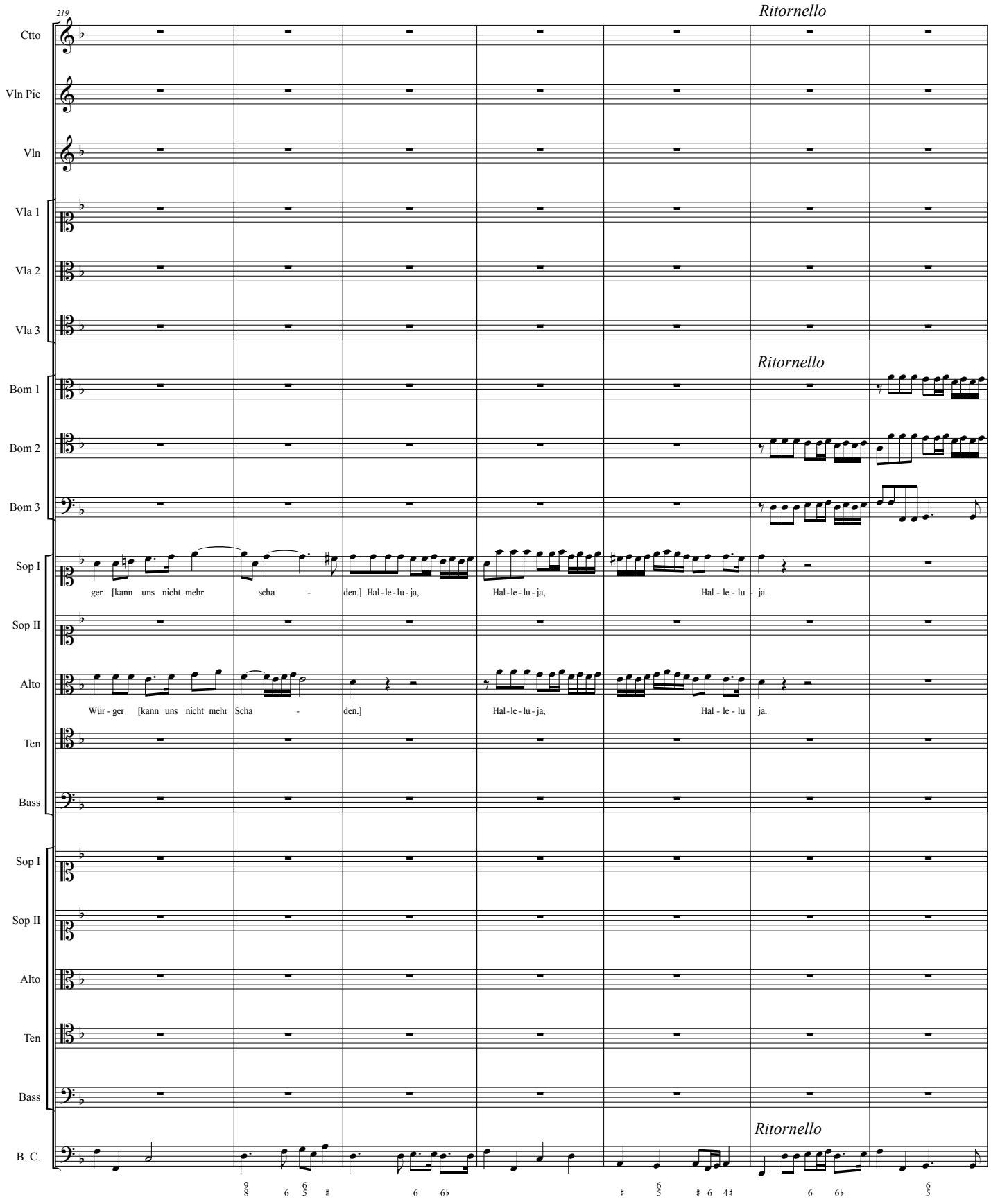

175
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
wie ein Tod den an - dern fraß, ein
Sop II
wie ein Tod den an - dern fraß, den an - dern fraß, ein Spott der
Alto
wie ein Tod, wie ein Tod den an - dern, ein Tod den an - dern fraß ein
Ten
- dern fraß, wie ein Tod - den an - - dern fraß, ein Spott der Tod ist wor -
Bass
An - dern - fraß, wie ein Tod der an - - - - dern fraß, ein Spott der -
Sop I
wie ein Tod den an - dern fraß, ein
Sop II
wie ein Tod den an - dern fraß, den an - dern fraß, ein Spott der
Alto
wie ein Tod, wie ein Tod den an - dern, ein Tod den an - dern fraß ein
Ten
- dern fraß, wie ein Tod - den an - - dern fraß, ein Spott der Tod ist wor -
Bass
An - dern - fraß, wie ein Tod der an - - - - dern fraß, ein Spott der -
B. C.
6 ♯ 6 98 6 5 ♯ 6 76♯ 6

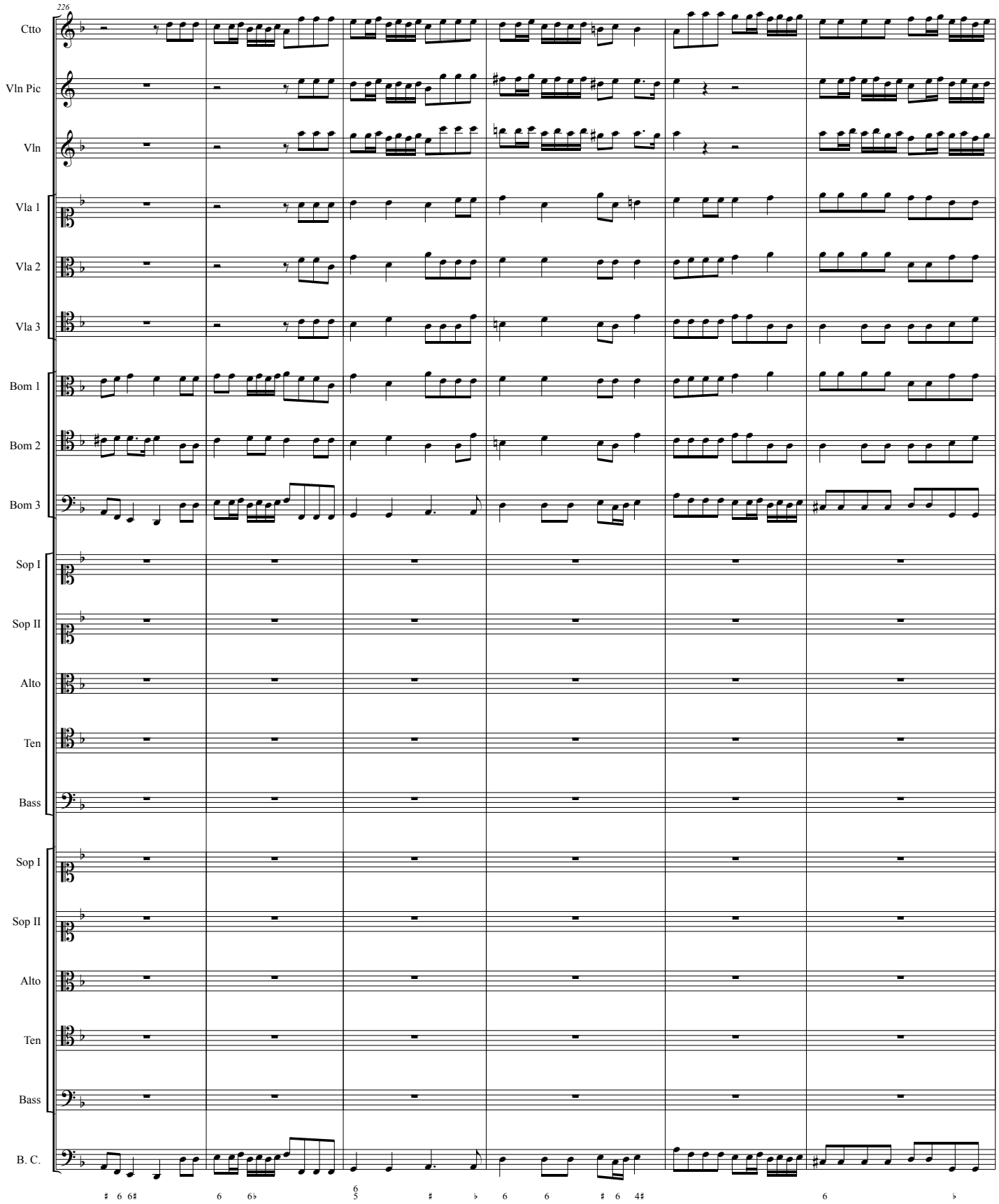

187
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Spott der Tod ist wor - den. Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sop II
Tod ist wor - - - den, ist wor - - - den. Hal - le - lu - ja.
Alto
Spott der Tod ist wor - - - - den. Hal - le - - - lu - ja. hal -
Ten
den, ein Spott der Tod ist wor - - - - den. Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal -
Bass
Tod ist wor - - - - - - - - den. Hal - le - lu - ja. - Hal - le -
Sop I
Spott der Tod ist wor - den. Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sop II
Tod ist wor - - - den, ist wor - - - den. Hal - le - lu - ja.
Alto
Spott der Tod ist wor - - - - den. Hal - le - - - lu - ja. hal -
Ten
den, ein Spott der Tod ist wor - - - - den. Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal -
Bass
Tod ist wor - - - - - - - - den. Hal - le - lu - ja. - Hal - le -
B. C.

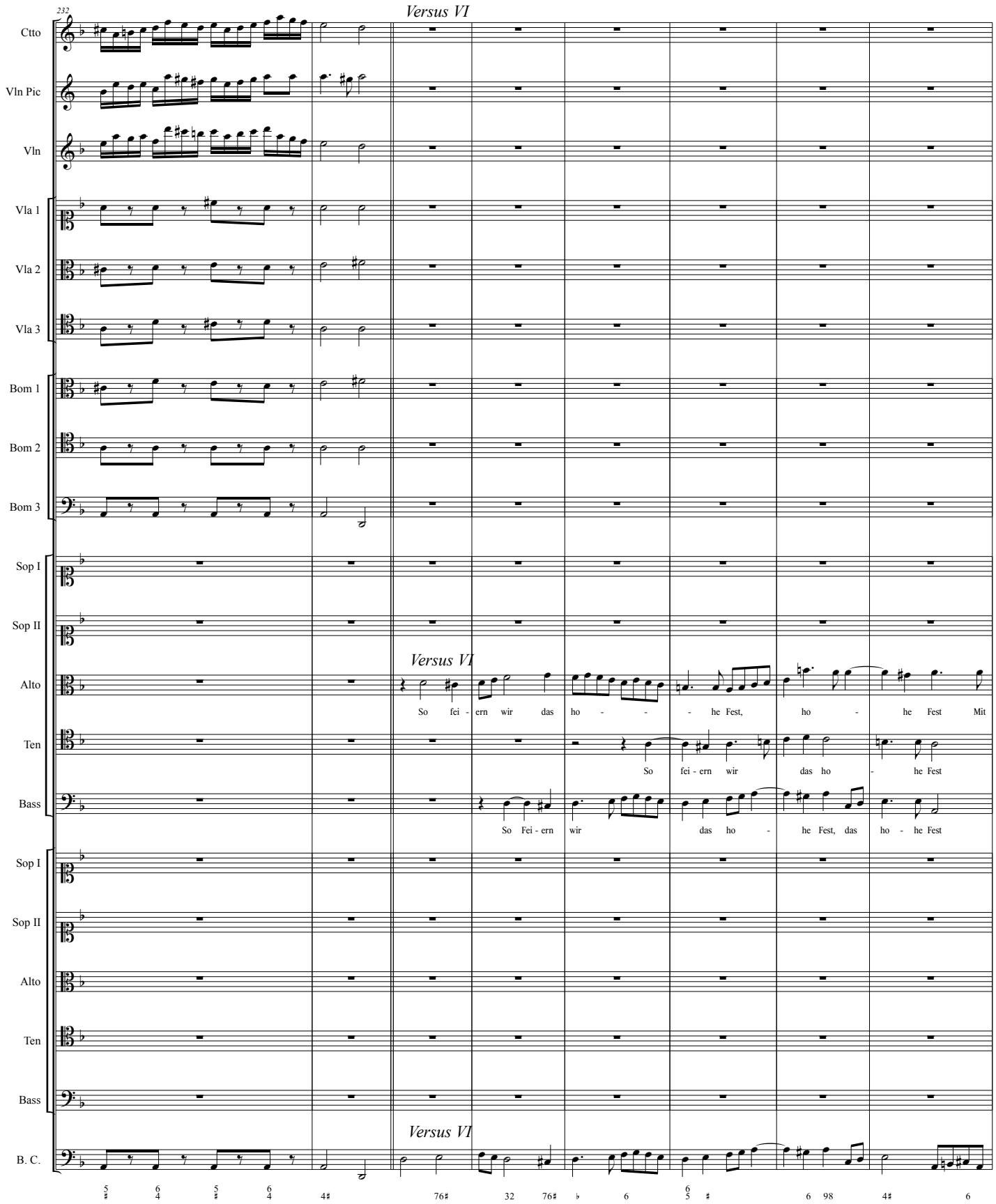

198
Versus V
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Versus V
Sop I
Hier ist Das rech-te O - ster lamm,
Sop II
Alto
le - lu - ja.
Hier ist Das rech-te O - ster lamm,
Da-von Gott hat Ge-
Ten
le - lu - ja.
Bass
- lu - ja. Es
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
le - lu - ja.
Ten
le - lu - ja.
Bass
- lu - ja. Es
Versus V
B. C.

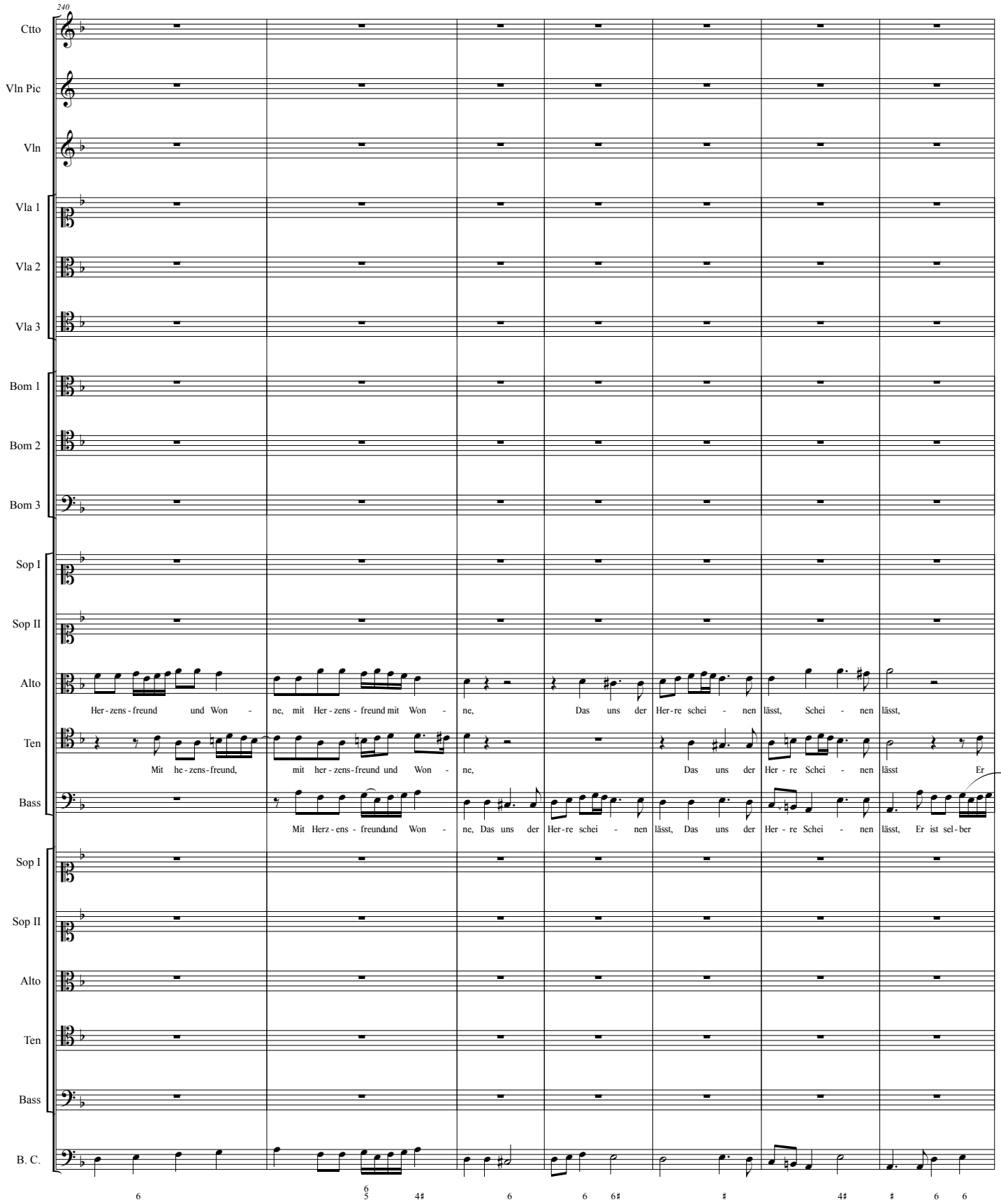

206
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Da-von Gott Hat Ge-bo-ten, Da - von Gott Hat Ge-bo - ten, Das ist an
Sop II
Alto
bo-ten, Da-von Gott, Da-von Gott Hat ge-bo - ten, Das ist an des Kreu - - - zes Stamm In Hei-ßer Lieb ge - bra -
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

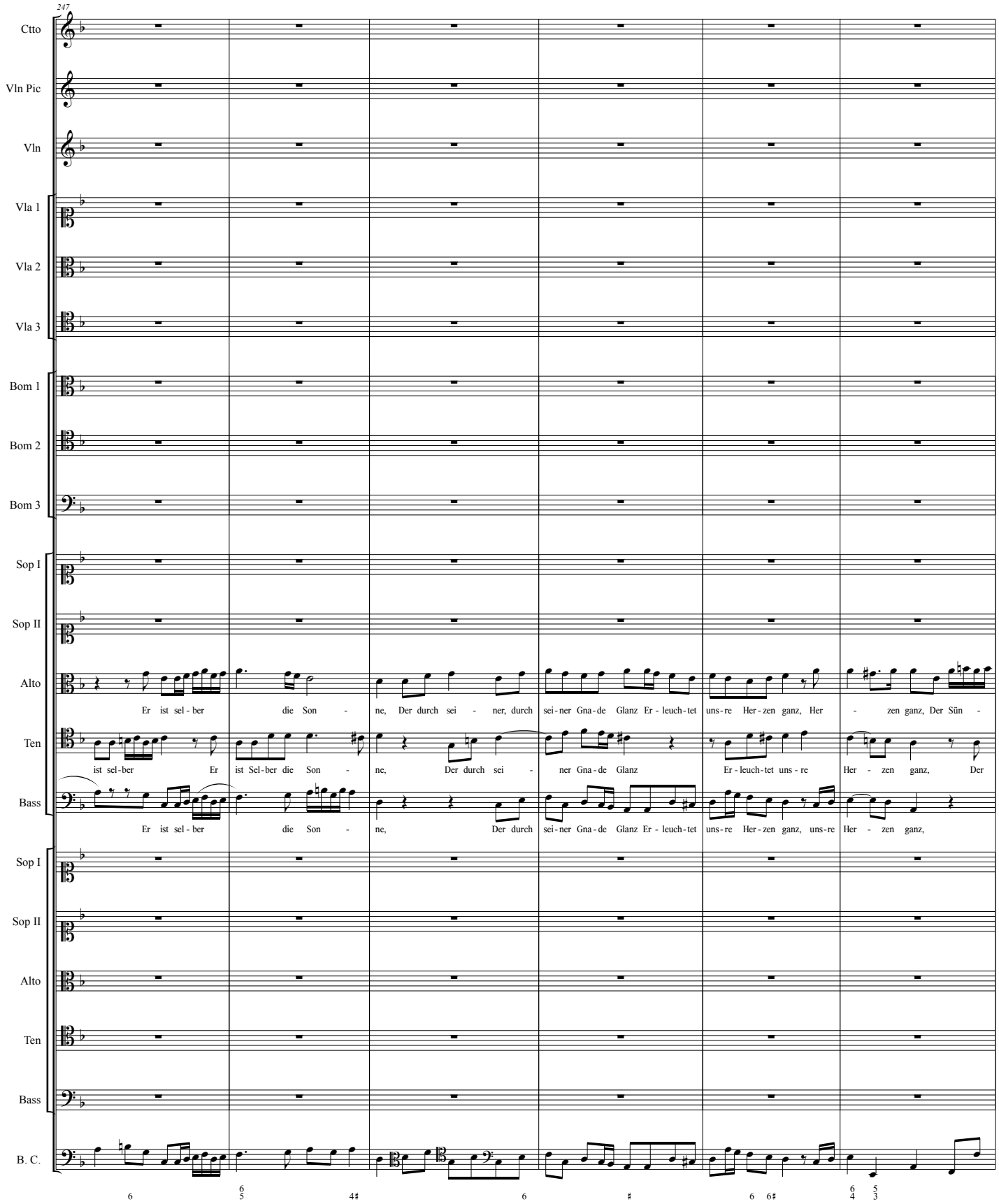

213
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Das Blut zeich - net un - ser Tür,
Das hält der Glaub
dem To - de
für, Der Wür -
Sop II
CHECK TEXT
Alto
ten, Das Blu Zeich - net un - ser Tür
Das hält
der Glaub
dem To - de
für Der
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

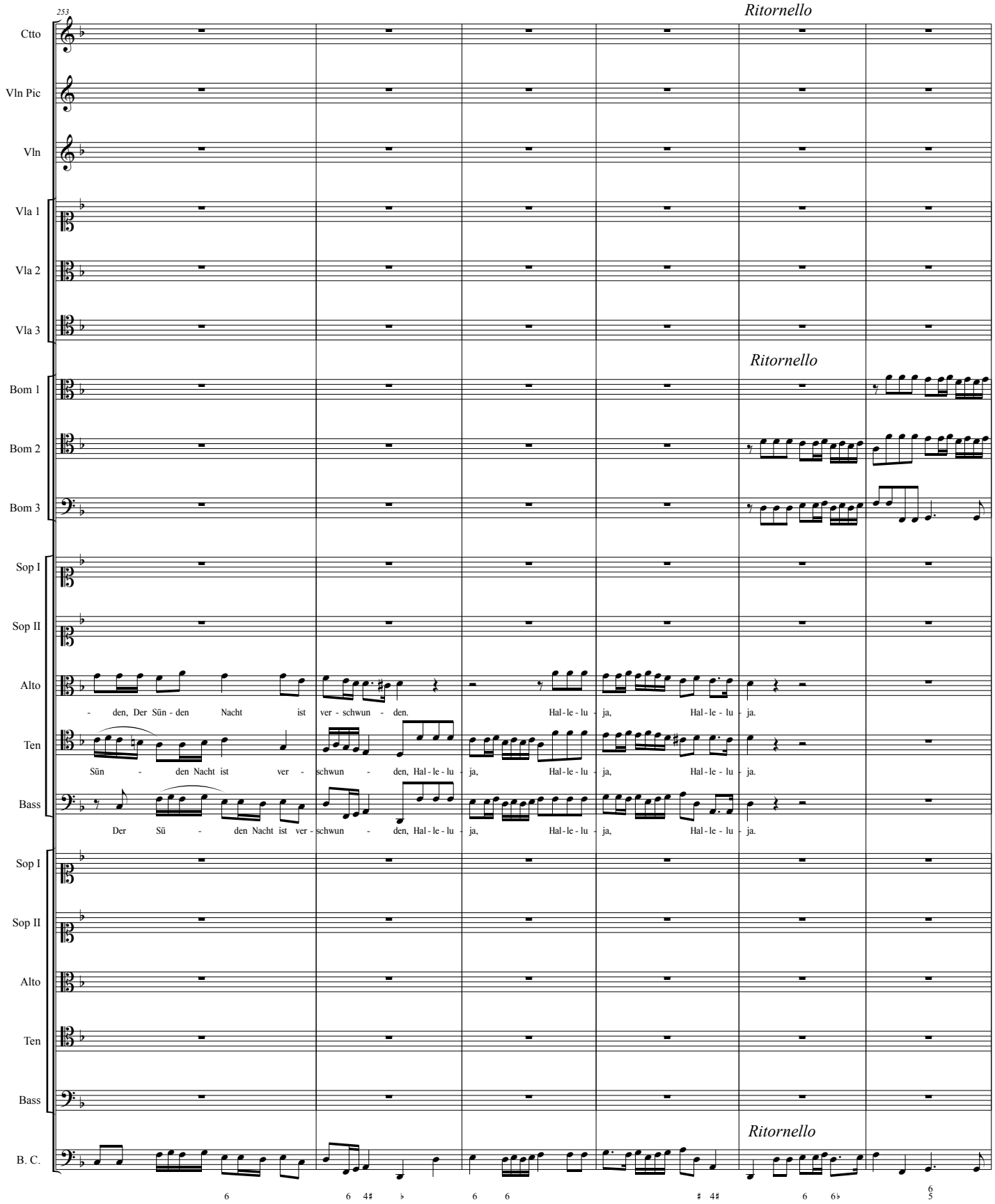

219
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Ritornello
Ritornello
Ritornello
ger [kann uns nicht mehr scha - den.] Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Wür - ger [kann uns nicht mehr Scha - den.] Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu ja.

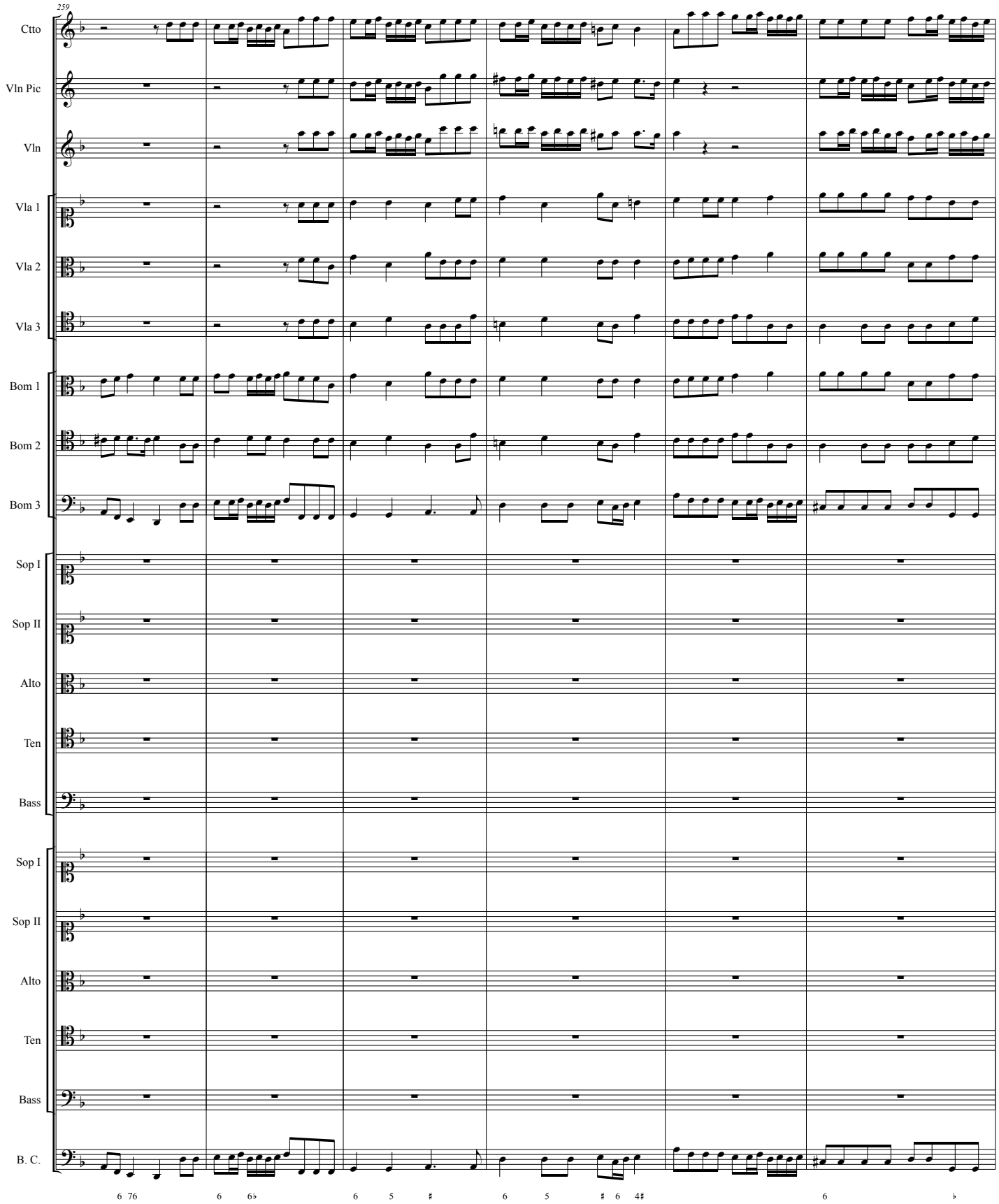

226
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

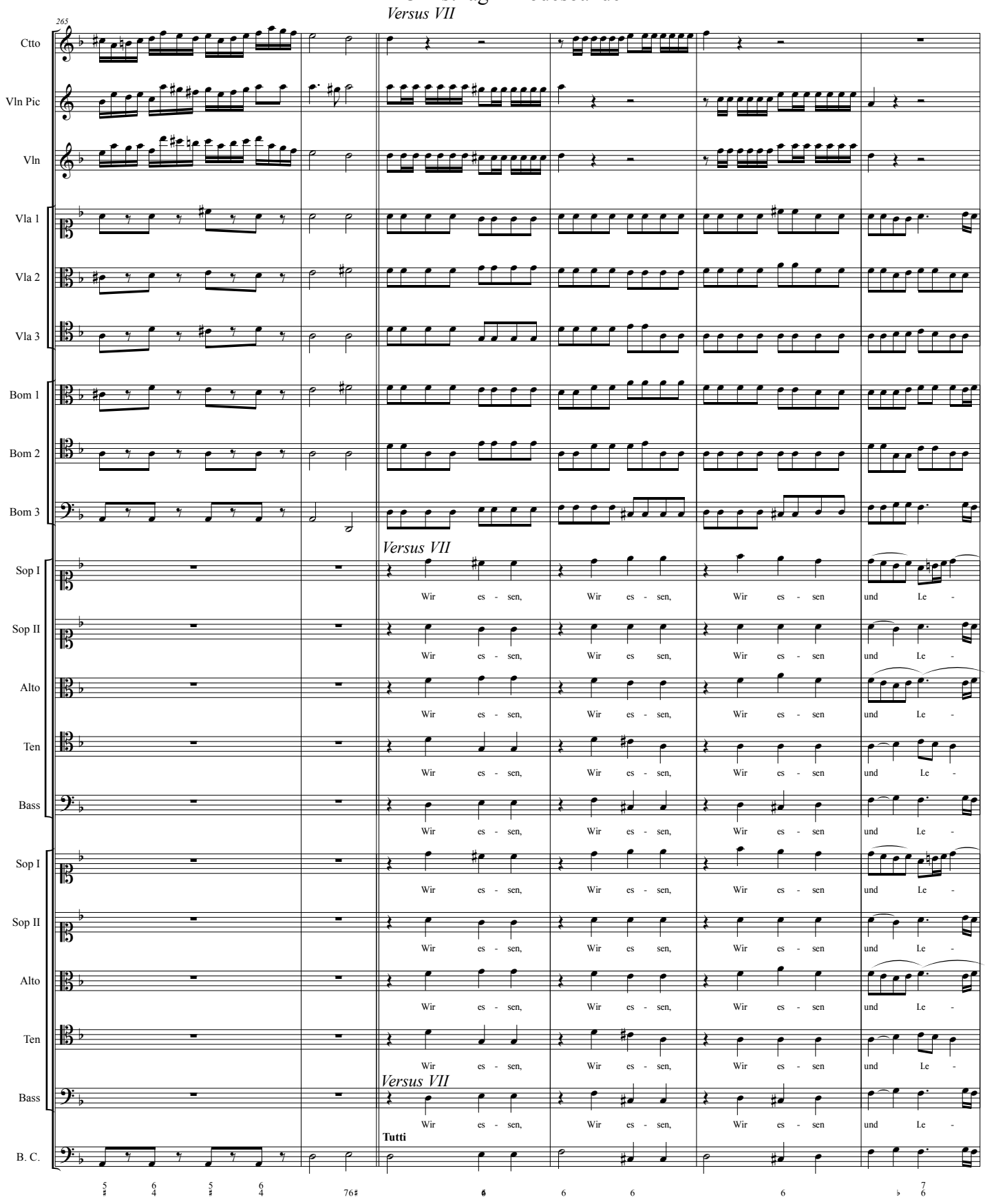

232
Versus VI
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Versus VI
So fei - ern wir das ho - - - he Fest, ho - he Fest Mit
So fei - ern wir das ho - he Fest
So Fei - ern wir das ho - he Fest, das ho - he Fest
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Versus VI
B. C.

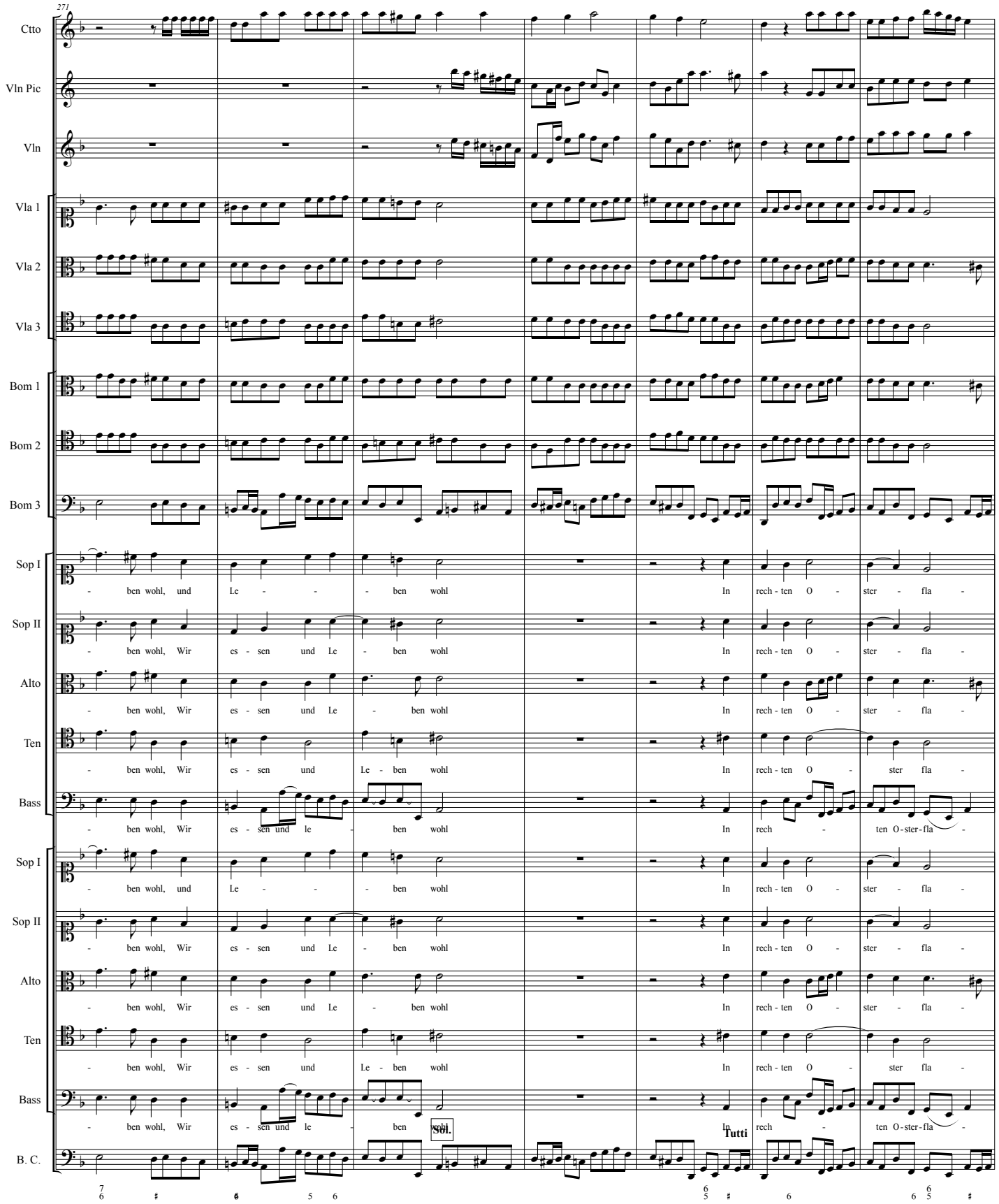

240
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Her - zens - freund und Won - ne, mit Her - zens - freund mit Won - ne, Das uns der Her - re schei - nen lässt, Schei - nen lässt,
Mit he - zens - freund, mit her - zens - freund und Won - ne, Das uns der Her - re Schei - nen lässt Er
Mit Herz - ens - freundund Won - ne, Das uns der Her - re schei - nen lässt, Das uns der Her - re Schei - nen lässt, Er ist sel - ber

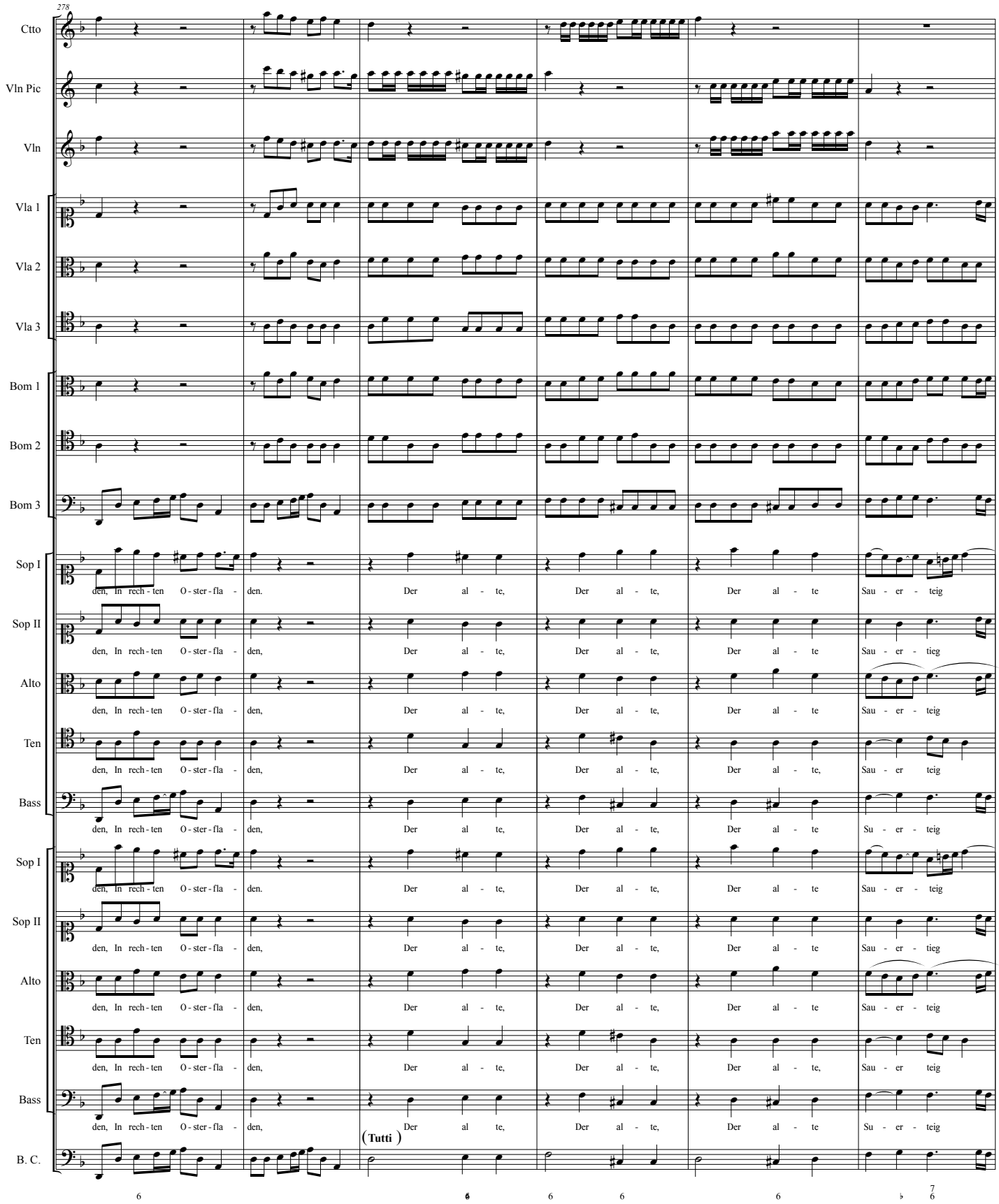

247
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Er ist sel - ber die Son - ne, Der durch sei - ner, durch sei - ner Gna - de Glanz Er - leuch - tet uns - re Her - zen ganz, Her - zen ganz, Der Sün -
ist sel - ber Er ist Sel - ber die Son - ne, Der durch sei - ner Gna - de Glanz Er - leuch - tet uns - re Her - zen ganz, Der
Er ist sel - ber die Son - ne, Der durch sei - ner Gna - de Glanz Er - leuch - tet uns - re Her - zen ganz, uns - re Her - zen ganz,

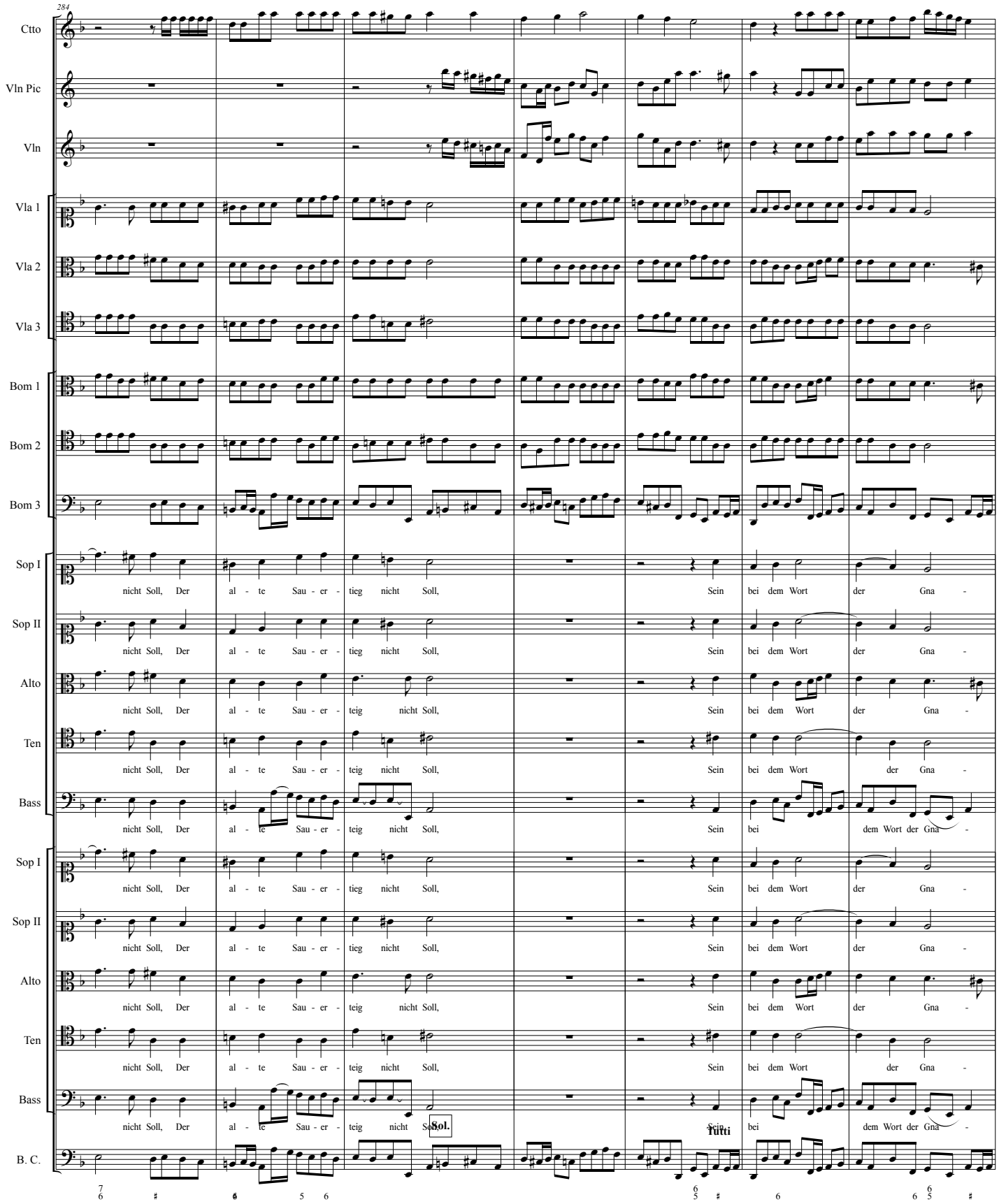

253
Ritornello
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Ritornello
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
- den, Der Sün - den Nacht ist ver - schwun - den. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Ten
Sün - den Nacht ist ver - schwun - den, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Bass
Der Sü - den Nacht ist ver - schwun - den, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Ritornello
B. C.

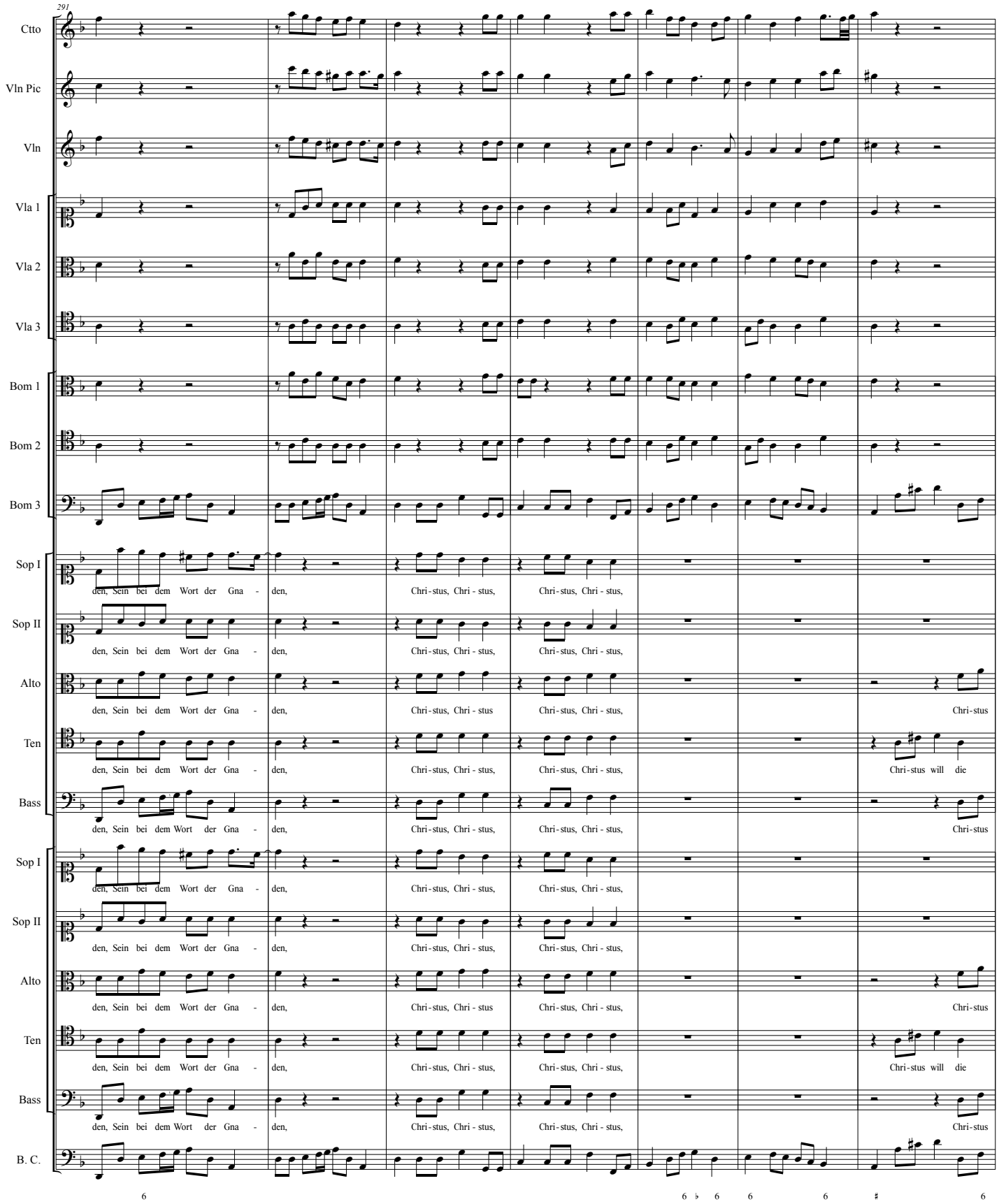

259
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.

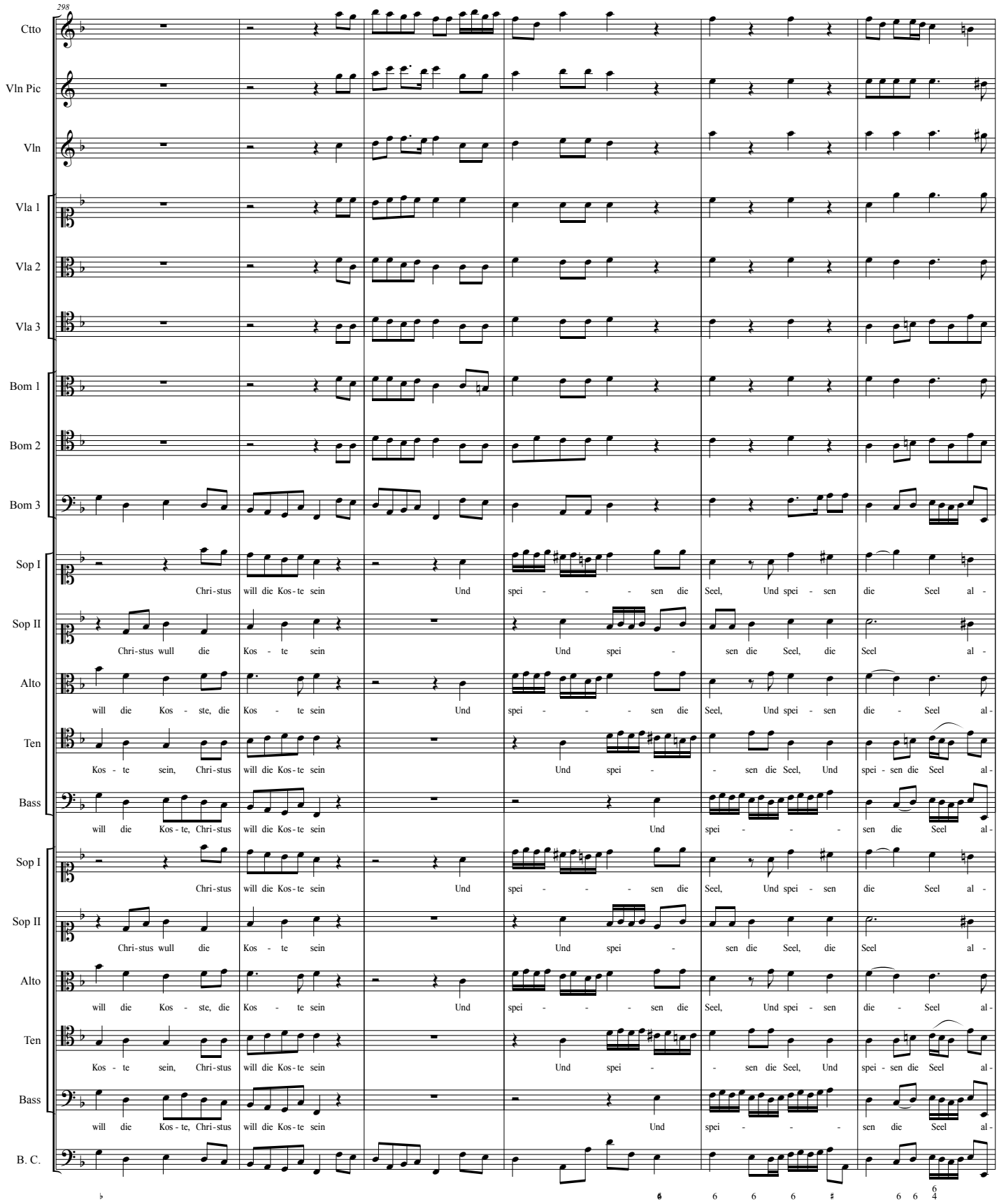

Versus VII
265
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Versus VII
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Wir es - sen, Wir es - sen, Wir es - sen und Le -
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Versus VII
Bass
Wir es - sen, Wir es - sen, Wir es - sen und Le -
Tutti
B. C.

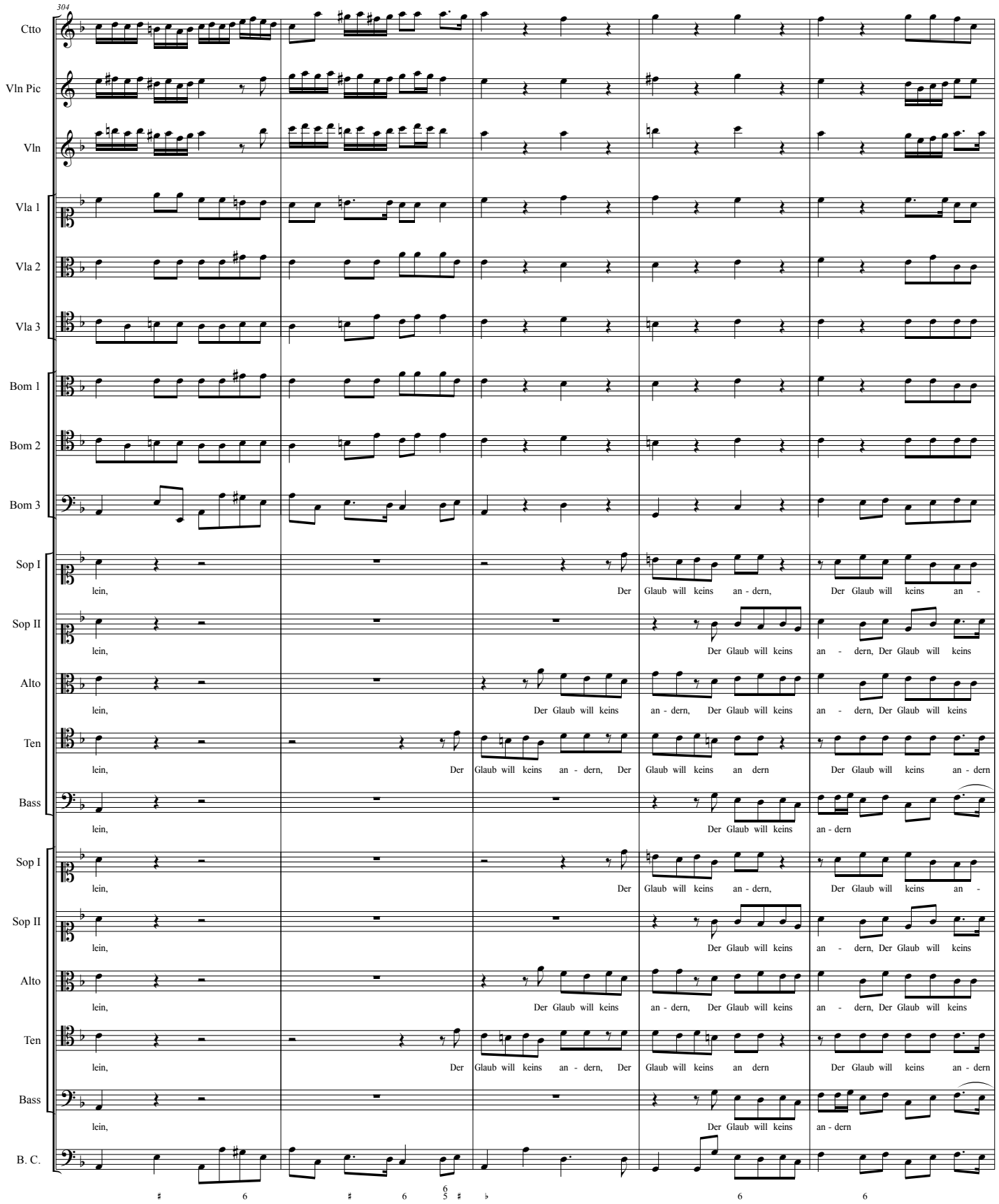

271
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
- ben wohl, und Le - - - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster - fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und Le - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster - fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und Le - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster - fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und Le - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und le - ben wohl In rech - ten O-ster-fla -
- ben wohl, und Le - - - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster - fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und Le - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster - fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und Le - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster - fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und Le - ben wohl In rech - ten O - ster fla -
- ben wohl, Wir es - sen und le - ben wohl In rech - ten O-ster-fla -
Sol.
Tutti

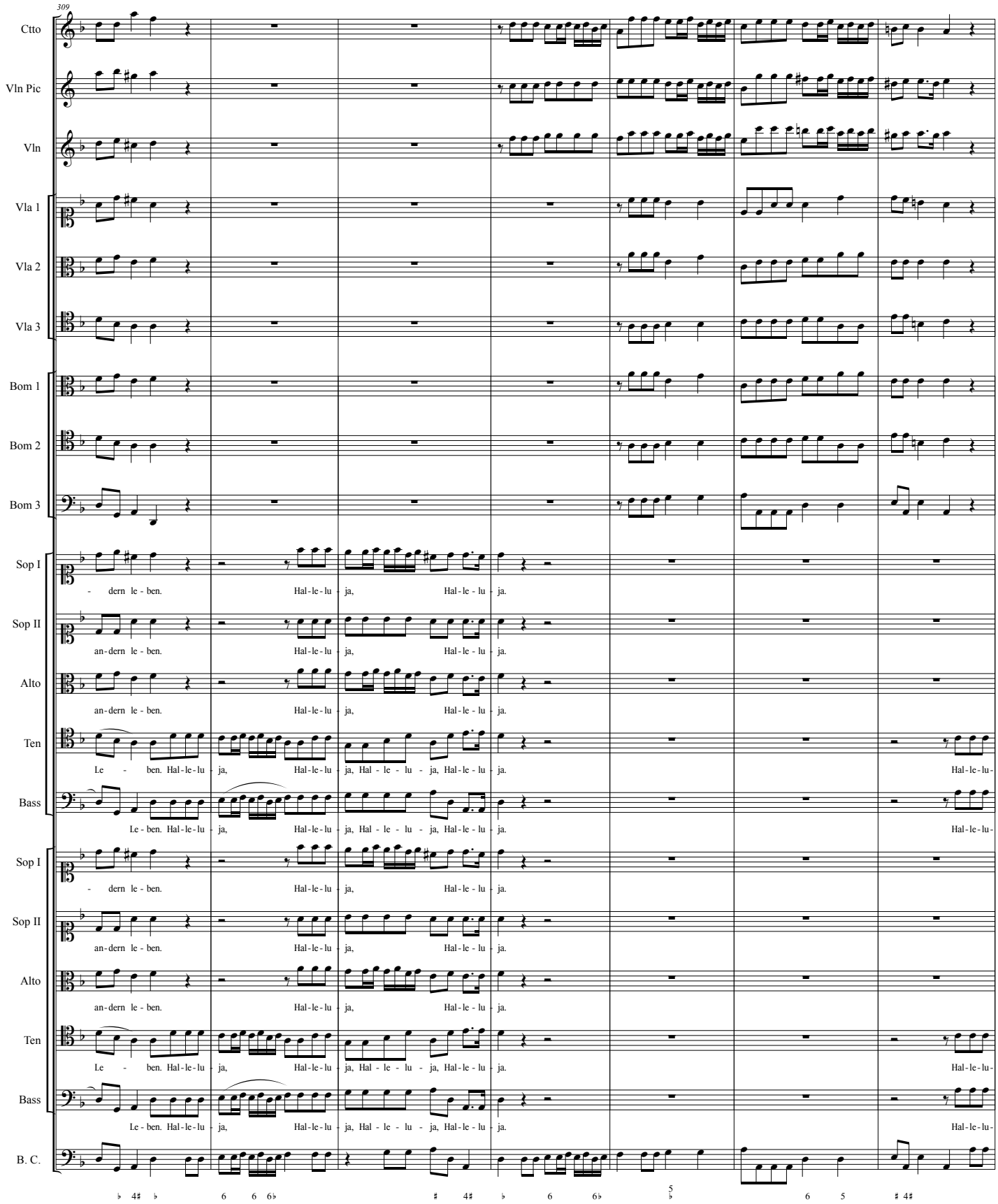

278
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
den, In rech - ten O - ster - fla - den.
Der al - te,
Der al - te,
Der al - te
Sau - er - teig
den, In rech - ten O - ster - fla - den,
Der al - te,
Der al - te,
Der al - te
Sau - er - tieg
den, In rech - ten O - ster - fla - den,
Der al - te,
Der al - te,
Der al - te
Sau - er - teig
den, In rech - ten O - ster - fla - den,
Der al - te,
Der al - te,
Der al - te,
Sau - er teig
den, In rech - ten O - ster - fla - den,
Der al te,
Der al - te,
Der al - te
Su - er - teig
(Tutti)

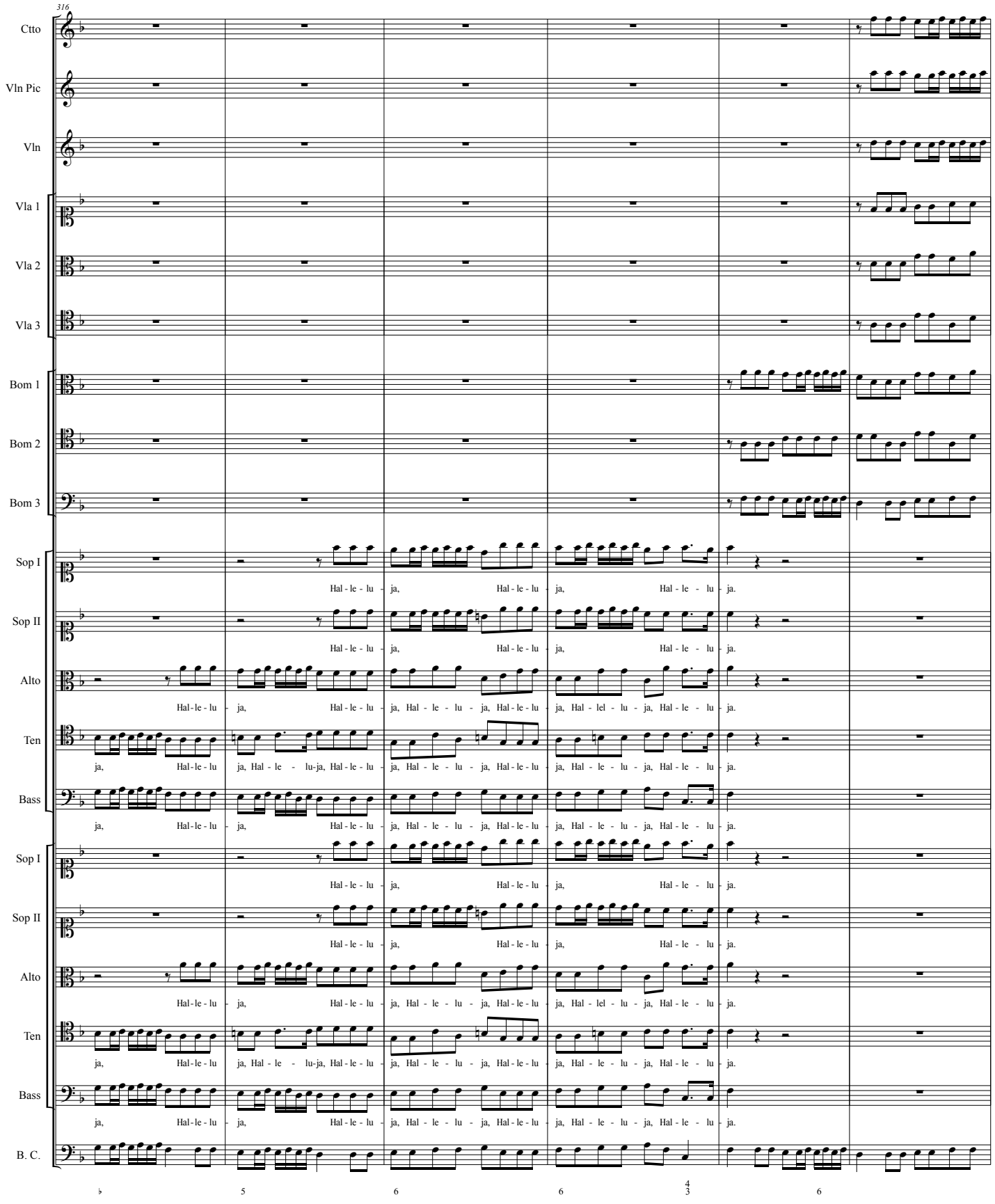

284
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
nicht Soll, Der al - te Sau - er - teig nicht Soll, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna -
Sol.
Tutti

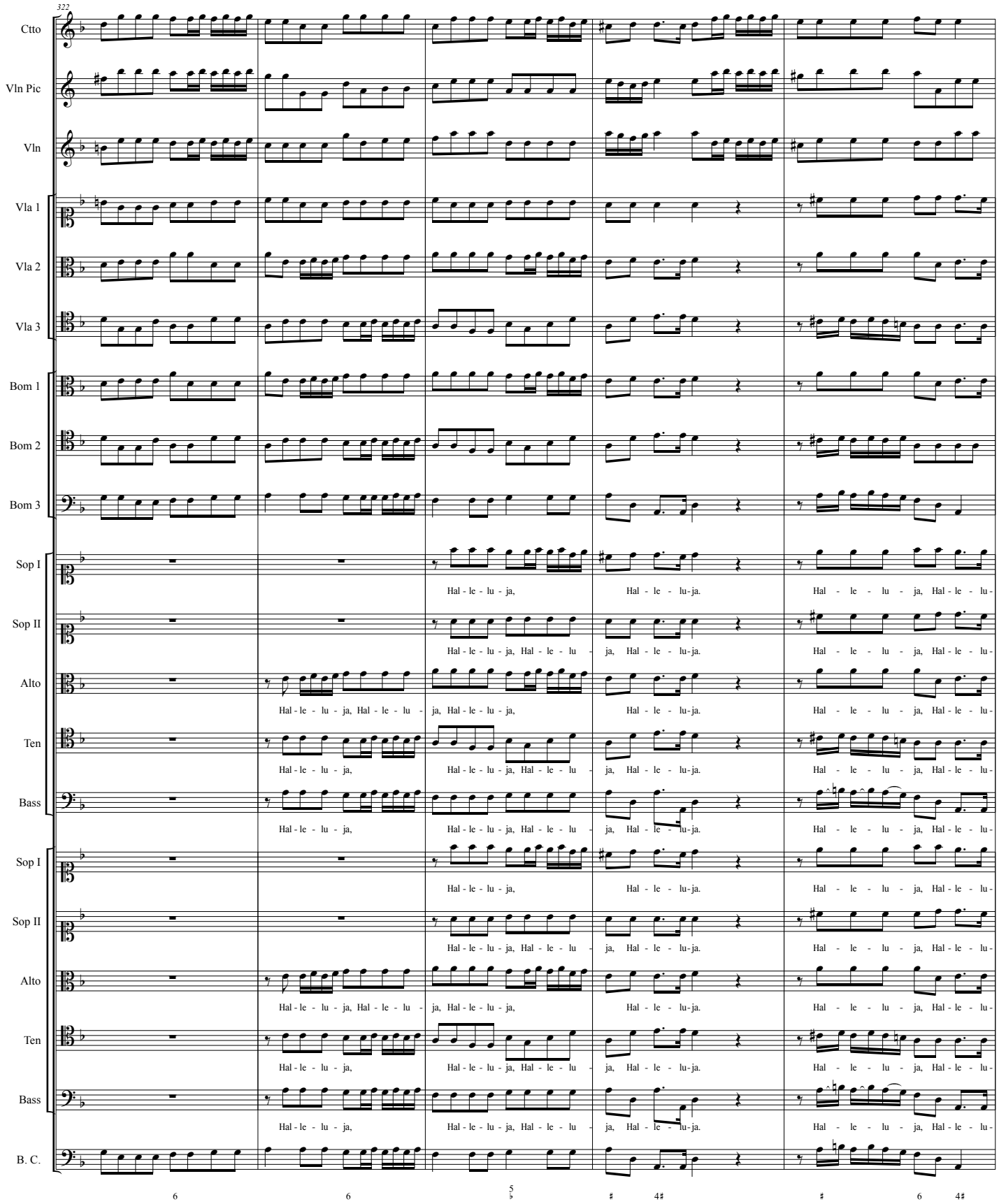

291
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
den, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna - den, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus,
den, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna - den, Chri - stus, Chri - stus Chri - stus, Chri - stus,
den, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna - den, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus
den, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna - den, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus will die
den, Sein bei dem Wort der Gna - den, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus, Chri - stus

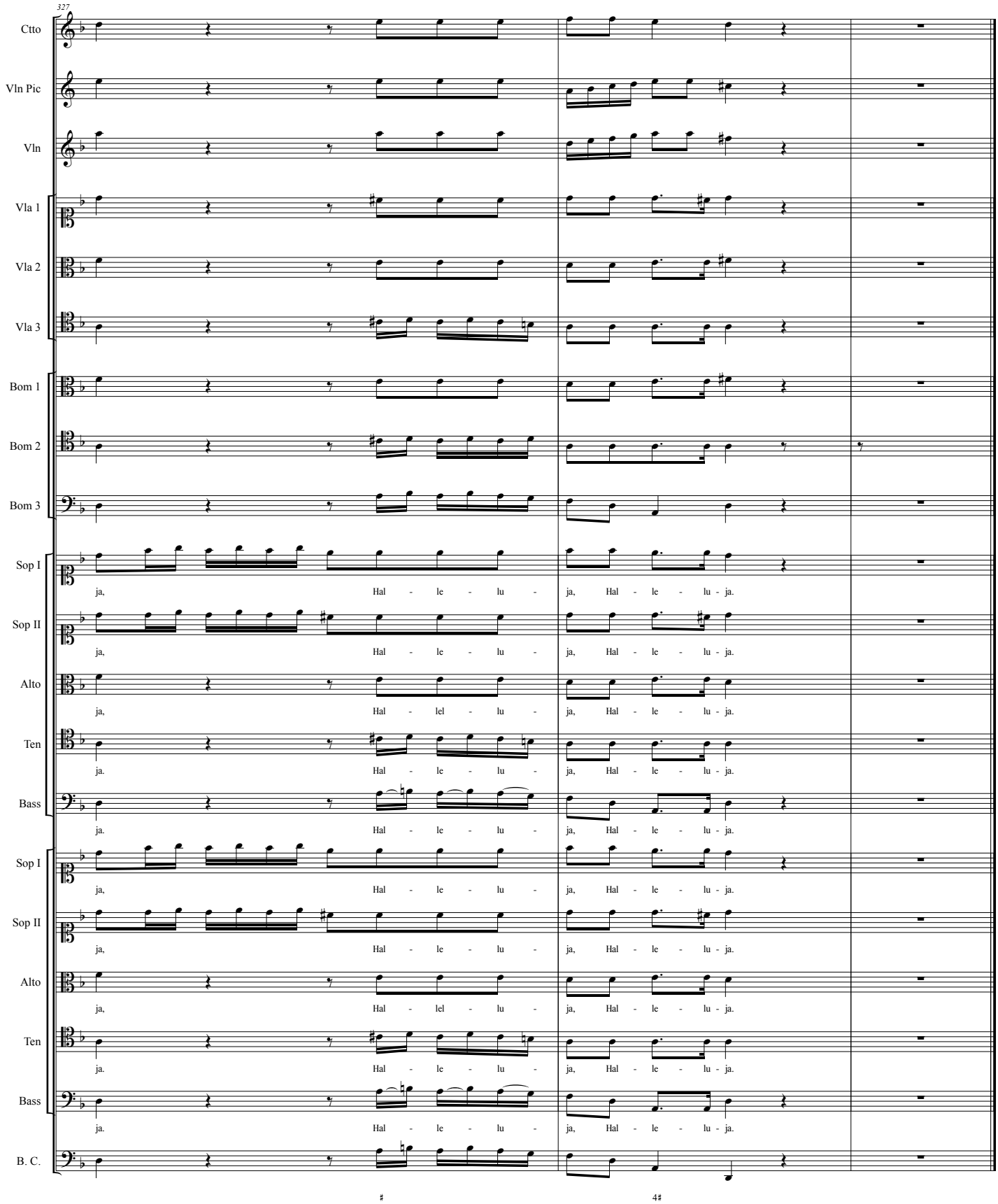

298
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Chri-stus will die Kos-te sein Und spei - - - sen die Seel, Und spei - sen die Seel al -
Sop II
Chri-stus wull die Kos - te sein Und spei - sen die Seel, die Seel al -
Alto
will die Kos - ste, die Kos - te sein Und spei - - - sen die Seel, Und spei - sen die - Seel al -
Ten
Kos - te sein, Chri-stus will die Kos-te sein Und spei - - sen die Seel, Und spei - sen die Seel al -
Bass
will die Kos - te, Chri-stus will die Kos-te sein Und spei - - - sen die Seel al -
Sop I
Chri-stus will die Kos-te sein Und spei - - - sen die Seel, Und spei - sen die Seel al -
Sop II
Chri-stus wull die Kos - te sein Und spei - sen die Seel, die Seel al -
Alto
will die Kos - ste, die Kos - te sein Und spei - - - sen die Seel, Und spei - sen die - Seel al -
Ten
Kos - te sein, Chri-stus will die Kos-te sein Und spei - - sen die Seel, Und spei - sen die Seel al -
Bass
will die Kos - te, Chri-stus will die Kos-te sein Und spei - - - sen die Seel al -
B. C.


304
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins an -
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins an dern Der Glaub will keins an - dern
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins an -
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern, Der Glaub will keins an dern Der Glaub will keins an - dern
lein, Der Glaub will keins an - dern


309
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
- dern le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sop II
an - dern le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Alto
an - dern le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Ten
Le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu -
Bass
Le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu -
Sop I
- dern le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Sop II
an - dern le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Alto
an - dern le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Ten
Le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu -
Bass
Le - ben. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja. Hal - le - lu -
B. C.


316
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - lel - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu ja, Hal - le - lu-ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - lel - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu ja, Hal - le - lu-ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
♭
5
6
6
4/3
6


322
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
Hal - le - lu - ja,
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja,
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.


327
Ctto
Vln Pic
Vln
Vla 1
Vla 2
Vla 3
Bom 1
Bom 2
Bom 3
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
Sop I
Sop II
Alto
Ten
Bass
B. C.
ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - lel - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja, Hal - lel - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
ja. Hal - le - lu - ja, Hal - le - lu - ja.
♯
4♯

APPENDIX C

EDITORIAL NOTES TO KNÜPFER CRITICAL EDITION

Manuscript/Sources

Exact composition and performance dates of Sebastian Knüpfer's *Christ lag in Todesbanden* are unknown during his lifetime. The earliest known source is a complete set of parts housed at Grimma, Saxony and prepared by noted composer and copyist Samuel Jacobi. Presumably for performance during services at the Fürsteschule of St. Augustine, the wrapper indicates two performances dating 16 April 1702 and 3 April 1714 respectively. Originally scored for 16 performers the wrapper indicates the inclusion of three bombards to the extant set of parts, totaling 19 voices with the addition of a *basso continuo* written by Jacobi.

Editorial Notes

In general, the parts from Grimma are the closest representations of a fair copy of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* as can be identified, with no known full score in existence. While the parts themselves are reasonably clean, there are some inconsistencies that have been corrected and are notated thusly. For the purposes of this modern edition, a key signature of d minor has been included in the full score (forsaking the practice of excluding the final accidental of each key signature, in the case of this work leaving it blank) and the editor has taken care to notate clearly b-naturals that are implied in the parts but are not notated. (flat on a descending can indicate a lower of a half step i.e. bombarde 2 m. 2, b. 2: c natural)

Original clefs are notated on the first page of the score and have been converted to modern usage. The violino piccolo, which exists in several iterations during this period of history, is the only transposing instrument included, and in this case, sounds up a perfect 4^{th}.

One of the tenets of seventeenth-century manuscripts that offer scholars and editors the most difficulty is the legibility of text. For example, m. 33-35 of the alto (cori favoriti) is nearly indiscernible especially given the edits to correct and error made by the copyist. Every effort has been made by the editor to reconstruct these faithfully and accurately. Additionally, Knüpfer's text setting differs slightly from the text of the chorale tune itself, for example, in his omission of the article *das* in versus IV, stanza 3 before the word *behielt*. Finally, punctuation has been added or altered in some cases for ease of reading for performers and is explained in a general note below.

Editorial Additions and Corrections (Made in score)

Sonata
Viola 3 – m. 5, b. 2-3: c natural
Bombarde 2: m. 2, b. 3: missing eighth note beam c# to d

Versus 1
(Violin – m. 16, b. 3: f# notated in continuo)
Basso – changed text underlay b. 2

Versus 2
Canto 1 – m. 62 only 3 ½ beats (FIGURE)

Versus 3
Tenor, m. 96 has 4 ½ beats (FIGURE)
Basso, m. 95 interpreted as (FIGURE)

Versus 4
Bombarde 3, 125-127 should match Bass (Concertist)
Bombarde 2, m. 154, bt. 2 – should be half note B-natural
Viola 3, m. 158, bt. 1 –should be half note D
Bombarde 3, 190 difficult to read – see Basso, BC
Viola 3, m. 176, bt. 2 - half note D (written as E)

Versus 5
Voices, m. 219-221 - text in brackets provided by editor, manuscript unclear.

Versus 6
Bass, m. 252, b. 1-2 – tie added to match tenor

Versus 7
Bombarde 3, m. 274, b. 1 – C natural changed to c # (per continuo)
BC, m. 274, b. 2 – cut off, matched to Bombarde 3
Continuo part repeat written out in score m. 280-292
Concertist Alto part – repeat written out m. 280-292
Concertist Tenor part – repeat written out m. 280-292
‘’ m 297, beat 2 ½ corrected to C# (matching continuo)
BC, m. 274 beat 2 ½ is C natural (bt. 2 is cut off on MS)
Bombarde 1, m. 271 – changed beat 3 to F# per BC (same m. 284)
Viola 1, m. 309, b. 2 – changed to c# (written as a D)
Viola 3, m. 313 b. 3&4 – changed to B-flat per continuo
Vln Pic, m. 286 b. 4 – changed top f# per m. 273
Viola 3, m. 269, b. 3&4 changed to A (per bombarde 2)
Viola 3, m. 393 – corrected to match Bombarde 2
Cornettino, m. 305 beat 2 – F# (matching Vln Picc)
Tenor m. 285, bt. 3&4 half note changed to 2 quarter notes to fit text (see S2)

APPENDIX D

EXCERPTS FROM THE PREFACE TO KUHNAU'S CANTATAS OF 1709-1710

Here I lay before your eyes, worthy Leipzig, those texts which shall be heard this church year from the chorus of musicians entrusted to me. I have wanted these texts to be like biblical texts themselves to stand in their own beauty without any strange embellishment since they are accompanied with nor arias or other poetic paraphrases. I myself have gathered together the poetry for two texts, namely, for the first Sunday of Advent and for St. Michael's Day, mixed together, however, with one and another well-known German chorale. For lack of time I besought a good friend to continue in like manner and take this trouble on himself.

I must admit to be sure that arias, if words of pathos are bound in pleasing meter and rhythm, produce and extraordinary grace which is not as easily produced in words sung in prose. Nevertheless, I have maintained the firm resolution and all the more so because I, which I now use nothing from the madrigal style which exists in arias and recitatives, thought to more easily combat the suspicion of theatrical music. Although the particular difference between church style and theatrical style is well known at least at this time, in both styles madrigals can be permitted without prejudice. In the one style as well as in the other, pathos and feelings of emotion must be admitted. Yet outwardly the distinction is that one in church style seeks to stir up in the hearer the holy devotion, love, joy, sadness, wonderment and similar things. The theatrical style gives to the true lover of music, to be sure, a feeling of pure contentment but to most others and the worldly-minded, however, always more and more nourishment for their carnal desires and seldom absolutely dampens the confused heat of their boiling blood…

There [in church music] the holy place and the text require all art, majesty, and modesty, and honorable display. In profane works, next to good settings, there may be used together poor, jesting, and comical settings and skipping melodies against the rules of art.

In general, the pure words in prose, and no arias as well as lieder can belong to this genre, and generally are different from the words and lieder of secular music only in that they are composed to a cantus firmus, which determines the *figuratum*. Thereby, much departs from the grace which was intended, so that one has much more cause to seize from the words all opportunity for invention and variation, without which the music attains with difficulty its goal of the delectation and movement of the hearer… But it is especially important to do as the correct understanding of the words gives opportunity for invention and what with good reason could be brought to the ears by the music….All that us adapted to be expressed should be well understood, so I

consider it necessary that one be no stranger in *Hermeneutica* and always well capture the correct sense and scope of the words. I will yet say more, that it would not be so absurd, when one in composing to German Bible texts, in case the words of the mother tongue do not lead one to a suitable invention (although we have cause to thank God heartily for the energetic translation of Herr Luther) would take also other versions in hand in a great deal. Foreign languages can affect us more [than our mother tongue]. Notice at Lent that also the uneducated like to sing with great emotion in their hearts the *Credo in Deum Patrem* of which they understand only a few words. Chiefly, however, the original language contributes a great deal to invention. I will demonstrate a little problem at the beginning of the first Psalm. Take the case of the first words: *Wohl dem*. This will arouse my mind to not invention, so I read the Hebrew words: *Aschre haisch*. That can signify an exclamation: *O! beatudines huius viri*; O! the blessedness of this man! And also the French version goes like this: *O que bien heureux est le personage*....This meditation , while I certainly know full well that Aschre is not used all the time with this emphasis (since I find the words translated in the Italian Bible no differently than in the Latin Vulgate: *Beatus Vir; Beato L'huomo*) brings me to the point that I express the *Wohl dem* by a force if many voices or in several choirs or, however, in the absence of [enough] students by many passages, coloratura and the like, in one or several voices.

...This presentation has extended already to far against my will. I hear some say already: These are the only speculation which can only be tested by the hearer. I admit this also. There are already curious minds about the same things, and the composer at least has this advantage that the paths to invention are broken by him. With such conditions now, since he seeks to express the correct sense and pondus of the words, he should in some measure be excused even as a preacher of God's word, who intends to exhaust the text in all directions, if the time for music ends too soon.

Thou, however, great God, whose praise the angels joyously sing, let this work, dedicated to Thy holy name, graciously be submitted to Thee. Oh, we desire a new song of the angels; oh, we desire angel voices, especially, however, angel-pure hearts, that as Thou alone at worthy to receive praise, honor, and glory, we would also be worthy to give Thee such due. Let, however, then this our *Chorum Musicum*, according to all desires of the heart and with the ever blessed prosperity of the Leipzig Jerusalem, resound with Thy peace until the end of the world, and such glorification of Thy holy name in the heavenly Jerusalem, amid the welcoming choir of angels and the elect, continue into all eternity. Amen.

Leipzig, 12 Dec. 1709
J. Kuhnau

The following excerpts were taken from Bernhard Friederich Richter's "Verzeichnis von Kirchenmusik Johann Kuhnau's aus den Jahren 1701-1722," *Monatschefte für Musik-Geschichte* 34 (1902), 176-181, and translated by Evangeline Rimbach in *The Church Cantatas of Johann Kuhnau,* Vol. 1, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses (1966), 57-60.

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