JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF HIS DAY

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Roland Franklin Schlueter, B.A., B.D.

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INTRODUCTION

When Friedrich Hashagen, a Professor of Theology in Rostock, wrote his "Sketches of Johann Sebastian Bach as the Singer and Musician of the Gospel and of the Lutheran Reformation" in 1909 his work was hailed by musicians as a unique contribution. The musicologist Arnold Schering called it a remarkable thing that a "Nichtmusiker" should be able to add to the literature of music. But Bach is a musician who requires and rewards study by non-musicians as well as by scholars of musical ability; and while musical and historical studies of Bach constitute a vast library of learning, the theological significance of this great Christian artist has only scarcely been touched. Biographers of Bach have made comment about the religious influences surrounding his life; Bitter and Spitta had to be aware of these influences as they studied Bach, and Schweitzer was already distinguished in theology when he wrote his interpretation of Bach. Yet Hashagen was the first theologian without musical scholarship to undertake a study of Bach; and since Hashagen there have been only occasional remarks published on the theological meaning of Bach's music. Even Schweitzer when he wrote dealt with Bach as a musical artist, not as a theologian. The only

extended theological study of Bach has been that of Hans Besch of Hamburg; and of Besch's work only the first, background volume has been completed.

It has been a concern to explore the relation between theology and the arts (especially music) which has led another "Nichtmusiker" to undertake an examination of Bach in relation to the Protestant life and faith of his day. The first chapter outlines the basis for a redefinition of the meaning of sacred and secular in music, and the remainder of the thesis is concerned with showing how Bach, in relation to his religious environment, demonstrates in his life and work this conception of sacredness...a conception which may not find ready acceptance on every hand, but which allows room for an extension of faith like Bach's to all of human life.

Bach's relation to the Protestant life of his day (his relation to Roman Catholic life and faith is a problem which lies beyond the scope of this thesis) can be seen adequately only by first seeing the important place music was given in the evangelical Reformation, and by tracing the course of the Reformation theology until the eighteenth century, in which Bach lived. His life story, so often told, will be retold only in order to demonstrate the depth of his theological concern; the remaining chapters will seek to show how Bach made use of music to present and to convey the doctrines of evangelical Christian faith. The illustrations chosen to show this are

selected largely from among those works for which Bach seems to have written the text as well as the music. These works serve especially to reinforce the contention that Bach's faith was essentially the evangelical faith of Martin Luther, and that Bach was in fact spiritually closer to Luther than to many of the religious leaders of his own day. This spiritual affinity between Bach and Luther has suggested the use of Luther's catechisms for an outline in which to set Bach's musical expression of his faith.

Throughout the study Bach stands forth as a Christian musician, a man of consummate musical skill whose artistry was dedicated to God's glory. He therefore personifies the kind of faith which this thesis would set forth as the basis of sacredness.

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Chapter 1

ON CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND MUSIC

> If it is pleasure to hear music,
> let your best pleasure be to sing
> and hear the praises of God.
> ...Lactantius

The distinction between sacred and secular in music is seldom made accurately. In common use, music which is written for or used in the services of worship of the Church is called sacred; and by a similar standard, music composed or performed for any non-Church occasion is called secular. It becomes plain that this too easy distinction blurs the real meaning of the terms sacred and secular, when we consider the frequent appearance in Christian worship of music which is inadequate to the spirit of worship and disruptive of the praise of God; and also when we think of the deeply moving spiritual experience which has often been brought to men by great music which has come from outside the worship of the Church. Sacred music is godly music and secular music is worldly; this is the proper distinction, and one which holds true whether or not the music is written for or played within the Church service. This chapter will seek to make this distinction plainer by an examination of theological thinking concerning music by one of the Fathers of the early Church and by a contemporary theologian; by studying the relation between the Word of God and the art of music; by looking at the religious faith of the musician as the key to the sacredness or secularity of his music;

and by suggesting Johann Sebastian Bach as an example of the Christian musician in whom this distinction can be seen.

Most Christian thought concerning music has dealt with the use of music in worship. Singing was an important element in Christian worship even in apostolic days; and in our earliest non-Christian reference to Christian worship, Pliny told Trajan of Christians "singing songs to Christ as to a god." (1) While philosophers from Pythagoras to Schopenhauer and on into our own day have inquired into the meaning of music, theologians generally, from the earliest Fathers to the Motu Proprio of Pius X, have considered music less for what it is than for its use and its moral effect. The writers of the Patristic period generally praised music,

> ". . . first as being so constantly used and written of in Scripture, second as proceeding from the 'harmony' of the universe, and third as conducing to proper spiritual discipline." (2)

But while giving high praise to music properly used, the same Fathers, like Plato, (3) saw possibilities of evil as well as good in music, and warned against the bad influence of wrong music. (4) They were aware of the emotional power of music, and were anxious that Christians should find edification in godly music, while being kept free from the degrading influence of music which might harm their faith. So Chrysostom, commenting on Psalm 8, says:

> "In the theatre, when the chorus sings its devilish ditties, there is great silence, in order that these pernicious tunes may make their impres-

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1...Pliny: Letters X/96 (Loeb edition)
2...Erik Routley: The Church and Music p. 50
3...Laws 667ff.; 800ff.; Republic 398f.; 424f.
4...cf. Chrysostom: De Legendis Libris Gentilium 5-7; Ambrose: De Elia et Jejunio 55

> sion. That chorus consists of mimics and dancers, led by some players of the cithara; they sing some devilish and damnable song, and he who sings is the spirit of wickedness and damnation. Here on the other hand, where the chorus consists of pious men and the chorus-master is the Prophet, and the tune is not of satanic agency, but of the Grace of the Spirit, and he who is praised is not the devil, but God . . . surely here it is our duty to keep a great silence, and to listen with great trembling." (1)

These Fathers were theologians, not musicians; and it is a not inappropriate concern, like that of Chrysostom, for the moral effect which is the basis of most early Christian thinking about music. These men were concerned primarily with the ideas which the music was used to express, and with music itself only as a vehicle for their expression.

St Augustine's De Musica

The De Musica of St Augustine (2) is a unique work: though it is a minor fragment of the Augustinian corpus, and not included in the 15-volume English translation edited by Dods, it is the only instance of the application by a major theologian of Christian theology to the science of music itself, as distinct from the use of music. Augustine was a musical theoretician as well as a theologian, and the De Musica combines his musical and theological learning. It is an early work, dating from A.D. 387 to 389, just after his baptism by Ambrose. It was written in Milan in the form of a dialogue, being perhaps the record, like De Beata Vita, of an actual dialogue between Augustine and his pupil Licentius.

1...Migne: P.G. V/106; translated by Routley, op. cit., p. 232
2...Migne: P.L. XXXII/1081-1193; Benedictine ed., I/738-884
English translation ("synopsis") by W. F. Jackson Knight, from whom all the following quotations are taken. The treatise is summarised in Routley, op. cit., pp. 55-68.

Being an early work, it does not represent Augustine's most mature theological judgement (he gives us a picture of his later thought on music in the passage on his love of music in the Confessions), (1) but it does serve as an indication of the range of subjects to which he directed his learning.

The present treatise is only the first half of the work as Augustine had planned it; he says, in Epistola 101, (2) that he had intended to write six books on rhythm (de rhythmo) and on melody (de melo), "perhaps another six." But he was too busy with other things, and the six books on melody were never written. The six books on rhythm have survived, and they form the De Musica as we have it in the present collection of his works. Though he is speaking, throughout these six books, about what we should call poetic metre, "rhythm" as Augustine uses the word becomes virtually synonymous with "music" and applies to the art of using sounds as opposed to words.

The first five books, Augustine explains (VI/1/1), are merely to prepare the way for the argument of the sixth. Music (using the word, throughout this section, as synonymous with rhythm) is defined as ars bene modulandi, "how to make controlled variations of sounds in the right way." (3) This involves the quality of being musical or rhythmical, numerositas, which is a quality of the whole universe, and

> ". . . music in exhibiting [this quality] shows itself to be in direct touch with ultimate reality and therefore a means of mediating that reality to the hearer." (4)

1...esp. Confessions X/33
2...Migne: P.L. XXXII/1079-82
3...De Musica I/ii/2; Knight, p. 11
4...Routley, op. cit., p. 57

Thus Augustine says that his definition of music

> ". . . comprehends all movements whose variations are under correct control, omnes motus qui bene modulati sunt, but especially those movements which are an end in themselves, and exist for their own beauty or for the pleasure which they cause, and not for some end external to themselves." (1)

These movements (numeri) make it possible for us to apprehend music, for they are found both in the music and in the hearer. Five books on various forms of poetic metre lead to the heart of the argument in Book VI: "The ascent from rhythm in sense to the immortal rhythm which is in truth." (2) Its purpose is to

> ". . . lead young people of ability, and perhaps older people too, gradually, with Reason for our guide, from the things of sense to God, in order that they may cling to Him who rules all and governs our intelligence, with no mediating Nature between." (3)

He is seeking to interpret musical knowledge for the Christian, and he warns his readers that "those who have not the wings which piety may have given them" (4) will not be able to follow him further.

Taking the hymn-verse Deus creator omnium as his example, Augustine asks wherein its distinctive rhythmical (i.e., musical) quality consists. Is it in the sound itself, in the hearing of the sound, in the act of its being spoken, or in the memory of those who have heard the verse and know it well? He finds all these elements involved, and from them he distinguishes five (later six) types of rhythm, and seeks to establish the order of their importance. After some rearrangement he ranks these

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1...De Musica I/xxiii/28; Knight, p. 18
2...This is the title of Book VI: Knight, p. 85
3...De Musica VI/i/1; Knight, p. 85
4...ibid.

categories, from lowest to highest:

1...Corporeal rhythms in sound, belonging to the body.
2...Occursive rhythms, subsisting in the act of their performance.
3...Progressive rhythms, subsisting in the hearing; belonging to the anima and engendered within the body by external sounds.
4...Recordable rhythms, evoked by the act of remembering.
5...Judicial rhythm: the faculty within the soul of giving assent to and dissent from rhythms. (1)

Assuming, as Augustine does, that the soul is superior to the body, he gives the highest place to that rhythm by means of which the soul judges all other forms of rhythm. (2) This judicial rhythm ranks above the other categories, because it

> ". . . is the rhythm of reason itself . . . above all the other rhythms which are of inferior order, using its own peculiar power of judicial estimate." (3)

Man, using his ability to judge rhythms, finds pleasure in the principle of equality (aequalitas) (4), bringing all individual rhythmic elements into mutual harmony. But it is precisely in this principle of equality that Augustine finds the clue to the danger in bad music. For if the "equality" which gives man pleasure is only imitative and not a genuine equality, perceptive rhythm (5) is unable to detect the error; finding pleasure in the imitation as if it were true, it becomes unable to distinguish between imitation and genuine. Bad music is bad because it only imitates the principle of equality; good music is that which possesses genuine equality.

1...De Musica VI/iv/5; Knight, p. 88; VI/v/16 (p. 96); VI/ix/24 (p. 104); summarised by Routley, op. cit., pp.60ff.
2...Augustine later distinguishes between two kinds of judgement: one based upon physical senses and the other upon reason. To the former he gives the name "Perceptive" to distinguish it finally from the truly "Judicial" rhythm.
3...De Musica VI/x/25; Knight, p. 104
4...Routley translates aequalitas as "symmetry"
5...See note #2 above.

But Augustine adds:

> "Here we have a warning to divert our joy away from what merely imitates equality, and what, so far as we can understand, either may or may not implement equality . . . and yet we cannot deny beauty, within its own class and comparatively, to something which at least imitates equality, in so far as it does so." (1)

So although imitated equality is bad, it is not to be wholly condemned. After establishing principles of perfection, he goes on to defend the imperfection in man's aesthetic judgement:

> "We must not hate what is below us, but rather with God's help put it in its right place, setting in right order what is below us, ourselves, and what is above us, and not being offended by the lower, but delighting only in the higher. . . Delight or enjoyment sets the soul in her ordered place. 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'" (2)

Thus without being content with the imitation and aiming always at genuine equality in the relation between musical sounds, Augustine sees what <u>is</u> imitation in its proper place. God who has made the perfect beauty which the imitation seeks to imitate can overrule its imperfection: "Even in our bad deeds there are good works of God." (3)

Still it is as true of our musical judgement as of any other part of life, that "with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with my flesh the law of sin." (4) This will explain why, in spite of all admonitions, we can still prefer the imitation to the genuine: we become content with the imitation which is judged only by the body, and do not exer-

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1...<u>De Musica</u> VI/x/28; Knight, p. 107
2...<u>ibid</u>., VI/x/29 (p. 107); quoting St Matthew 6^{21}
3...<u>ibid</u>., VI/xi/30 (p. 108)
4...Romans 7:25

cise the judicial rhythm of the soul which would show us the perfection of the law of God. (1) The root of it all is in pride, which rebels against the divine order. Pride makes men prefer action to contemplation; and it is in action that the soul of man becomes content with imperfection:

> "The general love of activity, which diverts us from truth, starts from pride, the vice which makes the soul prefer to imitate God rather than to serve God." (2)

This pride, in its fondness of activity, is rebellious and self-seeking, unable to contemplate the numerositas which is the basis of true music. It attempts to imitate the eternal rhythm for its own use. "The rebellious will can neither seek nor make good music." (3)

Pride can be overcome, and true numerositas found, in giving ourselves and our music into God's hands:

> "The soul possesses order by itself, loving all that is higher than itself, that is, in fact, God, and also the souls that are its companions, loving them as itself. By virtue of this love it orders, that is, sets in right order, all that is lower than itself, without becoming defiled. . . We must not deny to rhythm which is concerned with our penal mortality its inclusion within the works of the Divine fabrication, for such rhythm is within its own kind beautiful. But we must not love such rhythm as if it could make us blessed. . . We must use such rhythm well, so that eventually we may dispense with it. . . indeed, we should not only be possessed by the order which God imposes, but also possess our own order sure." (4)

1...De Musica VI/xiii/39 (pp.113f.) This results from perceptive rhythm, in which there are some rough and imperfect rules of art, rules which take pleasure, as it were, in mere imitation.
2...ibid., VI/xiii/40 (p. 114)
3...Routley, op. cit., p. 67
4...De Musica VI/xiv/46 (p. 118)

Thus Augustine views music as a function of reason and subject to moral judgements, because it is an activity of men. A full understanding of the meaning of music and its place in the life of man is possible only to the Christian (1), who can recognise the source of the imperfection of bad music in its finitude and its sinful use by the pride of men. Again, only the Christian can see the ultimate source of the perfection of music which shows true equality in the perfect numerositas: the harmony of God.

> "Music for [Augustine] brings the truth down from heaven, and those who regard music as a means of sending thoughts up from the human mind will do well to mark his words." (2)

A Present-day Theological View of Music

The art, the science and the practise of music have changed greatly since the day of St Augustine. Though no one writing on music today would deal exclusively or even primarily with rhythm, rhythm is still an essential element in music. The melody which was to have been the subject of Augustine's further inquiry has become much more important to music in our day than it was in his. Harmony (in the sense in which musicians of today understand the word) (3) and counterpoint have been more recent additions. Yet however different music of the twentieth century may be from that of the fourth, it may still be defined as ars bene modulandi. Though the sounds and the ways in which they are controlled have varied greatly,

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1...Some might allow this understanding to the Jew as well, but Augustine wrote exclusively of the Christian faith.
2...Routley, op. cit., p. 68
3...Though its name and to a large extent its function are derived from the very concept of numerositas (in Greek: Harmonia).

music is still concerned with making "controlled variations of sounds in the right way;" and the theological judgements which Augustine made upon the poetic metre and rhythm which were "music" in his day, can be made also upon mediaeval plainsong, upon the age of polyphony, upon the classical or romantic music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or upon music being written today on the twelve-tone scale. The music of all the Christian centuries and the music of centuries still to come, have power for edification and are genuine music, insofar as they "bring the truth down from heaven" and serve God. Where pride serves human activity and music seeks to be "self-expressive", that music is imitative, imperfect, sinful music, and thus "secular". If our judgement of music is to be adequate and complete, it must be based upon a theological view of the distinction between "sacred" and "secular". To all the questions which the musical critic needs to put must be added "the conviction that only under Grace can music be brought to perfection." (1)

Such an approach to the understanding of music in our own day has been undertaken by Edmund Schlink. (2) Like St Augustine, Schlink defines music as consisting not of sound as such, but of the modulation (Bewegung) of sound. In this modulation he distinguishes two essential elements:

1...Routley, op. cit., p. 222
2...Zum theologischen Problem der Musik 2. Auflage 1950

1...The element of order: music is sound controlled within a given order. This order includes rhythm, pitch and harmony, by which sounds are brought together into objective relation. In this element of order man is able to perceive and to recognise the eternal order of God. (1)

2...The element of freedom: because of the very nature of sound in its almost-total freedom from corporeality and in its transcience, music is of all the arts, the most nearly free from the concrete things of this world. (2) In melody this element allows the entry of a subjective relation. Though music is subject to the order of time, it is less limited by space than any other of the arts and thus comes the nearest of them all to being a creatio ex nihilo. (3)

In the performance of music these two elements are always present, but in tension with one another --- and it is precisely in this tension that true music is created. (4) Neither in a strict observance of the rules of order nor in a chaotic ignoring of them for the sake of freedom will genuine music be possible:

> "Musik ist nur möglich innerhalb, aber nicht jenseits der Spannung zwischen einer über den einzelnen Menschen stehenden Ordnung und der subjektiven Freiheit." (5)

Schlink shows the need for order in music and the danger of its violation by the free subjectivity which is inherent in the art by reference to the Statesman and the Laws of Plato, (6) and

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1...Schlink, op. cit., pp. 5ff.
2...cf. Kierkegaard: Either/Or (tr. Swenson), vol. 2, pp. 114f.
3...Schlink, op. cit., pp. 7ff.
4...ibid., p. 10
5...ibid., p. 11
6...The Statesman 304; Laws 800

then shows how Christian theology must consider the Platonic ideas of eternal proportion as the basis of order. The proportions of rhythm, pitch and harmony must be seen as showing the Law of God:

> "In der Musik ereignet sich in der Ordnung der Töne eine Spiegelung der Ordnung Gottes, eine spielende Anerkennung des göttlichen Gesetzes in der Herausstellung und Anerkennung von Gesetzen der Tonbewegung." (1)

The element of freedom, on the other hand, is man's yearning for deliverance from the limitations of the world and its things; and the freedom of melody, uncontrolled by order, seeks to express this yearning. In other words, it tries to be a redeemer --- but it cannot be. Order steps in to limit the course of freedom. Schlink's dialectic goes on to show how these two elements are inextricably bound together in tension with one another:

> "Töne ohne Ordnung sind nicht mehr Musik, wie auch umgekehrt Töne in Ordnung ohne Freiheit nicht Musik wären." (2)

Here in musical terms is the tension between Law and Gospel. Where music is looked at as a human attempt to overcome this tension, "gerade das ist die Selbsttäuschung." (3) This is another way of saying that genuine musical performance is not possible to natural man. (4)

Then what must be the Christian attitude to music? Is all man's musical endeavour to be denied as being self-

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1...Schlink, op. cit., p. 16
2...ibid., p. 18
3...ibid.
4...Schlink holds that heathens do have a music of their own, but that it is an expression of what "natural religion" they possess and not, as we shall see (p. 31), a genuine music.

deceiving? Schlink's answer is to be found in the Cross: "Das Wort vom Kreuz ist nicht nur das Ärgernis für alle Weisheit, sondern für alle Ästhetik und Kunst." (1) The Cross transforms all things; Jesus has used his freedom to break the power of the Law over music as over all of life: "Das Kreuz Christi ist so auch die Infragestellung der Musik." (2) From this Schlink traces for music the two responses to the meaning of the Cross which have been made during the history of the Church:

On the one hand the imitation of Christ is made into a new law and our actions must be determined exactly by what Jesus did. By this standard, if Jesus was poor, we must also be poor. Since he did not marry, we must remain single. And if Jesus made no music, then neither must we. Jesus' example becomes a rigid law and because he was no musician music is denied to us. (3)

On the other hand there is the belief in a "seliger Tausch", by which in faith all things are transformed:

> "Er wurde Fremdling, auf dass wir Gottes Kinder würden. Er wurde von Gott verlassen, auf dass uns Gott nahe würde. Er litt, auf dass wir froh würden. Er starb, auf dass wir leben. Warum sollte man da nicht fortfahren: Er schwieg, auf dass wir musizierten?" (4)

By his faith the Christian becomes a sharer in this transformation and to him the very Law becomes freedom:

> "Dies alles besagt: Das Spiel ist eine echte Möglichkeit allein für die Glaubenden. . . Durch den Glauben geschieht die Befreiung der Musik zum Spiel der Kinder Gotten." (5)

1...Schlink, op. cit., p. 21
2...ibid., p. 22
3...In all this argument Schlink does not consider the hymn sung at the institution of the Lord's Supper, Mk 14:26; Mt 26:30. Did Jesus not sing there?
4...Schlink, op. cit., p. 23
5...ibid., p. 24

But the music of the believer is never really creative work; this can never be. It is instead a symbolic act of the believer in response to God's creativity. Music is an echo rather than the actual creative Word of God: "Sie ist nur ein Abglanz der künftigen Freiheit, nicht das Ereignis der letzten Befreiung." (1) It is the Cross which marks the distinction between secular music and sacred --- or as Schlink speaks of them, between heathen music and Christian. Apart from the Cross, man seeks either to use freedom to overcome the Law or is so bound by the Law that his music, which he seeks to make creative, succeeds only in asserting his own activity. It is only in the light of the Cross that man's freedom and God's order are brought together and the tension between them overcome. "Heathen" music obliterates the difference between God's law and man's; in "Christian" music God is honoured as Lord by the praise of men who have already been made free:

> "Hier bejubeln und umspielen die Erlösten
> das erfüllte göttlich Gesetz, während dort
> natürliche Erlösungsreligion Gesetz und Sünde
> zu überwinden sucht." (2)

By "Christian" music Schlink thus means not a particular kind of music but a Christian way of viewing all music. It has been this way of seeing both order and freedom, each in its proper relation to the other, which has been largely responsible for the rise of Western music. Polyphony, for example, developed as a release from and a transformation of the ordered monophony of both Greek and Hebrew musical traditions;

1...Schlink, op. cit., p. 24
2...ibid., p. 26

and the history of music during the last four hundred years has developed largely within the knowledge of the freedom of the Christian believer. In this knowledge music has been "made free from the anxious antinomy between legalism and chaos." (1)

Rene Wallau, writing in comment upon and in criticism of Schlink's point of view, (2) holds that the Platonic ideas are a false starting-point for a modern Christian understanding of music, and that the proper beginning is the point at which the Word of God speaks to us:

> "Ein theologische Besinnung auf die Bedeutung der Musik kann nur ausgehen von der absoluten Forderung, die das Wort Gottes an unser Leben stellt und der alles Menschlich-Irdische unterworfen sein muss." (3)

In the light of God's Word, not in Platonic forms: here, says Wallau, is the only basis for a Christian understanding of music. In this light, man is more clearly seen as creature, living in the created world in obedience to the eternal order of the Creator. The absolute contrast between Creator and created remains in all the "order" in the world, and stands above every utterance of man:

> "So kann alles künstlerisch Schaffen des Menschen und alle Ordnung, die es darstellt, nicht die ewige Ordnung Gottes im Weltall darstellen, sondern sie höchstens spiegeln, Hinweis sein auf das Ewige, auf eine zukünftige Herrlichkeit in der Erlösung vom Tode in der Hoffnung auf eine von Gott erneuerte Welt." (4)

The proper criterion by which to judge the genuineness of any art, says Wallau, is not its solution of the problem of order

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1...Translated from Schlink, op. cit., p. 27
2...Die Musik in ihrer Gottesbeziehung: zur theologischen Deutung der Musik, 1948
3...ibid., p. 58
4...ibid., p. 61

and freedom but its portrayal of the tension between God and the world. Where by the use of art man seeks to glorify himself, thinking himself able perfectly to represent God's order, he makes his art deceptive and satanic. Like all things human musical art must be seen as under God's judgement. Man's urge to freedom, the spirit which we call his creativity, is of itself a healthy and a good thing, given to him by God; but in man's musical use of his creativity, as in all human activity, there is the danger of self-glorification which is blasphemy.

The fault is not in music itself. No art in itself seeks to become a substitute for a genuine faith in God. But man in his folly is in danger of misusing music; when he does so, God's judgement falls upon the man, not upon his music. Musical expression as such is quite neutral. It does not itself seek to "redeem" man; where music does in fact seem to do so, it has become secularised and is being looked upon as an end in itself. Man's true creativity lies in his listening to the call of God. When, responding to that call, man does bring forth an ordered work of music, the earthly form of the art is glorified --- but to the honour of God and not as an end in itself. All truly great music is thus essentially humble. (1)

Like Schlink, Wallau maintains that all music is placed in question by the Cross. He hesitates to speak, however, as Schlink does, of a "seliger Tausch", feeling that this is too

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1...cf. Wallau, op. cit., p. 69

commonplace, too mercantile an expression:

> "Wir nehmen nicht eine Sache, um eine andere einzutauschen, sondern wir haben nur ein und dieselbe Sache. Aber wir empfangen sie aus der Gnadenkraft des Christus anders, als wir sie hingegeben haben . . als eine vergängliche irdische Sache an das Kreuz Christi. Sie wird nicht weggenommen, sondern verwandelt." (1)

Music like all other things becomes transformed at the Cross, because the spirit of the men who make music is transformed. The music itself remains but a means in the hands of men: a gift of God which is always in danger of being misused to glorify "titanic" men and not to serve the Creator. But since it is a gift of God, music can rightly be known and used only by those who believe in Him and who seek to use all things to His glory:

> "Die theologischen Bedeutung der Musik liegt nicht in ihrem Wesen, sondern in dem, was sie andeutet, symbolisiert, ahnen und ersehnen lässt." (2)

1...Wallau, op. cit., p. 81
2...ibid., p. 83

Music and the Word

> On Good Friday . . in the Cathedral of Upsala . . . at nine o'clock at night the congregation, listening to what I have called the fifth Gospel, namely, the Passion music of Johann Sebastian Bach and other evangelic interpreters in music of the mystery of the Redemption, meditates the terrible and grand day of human history and of this universe.
>
> ...Archbishop Nathan Söderblom

While music may be an echo in man's ears of the eternal music of God, it remains an earthly thing, and consequently under the judgement of God. It is at the same time a transcendent thing, a response on the part of man to the eternally creative will of God, and thus eschatological in character. (1) Having established a clear understanding of the relation of music as such to Christian theology, Schlink (and, following him, Wallau) is then able with a sure foundation to deal with the question which so much thinking on "religious music" has made its only concern: How is music to be used by Christians? From this, Schlink derives two further questions: What is the place of music in worship? What is the proper relation between music and the Word of God?

Music, understood as Schlink and Wallau understand it, can never itself be the Word of God to man, nor yet even a substitute for it. (2) Still it does become, in a unique and

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1...The music of the contemporary French organist and composer Olivier Messiaen is a particularly good illustration of the eschatological function of music; cf. Erich Forneberg: Olivier Messiaen in "Zeitschrift für Musik", Jhrg. 112, Heft 5, May 1951, pp. 235ff.

2...cf. Brunner: The Divine Imperative, p. 502 (quoted below, p. 26); but see also Brunner's chapter on Art in Christianity and Civilisation, vol. 2, pp. 72-85.

powerful way, a bearer of the Word, a receptacle in which God's Word may be brought to man. It has been judged by some to be unworthy of so high a task, and they have excluded it from the performance of this task; (1) but throughout the history of the Church most Christian worship has found the well-regulated sounds of music an aid in the presentation of God's Word. (2) It is in the understanding of this relation of music to the Word, however, that Protestant music has come to differ most widely from that of the Roman tradition. (3) Art-forms in the Roman Church have often grown so elaborate in their presentation of the glory of the Church that they have tended to obscure the fact that they are primarily means for the presentation of the truth of God. The churches of the Reformation on the other hand, with their insistence upon the absolute supremacy of the Word of God, could use music only as a servant of the Word, and as a means by which the congregation might offer its praise and thanks to God:

> "In besonderem Mass ist im Protestantismus die Musik als Mittler der Verkündigung eingesetzt worden, nicht aber zur Verherrlichung der Kirche und ihrer irdischen Gestalt." (4)

1...See below, pp. 20f.

2...Particularly as the building of churches developed the high-vaulted stone arches of Gothic architecture, music became of special importance. It would be of interest to make a comparison of the rise of Gothic architecture and of Gregorian chant. For a Gothic church, accoustically, makes the spoken word difficult if not impossible to hear; speech cannot fill the room so as to be heard. Musical tone gives added strength to the word, and carries it throughout the arches of the building: "Die gesungene Lesung oder Kollekte ist besser zu verstehen und mitzubeten als die gesprochene. Hier hat die Musik eine ganz nüchtern-praktische Bedeutung. Sie trägt die Verkündigung im wahrsten Sinn des Wortes auf den Schwingen des Tons." (Wallau, op. cit., p. 31)

3...As, indeed, all Protestant art most essentially differs from Roman Catholic art.

4...Wallau, op. cit., p. 85

Though the danger of its abuse led the most zealous, beginning with Zwingli, (1) either to ban music from evangelical worship altogether or to restrict it severely, the main stream of Protestant tradition has found it possible to use music as a particularly effective receptacle for God's Word, precisely because of its spiritual character.

Like all works of men, music cannot serve God except through faith; no human or created form can serve God until He Himself fills it with the power of His Holy Spirit. Yet of all human forms, music can most easily receive this power. Unlike the more tangible forms of plastic art, music is so continually transient that it cannot become, like a picture or a statue, an idol standing between men and God. (2) Its very transience makes music an ideal vehicle for the presentation of God's Word; (3) and worship is man's response to this presentation.

Schlink distinguishes four different possibilities for the relation of the Word to music in worship:

> 1...A strict proscription of all music, vocal as well as instrumental, from worship, asserting that the spoken word is the only means by which the Holy Spirit of God can speak to us.
> 2...Music is allowed only in strictest subordination to the Word; it has a place in worship as an accompaniment to the Word but may not be used to interpret the Word.

1...Zwingli was himself the most gifted musician of all the Reformers; see below, pp. 51f.
2...cf. Wallau, op. cit., p. 101
3...Much of what has been said about the Word fails, however, adequately to distinguish between the creative Word of God and the created words of human speech in which God's deed is given expression; men have often made an idol out of the words, not seeing beyond them to the Word.

> 3...Music is permitted to interpret the Word, but must still be used in connection with the Word itself, adding its force to make plain the meaning of the Word.
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> 4...Music is allowed free place in the service, without any necessary connection with the Word; pure instrumental music in this case finds a proper place. (1)

Both Schlink and Wallau are agreed that the first possibility, the strictest "puritan" (2) point of view, is not tenable, for it restores all the dangers of legalism and denies the victory of Christ over all things. It is theological arrogance to suppose that only the spoken word is the proper vehicle for the Holy Spirit: "Such a hostile view of artistic expression can arise only where the transforming character of faith is misunderstood." (3)

At the other extreme, Schlink's fourth category, any and all music is permissible as an expression of Christian joy, because of the freedom in which "all things are ours." Schlink and Wallau fall into disagreement on this point. Schlink, while recognising the danger of this position, holds that its validity must be accepted, in the light of his previous analysis of music as "a playing by the believers in echo to God's eschatological deed":

1...These points are summarised from Schlink, op. cit., pp. 28ff.

2...There are excellent correctives to the misunderstanding of this word as applied to music in
Coulton: Art and the Reformation, esp. ch. 20 (pp. 406-21)
Crouch: Puritanism and Art, ch. 9 (pp.232-60)
Scholes: The Puritans and Music
It is interesting to note that the French Roman Catholic, François Florand, in an appendix on "L'expression musicale et le sentiment réligieux" to his Jean-Sébastien Bach: l'Oeuvre d'Orgue, 1947, speaks (p. 241) of "musique janseniste" when trying to describe such a negative attitude.

3...Brunner: The Divine Imperative, p. 501

> "Allerdings ist es dem Zeugnis der wortlosen Musik offensichtlich eigentümlich, dass sie nicht Glauben wirken kann, sondern überhaupt erst für den vom Wort bereits gewirkten Glauben als christliches Zeugnis hörbar wird. . . der Lobpreis Gottes durch die Musik als solche tritt in eine eigenartige Analogie zur Zungenrede: Nicht alle Glieder der Gemeinde beginnen im Lobpreis ihres Glaubens zu musizieren, und nur wenige verstehen dieses Zeugnis." (1)

This point of view would permit any music to be used in response and testimony to the creative deeds of God. It is precisely because "only a few would understand this testimony" that Wallau, for his part, criticises Schlink at this point and denies this possibility as a valid use of music in Christian worship. For worship must always be seen as man's response to the initial deed of God; and the uncritical use of any music whatever to make this response allows too much liberty to the subjective weaknesses of human judgement. The door is left open --- too far open, according to Wallau --- to the use of music as a "pretty" addition to the service of worship:

> "Ein gottesdienstliches Geschehen bedarf keines Schmuckes . . . Sobald die Musik als 'schmuckendes' Beiwerk in der Liturgie angesehen wird, wird sie ästhetisch gewertet, bedeutet ihre Sprache ein erhöhendes Moment gegenüber dem Formprinzip des Wortes." (2)

The recognition of the supremacy of the Word of God is the essential guard against the human abuse of music, in which any human or creaturely thing might wrongly be glorified, from the earthly institution of the Church in Catholic music to the small human sentiments which are too frequently set to music in services of otherwise evangelical doctrine.

1...Schlink, op. cit., pp. 29f.
2...Wallau, op. cit., p. 104

An insistence upon the Word of God as the standard of validity for music to be used in the Church is the only way in which we can keep the Church from being turned temporarily from a place of worship into a concert-hall (and often a poor one at that) when music appears in the service:

> "Gottesdienstliche Handlungen sind auch kein Tummelplatz für Anhäufung von Musikstücken . . . Alles, was im evangelischen Gottesdienst Bestand und Recht haben will, muss vom Wort ausgehen und in engster Verbindung mit ihm stehen." (1)

Thus if in the first possibility there is danger of too much emphasis upon order at the expense of freedom, the fourth category presents us with the opposite danger: an uncontrolled and undisciplined freedom.

Schlink's second and third possibilities (above, pp. 20f.) are really two aspects of the same point of view: that music is rightly used in worship when in association with the Word of God. On the one hand (category #2), music is used to accompany the Word, but in strict subordination to the text, in order that the full meaning of the Word may in no manner be distorted by musical expression. Gregorian and Anglican chants are examples of this disciplined use of music to serve as a vessel in which the Word may be borne. (2) The use of chant does serve this function, but it does not sufficiently show, musically, the full consequences of the fact that this Word

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1...Wallau, op. cit., pp. 104f.

2..."Es ist interessant, dass Rom bis zum heutigen Tag die benediktinische Praxis des Choralsingens nicht schätzt und behauptet, dass die Benediktiner in das Melisma des Chorals subjektive, individualistische Interpretierungskuhst hineinlegen und damit den Choral in gefährliche Nähe zur lutherischen Ketzerei führen." (Wallau, p. 107).

which it bears has become flesh; by its own limitations it fails to show how completely this Word has entered into human existence. (1) Music which is limited to such an exclusively subordinate role becomes simply a rigid formalism, so restricted that it is incomplete as music. It lacks a full share of the element of freedom, and can echo only very faintly the full song of praise and thanksgiving which is heavenly music.

On the other hand (category 3), a full recognition of the place of music in worship will allow it to be used for the interpretation of the Word, strengthening and making more sure the impact of the Word upon those who hear. By means of sounds ordered in pitch, rhythm and tempo, ~~pitch and tempo~~, by the rise and fall of the melodic line, by the tone-colours of harmony and the timbre of voices and instruments, music can truly serve to interpret the Word. The variety of forms in which it presents the Word can serve to make more effective the repetition which is so important to understanding; musical variety can repeat an idea much more effectively than the spoken word can do. (2) The use of music as interpreter, closely bound to the Word in the service of the Church, is one of the most distinctive features of post-Reformation music; in following chapters we shall follow its course from the time of Luther until its fullest development in Bach.

1...cf. Schlink, op. cit., p. 28

2...There are, for instance, passages of Scripture which have become so well-known by their repeated association with a particular musical setting that they have become almost inseparably associated with that music; an outstanding example is "I Know that my Redeemer Liveth", in which Job 19:25f. has become virtually identified in the minds of all who have heard the Messiah with Handel's music.

Even this possibility, which of Schlink's four categories has been the most generally held and to which most Christians today would surely hold, is also capable of being abused. Music and Word may be closely bound together, but there is a danger that music, by its very ability to bear and to interpret the Word, may come to dominate the Word, becoming its lord and not its servant. By its very freedom, musical interpretation may come to attract more attention to itself than to the Word, and may thus actually detract from the Word, to which it should attract:

> "Schliesslich wird nicht mehr das Wort gehört, sondern die Musik macht sich in ihrer Wirkung selbständig, wenngleich sie mit dem Wort verbunden bleibt." (1)

This may happen when essentially liturgical works such as the Cantatas and Passions are transplanted from their liturgical setting to that of the concert-hall or to a radio broadcast; (2) but it may also occur even within the setting of worship. This danger is the most constant problem connected with the use of music in worship; it is the situation in which music can most easily fall prey to the sin of pride.

Music thus can serve the Word not only in Gregorian and Anglican chant, but in polyphonic choral-singing and in antiphonal dialogue between liturgist and choir or congregation. All musical means: pitch, rhythm and tempo; the horizontal line of

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1...Schlink, op. cit., p. 29

2...There are many who would restrict the performance of such music to services in the Church; Paul Tillich has gone so far as to suggest that performances of the Passions should be limited to services on Good Friday. Others feel that this music may serve a true "missionary" function in the concert-hall or on the radio, as long as it is allowed to retain its genuinely proclamatory character (cf. Wallau, op. cit., p. 109).

melody and the vertical structure of harmony; vocal song and wordless instrumental music: all may properly be used to support the Word of proclamation. The one essential condition for the right use of music in worship is that it must always remain the servant of the Word:

> "The opinion often expressed at the present day that art...for instance, music...can become the means of expressing the Word of God as well as, and indeed better than, the human word, is based upon an error. Whoever asserts this does not mean by the Word of God the message of the God who is manifest in Jesus Christ. The message of what God has done for our redemption certainly cannot be expressed as music, and what God wills to say to us in Jesus Christ cannot be painted. . . But music may very well support the word of the proclamation as an expression of the feeling aroused by the Word, and the art of painting may suggest in a pictorial manner what the Word means." (1)

Thus instrumental music (so Wallau) must be closely associated with either the Word of the Bible or the texts of the chorales and hymns --- which must themselves be based upon the Bible. A chorale-prelude for the organ, for instance, serves the Word by preparing and deepening the understanding of the text upon which it is based:

> "Immer aber muss die wortlose geistliche Musik wieder mit dem Wort dienstverbunden oder durch das Wort interpretiert werden, damit sie als Zeugnis der Taten Gottes gehört werden kann." (2)

Although it would seem to be a direct contradiction of his position which we have seen above, (3) Wallau will permit even as abstract a piece of music as a fugue or a toccata to be played, say, as a postlude to a service. But he will

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1...Brunner: The Divine Imperative, p. 502 (but see Brunner's later judgement in Christianity and Civilisation, vol, 2; especially p. 80, quoted below, p. 30); cf. also here Schlink, op. cit., p. 31; Wallau, op. cit., p. 111.
2...Wallau, op. cit., p. 112
3...See above, pp. 21f.

permit it only if it is used as an echo of the eternal music of God, to sum up, so to speak, the whole message of the service --- he will not have it simply as music to be played while the congregation leaves the Church. In any case, Wallau holds, music will not become an idol to be shunned, so long as evangelical worship is based upon the supremacy of the Word, and so long as music is understood to be subordinate to and the servant of the Word. (1)

1...Wallau, op. cit., p. 113. In the following section (pp. 113-132), Wallau explores in greater detail the musical implications of the conception of the service of worship as a dialogue between God and the congregation of worshippers. He suggests a greater use of music to emphasise the proclamatory character of the Word of God in this dialogue; but also more use of spoken dialogue between liturgist and congregation. Again the dialogue may be shown between voices and organ, between children's voices and those of adults, or between choir and congregation. A choir which can sing the most difficult choral music but which does not lead the congregation to join it in praise fails to fulfill its proper liturgical function. "Weg, Wahrheit und Leben unseres Gottesdienstes, seine Mitte kann nur sein der lebendig gegenwärtige Herr und der Lobpreis der Gemeinde vor dem Vater." (p. 117)

Sacred and Secular Music

> The measure of God's acceptance of the singing of a Christian congregation, and of his delight in it, is the unanimity of mind, passion and sentiment, the unity of faith and piety with which we sing together the melodies of our praises.
> ...Eusebius

What then is the distinction between sacred music and secular? It lies in the intention behind the music and not in the occasion of its performance in or out of the service of the Church. The key to the right understanding of this distinction is to be found in the relation between man's search for pleasure and his worship offered to the glory of God.

Music which recognises its own creatureliness, which in humility knows itself to be an echo of God's creative and eternal music: such music is sacred. Music which proceeds from the Christian faith of the musician and which seeks to express that faith in praise and thanksgiving to the glory of God: such music is Christian. It may indeed bring pleasure to those who write, who perform or who hear it; but man's pleasure is always quite incidental to truly Christian music, and never its end. Such pleasure as we do find in Christian music is probably as profound as it is, precisely because it is incidental and not deliberately sought for for effect.

Secular music on the other hand (Schlink's word to describe it is "heidnisch") is self-satisfying music, making its own expression and the pleasure of men its chief or only concerns. Where music is composed or played primarily for

its pleasure-content, denying with pride its essential creatureliness and imperfection, there it is secular or heathen. Such music becomes, as Besch (1) has called it, autonomous; and self-seeking music like all other self-seeking activity is ultimately self-destructive.

When this is seen to be the essential distinction between sacred and secular in music, (2) it will readily be understood that there is possible a sacred music which may not have been intended specifically for the worship of the Church, since any music can be sacred if it is offered humbly as the musician's expression of praise and thanks to God. On the other hand, wherever the musician turns his art to the glorification of anything less than God himself, even though the music be written for and performed in the service, there music is secular and idolatrous. For the Christian composer or performer, all his music will be made as to God --- as all his life is seen as being lived under God. The autonomous musician may give his service to ars gratia artis, to commercial gain, or to countless lesser ends. Where music for these ends enters the service of the Church, the supremacy of the Word of God is made to give way to the pleasure which men find in playing, singing or hearing music. Then worship ceases to be a dialogue between God and man; music has become lord over the Word. When however the musician's purpose is fixed upon giving full praise

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1...Besch: Joh. Seb. Bach, Frömmigkeit und Glaube, p. 267

2...There is possible a point of view which, looking at music from the religious faith other than Christian, would see a "sacred" music which is not Christian; but from the standpoint of Christian faith, "sacred" music is Christian music.

to the God who is the source and judge of all music, even his "pure music" may serve to carry the Word of God. Such music has, as it were, the power to attune the soul for faith. Thus Emil Brunner can say, very differently from his words quoted above (p. 26):

> "As the Marseillaise was a powerful factor in spreading the spirit of the French Revolution, in a similar way really Christian music can kindle faith. . . There are works of Bach to which, though they are pure music without any text, one could add the adequate Biblical words. We know by now that his most abstract composition, Die Kunst der Fuge, is Christian theology expressed in the form of immensely complicated fugues." (1)

The notes, the sounds of music are morally and religiously neutral, (2) but the musicians who use them cannot share their neutrality. There have been musicians who have made music which was technically inferior --- but wholeheartedly to the glory of God. Similarly there have been composers and performers of unusually high ability who have turned their music to lower, lesser ends. By strictly human standards of judgement we should call the former music poor and the latter good; by the standards of Croce's Estetica, the former is music unsuccessful in expression and therefore ugly, while the latter is successful, and therefore beautiful. (3) But it is human pride which leads us to such conclusions. When all musical

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1...Brunner: Christianity and Civilisation, vol. 2, p. 80; but Wallau warns of the difficulty to be encountered in seeking to demonstrate such claims as these except within the framework of the Christian faith: "Es ist dabei allerdings nicht zu vergessen, dass es keine äusserlichen Kennzeichen für eine 'christliche' Instrumentalmusik gibt. Sie wird als christliches Zeugnis erfassbar nur für einen Menschen, der selbst durch das Wort zum Glauben geführt ist." (op. cit., p. 110n.) see also Addenda below, p. 298a

2...Wallau, op. cit., pp. 23f.

3...Croce: Estetica, #10; quoted, with a commentary, by MacGregor: Aesthetic Experience in Religion, p. 58

activity is seen in its relation to God, this distinction between "sacred" and "secular" makes us see the former as more nearly successful than the latter --- although nothing in this distinction in any way releases sacred music from the inherent discipline of all "well-regulated" sound; the rules of good musical art cannot be suspended or set aside by an appeal to sacred or Christian intention. In the end, Wallau holds that the real distinction to be made is that between "genuine" music and "false", depending upon whether it is music directed to God's glory or to man's:

> "Echtes Musizieren ist ein Musizieren, das stets mit der Glaubenshaltung verbunden ist, ein Musizieren zur Ehre Gottes; das unechte Musizieren vermag diese Synthese nicht zu gewinnen. Es lehnt die transzendierende Ausdruckssprache der Musik ab, entleert sie damit ihrer tiefsten Wirkungen und führt nur scheinbar zu einer Befreiung der Musik aus den Fesseln des religiösen Glaubens. In Wirklichkeit setzt es die Musik absolut, erhebt sie zum Götzenbild, treibt Abgötterei mit ihr und gibt dem musikalischen Ausdrucksgehalt eine Bedeutung, eine Selbständigkeit, die er gar nicht besitzt. Aus einem Mittel zur Heiligung wird die Musik zu einer dämonisierten Selbsterlösung, zu einem Stück natürlicher Religion, an der der Mensch scheitern muss." (1)

1...Wallau, op. cit., pp. 136f.

The Musician as Theologian

> I am no mystic, but a theologian. The greater portion of my works are commentaries upon the truth of our catholic faith and upon the inexhaustible sources of the Bible, the Missal, the Church Fathers, and the Imitation of Christ.
>
> ...Olivier Messiaen

The whole course of the rise of Western art has been dependent upon the Christian background against which it has arisen. Until close to our own age, the growth of Western music has been closely associated with and dependent upon the Christian faith. But in recent centuries, where men of musical ability have lacked the foundation of Christian faith, they have tended to substitute their musical skill for their lost or missing faith. Having no basis for the production of music which Wallau, for instance, would be able to call genuine, they have substituted virtuosity; and their false religion of music becomes a weak substitute for the music of true religion. Where men of faith, however, have turned their musical gifts to the service of God, their works have become so truly sacred that Archbishop Söderblom does not hesitate to speak of their music as "the fifth Evangelist." (1)

What sort of man is the musician who makes such music? He surely does not need to be an other-worldly ascetic; still less is it required that he be a saint. What is needed --- and this is the mark of faith --- is a deep sense of depend-

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1...Söderblom: The Living God, p. 339

ence upon God, an acknowledgement of His gifts, and confident trust in Him. The French Roman Catholic, François Florand, has said of the religious composer:

> "Car celui-ci peut n'être pas un saint, il peut même être un pauvre pécheur, mais il ne peut se dispenser de préserver au moins ceci: le sens du rapetissement de la créature en présence du Créateur, joint à l'instinct d'une certaine ferveur d'enfant en présence du Père." (1)

In a word, the Christian musician must be a Christian believer. He who believes shows forth his belief in his life and works; the musician who is a believer will declare his faith in his music. Where he turns his music to comment upon and to interpret his faith, the musician is indeed a theologian. (2)

In the course of all the history of the Christian faith and of music in their interaction, the name of Johann Sebastian Bach stands out as a notable example of what we have sought to define as a Christian musician. In Wallau's phrase, we would call him a genuine musician, and in Wallau's sense of that term, for Bach came closer than most other makers of music to making all of his music to the glory of God. The "conflict" between sacred and secular in Bach's life, as Leo Schrade has described it in an important paper, (3) is not at all a conflict between sacred and secular as we have defined them, but a more limited conflict between writing for the Church and for

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1...Florand, op. cit., p. 233

2...Hans Engel (Johann Sebastian Bach, p. 234) calls it misleading to speak of a musician as having a theology; but surely any devout layman must be to some extent a theologian --- see below, p. 159, for a further critique of Engel's point of view.

3...Bach, the Conflict between the Sacred and the Secular, in "Journal of the History of Ideas", April 1946, pp. 151-94

non-Church purposes. In the light of Bach's Christian faith, as we shall see, there was much less of conflict between these ways of writing than Schrade and many other writers have supposed. For to Bach all his music was essentially sacred. He held so strong a Christian faith that with it as a foundation it was actually not possible for him to write really secular music. (1) There was music from his pen for many "secular" occasions, to be sure; but not even the happiness of the "Coffee Cantata" (2) is alien to the spirit of Bach's faith:

> "Man hat nicht ohne guten Grund gesagt, dass fast jede Bachsche Allemande ein Gebet sei; und das ist nicht im Sinne jener ästhetischen Ergriffenheit gemeint, die den Glauben und die ästhetische Empfindung nicht mehr von einander unterscheiden kann; sondern es ist in jenem ursprünglichen Wortsinn zu verstehen, da der Mensch über Freude und Trauer und alle anderen Geheimnisse des Lebens hinweg sich an Gott den Herrn wendet." (3)

The full depth of Bach's Christian faith can be known only from the viewpoint of faith. Those who have sought to look at Bach from secular points of view have had to explain away many circumstances but have managed to produce a Bach in something like their own image. Thus Jacques Handschin can accuse Bach of an attitude of which many others have been guilty: seeming to be interested in Christian theology and faith only because the force of circumstances compelled him to write for the Church:

1...Schweitzer: J. S. Bach, vol. 1, p. 167
2...Schmieder #211. All references to Bach's compositions throughout this thesis will be to their number in Wolfgang Schmieder: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs, Leipzig 1950; his initial will be used, in spite of his expressed wish, as an abbreviation; thus, in the present case: S.211
3...Hanns Lilje: Musik aus Glauben, p. 20

> "Dans ses chorals d'orgue et dans la manière de traiter certains textes Bach s'est vraiment révélé theologien. Mais il faut aussi tenir compte de ce que Bach, par sa situation extérieure même, resta musicien d'église pendant une grande partie de sa vie." (1)

Writing of Bach's last composition, Vor deinem Thron tret' ich hiermit, (2) Handschin could say: "Je me sens ici bien plus dans une atmosphère de philosophie que de réligion." (3) Many of the tributes paid to Bach at the bicentenary observance of his death at Leipzig, in July 1950, sought to show Bach as a forerunner of Communist partisans. (4)

But from the perspective of the Christian faith in which Bach himself stood, all of his music appears as a genuine re-creative echo of divine music. His music is characteristically humble, and quite the opposite, for example, of that of Wagner, whose grand self-assertive music is most secular --- we might say most profane --- precisely at the point where it attempts to deal with "sacred" themes. (5)

1...De différentes conceptions de Bach, in "Annuaire de la Nouvelle Société Suisse de Musique pour 1929", p. 14

2...S.668

3...Handschin, op. cit., p. 27

4...Especially in a tribute by Viktor Gorodinsky, published in the Festschrift zur Deutschen Bach-Feier, Leipzig 1950, pp. 7-16, in which Bach is seen as a "sociological" representative of the people; and in a commemorative pamphlet published by the Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands, in April 1950, including notes for a cycle of eight Bach-programs. This cycle supposedly includes every aspect of Bach's work, but it includes none of the Church compositions!

5...Besch, writing about an article by Burri in Zwischen den Zeiten, Heft 2, 1927, says: "Wagners religiöse Kunst spiegelt nach Burri die Religiosität des Menschlichen, die Kunst Bachs, die Offenbarung des Gottlichen wider." (op. cit., p. 143) The identification of other composers as "Christian" or as "secular" is not as easy as in the cases of Bach and Wagner. Thus Liszt, though he was in the Church, often seems to be "autonomous" in his music; and Brahms, though he was only on the edge of orthodox faith, surely glorified God in the Deutsches Requiem and the Vier Ernste Gesänge.

The contention that all Bach's music shows forth this faith is supported both by the character of many of his "secular" works and by the ease with which Bach was often able to use the same or similar music for either "secular" or "sacred" purposes. (1) The aria Schafe können sicher weiden, (2) although from a typically "secular" cantata, is as successful a musical portrayal of the pastoral atmosphere as any of the tunes to which Scots sing the metrical 23rd Psalm. (The pastoral theme does receive a more surely spiritual treatment in a church cantata like "Du Hirte Israel, höre" (3), where the emphasis is far more upon the Shepherd of the flock than upon the sheep.) Perhaps the best illustrations, among many which might come to mind, are from the closing choruses of Bach's two great settings of the Passion: each suggests an earlier dance-form which had been written in Bach's days at Cöthen. The St John Passion closes (4) with music whose opening melody and rhythm closely resemble those of the Rondeau from the Overture in B minor; (5) the St Matthew Passion's closing music (6) is adapted and developed from a Sarabande in a suite for lute. (7) Yet each of these, though related in musical origin and structure to music written for very "secular" purposes indeed, becomes a perfect vehicle to express Bach's (and the believer's) reverence at the deeply sacred moment in which the disciples watch at the tomb of the Lord.

1...Although Bach often borrowed music from works which he had previously composed, most of this borrowing was from one Church composition for use in another. The cases in which Bach borrowed from non-liturgical compositions for use in Church music, or vice versa, are shown in Appendix A, pp. 299-303.

2...S.208/9; the cantata in which this appears ("Was mir behagt") is a hunting cantata in honour of the birthday of Duke Christian of Sachsen-Weissenfels.

3...S.104

4...S.245/67

5...S.1067

6...S.244/78

7...S.997/3

Bach's music is exalted but humble. Most of it was written for the specific use of the Church or the court in whose service he was. Very little of the tremendous amount of music which he wrote was published during his lifetime. When he did publish, it was usually for the specific purpose of increasing public understanding of the higher goal of his art. (1) The dedication of the Orgelbüchlein might serve as well as a declaration of the purpose of all his music:

> Dem höchsten Gott allein zu Ehren,
> Dem Nächsten draus sich zu belehren.

The music which Bach prepared for the instruction of his eldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann, was headed "In Nomine Jesu;" and the rules for accompaniment from a figured-bass which Bach gave to his pupils included the following short chapter:

> "Der General Bass ist das vollkommste Fundament der Music welcher mit beyden Händen gespielet wird dergestalt das die lincke Hand die vorgeschriebenen Noten spielet die rechte aber Con- und Dissonatien darzu greift damit dieses eine wohlklingende Harmonie gebe zur Ehre Gottes und zulässiger Ergötzung des Gemüths und soll wie aller Music, also auch der General Basses Finis und End Uhrsache anders nicht, als nur zu Gottes Ehre und Recreation des Gemüths seyn. Wo dieses nicht in Acht genommen wird da ists keine eigentliche Music sondern ein Teuflisches Geplerr und Geleyer." (2)

The invocation and benediction which became the first and the last things which Bach set upon his paper in his compositions were not mere pious mottoes, written down only for custom's sake; they were a genuine expression of a deep Christian faith which acknowledged God as the source of his creative

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1...Bach's own statement of this goal is contained in his letter of resignation from the Church at Mühlhausen; see below, pp. 135f.

2...Quoted in Spitta: Johann Sebastian Bach (German edition, 1873/80), vol. 2, pp. 915f.

gifts, and which turned them to God's praise:

> "J.J. = Jesu juva - betet er zu Anfang und bezeugt damit die Demut eines Menschen, der seine gewaltige musikalische Gestaltungskraft nicht aus der Selbstherrlichkeit des Individuums sondern aus Gott schöpft; eine Demut, die so echt war, dass er nicht einmal wusste, wie gross er war.
>
> "S.D.G. = Soli Deo gloria - bezeugt er am Schluss, denn nicht das losgelöste, einsam im All schwebende Ich hat in Tönen gesucht, gerungen, gekämpft, sondern ein Glied der Ordnung Gottes, die am ersten Schöpfungstage anhebt und in die Herrlichkeit der zukünftigen Welt hinüberreicht, hat mit den Engeln und aller irdischen Kreatur Gott Lob geopfert." (1)

Hearing such music, the heart of the Christian is turned closer to communion with the God to whom it gives glory. We shall look at this music in detail in later chapters, but we must now turn to an examination of the musical and religious background of Bach's day.

1...Lilje, op. cit., pp. 29f.

Chapter 2

MUSIC IN THE SERVICE OF THE REFORMATION

> Ich glaube über die wichtigsten Angelegenheiten des Menschen mit mir aufs reine gekommen zu sein. Aber wenn ich manchmal des Abends an meinem Klavier sitze und einen Choral singe, so fühle ich eine Ruhe und Freudigkeit in mir, welche alle meine Spekulationen mir nicht geben können.
>
> ...Immanuel Kant

> The hymns of Luther killed more souls than his sermons.
>
> ...a Jesuit

In each of its points of principal emphasis, the Reformation of the sixteenth century had an important influence upon music; and music in its turn played an especially significant part in the growth and development of the Reformation. This mutual interaction was of particular importance in the Lutheran Reformation, in whose tradition Bach lived and in which he found the deepest sources of his musical art.

Justification by faith, which sounds through all the Reformation as a keynote, means that music can be only a proclamation of what God has done and a joyful expression of thanks and praise to God. The emphasis upon the primacy of Scripture means that the subject-matter of the Reformation's music must be primarily Biblical. The concept of the priesthood of all believers places the music of worship upon the voices of <u>all</u> Christians. Almost from its very beginning the Reformation sang, even as the early Church had done. In their singing,

the Churches of the Reformation developed their own distinctive musical ways of presenting their faith. In the Lutheran Church the chorale became the form in which the Biblical faith was sung; in the Reformed Churches of Geneva and Strassburg the metrical Psalm became the instrument of the people's praise. In either case, the singing was the praise of the entire congregation, it was Biblical in its inspiration, and it was in the vernacular, for all the people to understand as they sang.

This was no more an entirely new departure than were the preaching and the doctrines of the Reformation. Even before the Reformation the Church had used music as a means of expressing its thanks to God; much of its song was based upon the Bible; and although many of the musical texts were, like the liturgy, in Latin, a large body of vernacular hymns had been collected. (1) Yet the pre-Reformation hymns did not become the possession of the laity; most of those which were used were limited to special lyrical petitions to the Virgin. The chorales and Psalms of the 16th-century Reformation, on the other hand, became from the very first a most important means of proclaiming the faith.

In the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and France the Psalm remained the only liturgical music, (2) but in the Churches of Lutheran Germany, where much of the liturgy of the Mass had been retained, not only were chorales given to

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1...Wackernagel, in vol. 2 of Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, enumerates 1484 vernacular German hymns from before the time of Luther.

2...See below, p. 54, and also Routley: The Church and Music, pp. 124ff.

the congregations to sing, but there was also a call upon musicians for musical settings of the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo --- those portions of the Mass which were used in Lutheran worship (1) --- and for other music to be sung by choirs. In the regular weekly worship of the Lutheran Churches the choir's motett[2] gradually developed during the late seventeenth century until it had become by about 1700 the Cantata, a poetic and musical commentary upon the Gospel for each Sunday; and at the same time the special music for Good Friday, in which the story of the Passion was retold in dramatic choral music, became the outstanding musical feature of the Lutheran liturgy.

In this chapter we shall inquire into the special importance of Martin Luther to the development of the Church music of the Reformation, into the ways in which the chorale came to a position of unique importance in the Lutheran Churches of Germany, and into the development of other musical forms in the Protestant service.

Martin Luther and the Music of the Church

> When church music ceases to sound, doctrine will disintegrate. . . . Religious music applied to life is a sanctification of life.
> ...Melanchthon

The figure of Martin Luther is no less important to the music of the Reformation than it is to the theology of Protestantism. For Luther was not only a theologian and preacher

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1...On special occasions the Sanctus also was used; cf. Spitta: The Life of Bach (English edition, 1884/5), vol. 3, p. 26

2...See below, p. 70

but a musician as well; and when he turned his power to reformation of the Church, Luther reformed it in music as well as in doctrine. As a performer of music, we know only that he played the lute and the flute, but we know also that he was well-acquainted with the musical theory of his own day --- understanding it, indeed, much more thoroughly than most other theologians. (1) As a poet, we know 36 hymns and 25 additional occasional songs from his pen; and it is possible, as we shall see later, (2) that some of the ten or twelve tunes which have been attributed to Luther may actually have been composed by him. What is of greater importance, however, than Luther's own musical writing is the influence which he had upon those who followed him in the Reformation: ". . . above all else he was able to inspire, because his enthusiasm for music was so great." (3) The musicians who followed in the theological and liturgical paths which Luther blazed were able, because of the spirit of joy which came as a musical response to the freedom of the Gospel which Luther proclaimed, to make a new music. The music which they made became one of the chief means in the presentation of Luther's Gospel to the world.

But was music really an <u>essential</u> aspect of the Lutheran Reformation? Did music come to assume such an important role as a necessary result of the doctrines of the Reformation, or

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1...The most important of the specialised studies of Luther's music is that by Christhard Mahrenholz: <u>Luther und die Kirchenmusik</u>, 1937. A critical study of Luther's hymns and other poems is given by Wilhelm Stapel: <u>Luthers Lieder und Gedichte</u>, 1950.

2...See below, p. 58

3...Roland Bainton: <u>Here I Stand</u>, a Life of Martin Luther, p. 340

was it a more or less accidental result of the fact that the Reformer who proclaimed these doctrines happened to be a lover of music? Mahrenholz asks:

> ". . . handelt es sich nicht doch um eine Liebhaberei des Reformators, um eine persönliche Schwäche für etwas im Grunde ganz Unwesentliches?" (1)

and looks for the answer into Luther's theology itself:

> "Die Antwort werden wir uns dafür nicht bei dem Lautenspieler, Querflötenbläser, Dichter und Sänger Luther, sondern bei dem Theologen Luther holen." (2)

The answer is not altogether easy to find, for musician though he was, Luther did not produce, as Augustine had done, a De Musica in which he might have dealt systematically with the theological implications of his musical enthusiasm. Scattered throughout his writings there are many plain comments upon music, however, and from them it is easy to gather a clear picture of music as a gift of God to men for their use in His praise:

> "Wer die Musicam verachtet, wie denen alle Schwärmer thun, mit denen bin ich nicht zufrieden. Denn die Musica ist ein Gabe und Geschenke Gottes, nicht ein Menschen-Geschenk. So vertreibt sie auch den Teufel, und machet die Leut fröhlich; man vergisset dabey alles Zorns, Unkeuschheit, Hoffart, und andern Laster. Ich gebe nach der Theologia der Musica den nähesten Locum und höchste Ehre. Und man siehet, wie David und alle Heiligen ihre gottselige Gedanken in Vers, Reim und Gesänge gebracht haben, quia pacis tempore regnat musica." (3)

This is perhaps the most characteristic of Luther's expressions about music; there is a total of 39 other comments on music to be found scattered through the Tischreden. The letter to Senfl of 4th October 1530 and the liturgical writings, especially the prefaces to the principal Gesangbücher of the early Reformation,(4)

1...Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 4
2...ibid.
3...Weimar Ausgabe of Luther's Works: Tischreden #7034
4...These prefaces are included in Stapel, op. cit.; see also below, pp. 44ff.

give us additional fragments of what Luther might have included in a De Musica, if he had written such a treatise.

The introduction to Georg Rhau's Symphoniae iucundae (1538) is possibly the most important of all Luther's writings on music. In it he shows that he looks at music not only as a gift from God, but as one which stems directly from God's very order of creation:

> "To all lovers of the liberal art of music Dr. Martin Luther wishes grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. With all my heart I would extol the precious gift of God in the noble art of music, but I scarcely know where to begin or end. There is nothing on earth which has not its tone. Even the air invisible sings when smitten with a staff. Among the beasts and the birds song is still more marvelous. David, himself a musician, testified with amazement and joy to the song of the birds. What then shall I say of the voice of man, to which naught else may be compared? The heathen philosophers have striven in vain to explain how the tongue of man can express the thoughts of the heart in speech and song, through laughter and lamentation. Music is to be praised as second only to the Word of God because by her are all the emotions swayed. Nothing on earth is more mighty to make the sad gay and the gay sad, to hearten the downcast, mellow the overweening, temper the exuberant, or mollify the vengeful. The Holy Spirit himself pays tribute to music when he records that the evil spirit of Saul was exorcised as David played upon his harp. The fathers desired that music should always abide in the Church. That is why there are so many songs and psalms. This precious gift has been bestowed on men alone to remind them that they are created to praise and magnify the Lord. But when natural music is sharpened and polished by art, then one begins to see with amazement the great and perfect wisdom of God in his wonderful work of music, where one voice takes a simple part and around it sing three, four, or five other voices, leaping, springing round about, marvelously gracing the simple part, like a square dance in heaven with friendly bows, embracings, and hearty swinging of the partners. He who does not find this an inexpressible miracle of the Lord is truly a clod and is not worthy to be considered a man." (1)

1...Translated by Bainton, op. cit., p. 343

Because music is the best of all God's gifts to man, it is therefore man's greatest source of joy and pleasure:

> "But the thing is much too great for me to be able to tell all about its usefulness in such a short space as this. My excellent young man, you must let me commend this noble, wholesome and happy creature [music], through which you will be able to strengthen your passions against all harmful appetites and evil companions. And besides, by means of this creature you will be able to come to know and to praise the Creator; and you will be able to protect yourself from and avoid that corrupt spirit which misuses the best things of Nature in an artful way, like the shameless poets with their foolish desires. Be sure that it is the devil who drives you against your own nature, which would and should praise only God, your Creator, with this his gift; and that those corrupt ones who would steal this wonderful gift of God, can use it only to serve the enemy of God and of Nature and of this most-loved art. Fare well in the Lord." (1)

Throughout this and the introductions to the other song-books, as well as in many parts of the Tischreden, Luther showed that he saw this favourite art of his with such special favour just because it is God's gift. Still he saw special significance in the fact that man alone of all the creatures who can share in this gift of God is able to join his music to the words of speech. Free music, without words, has all the power which he has ascribed to it. Yet for all its power there is one thing which music cannot do by itself, and this the most important of all tasks. Music alone cannot lead man's soul to Christ. To do this it must become the servant of God's Word; allied with that Word music can move men's hearts and direct their souls to Christ. (2)

Yet Luther would allow a greater place than Wallau (3) to what we would speak of, in the language of Besch, as "autono-

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1...Bainton's translation does not include the closing paragraph of the introduction; the quoted paragraph is my translation from Stapel, op. cit., p. 92
2...cf. Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 18; Wallau, op. cit., p. 91
3...See above, pp. 22, 29

mous" music. Even though such music may actually become demonic, as Luther warns in the closing paragraph of the Rhau Introduction quoted above, this demonic power itself is able to prepare the way for the true music of the Gospel: "Denn Weisses kann man besser erkennen, wenn man Schwarzes dagegen hält." (1) The more clearly music does actually show forth the Gospel, the more surely will it be able to overcome such demonic and devilish forces; and music is able to show its truest character as servant of its Creator:

> "Dass also solcher schöner Schmuck der Musica in rechtem Brauch ihrem lieben Schöpfer und seinen Christen diene, dass er gelobt und geehrt, wir aber durch sein heiliges Wort, mit süssem Gesang ins Herz getrieben, gebessert und gestärkt werden im Glauben. Das helfe uns Gott der Vater mit Sohn und heiliger Geist. Amen." (2)

The practice of music is indeed a picture to Luther of what he meant by "the liberty of the Christian man", effective only when released from the compulsion of the Law by the joy of the Gospel. Thus he could say:

> "Was lex ist, geht nicht vonstatten; was evangelium ist, das geht vonstatten; Sic deus praedicavit evangelium etiam per musicam, ut videtur in Josquin, des alles Komposition fröhlich, willig, milde herausfleusst, ist nicht gezwungen und genötigt per regulas, sicut des Finken Gesang." (3)

In the freedom of this liberty, Luther was happy to make use of all the rich tradition of music which the Roman Church had built. He knew that, as a gift of God, great music can never be limited to any particular time or age, and he found a great

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1...Weimar Ausgabe: Tischreden #968

2...Introduction to 1542 Gesangbuch: Stapel, op. cit., p. 86; cf. also Wallau, op. cit., p. 98

3...Weimar Ausgabe: Tischreden #1258; Josquin [des Prés] (ca. 1445-1521) was one of the great contrapuntalists of the 15th century in the Netherlands. In spite of his Roman orders (he was a canon of Condé), Josquin was Luther's favourite composer.

deal of value in the musical heritage of the past. Just as he retained music of the Latin service in the new liturgy which he gradually developed, so also he continued to use much of the music of the past, and would gladly have used more:

> "Und wenn ichs vermöcht, und die griechische und hebräische Sprache wäre uns so gemein als die lateinische und hätte so viel feiner Musica und Gesangs als die lateinische hat, so sollte man ein Sonntag um den andern in allen vier Sprachen: deutsch, lateinisch, griechisch, hebräisch Messe halten, singen und lesen." (1)

Where the forms of the Roman tradition would serve to convey evangelical content, Luther was content to keep the "alte Lieder" and the old forms; but where the old songs and forms obscured or falsified the truth of the Gospel he insisted upon new forms and provided new songs in which music could convey the Word of God. In his liturgical reforms, Luther's concern was ". . . to breathe into [liturgy] a new spirit; and to make worship congregational and choral rather than priestly in character." (2) Whatever would strengthen the sense of the priesthood of all believers in the congregation's worship, whatever emphasised more surely the Scriptural foundation of worship, whatever would make the service more confidently a proclamation of and a response to the justification by faith which is the heart of the Gospel: these were the criteria by which Luther judged the liturgy and upon which he based any changes from the traditional use. Neither the Ordnung des Gottesdienstes of 1523 nor the Deutsche Messe of 1526 set up a new liturgy as over against the old, but in both of them changes (mostly musical) were introduced which had the effect of making the an-

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1...Deutsche Messe 1526; cit. in Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 10
2...Reed: The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 82

cient forms evangelical, (1) and which were meant to conserve everything that was good in the Latin liturgical tradition:

> "His liturgical reforms . expressed so far as he could make them do so his belief in the goodness of things human and the sanctity (or rather the destiny of sanctification) of the human soul.
> "He therefore gathered music into the service of the church. The richness and drama of the Roman Mass he long wished to retain; it was only gradually that he found sweeping changes necessary." (2)

Luther's musical changes in the liturgy were made at three points: the chants sung by the priest, the music sung by the choir, and the hymns of the congregation. In the Deutsche Messe the priest still chanted the entire service except for the sermon and the prayer which followed it. Even the Epistle and the Gospel were to be chanted, but Luther carefully modified the chants prescribed to be used in order to subordinate the music to the words of Scripture and to make certain that the Word could be heard plainly by the people. (3)

As we have seen, (4) Luther was particularly fond of the polyphonic choral music of the Netherlands, and he strongly encouraged even more use of such music in God's praise. It was, he said, the music which was the best of all in the Catholic tradition:

1...Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 11
2...Routley, op. cit., p. 119; cf. also Reed, op. cit., p. 83: "...the Lutheran Church in Germany in the 16th century regarded itself as the legitimate heir to the liturgical and musical culture of the mediaeval centuries, and the conserver of all that was good and pure and beautiful . . in the life of Western Christendom."
3...Instead of the florid melisma which was common in the chanting of the Roman Mass, Luther specified that there should be no more than one note for each syllable of text; he also specified the sixth (Gregorian) tone to be used for the Gospel and the eighth tone for the Epistle. (cf. Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 14)
4...The Preface to Rhau's Gesangbuch; see above, p. 44

> "Was böse in der Messe ist vom Opfer und Werk, das hat Gott wunderlich geschickt, dass fast alles der Priester heimlich lieset; . . . was aber öffentlich durch den Chor und unter dem Haufen gesungen wird, fast eitel gute Dinge und Lobgesäng sind." (1)

Choirs able to sing such praise were needed, and Luther brought Georg Rhau, who was Bach's predecessor by just more than 200 years as Cantor at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, to Wittenberg. There, as Cantor both to the court and to the Church, Rhau began the long tradition of musicians who have continued the choral tradition of Luther, training and directing the choirs which have sung the music of the Lutheran liturgy. (2)

The third of Luther's musical reforms, and the greatest, was in the song of the congregation. There had been a few opportunities in the mediaeval liturgy for members of the congregation to join in responses, and there was a fairly large collection of devotional songs which the laity could sing at home. But true to the spirit of a priesthood of all believers, Luther gave the entire congregation the opportunity of singing its common praise to God. He became, indeed, as Bainton and many others have called him, "the father of congregational song." (3) By singing together, the congregation could declare not just their individual devotions but their common worship. (4) Luther began the great collection of hymns for the congregation by preparing German versions of portions of Scripture , of the liturgy and of older Latin hymns which now all the people could

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1...Vermahnung zum Sakrament: Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 19
2...Rhau was also a printer as well as a musician.
3...Bainton, op. cit., p. 344
4...cf. Alfred Dedo Müller: Musik als Problem lutherischer Gottesdienstgestaltung, 1947: "Gottesdienst ist die radikalste Überwindung des Individualismus, weil er das Ich im Herzen, in der letzten Tiefe seines Lebenswillens mit dem Du verbindet . . . Und schliesslich kann die Musik deutlicher als jedes andere Ausdrucksmittel das Gotteslob einer Gemeinde vor Gott bringen. . ." (pp. 22f.)

join in singing together. The Creed became a hymn: not the private confession "I believe. . ." but a public affirmation by the Gemeinde, "We all believe in one God." Hymns became a means of Christian education; special rehearsals were set during the week for the entire congregation, and singing was commended to the family at home, as well. (1) We are less certain to what extent Luther may also have been the composer of some of the tunes to which his hymns were sung, (2) but the beginning which he made and the zeal which he showed served to inspire hundreds of hymn-writers and composers who followed his lead. Because of Luther's influence, the Church of the Reformation became a distinctively singing Church. The singing of the congregation

> ". . . was the point at which [Luther's] doctrine of the priesthood of all believers received its most concrete realization. This was the point and the only point at which Lutheranism was thoroughly democratic. All the people sang." (3)

1...Bainton, op.cit., p. 346
2...See below, p. 58
3...Bainton, p. 344

Other Reformers and Music

Nostre Dieu est ferme appuy,
Auquel aurons en nostre ennuy
Vertu, fortresse et seur confort,
Present refuge et très bon port.
Donc certaine asseurance aurons,
Mesmes quand la terre verrons
Par tremblement se desrocher,
Et mons en la mer se cacher;
Quand la mer, bruyant et tonnant,
Comme par corroux s'enflera,
Et les grands rochers estonnant,
De vagues les ebranlera.
Car la cité qu'a Dieu esleu,
Qui pour sa maison luy a pleu,
Son ruisseau doulx et clair aura,
Qui tousjours la resjouira.
...from Psalm 46 in the version of Calvin

We have spoken as though Luther's work were the only aspect of the Reformation. Musically it was the Lutheran Reformation which was the most important, and it is Luther's musical contributions and teaching which are essential to an understanding of the background of Bach's music. Yet even in Bach's day, two centuries after the beginning of the Reformation, there was present a strong antagonism between the heirs of Luther and those who in Germany were followers of the Swiss and French Reformers. (1) So although their influence upon Bach and his music was only negative and of minor importance, we need to take at least brief notice of Zwingli and Calvin, to see and to understand their position with regard to music, particularly to liturgical music.

Zwingli's reform, almost exactly contemporaneous with that of Luther, was much more sweeping in the changes which it

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1...During Bach's six years as Kapellmeister to the Reformed Court of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen he remained staunchly Lutheran; on the title-page of one of his Cöthen compositions there is a note in his hand of the title of August Pfeiffer's "Anticalvinismus" (see below, pp. 90f.; 149).

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brought about. Of all the Reformers, Zwingli was the most accomplished musician; Farner quotes the chronicler Bernhard Wyss as saying of him:

> "Ich hab ouch nie von keinem gehört, der in der Kunst Musica, das ist im Gsang und allen Instrumenten der Music, als Luthen, Harpfen, Gigen, Rabögli [kleine Taschengeige], Pfifen [die sogenannte Schweizer- oder Feldpfeife] -- als guot als [so trefflich wie] ein Eidgnoss --, das Trummschit [Hackbrett], den Zinken und das Waldhorn und was man söllichs erdacht und er es sach [sah] schnell kund [konnte], als [so] bald er's suo Handen nam." (1)

Zwingli was not only an accomplished musical performer, but also a writer of hymns. Three of his hymns have been preserved, and to at least one of them he is credited with having written the music. (2) In the actual service of the Church as Zwingli prepared it for use in Zürich, however, nearly everything reminiscent of Roman worship was changed or eliminated; and Zwingli, the musician, removed <u>all</u> music from the service. Zürich's nearest equivalent to liturgical music was the antiphonal reading of Psalms and canticles by groups seated at opposite sides of the Church. (3) Not until 1598 was music (the singing of Psalms) restored to the service in Zürich. (4)

In no other place did the Reformation try to eliminate music entirely from the service. When music was prohibited in Zürich, Johannes Zwick, the reformer of Konstanz, remonstrated with Zwingli, in a friendly but insistent way: "Sölte vogelsang Gottes lob syn mögen, und nit der christen gsang?" (5)

1...Oskar Farner: <u>Huldrych Zwingli</u>, Band 1, p. 169
2...Wackernagel, <u>op. cit.</u>, Band 3/551-3; cf. also <u>Gott ist mein Lied</u>: Kirchenlieder und ihre Geschichte, pp. 74ff.
3...<u>Actio oder Bruch des Nachtmahls</u> 1525; cf. Maxwell: <u>An Outline of Christian Worship</u>, p. 86
4...S. M. Jackson: <u>Huldreich Zwingli</u>, p. 290n.
5...<u>Gott ist mein Lied</u>, p. 17

It was not Zwingli who ultimately set the tone for the musical attitude of the Swiss Reformation (whose followers in Germany and elsewhere came to be called "Reformed" as distinguished from the Lutherans of the German Reformation, who were "Protestant"), (1) but men like Zwick and, above all, Calvin. We have no evidence that Calvin was as accomplished a musician as Zwingli or Luther, but we may be quite certain that he did understand and appreciate its importance in worship. In the introduction to his liturgy of 1542 Calvin wrote:

> "A la verité, nous congnoissons par expérience que le chant à grand force et vigeur d'esmouvoir et enflamber le coeur des hommes, pour invoquer et louer Dieu d'un zèle plus véhément et ardent." (2)

In the edition of 1545 Calvin's judgement about music seems even closer to that of Luther:

> "Or, entre les autres choses, qui sont propres pour récréer l'homme et luy donner volupté, la musicque est, ou la premiere, ou l'une des principalles: et nous faut estimer que c'est un don de Dieu, député à cest usaige. . . " (3)

From passages like these, Calvin's enthusiastic champion, Doumergue, concludes:

> "Calvin a vu dans tous les arts plus que des inventions humaines, des inventions divines, et dans aucun autre Réformateur, pas même chez Luther [underlining mine], on ne trouve un tel éloge, aussi senti, de l'art oratoire et de l'art musical." (4)

However highly Calvin may have prized music, his use of music in the service was a much more limited and disciplined use than Luther's. (5) Where Luther had retained everything

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1...A. L. Drummond: German Protestantism since Luther, p. 6
2...Quoted by Doumergue: Jean Calvin, vol. 2, p. 485
3...ibid.
4...ibid., p. 487
5...Routley, op. cit., p. 125, sums up Calvin's attitude toward music in worship under three points: "(1) Music is for the people, so it must be simple; (2) Music is for God, so it must be modest; (3) These objects are best attained by the music of the unaccompanied voice."

from the Mass which was not plainly repugnant to the Gospel, Calvin's liturgy allowed only that which was plainly in accord with the Gospel. Thus the Psalms, as the only available Scriptural songs, became the only permissible source of song in Calvin's liturgy; and these must be sung in the language which all the people will understand. In Calvin's Strassburg and Geneva, this meant providing the Churches with the Psalms in French. Calvin himself wrote some of the translations, but most of them were the work of others, particularly of Theodore de Beza and Clement Marot. (1) To these vernacular Psalms music was provided by a group of musicians, chief among whom were Louis Bourgeois and Claude Goudimel. (2)

These Psalms were at the very heart of Calvin's worship; Doumergue expresses the Reformed feeling toward them: "Les Psaumes, c'est la voix même, populaire et artistique, de notre Réforme." (3) They were felt to be such a perfect music that the use of any other music in the service would be a profanation: "Il suffit d'un chant simple et pur des louanges divines, de coeur et de bouche, en langue vulgaire . . ." (4) In the following centuries the singing of vernacular Psalms remained the musical heart of Reformed worship, and when Bach went in 1717 to become Kapellmeister at the court of Cöthen, he found a service in which much of the Genevan tradition still prevailed.

1...The French Psalter appeared in many editions, beginning in 1539 in Strassburg; the complete Psalter was not published until 1562 (1565 with music); cf. Doumergue, vol. 2, pp. 508ff. The German Psalter, based upon Beza and Marot, was the work of a Lutheran, Ambrosius Lobwasser, whose collection was published in 1573 (see below, p. 103).
2...Doumergue, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 512ff.
3...ibid., p. 522
4...ibid., p. 521

The Development of the Chorale

WAcht auff, es nahent gen dem tag,
ich hor singen im grunen hag
Ain wunnigkliche Nachtigall,
jr stim durchklinget berg vnd tall.
Die nacht naigt sich gen Occident,
der tag get auff von Orient,
Die rotprünstige morgenrot
her durch die truben wolcken got.
...Hans Sachs:
Die Wittenbergisch nachtigall
die man jetzt horet vberall

We have already seen (1) how the influence of Luther set the Church to singing and how he may be said to have begun the great Protestant tradition of congregational song. We must now look in somewhat greater detail at the specific contribution which Luther made, and how his example and influence began the great flood of popular congregational song in the centuries which followed.

The Lutheran Reformation placed three volumes of their faith in the hands of the people: the Bible, the Catechism and the Hymn-book. Each of these was of first importance in the rise of the Reformation, but the hymn-book takes on special significance, for the books of hymns which Luther and Walther published in 1524 (2) were the first published collections of hymns prepared for use as hymn-books. In this form the hymns could be used by the people in homes as well as in the liturgy of the Church, and the hymn became a means of teaching the faith and of binding the worship of home and Church more

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1...See above, p. 50
2...Three Gesangbücher were published in 1524:
a...Etlich cristlich lider (the Wittenberg "Achtliederbuch")
b...Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein (the Erfurt Enchiridion)
c...Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn (the Wittenberg Gesangbuch)
The Erfurt Enchiridion was compiled especially for use in homes, and the Wittenberg Gesangbuch for use in the Church (cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 28).

closely together:

> "Das aber, was das Haus mit der Kirche, was Familie, Freundschaft, Volk mit Gott verband, war das von Familie, Freundeskreis und Volk gesungene Lied. Es erklang in den Häusern und auf den Strassen wie in den Kirchen. . . Das Lied hat nicht minder gewirkt als die Predigt, das Gesangbuch nicht minder als der Katechismus. . .
>
> "Hat man bedacht, welch ein erstaunliches 'soziales Phänomen' des 'Evangelische Gesangbuch' ist, das zum ersten Mal im Jahre 1524 ans Licht trat? Vorher gab es nur 'Hymnen', 'Lieder', aber keinen 'Gesangbücher'." (1)

Thirty-six of Luther's hymns have come down to us. Most of them are not original, but are either translations or arrangements of older Latin and earlier German hymns, or they are vernacular German versions of Psalms or paraphrases from Scripture. In almost every case Luther was careful to use verse-forms which were familiar, so that the hymns might easily be learned.

We do not know when Luther began the writing of hymns. The earliest of which we have record is "Ein neues Lied wir heben an", written as a tribute to Voes and Esch, the Lutheran martyrs who were burned at Brussels on July 1, 1523. (2) Stapel holds that Luther had just conceived the idea in 1523 of making a collection of vernacular hymns, based on the Psalms and older hymns, which might be used in evangelical worship and teaching, when news came of the execution of Voes and Esch; that immediately Luther wrote a hymn as a tribute to them, and then in a torrent of creative activity went on to write the entire planned collection. (3) Whatever the explanation, the three collections of hymns published in 1524 included no fewer

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1...Stapel: Luthers Lieder und Gedichte, p. 11
2...cf. Mackinnon: Luther and the Reformation, vol. 4, pp. 323f.
3...Stapel, op. cit., pp. 21f.

than 24 hymns written by Luther:

> "Bei der Impulsivität und Explosivität seines Schaffens ist es durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass Luther vom Herbst 1523 bis zu den Tagen, da das Luther-Walther'sche Gesangbuch gedruckt wurde, also 1524, nicht weniger als zwei Dutzend Lieder schrieb. . . Als dieser Sturm vorüber war, meinte Luther das Seinige getan zu haben." (1)

Although two-thirds of all Luther's hymns were written within the space of just one year, a further dozen hymns appeared during the following twenty years, including among them "Ein' feste Burg" and others which have become Luther's best-known hymns. During Luther's lifetime, five additional hymn-books appeared: four of them in Wittenberg, in 1531, 1535, 1543 and 1544; and the fifth (the Gesangbuch of Valentin Babst) in Leipzig in 1545. (2) Luther's hymns were included in these collections together with more and more hymns written by others. Stapel has shown the range of subjects which is covered by Luther's 36 hymns by arranging them according to their liturgical purposes. (3) Mackinnon says of Luther's poetic presentation of the faith that

> "Whilst he . borrowed and adapted the themes of a considerable number of the old hymns, he imparted to them a striking originality, both of content and expression, which transformed them into the poetic vehicle of his own thought and experience. . .
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> "Generally speaking, the dominant note of the hymns is the redemption through Christ from sin, death, and hell, with the corollary of man's sinfulness and moral impotence under the power of sin...his poetic feeling is rather handicapped by the didactic purpose of expressing his distinctive theology in verse. [But] where he excels in beautiful and touching expression is in depicting his personal experience of God's love . . in Christ." (4)

1...Stapel, op. cit., p. 22
2...cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 1
3...In Appendix B, pp. 304-310 below, the hymns are listed according to Stapel's classification, together with
   a...Luther's title, and the place of first publication;
   b...the first line in modern German, which is the title by which the hymns are known in Bach's works;
   c...brief notes on the hymns and of Bach's use of them.
4...Mackinnon, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 327

Because of the way in which the hymns were written and published, it is more difficult to ascertain the origins of hymn-tunes than of the words of the hymns. When the very first hymn-books were published, Luther called Johann Walther, a singer from Torgau and later Kapellmeister to the Elector of Saxony, to assist him in the preparation of the music for the Gesangbücher, particularly the Wittenberg "Geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn" of 1524. Because we know of Luther's musical ability, many of the tunes to which his hymns are sung have been ascribed to him; but we cannot be certain whether he was actually the composer of any of them. "Ein feste Burg", "Aus tiefer Noth", "Mit Fried und Freud", and "Vom Himmel hoch", among others, may have been composed or arranged by Luther; (1) and Walther himself credited Luther with the composition of musical settings for the two hymns in the Mass, the "Credo" and the "Sanctus." (2) Other tunes, notably that for "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein", were probably taken from popular songs of the day. (3) Walther certainly was responsible for the form of many of the tunes. But whether the tunes were composed by Luther himself, by Walther, or by other, anonymous composers, the hymns of Luther were sung by the people --- and their singing began a torrent of congregational song.

Although Luther did not write many hymns, what he began was followed by an almost-countless number of "geistliche Lieder" from the pens of others. Wackernagel, whose survey of the song of the German Churches (4) includes every published

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1...Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 3, pp. 107, 154f., 263, 306
2...Cited in Mackinnon, op. cit., p. 329
3...Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 1, p. 59
4...Wackernagel: Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts, 5 vols., 1864-77

version of German hymns or of Latin hymns in Germany from the time of Otfrid von Weissenburg in the 8th century until the beginning of the 17th century, devotes his first volume (656 hymns) to pre-Reformation Latin hymns; the second volume (1448 hymns) to pre-Reformation vernacular hymns. But the third volume, beginning with Luther's own first hymn, includes only those hymns which had been published before Luther's death in 1546: in "the first generation of the Reformation" there appeared a total of 1487 hymns, a number slightly greater within 22 years than had appeared in the preceding eight centuries! Two further volumes were required to supply the hymns published during the remaining years of the 16th century --- a total in the 80 years after Luther began of 3814 hymns by 334 different authors. (1) In the following century the flow of lyrical expression continued, and by 1697 the Leipzig hymnal of Paul Wagner (2) required eight volumes to contain its 5000 hymns, and von Moser published in 1751, the year after Bach's death, a hymnological index containing more than 50,000 German hymns. (3)

From such an impossibly large number of hymns it became necessary to choose a few which by their use had become well-

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1...This includes only those hymns which were written by Lutheran writers; Wackernagel also includes, separately, the 231 hymns attributed to Schwenckfelder poets, the 175 hymns of the Anabaptists, and 575 German hymns by Roman Catholic writers, who were stimulated by the effect of the music of the Reformation to produce a kind of musical Counter-Reform.

2...Andächtiger Seelen Brand- und Gantz-Opfer. Das ist vollständiges Gesangbuch in acht unterschiedlichen Theilen

3...Bunsen: Allgemeines evangelisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch zum Kirchen- und Hausgebrauch, 1881, p. 721; cf. also Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 1, p. vi, who reports an incomplete list of 72,733 German hymns in 1786.

known and which contributed to the over-all musical presentation of the Christian faith. We know from the inventory of Bach's effects, recorded at his death, (1) that Wagner's Leipzig hymnal of 1597 was actually in Bach's possession; and all but two of the hymns which Bach used may be found either within its volumes or in one of the many editions of Johann Crüger's Praxis Pietatis Melica, which must have been readily available to him. (2) The hymns which Bach used may often have been suggested to him, in the case of his choral works, by his librettists, (3) but so many of the hymns are clearly his own choice (as, for instance, those used in the chorale-preludes for organ) that we may be sure that the hymns which Bach used were hymns which expressed his own faith and that of the Church in which he served. (4)

Of the hymns which Bach used, 118 were sufficiently established in the use of the German Churches to be included in Bunsen's highly selective collection in 1833. (5) Bach's selection includes hymns by all of the major writers of the

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1...Spitta: The Life of Bach (English translation), vol. 3, p. 355

2...Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 2, p. 47; see below,

3...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 91f.

4...It is not possible to tell with accuracy whether Bach used a hymn because it was well-known at his time, or whether it became well-known because of his choice, but the former is more likely. In Appendices C and D, pp. 311-337 below, I have set forth the hymns which were used by Bach, according to their authors; and their tunes, where it has been possible to trace their original composers, according to composers. It has been possible to discover the authors of most of the hymns, but tunes were often published anonymously, revisions of earlier tunes, or varied by later composers, so that it is often difficult to determine the exact sources of the music. Terry has traced 208 old melodies in Bach's works, with only half of these identified by composer with any certainty. On the other hand, 184 of the hymns can be traced to their original authors.

5...A new edition appeared in 1881 (cf. note 3, p. 59).

Lutheran tradition's first 200 years. Roughly one-half (55 out of 115) of the hymn-writers whose stanzas were used by Bach were men of the early Reformation, and of the years immediately following Luther's own influence. Melanchthon appears only in translations of two of his Latin hymns by Eber and Selnecker; (1) but among other important writers of the early years of the Reformation whose hymns Bach used are Paul Speratus (1484-1551), who was closely associated with Luther in the preparation of the earliest Wittenberg hymnal; Nikolaus Decius (d. 1541) who preached in Stettin from 1523 until his death; Paul Eber (1511-69), the close friend of Melanchthon and later the Superintendent of Wittenberg; and Nikolaus Hermann (d. 1561) of Joachimsthal, who often enriched his sermons by writing a hymn based upon the same text. (2) In the latter part of the 16th century, which Bunsen calls "Die Zeit des Bekenntnisliedes", the most notable figures among many who are outstanding are Nikolaus Selnecker (1530-92), one of the compilers of the Formula of Concord and a pastor of what was later to become Bach's own Church, the Thomaskirche in Leipzig; Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (1530-98), who was the most prolific writer of the period; and perhaps most important, Philipp Nicolai (1556-1608), pastor of the Katharinenkirche in Hamburg, who was distinguished both in theology and in poetry. (3)

Not all of Bach's hymns were written by orthodox Lutheran poets, however. Other strains of Protestant song are represented by Michael Weisse (d. 1540) and Johann Horn (d. 1547)

1...Melanchthon wrote the introduction to Lossius' comprehensive collection of liturgical music, published at Nürnberg in 1553 under the title Psalmodia.
2...Bunsen, op. cit., p. 715
3...ibid., pp. 717ff.

of the Bohemian Brethren; Wolfgang Meusel (1497-1562), Joachim Neander (1650-80) and Luise Henriette von Brandenburg (1627-67) from the Reformed Churches; Adam Reissner (1496-1575) of the Schwenckfelders; J. J. Schütz (1640-90), Samuel Rodigast (1649-1708) and Johann Burchard Freystein (1671-1718) among the Pietists; and Georg Grünenwald (d. 1530), an early Anabaptist.

Similarly, the traceable musical sources were mostly cantors in the Lutheran Churches of Germany, but melodies from Italy and from France (or French Switzerland) were also included. Giovanni Gastoldi (d. 1622) composed the tune which became associated with the hymn "In dir ist Freude", and four of Louis Bourgeois' tunes for the French Psalter of Geneva had become the common possession of Lutheran composers by Bach's day. (1)

Many of the hymn-writers of the Reformation were prolific in their writing but have survived in only one or two examples. Of the 172 hymns by Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (2) only four were included by Bunsen (three of these were used by Bach); and of the 658 hymns of Johann Rist only "five or six survived in the hymn-books." (3) A number of writers, on the other hand, came to be very well-known through the writing of only one hymn. Elizabeth Creutziger (d. 1535), the wife of Luther's student Caspar Creutziger and the friend of Luther's wife, is remembered for her having written "Herr Christ, der einig' Gottes Sohn"; and Albrecht, Markgraf von Brandenburg-Culmbach (1522-57) for "Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh' allzeit".

1...Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 2, p. 166; vol. 3, pp. 217, 316
2...Wackernagel, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 906-1065
3...So Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 11; but Bach has included among his works settings of no fewer than ten of Rist's hymns.

Schweitzer holds that because of the pressure of the Thirty Years' War and the breakdown of German life which it brought, the one thing which was left to the people of Germany was its religious life; because of the deepening of a sense of personal religious experience, "the really creative period of the hymn begins at the end of the sixteenth century." (1) What Schweitzer means is that the period of personal hymn-writing had begun. The years of Luther's life and the period immediately following Luther had been anything but uncreative; but in the 17th century the poetry of the Church did take a more deeply personal turn. At the same time, theology was becoming more objective and dogmatic; the scholastic period of Lutheran orthodoxy began almost at the same time as this increase of personal feeling in lyric religion. (2) Among the hymn-writers of the early 17th century the most notable are perhaps Valerius Herberger (1562-1627), who could sing "Valet will ich dir geben, du arge falsche Welt" during an epidemic of the plague; Martin Rinkart (1586-1649), whose "Nun danket alle Gott" was first sung just before the close of the Thirty Years' War; Johann Heermann (1585-1647), who throughout the war was troubled with personal difficulties but who still ". . . made his life the prayer, 'Aus einer Not hilf mir Gott in die andre Not, Und wenn die letzte kommt, Verlass mich nicht, mein Gott!'"; (3) and Johann Franck (1618-77), the mystic Bürgermeister of Guben, who transformed the popular song "Flora, meine Freude" into the deeply-moving "Jesu meine Freude."

1...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 10
2...See below, pp. 85ff.
3...Bunsen, op. cit., p. 720

The most outstanding hymn-writer of the 17th century, and ranking above all other German hymn-writers except Luther himself, was Paul Gerhardt (1607-76). Gerhardt combined in a most remarkable way the theological orthodoxy of the Confessional period of the German Church with the warmth of devotion which characterised the best aspects of the Pietism which was to come in years after his own. (1) We know little about Gerhardt's early life except his birth in Gräfenhainichen, his study in Wittenberg and his return to his native town, where a fire set by Swedish troops destroyed half the town, including the Church and "Pfarrhaus", in 1637. In the fire all record of Gerhardt's early life was lost; later he became a tutor in Berlin. It was not until he was 44 years old that he had a settled position in a Church; he was 50 when he became pastor of the Nikolaikirche in Berlin, where in association with Johann Crüger most of his hymns were written. (2)

Gerhardt wrote 133 hymns, 120 of which were published in ten small pamphlets of a dozen hymns each. They are the expression of the intensely personal devotional faith which characterised his own day and which continued to exert a profound influence upon the religious life of Bach's day. The dominant note in all of Gerhardt's hymns is a belief in the love of God; it is to him what the freedom of God's grace was to Luther. (3) The sense of God's love so dominates him that in spite of the troubled world in which he lived, Gerhardt's hymns are filled with a deep sense of joy. His emphasis is

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1...cf. Hewitt: Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody, 1918
2...Gott ist mein Lied, pp. 22ff.
3...Hewitt, op. cit., p. 13, quoting Gervinus to this effect.

upon "Trost", "Freude" and "Friede". This sense of joy is intensely personal; fifteen of Gerhardt's hymns begin with "ich", where none of Luther's had done so. Where Luther sang "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott", Gerhardt sings "Ist Gott für mich": "Bei Luther ruft die Gemeinde zu Gott, bei Gerhardt redet der einzelnen." (1) Yet although Gerhardt's hymns are deeply and intensely personal, the sense of joy they express is never self-glorifying but always a song of praise to God's glory:

> "Selten ist das Haupt eines geistigen und geistlichen Lebensgebietes persönlich so wenig hervorgetreten wie Gerhardt. Wir kennen nur noch einen Meister in der Kunst der evangelischen Kirche, der so in sich gekehrt, gänzlich unbekümmert um Ruhm oder Tadel, allein zu Gottes Ehre tätig war: Johann Seb. Bach." (2)

This humble pastor and poet of God's love gave expression to the faith of the Church in the life of the individual:

> " . . . His work is not what he learned from others. . . He wrote preeminently as a living member of Christ's Church. The hymns no longer acknowledge the truth of the Gospel as in the days of the Reformation, but the poet lives them." (3)

Gerhardt's concern lay more with family life than with liturgy; this strong and deep personal note of joy and trust and peace was meant to be sung not so much in the worship of the Church as about the table or fireside at home. (4) Like Luther's hymns, perhaps even more so, Gerhardt's were written as much for teaching as for use in worship. He sought to present the intimately personal character of the Christian faith in such a way that by singing people might learn the depth of that faith in the life of the individual.

1...Scherer, quoted by Hewitt, op. cit., p. 14
2...Gott ist mein Lied, p. 24
3...Hewitt, op. cit., p. 17
4...cf. ibid., p. 19

To assure the singing of his hymns, Gerhardt enlisted the aid of Johann Crüger (1598-1662). Along with Johann Walther of a century earlier, Crüger exerted the greatest musical influence upon the development of the German hymn:

> "Like Luther, [Gerhardt] wished to teach the people song. . . and he usually had some definite melody in mind, and what Johann Walther had been to Luther, Crüger was to Gerhardt." (1)

Crüger was born in Guben, the city of which Johann Franck (see above, p. 63) later served as Bürgermeister. He began his education in a Jesuit school in Regensburg, but went for a time to a school for poets before going to Wittenberg in 1620 for the study of evangelical theology. It was not his theological scholarship which attracted attention, however, but his musical ability; and in 1622 he became cantor of the Nikolaikirche in Berlin, to which Gerhardt was called in 1657. (2)

Crüger's work was not only to compose or to adapt melodies for the hymns which were being used in the Church, though we do have from his pen 76 original melodies and 46 adaptations of earlier music. It was as editor, through the publication of his hymnals, that Crüger became more responsible than any other figure for the systematising of the music of the German hymns. The first of these hymnals appeared in 1640, with 248 selected hymns:

> "Neues vollkömmliches Gesangbuch Augsburgischer Konfession, in welchem nicht allein vornehmlich des Herrn Lutheri und anderer gelehrten Leute geist- und trostreiche Lieder, sondern auch viel schöne neue Trostgesänge zu finden, in richtige Ordnung gebracht und mit beigesetzten Melodien verfertigt von Johann Crüger." (3)

1...Hewitt, op. cit., p. 21

2...Gott ist mein Lied, pp. 23, 76f. The collaboration of Gerhardt with Crüger began long before their association in the Nikolaikirche; most of Gerhardt's hymns had been published before his call to Berlin.

3...Gott ist mein Lied, p. 77

The success of this first hymnal was so great that it was soon sold out. A continuing demand led Crüger to prepare what was to become the most important collection of German hymns until the time of Bach:

> "Praxis pietatis melica. Das ist Übung der Gottseligkeit in christlichen und trostreichen Gesängen Herrn Dr. Martini Lutheri fürnehmlich, und denn auch anderer vornehmer und gelehrter Leute, Ordentlich zusammen gebracht, und mit vielen schönen auserlesenen newen Gesängen gezieret: Auch zu Befoderung des Kirchen-GOttesdienstes mit beigesetzten Melodien, Nebest dem Basso Continuo verfertiget. Von Johann Crügern." (1)

The demand for the first edition of this collection, in 1647, was even greater than that for Crüger's earlier hymnal, and new editions appeared the following year (the first to include hymns by Gerhardt) and again in 1653 in Berlin, and in 1656 in Frankfurt-am-Main. Two further editions appeared before Crüger's death, and for 70 years more it retained a prominent place in the life of German Churches. By 1733 the 45th Berlin edition had appeared, containing 1316 hymns; a further 12 editions had been published in Frankfurt. (2) The fact that all but two of the hymns which Bach used can be found either in Wagner's Leipzig Gesangbuch of 1697 or in editions of the Praxis pietatis melica which were current during Bach's life makes Terry feel sure that Crüger's collection must have been available to Bach, even though a copy of it was not included among his listed effects. (3)

1...Gott ist mein Lied, p. 77
2...ibid.; cf. also Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology (2nd edition), pp. 271f.
3...Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 2, p. 47

The men who wrote these hymns were often, like Luther, both pastors and musicians; and a number of the hymns were written by men who also composed the tunes to which their words are sung. Georg Neumark (1621-81) wrote both the words and music for "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten", and Philipp Nicolai also wrote the music for his best-known hymns, "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern" and "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme". (1) It is possible that Martin Rinkart may have written (or at least influenced the writing of) the tune for "Nun danket alle Gott", but Crüger, too, has been credited with its composition.

From Luther and Walther to Gerhardt and Crüger the German hymn grew to be the musical heart of the Lutheran Reformation. The hymns were sung by the people in the service: this was the most significant musical effect of the Reformation. To be sure, when such a large collection of hymns grew so quickly, no congregation could know or use more than a small fraction of the total available; but from the very first, certain hymns came to be especially popular. Luther's hymns found a natural and unmistakable popularity; and a century later the hymns of Gerhardt, in spite of their personal devotional character, soon found their way into the singing worship of nearly every congregation. Their popularity in the early 18th century is reflected in the use which Bach made of them: the largest number of hymns from a single source in Bach's works is from Luther, and the second largest number is from Gerhardt. (2)

1...cf. Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 3, p. 315
2...Bach has made use of 33 of Luther's 36 hymns, and of 19 of the 133 hymns written by Gerhardt.

From these two great figures, and from the other men who shared a common faith and piety with them, the Lutheran hymn became so intimately the heart of individual religious expression that it became also the foundation for much of the other musical expression of men who lived in such faith. Musicians who, like Bach, believed and worshipped in the tradition of Luther made the hymn and its music a foundation of their music. It might be said of other Lutheran musicians as Smend says of Bach:

> ". . . die musikalische Wurzel von Bachs Kunst ist und bleibt aber das Kirchenlied, der Choral Luthers." (1)

The Cantata, Passion-Music, and Other Music in the Church

> The peculiarity of German chorale-music . is not only that its use, and consequently much of its invention, arose in connexion with the Reformation, by which the liturgy of the church became 'understanded of the people', but also that it belongs to a musical epoch in which symmetry of melody and rhythm was beginning to assume artistic importance.
>
> ...Sir Donald Tovey

The chorale (as the hymn of Lutheran Germany has usually been called) which stood at the heart of the congregation's worship thus came to have special importance as the basis of the other music in the Church. As we have seen, (2) music from the pre-Reformation Church was not excluded from Lutheran worship. The musical numbers of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei) continued to be sung in Latin and musical settings provided for them and for occasional other Latin

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1...Smend: Luther und Bach, 1947, p. 43n.
2...Above, pp. 46f.

motetts two centuries after Luther. (1) Although an abbreviated form of the Mass, including only the Kyrie and Gloria, continued to be called "Missa" in the Lutheran liturgy, and was used in the "Amt der heiligen Messe oder Communion" ordered for the Leipzig Church in Bach's day, (2) the more distinctively Lutheran musical features of the liturgy were the Cantata and the Passion-music. By 1700 the Cantata had become the principal musical number of the Hauptgottesdienst, the chief service among the four or five held each Sunday; (3) the Passion-music became the special feature of the service on Good Friday: a musical presentation of and commentary upon the story of the Passion. (4) These are the principal forms in which the praise of the choir (often with an orchestra as well) was employed in the Lutheran service. In both of them, and to a lesser extent in the music for the "Missa" as well, the chorale played a fundamental role; yet each of these musical forms found in the Lutheran service encouragement to find its own proper development and fulfillment:

> "Die lutherische Kirche hat vom Anfang an die Frage des Rechts, der Stellung und der Beschaffenheit der Kirchenmusik im freundlichen Sinne zu beantworten versucht." (5)

Although Latin "motetts" continued to be sung at the opening of morning and afternoon services, (6) and music for the Kyrie and Gloria was a regular part of each Hauptgottesdienst,

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1...Terry: Bach's B minor Mass, p. 6; cf. above, p. 41
2...ibid., p. 7
3...cf. Terry: Bach's Cantata Texts Sacred and Secular, pp. 5ff. for a detailed description of the service and a reconstruction of the Leipzig liturgy of Bach's day.
4...cf. Gerber: Die deutsche Passion von Luther bis Bach, in Luther-Jahrbuch, Jhrg. XIII, 1931, pp. 131-152
5...Graff: Geschichte der Auflösung der alten Gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands, p. 276
6...Terry: Bach, the Magnificat, Lutheran Masses and Motets, pp. 33f.

church musicians tended to feel that these were of minor importance in their duties, and usually, like Bach, they chose works available from the writings of other composers for these parts of their services. (1) The Latin Magnificat was a special case, being specified (at Leipzig) for the afternoon service on Christmas Day, Easter Day and Pentecost. (2) Yet even this did not seem of great importance to Lutheran composers, and relatively few Lutheran settings of the Latin texts are to be found. Of the 110 vocal and choral compositions of Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), perhaps the greatest of Bach's predecessors, only 17 are to Latin texts, and these include only one Kyrie and two settings of the Magnificat. (3) From Bach himself we have the single great Magnificat (S.243) and the unique case of the B minor Mass (S.232); his only other Latin compositions are the four "Lutheran Masses" (S.233-236), five settings of the Sanctus (S.237-241), and a single duet setting of Christe eleison (S.242). But like Schütz and Bach, most other Lutheran composers were content to borrow their necessary week-by-week Latin music from other sources. They gave their greatest attention to the music based upon the vernacular chorale. (4) Even in Bach's Latin works he found use for the chorale: in the Kyrie of the F Major Mass (S.233) he introduced the melody of

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1...Terry: Bach, the Magnificat, Lutheran Masses & Motets, p. 34
2...ibid., p. 5
3...The collected works of Schütz, in Spitta's edition, are noted in detail in Müller's edition of Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften, pp. 25-35; 385-8.
4...Schütz, Bach and others provided musical settings of the German versions of the old Latin texts: Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott; Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'; Wir glauben all' an einen Gott; Heilig, heilig, heilig (though Bach has included the "Deutsche Sanctus" only among the 4-voice chorales, S.325); Christe, du Lamm Gottes; and Meine Seel' erhebt den Herrn.

Christe, du Lamm Gottes (the German Agnus Dei) into the accompaniment; (1) and in the original score of the Magnificat he had an effective setting of Luther's Christmas hymn Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her. (2)

If the Latin numbers in the service had only a minor place, it was because the Lutheran composers were giving by far their greatest attention to the vernacular settings which were the fullest choral expression of the Protestant faith. In both the Cantata and the Passion-music, a polyphonic style was developed which used the melodies of Lutheran chorales as its cantus firmus. This use became profoundly symbolic of the priesthood of all believers. Where Roman Catholic polyphony had made its music into a symbol of the altogether objective character of the authoritative Church, Protestant music by the use of the people's song as the basis of its most elaborate music served to show the essential unity of the individual's faith with that of the Church:

> "In der katholischen Polyphonie ist der c.f. (abgesehen von den weltlichen Tenores) eine Altarweise, mithin sakrosankt, objektive Wesenheit, ein dem Empfinden des Laien völlig unfassbares, weit entrücktes Gebilde. In der protestantischen c.f.-Arbeit hingegen ist der cantus prius factus der Luthersche Choral, das, aus volkstümlichem Geist heraus entstandene Gemeindelied, Symbol evangelischer Laienfrömmigkeit. Zwar ist auch diese protestantische Kirchenlied etwas Objektives, Ausdruck einer Allgemeinheit; gleichwohl sind in ihm die individuellen, wirklichkeitsnahen Züge unverkennbar ausgeprägt. In einer ähnlichen Weise ist hier das Einzelne an das allgemeine gebunden, atmet in ihm weiter, wie auch der Begriff des Lutherschen Individualismus untrennbar mit der Gemeinschaftsidee verknüpft ist." (3)

1...Terry: Bach, the Magnificat, Lutheran Masses & Motets, p. 33
2...cf. S.243A; see below, p. 172; This was not an isolated addition, but was one of four such additional movements, two with German texts and two with Latin.
3...Gerber, op. cit., p. 144n.

As Luther had brought the proclamation of the Word of God in the sermon to the central place in the service which had been occupied in the Roman Mass by the sacrifice, the Lutheran musicians found their central task in the preparation of musical commentaries upon the Gospel which might stand beside the sermon itself:

> "Musicians suddenly became conscious of a greater task before them than for ever writing fresh music to the statutory hymns of the Mass; there were new poems on the Gospel to be set to music year by year. . . The same Kyrie or Gloria could be sung every Sunday, so long as the motets bearing on the sermon were new and expressive." (1)

As early as 1542 there appeared the "Sangbüchlein aller Sonntagsevangelien; eine kurtze deutsche Segen-Music mit sampt den Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr auf alle Sonntage", published by Martin Agricola, the cantor in Magdeburg; and from then until the time of Bach composers in the Churches were busy with the composition of musical expositions of the Gospels. Often their texts would be provided by pastors of poetic ability like Ringwaldt or Johann Heermann; the exact form was not a fixed one, and the plan of the musical "sermon" continued to change and to evolve into Bach's own time. (2) At times, as in the music of Schütz, the Cantata was a musical setting of dramatic incidents in the Bible. In this form, the Cantata was very nearly an early Biblical "opera", for Schütz had been profoundly influenced by the music of Gabrieli and Monteverdi during his visits to Venice; and from Italian influences Schütz introduced concert arias and recitatives into the music of the

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1...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 54
2...Terry: Bach's Cantata Texts, Introduction; cf. also Schweitzer, op. cit., ch. 6. The name "Cantata" was still not in general use as applied to the musical exposition of a text even in Bach's time.

Lutheran service in Dresden, where he was cantor. (1) Following Schütz, other cantors provided many kinds of Cantatas: some were based upon original free verse; others were variations upon a hymn relevant to the Gospel for the day. The Bible text itself was used to a lesser extent than we should perhaps expect, but often the Cantata did combine passages from the text for the day with relevant and illustrative quotations from other parts of the Bible, and verses from familiar hymns. Other Cantatas were based upon texts which were entirely original poems by the librettist, or which had only a concluding chorale-stanza. This was particularly true of Bach's earlier cantatas; his early librettists, Salamo Franck and Erdmann Neumeister, (2) published volumes containing cycles of Cantata-texts which were almost wholly original. Among Bach's later Cantatas the texts were more and more either based directly upon hymn-stanzas or derived from them. (3)

Sometimes the music for the service was called an "Oratoria", and at other times the older name "Motett" was used. The most common name in Bach's lifetime was simply "Stück"; and Neumeister, whose Kirchenandachten (collections of Cantata-texts) played an important part in the development of the Cantata, described it as "ein Stück aus der Opera". (4)

> "Whatever name it bore, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the Church Cantata had established itself as the chief musical detail (Hauptmusik) of the Evangelical morning service (Hauptgottesdienst) . ." (5)

1...Pirro: La Vie de Schütz, pp. 72-83
2...On Franck, see below, pp. 138f.; on Neumeister, pp. 91f.
3...Only 22 of Bach's 208 Cantatas do not include chorale-stanzas or melodies; and 54 of the total, all from his latest periods, are either based entirely upon chorales or are dominated by a particular chorale.
4...Terry: Bach, the Cantatas & Oratorios, book 1, p. 9
5...ibid., p. 11

The Passion-story had been an established part of the liturgy of the Roman Church for centuries, and early in the 16th century musicians in the Netherlands had begun to set the Latin story of the Passion to music. (1) These earliest settings were what has been called "motett-Passions", in which the entire Passion story is sung by the choir. It was Johann Walther who broke this precedent and arranged a "dramatic Passion", in which the words of Jesus and the narrative of the Evangelist are sung by solo voices, the choir singing the words of the other participants in the Passion-story, and in German. (2) This dramatic presentation of the Holy Week story became a particularly effective way of bringing the Gospel narrative to the congregation:

> "Denn eine Choralpassion ist in erster Linie und ganz allgemein eine liturgische Lektion, die als Evangelium des Tages in einer bestimmten Form vorgeschrieben ist." (3)

The Passion-music, like the Cantata to which it was closely related, came gradually to be filled with arias and subjective reflections upon the meaning of the Passion. In the Passions of Schütz the Biblical story itself is the entire dramatic interest. (4) By the beginning of the 18th century, however, the Passion-music was written to texts which connected the Biblical incidents with verses introducing personal reflections by individual believers in arias and by the community of Christian believers in chorale-stanzas. The Passion poem of Berthold Hein-

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1...cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 82
2...Gerber, op. cit., p. 139; in the earliest dramatic settings of the Passion, the only 4-part music for the choir was that which expressed the cries of the crowd.
3...Gerber, op. cit., p. 142
4...Schütz wrote Passions according to Matthew, Luke and John, as well as a setting of the Seven Last Words. His Biblical works also include an "Historia von d. Geburt Jesu Christi" and an "Historia v. d. Auferstehung Christi."

rich Brockes, town-councillor of Hamburg, written at the same time as the Cantatas of Franck and Neumeister, became a model for musical settings by Handel, Telemann, and Mattheson, and the pattern for portions of Bach's St John Passion. (1) The increasing degree of individual and subjective reflections in the Lutheran Passion-music is in direct contrast to the altogether other-worldly atmosphere of the Latin motett-Passions. Gerber shows what an essential distinction there is between music of the Reformation and that which went before; Protestant music is a portrayal of the Protestant recognition of the close and necessary relation between the faith of the individual and that of the Church:

> "So entstand ein Passionskunstwerk, das infolge seiner subjektiv-gefühlsmässigen Grundtendenz in demselben Masse aus der mehr objektiven Sphäre des Hauptgottesdienstes, in der es ursprünglich fest verwurzelt war, hinausdrängte und auch bereitwillige Aufnahme fand in der erbauungsvollen, persönlicher gehaltenen Andacht der Charfreitagsvesper. . .
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> "Gewiss klagt und betet auch bei Bach der einzelne Mensch mit höchster Inbrunst. Aber gleichzeitig erfährt die biblische Historie, das Schriftwort wieder eine monumentale Gestaltung. Und neben diesen subjektiven Ergüssen spricht auch die Gemeinde in jenen unvergänglich schönen Choralsätzen, die den Gesamtablauf der Passionen in idealer Weise gliedern." (2)

Not only vocal music, but the instrumental music of the organ, too, was strongly influenced by the Reformation. The chorales of the congregation became the basis of the most distinctively Lutheran instrumental music, the chorale-prelude for organ. This form probably began with Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654)as a kind of "preludising" on well-known hymn-tunes. (3)

1...Spitta, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 520; Schweitzer, quoting Telemann's own account of a performance of his Passion in Frankfurt, records the interesting fact that "...guards were posted at the church doors, who allowed no one to enter who had not a printed copy of the Passion." (vol. 1, p. 94)

2...Gerber, op. cit., pp. 151f.

3...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 40ff.

Following him, a number of outstanding organ masters developed the chorale-prelude in differing ways. Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) treated the hymn-tune as the subject for a fugue, and used each phrase of the melody in turn as a fugue subject, in such a way, Schweitzer says, that German organ music was for ever afterwards essentially sacred in character. (1) Georg Böhm (1661-1733) wrote chorale-preludes in which the organ was used to paraphrase the chorale melody and to colour the music in keeping with the spirit of the hymn. The third of the great pre-Bach masters, Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707), used the chorale melody as the basis of a free and often very elaborate fantasia. Bach followed their leading and made the hymns of the Reformation the basis of a large amount of his most profound and significant organ music.

Although the chorale had been the ideal of Lutheran music, we are not sure to what an extent the congregation actually participated in the ideal at the time of Bach. (2) We do know that in both the Cantata and the Passion-music the sense of tension between the Word of God and the individual's response was beginning to lead music through difficult days. After Bach, toward the close of the 18th century, very little music was left in the service but subjective solo arias.(3) The essentially Protestant and Lutheran emphasis in which the individual made his response to God's revelation as a member of the Gemeinde had been lost. But the great Cantatas and Passions, like the chorale-preludes for organ, show God's Word and the individual's

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1...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43
2...ibid., p. 39
3...see below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298a

response in their right relation. Especially in Bach's greatest works, music becomes, as Luther had seen it, a believer's response to God's act of grace. By the use of the Biblical text and chorales based upon that text, music became a servant of the Word. With the chorales familiar to all as the foundation, the musician was able both to exercise his own priesthood and to lead the hearts of others to show theirs.

Chapter 3

THE WORLD OF PROTESTANTISM AROUND BACH

The eighteenth century was not a high point in the history of Protestant theology and Church life. It was heir to the controversies of faith from the preceding century and it produced the theological weaknesses of the Enlightenment. In the German states and elsewhere the preceding centuries had seen the rise and decline of vital and influential movements in Christian life and thought which gradually grew more conservative but less effectively significant. The Reformation of life and doctrine of the 16th century, instead of maintaining the freshness of its proclamation, became in the 17th century a new scholasticism. New movements arose in reaction to a Christian faith which seemed to have become meaningless and sterile: Puritanism and Independency in England and the American colonies, Jansenism and Quietism in still-Roman Catholic France, and, slightly later, Pietism in the German lands. Each emphasised the supremacy of individual religious faith and experience. Yet even among those who were most concerned with maintaining the doctrinal and institutional forms of the Reformation during the 17th century there was a concern for the inner life and for the personal implications of faith. Monsignor Ronald Knox sums it up: "The seventeenth century became a century of mystics." (1) This was particularly true

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1...Knox: Enthusiasm, p. 231. Knox has specialised in the study of movements in the religious life of France and England during the 17th and 18th centuries; he is not a helpful guide to German movements of enthusiasm, with only very brief mention of Pietism and a second-hand study of the Moravian Brethren, based entirely upon English sources.

among the German Churches. So doctrinally orthodox a figure as Paul Gerhardt (1) could make the relation of the individual soul to God the very heart of his hymns; and even the most earnest of the Pietists remained within the Church. The differences, however great the conflicts to which they led, were within the Church in Germany. Yet conflicts remained: between those who gave the first place to doctrine and those who emphasised personal experience in faith; between Lutheran and Calvinist Christians; between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The full consequences of the libertarian revolt against doctrinal orthodoxy did not appear until the time of the Enlightenment, after the death of Bach and thus beyond his time. His lifetime lay within the period of conflict. It was an age which was also producing reactions elsewhere --- John Wesley in Britain, for example, and Jonathan Edwards in America are later members of Bach's own generation; both of them were born during Bach's earliest years of service in the Church.

This chapter is a survey of that age of conflict and of the theological influences which went into the making of the background for Bach's music. After a brief look at the territorial organisation of the German Churches, it will survey the scholastic orthodoxy of Lutheranism, the Pietist reaction which began only a generation before Bach's working lifetime, and the spirit of German mysticism which was so often common to both.

1...See above, pp. 64ff.

Church and State in Bach's Germany

The Church of Bach's day was the heir to the territorial system of organisation which had been maintained in German lands since before the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. In each city it was the magistrates who governed the business of the Church. Although for much of his life Bach's duties were the provision of music for the Churches and the training of choirs to sing in them, he was the employee of municipal authorities, in whose hands the government of the Churches lay. (1) Upon occasion the Cantor was expected to provide music for civic functions, in addition to his regular responsibility for the music of worship. (2) This system, with its arrangements for the supervision of the business affairs of the Church and its music, was maintained throughout Lutheran Germany. It underlay both Bach's personal relations with the Churches in whose service so much of his life was spent, and also the general theological background of the Church in which he served.

Behind the growth of the territorial system is the whole Lutheran conception of the nature of the Church. Luther had proclaimed the doctrine of a priesthood of all believers, but he seems never to have extended the authority of that priesthood from matters of belief into the area of Church administration. In rejecting the political authority of Rome, he did not claim an equal right of all believers to exercise authority in the Church, but looked to the already-existing secular author-

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1...See below, especially pp. 124ff.
2...Much of this music would take the form of Cantatas for a special civic service in the Church, especially the "Rathswahl" Cantatas; cf. below, pp. 131, 285.

ity to undertake the organisation and superintendence of the affairs of the Church. The Papacy, it was held, had usurped powers which God had committed to the civil rulers, and from the earliest days of the Reformation Luther enlisted the support of these rulers in accomplishing the rightful order both in Church and State. Luther's reform, from the beginning, appealed for support to the Christian nobility of the German nation. But note that it was the Christian nobility; Luther called upon the rulers because God had committed authority to them:

> "In summoning the princes now to do what the mass of the people could not be trusted to do, he was merely calling upon one section of the church to act for the whole. . . the civil ruler was not called upon to govern the church in virtue of his civil position, but as a Christian, as a conspicuous member of the church, 'praecipuum membrum,' [he] was bound to use and actually did use his secular authority in its service. . . Luther's view was that the prince had duties toward the church but no rights over it." (1)

There are evidences in Luther's earliest days as a Reformer that he had hoped to place Church authority in a representative council of the congregation; (2) but he soon abandoned such hopes in the face of the excesses of the Peasants' War, and turned to the civil rulers to fulfill the duties of authority. It was perhaps a reluctant choice, but Luther could find no other hands into which authority might satisfactorily be placed. The Church was thought of in spiritual terms, concerned only with spiritual things. The secular powers, freed from the domination of the Papacy over their affairs, were able to maintain the well-being of daily life because their

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1...Macmillan: Protestantism in Germany, pp. 88f.
2...cf. Drummond: German Protestantism since Luther, pp. 178f., on Luther's defence of representative congregational polity.

authority had been given them by God. (1) As Christians, the men who wielded this authority were called upon also to bear what power was needed in the Church.

After Luther's death those to whom this authority had been given went on to assert it still more. They used their secular authority to impose doctrinal uniformity; (2) it was not difficult for those who had been given the right of authority to exercise it as a divine right. Because all authority was theirs, it became impossible to check or to limit the civil domination and control of ecclesiastical life:

> "They created State Church councils which undertook the work of administration and of Church courts with the aid of pastors. They placed questions of Christian faith and morals under secular control, and spiritual procedure and penalties were followed by civil legal consequences. In theory, the Church was ruled by Christ and by the Word; in practice it was governed by the ruling Princes and the pastors." (3)

It was almost exactly the reverse of the situation in Roman Catholicism. Where under Roman rule the Church had claimed the right to dominate even the civil powers, the Lutheran system came to place in the Princes' hands a semi-divine control over the life of the Church. It was meant that the State should "serve the purely spiritual Church in a spirit of love and freedom," but inevitably, by the exercise of this service, "it dominates the Church which has no independent legal organ of its own." (4)

1...cf. Troeltsch: The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, pp. 516, 851
2...cf. Drummond, op. cit., p. 174
3...Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 520
4...ibid., p. 521

The territorial organisation of the Churches was usually effected by a visitation of the Churches within a particular area, the appointment of a pastor as ecclesiastical superintendent of their affairs, and the appointment of a consistory as the permanent controlling court of authority. (1) This consistory came to be the distinctively Lutheran body of Church government: a municipally- or territorially-appointed body which exercised the actual authority over all the congregations within the territory of its jurisdiction. With the consultation of superintendents, the consistories appointed and supervised the work of pastors and of teachers in the schools which were connected with many of them. In Arnstadt, Mühlhausen and Leipzig Bach was employed by the respective town councils and consistories of those towns. Thus for most of his life he was responsible to the equivalent of the princely authority of his own day.

> "We need . to realise that the Lutheran ecclesiastical system was not simply the acceptance of a tradition which was essentially foreign to its own nature, but that from its own point of view -- with its spiritual conception of the Church, and its decided rejection of a church-order based upon the Divine right of the congregation to settle its own affairs . . . -- it was simply impossible to pursue any other course." (2)

1...cf. Lindsay: A History of the Reformation, vol. 1, ch. 6; cf. also Macmillan, op. cit., p. 89
2...Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 521

The Rise of Lutheran Orthodoxy

The theology of Bach's day, like the organisation and polity of the Church in which he lived and served, was derived from Luther. In the course of two centuries, however, the derivative forms of Lutheranism followed several courses. These courses were united in opposition to Roman Catholic doctrines, and to a large extent were united also in opposing the influences of the Swiss Reformation; (1) but under the relative autonomy permitted by local or areal consistories and superintendents, they diverged into three principal streams. At the farthest right was a movement which sought to systematise Lutheran doctrine into a new scholasticism. This was orthodoxy, the school which endeavoured to express Lutheran beliefs in terms of exact definitions of doctrine as a means of ensuring uniformity of belief. In the centre was a group of men of more moderate inclination, who while maintaining the basic doctrinal position of Luther were more inclined than the most orthodox to recognise other Protestants as allies in the service of the Gospel. At the left came the Pietist reaction: men who were still Lutheran but who placed their chief emphasis upon the personal character of faith and who sought to cultivate this sense of personal faith in small groups within the Church. (2) It is difficult to draw a clear line between

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1...On the distinction between Lutheranism and Calvinism, cf. especially Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 879

2...It may be misleading to use the term "left" as applying to these, for they are not to be confused with the Anabaptists or others who are generally referred to as the "left wing" of the Reformation; yet insofar as they shared an urgent concern for the depth of the individual religious experience, even these Lutheran Pietists were not altogether unlike the early opponents of Luther.

these three streams, because they all shared to some degree the element of personal religion in the German mystical tradition. Orthodoxy was probably the most important of these movements, because the others were largely conditioned by their reaction to it. It is certain that Lutheran orthodoxy played a most important role in the theological environment of Bach.

The orthodox movement was a natural response on the part of followers to a leader who had broken new ground. Luther had proclaimed doctrines of justification by faith alone, of the supremacy of the Scriptures and of the priesthood of all believers, but his prophetic spirit was not troubled by inconsistencies nor by the need to search for logical implications in every point of the Gospel as he preached it. Among the men who followed him, there came almost immediately attempts to bring some kind of order into what seemed a kind of evangelical chaos. As early as 1521, Melanchthon began what we may call the systematisation of Lutheran theology with the first publication of his Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum seu Hypotyposes Theologicae. Following his example, virtually every subsequent theologian in the 16th and 17th centuries published either a Loci Theologici or a Compendium of theology. Whatever the title chosen for the work, it was an attempt to supply an element that seemed missing in Luther's theology, detailed definition.

> "The Reformation was far from being a finished product. There was no Protestant Pope . . to formulate. . . There was no single German State capable of bringing into existence a National Church and nurturing it into maturity. Into the void came a new order of scribes charged with distinguishing between the husk and the kernel of essential Lutheranism." (1)

1...Drummond, op. cit., p. 12

Beginning upon the example of Melanchthon (who was himself the most irenic of the Lutheran theologians), theologians expounded a complete and detailed system of doctrine which was set forth as the essential meaning of the faith which must be held; they were ready to enforce obedience to their doctrines by means of compulsion which had been placed in their hands by the territorial organisation of the Church. The Augsburg Confession of 1530 was the earliest doctrinal formula of the Lutherans, but it was not sufficiently exact to ensure complete uniformity, and in 1577, their position strengthened by the Peace of Augsburg and stimulated by the Council of Trent's exact definitions of the Roman faith, the Lutherans published the Formula of Concord. As its name implies, it was meant to unite differing opinions in Lutheran doctrine and to harmonise them, so that all Lutherans might have a single and solid doctrinal front to present to Catholics, Calvinists or sectarians. It received a mixed reception in other parts of Germany; but in Saxony, and particularly in Jena and Leipzig, the Formula of Concord became a determinative formula which was used as "an engine for putting down differences of opinion, rather than an irenicon for reconciling them." (1) Wherever it was so used, the Formula of Concord became the determining standard of orthodoxy in doctrine. By their insistence upon exact minutiae of doctrinal detail, the theologians who framed it and who followed it transformed the Lutheran Gospel of Grace into a new legalism.

Among the leaders of the scholastic movement were a number of men whose writings were included among the books listed in

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1...Drummond, op. cit., p. 20

the inventory of Bach's personal effects. (1) One of the large folio works in his possession was the four-part Examen Concilii Tridentini (1565-73) of Martin Chemnitz (1522-86). (2) This massive reply to the decrees of the Council of Trent was a forthright defence of the Protestantism which Chemnitz, like Melanchthon his teacher, subsequently systematised in a volume of Loci Theologici (1591). (3) Chemnitz was, moreover, one of the authors of the Formula of Concord, and his Repetitio Sanae Doctrinae (1561; published 1623 as Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae), a treatise on the Lord's Supper, laid foundations for the scholastic Lutherans' attacks upon Calvinism. In the generation following Luther's death, Aegidius Hunnius (1550-1603) became the principal representative of the growing movement of orthodoxy, at first in Marburg but later in Wittenberg. (4) The small volume entitled Reinigkeit der Glaubenslehre (no date) in Bach's library indicates that his influence had not been forgotten a century later. Also at Wittenberg, Leonhard Hutter (1563-1616) prepared a Compendium Locorum Theologicorum from the works of Chemnitz and Hunnius. (5) It was not a work of original writing, but it became perhaps more influential than any other book of Lutheran orthodoxy, for it was almost universally used as the text-book of Christian doctrine in the Church schools of Germany for a hundred years after its publi-

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1...The detailed inventory of Bach's personal effects, including the 52 works in his all-theological personal library, is given by Spitta: Johann Sebastian Bach, vol. 2, pp. 960f. Details of editions, etc., are added by Terry in Bach: a Biography, pp. 273ff.; H. Preuss has contributed an article on "Bachs Bibliothek" in Zahn-Festgabe, Leipzig 1928.

2...An error in the original inventory ascribes Bach's copy to Luther; cf. Terry, op. cit., p. 273n.

3...cf. Schmid: Doctrinal Theology of the Ev. Luth. Church, p. 666

4...Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 2/2050f.

5...von Walter: Die Geschichte des Christentums, vol. 2/466

cation in 1610. (1) Although it was not one of the books listed in Bach's inventory of possessions, we know that Hutter's Compendium was used in the school at Ohrdruf when Bach was a student there in 1697-1700. (2) Like Chemnitz and Hunnius, Hutter was vehement in his attacks upon the Calvinists, and was given the nickname of "Calvinistenhammer" as a result of his publication of Concordia concors in 1614. (3) His own Loci Communes Theologici was not published until 1619, three years after his death. (4)

Not all of the orthodox scholastics were concerned entirely with pure doctrine; Christoph Scheibler (1589-1653), professor at Giessen and later superintendent at Dortmund, dealt with the applications of practical theology, even though he was

> ". . . einer der Hauptvertreter der protestantischen aristotelischen Schulphilosophie, theologisch übrigens nach eigenem Geständnis mehr 'auf die praktische Theologie gerichtet' als auf die reine Lehre, soweit sie nicht in der Augsburgischen Konfession und ihrer Apologie bezeugt war." (5)

Scheibler's Aurifondia theologica, published in 1664, appeared in a new three-volume edition, including a biographical sketch of Scheibler, in 1727; it was this edition which was in Bach's library. (6) Hutter's pupil, Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), is generally acknowledged as the most able and respected figure of the entire Lutheran orthodox movement. Bach did not possess his Loci (1621), which was praised not only by Lutheran theologians but by Reformed and Roman Catholic thinkers as well, (7) but

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1...Hutter's Compendium was translated into German, Swedish and English; it became a standard school text-book, and formed the basis of seven commentaries (Schmid, op. cit., p. 666).
2...cf. Terry: Bach, a Biography, pp. 28, 44
3...von Walter, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 466
4...Schmid, op. cit., p. 667
5...Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 5/138
6...ibid.
7...Schmid, op. cit., p. 668

there was in the Bach library a copy of Gerhard's Schola pietatis (1622/23), a work which for all its correctness of doctrine showed something of the irenic spirit of Johann Arndt, who had been his teacher. (1)

Following Gerhard, orthodoxy produced its most voluminous and most uncompromising scholar, Abraham Calovius (1612-86), professor in Königsberg and Wittenberg. (2) Bach did not own Calovius' great 12-volume Systema Locorum Theologicorum, but he did possess the 5-volume Biblia illustrata V. et N. Test., (3) a dogmatic commentary on the entire Bible. Johann Matthäus Meyfart (1590-1642), professor in Erfurt, was especially known for his eschatological writings and for his hymn "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt"; (4) Bach had a copy of his Christliche Erinnerung (1636). Heinrich Müller (1621-77) of Rostock, like Scheibler, was concerned with the relation of his theology to the practical needs of the life of men; orthodox though he was in doctrine, Müller showed greater understanding of the priesthood of the laity than many of his contemporaries. (5) Bach possessed six volumes of Müller's sermons and commentaries; the only writer represented by more works in Bach's possession was August Pfeiffer (1640-98), (6) Archdeacon of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig from 1681-89, who renewed the strictest tradition of Calovius in his commentaries on Scripture and the Augsburg Confession. Preuss has commented upon the fact that Bach for some

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1...von Walter, op. cit., pp. 466, 509; see below, pp. 96ff.
2...Schmid, op. cit., p. 669
3...The inventory of Bach's books says "3. Bände".
4...von Walter, op. cit., p. 511
5...cf. Krabbe: Heinrich Müller und seine Zeit, esp. ch. 12
6...Luther was represented by two collected editions of his works.

reason wrote the titles of two of Pfeiffer's polemical works, Anticalvinismus and Antimelancholicus, on the cover of the Klavierbüchlein which he prepared for his second wife while they were living in the Calvinist court of Cöthen. (1) Pfeiffer's spirit, typical of the strictest Lutherans, is shown in the closing words of the Anticalvinismus:

> ". . . Wir haben gezeiget, dass die Reformierte Lehre den Grund des Glaubens umstosse, und also verdammlich sey." (2)

Perhaps the most outstanding figure of Lutheran orthodoxy among Bach's contemporaries was Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756), pastor of the Jacobikirche in Hamburg. (3) Neumeister was a zealous Lutheran in all things, opposed to anything which would violate the purity of scholastic Lutheran doctrine. He opposed Calvinists and Roman Catholics but was even more direct in his opposition to the Pietists (4) who were growing in influence within Lutheranism. Neumeister's defence of orthodoxy put him into opposition to anything which seemed to him either novel or subjective, especially the Moravian Brethren and the foreign missionary movement. In 1722 his sermon on Ascension Day was brought to an anti-missionary close by the quotation of a hymn-stanza:

> "'Go out into the world,' the Lord of old did say:
> But now: 'Where God has placed thee,
> There he would have thee stay!'" (5)

Neumeister is of especial importance in Bach's life not only

1...Preuss, op. cit., p. 118
2...Quoted from Besch, op. cit., p. 9
3...It was in the Jacobikirche that Bach was rejected as a candidate for the post of organist in 1720, to Neumeister's great disapproval; see below, pp. 147f.
4...See below, pp. 105ff.
5...Drummond, op. cit., p. 62

because of the support he gave to Bach in his candidacy for the post of organist in the Jacobikirche, but also for the role he played in establishing the dramatic-poetic form of the Church Cantata, for the Cantata texts which he himself wrote, (1) and for the large number of hymns in which he set orthodox doctrine to song. (2) Two of Neumeister's books, both of them commentaries on the Sacraments, were in Bach's possession.

In Halle and Leipzig, the Olearius family produced no fewer than five theologians, each named Johann, whose lives spanned the entire two centuries between the death of Luther and the death of Bach. The first of these was one of the earliest orthodox Lutherans (1546-1623), though his ministry was mostly in Halle, which a century later became the great centre of Pietism. His son, Johann (1611-84), was of more moderate views than his father, and has been called "a forerunner of Spener". (3) The third Johann Olearius (1639-1713) is especially important to Bach, for his Haupt-Schlüssel der gantzen Heil. Schrifft (1678), a remarkable study of Biblical prophecy and of parallels between Old and New Testaments, was one of the books in Bach's own library. This third Olearius, a professor at Leipzig, maintained a close personal friendship with Spener, the founder of Pietism, though he himself remained strictly "dogmatisch rechtgläubig". (4) Two additional men of the same name (1635-1711 and 1668-1747) became staunch antagonists of the Pietists as the Halle school grew in importance. Johann

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1...Neumeister's Kirchen-Andachten were several yearly cycles of texts to be set to music as Cantatas, in which he sought to imitate the style of the Italian opera; Bach set seven of these to music.

2...Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 4/510f.; cf. also Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology (2nd ed.), p. 707

3...Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 4/692

4...Ibid.

Gottfried Olearius, the fourth of this line, was superintendent in Arnstadt during Bach's period of service as organist in the Neukirche there from 1703-6, and was in charge of the investigation into Bach's unwarranted absence from his post during the winter of 1705/6. (1)

These representatives of the most orthodox school of Lutheran thought all played an important part in the development of the theological world of Bach's day. Apart from Hutter and four of the Olearius family, all of them were represented among the volumes in Bach's own library of theological books. (2) Very few of the most outstanding orthodox figures are not represented in that library. Johann Quenstedt (1617-86) of Wittenberg, a nephew of Johann Gerhard, was perhaps the most important of these scholastic figures whose writings Bach did not have. Quenstedt's importance is due to his ability in systematising the dogmatics of other orthodox theologians, which led him to be called the "bookkeeper" of Wittenberg orthodoxy; but he became so concerned with the system that he lost or ignored the spirit of the doctrine. Even Schmid complains that

> ". . . his excessive attention to the details of his system has deprived Dogmatic theology of its life, by reducing its doctrines to the shape of mathematical formulae." (3)

1...cf. Terry: Bach, a Biography, p. 70; see also below, p. 128.
2...And Hutter's Compendium, as we have seen, was the textbook of Christian doctrine in Bach's school-days at Ohrdruf.
3...Schmid, op. cit., p. 670; other figures in the leadership of Lutheran orthodoxy who are not included among the authors of books in Bach's library are Johann Friedrich König (1619-64) of Rostock; Johann Wilhelm Baier (1647-95) of Weimar and later of Halle; and David Hollaz (1646-1713) of Kolberg.

Orthodoxy was characterised by attention to details and the desire to reduce Christian doctrine to a logical and coherent system. At the same time, it opposed deviation from its standerds toward any direction, and often sought to compel acceptance of its position by using the power of the secular authority. At the head of the system, and prior to it, stood the doctrine of the authority of Scripture as being the perfect and sufficient Word of God --- not itself a matter of faith, but the starting-point and the fountain-head of all articles of faith in the subsequent system:

> "The ultimate reason by and through which we are led to believe with a divine and unshaken faith that God's Word is God's Word, is the intrinsic power and efficacy of that Word itself, and the testimony and seal of the Holy Spirit, speaking in and through Scripture." (1)

Or again:

> "Those who are within the pale of the Church do not inquire about the authority of Scripture, for this is their starting-point. . . The Doctrine concerning the canon is, properly speaking, not an article of faith." (2)

Based upon Scripture as the absolute ground of authority, the scholastic Lutherans built their systems with articles of faith which are derived from this starting-point; of God, in creation and providence; of Man, fallen from the image of God into sin; of Salvation as worked by God's grace in Christ and in the Holy Spirit; of the Means of Grace and the Church; and of Death and the Last Things. (3) Each of these aspects of the Gospel was examined and defined in minute detail. The attempt was made systematically to define --- and so, inevitably, to confine

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1...Quenstedt: Theologia Didactico-Polemica I/96; quoted and translated in Schmid, op. cit., p. 66

2...Gerhard: Loci Theologici I/9,11; quoted and translated in Schmid, op. cit., p. 65

3...This arrangement, usual with the scholastics, is followed also by Schmid in his Compendium of Compendia.

as well --- the free grace of God which lay at the heart of the Lutheran recovery of the Gospel.

The Lutheran scholastics were concerned (this was perhaps the basis of their opposition to Calvinism) to demonstrate to the believer an assurance of his salvation. (1) Orthodoxy was also anxious, as Luther himself had been, to maintain the best of the older traditions of the Church, particularly in worship. Any ceremonies not expressly forbidden by the Bible were retained by these Lutherans:

> "They left their churches adorned with rich altars, tapers, and crucifixes, ready for the presence of Emmanuel. The people of Berlin rose in protest when John Sigismund tried to banish crucifixes and fonts. The Marienkirche at Danzig is . . . famous for its store of mediaeval vestments, and John Wesley, when he visited Meissen in 1738, was surprised to see a Lutheran minister in a chasuble of gold and scarlet, 'and a vast cross both behind and before.' . . Their services kept . the ancient liturgical outlines." (2)

Together with the liturgy, the orthodox Lutherans preserved the Lutheran tradition of music. Most of the hymn-writers whose work we have examined (3) were men in the tradition of orthodoxy, even though their own writing took the form of lyric song rather than that of a compendium of doctrines. (4) The music of Lutheran Germany reflected the orthodox view of Scripture as authoritative and of the orthodox devotion to the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation and the work of the Holy Spirit. (5) But regardless of its doctrinal forms, orthodoxy was important to Bach and to other musicians because of the encouragement it gave to the Lutheran musical heritage.

1...The confidence of the believer in his faith is strongly reflected in much of Bach's music; see below, p. 257.
2...Pullan: Religion since the Reformation, p. 84
3...Above, pp. 58ff.
4...This is especially true of Paul Gerhardt (above, pp. 64f.).
5...cf. Pullan, op. cit., p. 85

The Mystical Spirit in Lutheranism

Lutheran writers have given great emphasis to the high proportion of orthodoxy among the writers of the books in Bach's library. (1) The dogmaticians most certainly had their place. But Bach's reading was far from being confined to the works of the strictest of the scholastics, nor even to those to the right of centre. (2)

Side by side with the farthest-right wing of orthodoxy there had also developed a more moderate position, coloured by a concern for the implications of dogma in the personal life of the individual. We have seen something of this concern in men like Scheibler and Heinrich Müller, (3) but it produced other figures who had less interest than they in dogma and definition. Among the books listed as having been in Bach's possession is the Vom wahren Christenthum (1609) of Johann Arndt (1555-1621), who in the early days of the scholastic movement was able to look for "real Christianity" not so much in pure doctrine as in pure life. (4) A realisation of the importance of the personal and subjective element in religious experience was not an altogether new contribution of Arndt or even of the Reformation to Germany. The personal mystical tradition goes back at least as far as the 14th-century Dominicans, Meister Eckhard (c.1260-1327) and Johann Tauler (1290-1361), and the anonymous Theologica germanica, from the

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1...Especially Smend: Luther und Bach, pp. 10-14
2...We may be quite sure that Bach did read the books which he possessed; it would be more difficult, however, to determine how extensive his reading may have been beyond the limits of those volumes which he owned.
3...See above, pp. 89f.
4...Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 1/558f.; cf. also Drummond, op. cit., p. 25

late 14th century. Although this mysticism, particularly in the case of Tauler, was distinctly Roman and monastic, (1) its writings had become almost universal favourites in Lutheran Germany, and by the time of Arndt in the early 17th century,

> "Tauler, Seuse und die Theologia deutsch konnte man immer noch in lutherischer Häusern als Andachtsbücher finden." (2)

Among these, Tauler in particular continued to hold an important place in the devotional life of Bach's own day, and the folio volume which Bach possessed, bearing the title Geistl. Predigten auff alle Sonn- u. Feyertage (1720), was an edition of Tauler's sermons which had been prepared by Arndt and later revised by Spener. (3) Tauler's sermons had been preached primarily to members of monastic communities, not to congregations of laymen, but his presentation of the meaning of the Gospel for the inner life commended his preaching especially to Luther, who wrote in his Resolutiones against Tetzel:

> "Was den Lehrer Taulerum anbelanget, ob er gleich den Theologis in Schulen unbekannt und deshalb bei ihnen verachtet ist: so weiss ich doch, dass ich mehr der reinen göttlichen Lehr darinnen gefunden, denn in allen Büchern der Scholastiker auf allen Universitäten ich gefunden habe, oder darin gefunden werden mag." (4)

And to Spalatin Luther wrote:

> "So du Lust hast die alte reine Theologie in deutscher Sprache zu lesen, so kannst du dir die Predigten Johannis Tauleri, der Prediger Mönchs schaffen. Denn ich weder in lateinischer noch deutscher Sprache die Theologie reiner und heilsamer gefunden, und die also mit dem Evangelio übereinstimmt." (5)

1...Though his writings were condemned, Meister Eckhard did return to the Roman Church.
2...von Walter, op. cit., p. 445; "Seuse" is Heinrich Suso (1295/1300-1366), a student of Meister Eckhard and the poet of mediaeval German mysticism.
3...See below, p. 106
4...Walch. Ausg., vol. 18, p. 358
5...ibid., vol. 21, p. 567

The spirit of the "old pure theology" in Tauler's sermons is well shown in this passage from a sermon on "Seek Ye First the Kingdom of God":

> "Children, that peace which is found in the spirit and the inner life is well worth our care, for in that peace lies the satisfaction of all our wants. In it the Kingdom of God is discovered and His righteousness is found. . .
>
> "Now those who are most truly followers of Him in emptiness of outward consolation, and in true poverty, inward and outward, having no refuge or stay, and in no wise clinging to the creature, or seeking themselves, these come to discover, in the truest and noblest sort, the Kingdom of God. And this is God's righteousness, that He will give us to find His Kingdom by treading in Christ's footsteps, in true self-surrender and willing poorness of spirit. That we may all so seek the Kingdom of God as truly to find it, may He help us. Amen." (1)

Though Tauler's pre-Reformation piety was centred in monastic life and directed largely to the reform of the lives of the clergy, (2) the spirit of these sermons is clearly that of the Luther who proclaimed justification by faith; and the place of faith within the life of the individual which Tauler had preached to monastic communities was the basis of the "True Christianity" which Arndt proclaimed to all. In the first book of Vom wahren Christenthum Arndt says of Tauler's sermons:

> "Dahin geht Taulerus in allen seinen Predigten, dass ohne rechtschaffne Uebung des Glaubens, ohne Absterben, Absagen, Verleugnen sein selbst, ohne das Einkehren zu seinem Herzen, ohne den inwendigen, stillen Sabbath der Seelen kein Mensch das göttliche Licht in ihm selbst empfinden möge. . . Wenn aber dies Büchlein und seine Lehre in dein Leben wird verwandelt werden, wie eine Blume in ihre Frucht, so wirst du bekennen müssen, dass es das rechte, wahre, lebendige Christenthum sey, und sey kein edler, köstlicher und lieblicher Leben, denn eben dies, das Leben Christi." (3)

1...The close of the 2nd sermon for the 15th Sunday after Trinity; translated by Susanna Winkworth: The History and Life of the Reverend Doctor John Tauler of Strasbourg, p. 394; in the edition of Arndt & Spener, vol. 1, p. 507.

2...Winkworth, op. cit., pp. 144ff.

3...Vom wahren Christenthum, Book I, 37/166

"The life of Christ"; "the light of God within oneself": these are the typical expressions of Christian mysticism, which found welcome within the same Lutheranism which became in other hands the basis of dogmatic scholasticism. The mystics' concern for the inner life has strong affinities with the teaching of the sectarians who stood far to Luther's left in the 16th century; but unlike the Anabaptists and other sectarians, these maintained their position within the main stream of the Church tradition of Luther. Even to Arndt, mysticism is secondary, illustrating what Troeltsch says:

> "It [mysticism] takes for granted the objective forms of religious life in worship, ritual, myth, and dogma; and it is either a reaction against these objective practices, which it tries to draw back into the living process, or it is the supplementing of traditional forms of worship by means of a personal and living stimulus." (1)

The tradition of Tauler and of mediaeval German mysticism was welcomed in Lutheran circles which gave it fresh life by the emphasis which was placed upon Scriptural foundations for the inner life. Throughout the life of Lutheranism, the mystical spirit found a ready welcome because of the personal assurance of salvation which it found within "the life of Christ":

> ". . . mysticism had a great attraction for Protestantism in its fundamental emphasis upon personal assurance of salvation, and particularly in Lutheranism, in the doctrine of the present happiness of those whom Christ has set free." (2)

Even among the dogmatic systems of the most orthodox Lutheran thinkers there was often room for this personal assurance of

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1...Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 730

2...ibid., p. 740; even today, mysticism finds a more ready welcome in Lutheran circles than among people brought up in other Protestant traditions: "Lutheranism, in particular, provides a very fertile soil for these ideas, since from the outset Lutheranism had certain affinities with this type of spirituality in its most genuine form." (ibid., p. 795)

salvation; this was shown alike in the dogmatic writings of Johann Gerhard (1) and in the hymns of Paul Gerhardt, (2) both of whom found personal, strongly mystical expression for their strictly orthodox doctrine.

Although most of the Lutheran Churchmen were influenced to some degree by the mystical tradition, not all of the mystics were Churchmen. Jakob Böhme of Görlitz (1575-1624), who became probably the greatest of the German mystics after Eckhard and Tauler, was a shoemaker whose visions of divine love led him to denounce the Church. His entire concern was for the individuals, not for the Gemeinde. He was anxious for individuals to discover and to participate in the life that is in God. Johann Scheffler ('Angelus Silesius', 1624-77), the Lutheran physician who later became a Roman Catholic priest, summed up Böhme's mystical spirit in a famous phrase: "God's Heart is Jakob Böhme's Element." (3) In addition to Böhme, others who followed the mystical spirit into various extra-ecclesiastical ways were Caspar Schwenckfeld (d. 1561), Valentin Weigel (d. 1588), and Johann Andreae (1586-1654); (4) but none of these appears to have had direct influence upon the religious life of Bach, who throughout his life was a man of the Church.

Within the Church during the height of the scholastic period in the 17th century stood the moderating figure of

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1...See above, pp. 89f.
2...See above, pp. 64f.
3...Drummond, op. cit., pp. 39, 54; Scheffler is also the putative author of one of Bach's hymns: Werde munter, mein Gemüthe.
4...cf. Pullan, op. cit., pp. 86f.; Drummond, pp. 48ff.

Georg Calixtus (1586-1656). Where the dogmatic scholars had developed the systematising side of Melanchthon's Lutheranism, Calixtus almost alone sought to develop Melanchthon's irenic and liberal spirit toward those of different traditions than his own. He studied not only the Lutheranism and the Calvinism of the German states, but also Catholicism in Cologne and in Paris, and Anglicanism in Oxford. Returning to Germany , he sought to hold a mediating position between violently conflicting points of view. The one possible ground for the reconciliation of Christian differences, he held, lay in the Creeds of the earliest years of the Church, as he declared in this address to the Catholic universities of Germany in 1632:

> "We do not fanatically reject everything which the Pope has; for if so, we would reject Christianity. But this we complain of, that the Pope will not abide by what he has inherited from the Apostles. . . Antichrist indeed sits in the temple of God, and yet it remains the temple of God, by the sustaining power of Christ. Luther did not intend to introduce innovations: he held to the Creeds of the first five centuries. If there was no Luther before the sixteenth century, neither was there a Council of Trent to make new dogmas." (1)

But the eclectic and mediating spirit of Calixtus had little effect upon his fellow-Lutherans, who accused him of being a secret partisan of either Rome or the Calvinists. In 1646 Wittenberg and Jena, under the leadership of the Leipzig Churches, joined forces against the "heresy" of Calixtus and his moderate position, asserting an exclusive claim upon right belief on behalf of the orthodox party. (2)

1...Quoted in Drummond, op. cit., p. 40

2...cf. ibid., p. 38; thus Leipzig, 77 years before Bach was called to lead its Church music, had become the acknowledged leader of orthodoxy. Drummond, who can find little sympathy for orthodoxy, says (ibid.) that this leadership "suggested a kind of Lutheran primacy."

Calvinism in Germany

Although the principal Protestant influence in the Germany of Bach's day had been and continued to be Lutheran, the heritage of the Swiss and French Reformations had not been without some effect in the German lands. In at least one place of his employment, in Cöthen, Bach found himself living and working in a court whose confession was Reformed. (1) By the religious peace of Augsburg in 1555 the States of Germany had been allowed to choose between only Lutheran and Roman Catholic confessions; no official place was allowed to the Reformed faith or any other until much later. (2) Still Reformed influence gradually spread through many parts of Germany, especially in areas closest to the Netherlands, where the Reformed confession was official. Bremen, Anhalt (in which Cöthen is situated), Hesse-Cassel and Lippe followed the Palatinate in adopting the Heidelberg Catechism as the Standard of the faith, (3) and in 1613 John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, adopted the Reformed confession. (4) During the next decades the Thirty Years' War brought its greatest devastation to the parts of Germany in which Calvinism's strength was greatest. At the close of the war in 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia provided official recognition to the Reformed position, (5) but the most orthodox Lutherans remained as steadfastly opposed to Calvinism as to the Roman

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1...See below, pp. 144ff.
2...Lindsay, op. cit., p. 399; Drummond, op. cit., pp. 23ff.
3...von Walter, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 408f.
4...Thus "Modern Prussia has been built up by rulers trained in Calvinism moulding a people trained in Lutheranism." (Pullan, op. cit., p. 83)
5...von Walter, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 500

Church throughout the following century.

In spite of a common appeal to the Scriptures as the basis of authority in faith, of a common acceptance of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and of a strenuous common opposition to Rome, the Lutherans and the Calvinists were sharply divided at one crucial point, the understanding of God:

> "Luther and Calvin both wished to exclude the idea that man's works can secure his salvation. But Luther in so doing wished to preserve the believer's own subjective certainty of salvation. God is love and He means to save His elect, though they know that their works fall short of his demands. But to Calvin God is not primarily love, but infinite arbitrary power. He glorifies Himself by revealing to man His sovereign freedom of action in the choice of His elect, and in their character as members of a community ruled by Christ." (1)

This distinction was shown not only in theological formulation but also in the organisation of the Churches and in their worship. The Lutheran Churches maintained much of the worship of the mediaeval Church, and in it an important place for music in its own right. In the Reformed Churches, on the other hand, music was kept carefully guarded and subordinate to the Word of God. (2) The metrical Psalms became the possession of the German-speaking Reformed congregations in Konstanz in 1536 and in Strassburg in 1538; in 1573 Ambrosius Lobwasser, a Lutheran, completed a translation into German of the French Psalter of Marot and Beza. (3) Except in Strassburg, the German Reformed congregations did not limit themselves exclusively to the use of Psalms in their song, however; and in many German Reformed

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1...Pullan, op. cit., p. 82; cf. also Troeltsch, op. cit., pp. 576ff. and especially p. 879
2...cf. Schlink and Wallau (above, pp. 20ff.)
3...Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology, 2nd edition, p. 1543

congregations the hymn was regularly used in worship. (1)

In Bach's day, the Reformed congregations continued their very limited use of music. The organ was used in their services only for the accompaniment of hymns sung by the congregation. (2) Both in its music and in its doctrine, Calvinism continued throughout Bach's life to be as great an object of opposition for Lutheran Churchmen as Rome itself. In spite of the attempts of Calixtus on the Lutheran side and of the Duchess Luise Henriette on the Reformed to mediate between Lutherans and Calvinists, (3) it was not until 1817, nearly 80 years after Bach's death, that the two principal evangelical confessions were able to come to agreement; and the agreement which they did reach then was arrived at only under political pressure from Frederick William III. (4)

1...It is true that Reformed congregations used music only in Psalms and hymns; but the German Reformed congregations made regular use of hymns written by Lutheran writers as well as their own Psalms, and there were a few hymns written by Reformed writers. The Konstanz Nüw-gsangbüchle (1536-40) contained only 67 Psalms, out of a total of 150 hymns; and in the 17th century outstanding contributions to German hymnody were made by two Reformed writers: Luise Henriette, the Duchess of Brandenburg (1627-67), who wrote "Jesus meine Zuversicht", and Joachim Neander (1650-80), minister of the Martinskirche in Bremen, who wrote many hymns and who was called "der Psalmist des neuen Bundes" (Bunsen, op. cit., p. 734). Neander remains well-known today for his hymn "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen König der Erden."

2...Thus Bach's period of six years in the Reformed Court at Cöthen in Anhalt was the most limited time of his life, as far as the writing of music for the Church was concerned. (cf. below, pp. 144ff.)

3...See above, pp. 200f.; and Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 702

4...Drummond, op. cit., p. 194

Pietism

During the two generations before Bach's the deeply personal spirit in Lutheranism, following in the tradition of Johann Arndt, emerged into the form of a definite movement in reaction and opposition to scholastic orthodoxy. Where orthodoxy placed its emphasis upon pure doctrine and the dogma of the Church, the reaction stressed a rebirth and the personal experience of the individual believer. A similar development had taken place in the Calvinist Netherlands somewhat earlier; but with the publication in 1675, ten years before Bach's birth, of the Pia desideria of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), Pietism arose as a definite school within Lutheranism. (1) There were soon many kinds of Pietists, each kind making its own particular emphasis, but broadly speaking they all sought to place primary concern upon personal religious experience while remaining within the organisational framework of the existing Church. Drummond sums up the normal characteristics of Pietism as follows:

> ". . . an eager desire to preach a simple religion of the heart, the expression of immediate feeling rather than the result of study and reflexion; emphasis on the 'Second Birth' and the fellowship created between all who shared this experience; the distinction between the quality of life produced by 'the converted' and 'the worldly' (whether members of the Church or not)." (2)

In a sense, Pietism sought to realise the "priesthood of all believers" more completely than the Church had done, by gath-

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1...Both the Dutch Pietism of Gisbert Voet (1583-1676) and the German Pietism of Spener appear to have been influenced by the Practice of Piety (1613) of Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor; cf. Pullan, op. cit., pp. 95f. Dutch Pietism is treated fully in Ritschl: Geschichte des Pietismus, vol. 1, pp. 101-363.

2...Drummond, op. cit., p. 56

ering together a group of people within the Church who went farther in the exercise of a true priesthood than the mere acceptance of dogma. (1) This became, indeed, the distinguishing mark of the Pietists: an ecclesiola in ecclesia, either for the purpose of acting as a leaven of reform within a Church which they considered stagnant and lifeless, or as a real spiritual home within a Church in which they held only political connexions. (2)

Spener's Pia desideria oder Herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren evangelischen Kirche was a call to reform the official Lutheranism of the late 17th century, primarily by means of the closer study and greater diffusion of the Word of God. (3) The genuineness of faith, based upon the Word of God, is to be measured "durch einfache, demüthige Lebensführung und durch grossartige Wohlthätigkeit." (4) It owed a great deal to Johann Arndt, on whose Vom wahren Christenthum Spener published a posthumous series of sermons (Frankfurt 1706), and who was in many ways a Pietist before Pietism. (5) The "pious wishes" toward the accomplishment of a true Church, in which personal religion would be enriched by a sense of corporate discipleship, gave new meaning to doctrine:

1...Troeltsch (op. cit., p. 714) sums up the various movements of Pietism as simply representing "the sect-ideal within the churches, restricted and controlled by the fundamental thought of the Church," and thus an exact parallel to Jansenism, the corresponding "Pietist movement" in Catholicism.

2...In addition to these two types, Drummond would include within the definition of Pietists two additional groups who left the official Church completely; but that is an extension of "Pietism" to include groups which Troeltsch would call "sectarian" (Drummond, op. cit., pp. 55f.)

3...Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 126; but Ritschl is unsympathetic to his subject.

4...ibid., p. 513

5...ibid., p. 97

> "Christianity was an experience to be shared and practised by the laity -- not a mere doctrine to be preached by the clergy and passively accepted by their hearers." (1)

Groups of men and women within the Church, seeking to transform an assembly of people into a genuine congregation, met together for Bible study and for mutual encouragement in their demonstration of the faith. This emphasis upon the practice of the faith by those who felt a special and immediately personal concern brought against Spener the charge of "perfectionism" from orthodox Lutherans; (2) but though many later Pietists did tend farther and farther toward that heresy, Spener himself always maintained so moderate a position that even Ritschl could say: "Als Urheber des Pietismus in der lutherischen Kirche ist Spener für seine Person selbst nicht Pietist." (3) What Spener did emphasise continually is the need for a second birth in order for the Christian faith to become fully practical in the lives of men and for the Church in which men work and worship to become truly reformed:

> "Die Reformation der Kirche, welche Spener vorbereiten wollte, sollte nicht die Lehre, sondern das Leben und die Verfassung treffen." (4)

It was the publication of the Pia desideria in 1675 which really began the idea of Pietism as a definite Church-within-the-Church movement; Spener's other theological writings appeared in the 4-part "Theologischen Bedenken" (Halle 1700-2) and the "Letzte Theologischen Bedenken" in three further parts (Halle 1711). In Bach's personal library, Spener was repre-

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1...Drummond, op. cit., p. 58
2...Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 150ff., presents the accusation from Spener's contemporary antagonist, Samuel Schelwig, who used Spener's own words against him in "Die sectirerische Pietisterei",(1696/7); cf. also Hildebrandt: From Luther to Wesley, p. 85
3...Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 163
4...ibid., p. 151

sented by a single posthumous octavo volume not typical of most of his work, "Gerechter Eifer wider das Antichristliche Pabstthum." (1714)

Spener's ministry in Frankfurt, Dresden and Berlin gave the initial impetus to the Pietist movement, but the direction and organisation of Pietism came in Halle, where Spener's close friend, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), became the first professor of Greek and Oriental languages, and later professor of theology, in the new university. (1) Francke became the Melanchthon of Pietism to Spener's Luther, organising and realising the details of the movement to which Spener had given the beginning. (2) Under the leadership of Francke, Halle became the centre from which Pietist influence spread to other parts of Lutheran Germany, as nearby Leipzig and Wittenberg had become centres of orthodoxy. (3) With from 800 to 1200 students of divinity annually in attendance at its university, Halle was an important centre of theological education; (4) and it became important for its Christian philanthropy as well. An orphanage at Halle became the first of many centres for the care of children, and the "Franckesche Stiftungen" continue to provide hospital care and homes for the poor. Foreign missionary work, which had been neglected by Lutherans, was begun by the Halle school in South India in 1710; Lutheranism in America owes its beginning to the efforts of H. M. Muhlenberg, who was sent out by Francke from Halle. (5) All of this activity and emphasis

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1...Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 249
2...Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 2/651f.
3...When Bach received a call to Halle in 1714 it was to a church which had remained strictly orthodox in confession (see below, pp. 140ff.).
4...Drummond, op. cit., p. 60
5...Pullan, op. cit., p. 97; Drummond, op. cit., pp. 61f.

upon practical theology earned the reproach of orthodox leaders like Neumeister; but Bach, in spite of his strongly orthodox background, owned four volumes of Francke's Predigten und Traktätlein (1723), and in addition, two of the commentaries of Johann Jakob Rambach (1693-1735), who was Francke's successor in the chair of theology in Halle. (1)

Although the Halle movement which led to the good works of the "Franckesche Stiftungen" was conceived and followed within the Church, it came to place more and greater emphasis upon the individual's own consciousness of his own rebirth and less upon the ecclesiastical means of grace:

> "Dass jene sich für die Wiedergeborenen, und die Anderen eigentlich nicht für Christen achten, ist die Neuerung, welche der Pietismus in der lutherischen Kirche aufrichtete." (2)

By this emphasis, and by the hardness of the discipline which was set up to enforce it, "the ecclesiola often became the rival of the Ecclesia." (3)

> "Pietism gradually deprived itself of the power of doing more effective work for the kingdom of God by its sentimentalism, by its neglect of learning [this could be said in spite of the establishment of the University of Halle], by its disapproval of innocent recreation, by its practice of fostering little associations which kept themselves to themselves, and by regarding as an impossible ideal the leavening of the whole body of society with a Christian spirit." (4)

If Pietism had begun as an expression of practical theology, it soon became an expression of intensely personal and subjective religious experience. This could be seen especially

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1...Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 388; the inventory of Bach's books is in the German edition of Spitta, vol. 2, p. 961.
2...Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 262
3...Drummond, op. cit., p. 66
4...Pullan, op. cit., p. 97; cf. also Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 787

in its use of hymns. By and large, the Pietists were not as sympathetic as the orthodox party to the place of music in worship; * in this regard they had affinities with the Reformed Churches. But they readily made place for hymns which expressed the subjective, personal experience of religion; the stress upon the realisation of the Second Birth and upon its personal experience led the Pietists to write hymns which were increasingly subjective and sentimental. (1)

Francke's son-in-law, colleague and successor as preacher in the Ulrichskirche in Halle, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739), published in 1704 the first edition of his "Geistreiches Gesangbuch", and in 1718 Francke's assistant in the orphanage at Halle, Karl von Bogatzky (1690-1774), published the "Güldenes Schatzkästlein der Kinder Gottes"; both of these books found intense popularity during most of the 18th century. (2) In spite of their popular appeal, however, hymns like those of Freylinghausen had only indirect influence upon the music of the Lutheran Churches or of Bach. Following are illustrations of the "spiritual songs" of Freylinghausen:

Du bist mein Trost im Herzeleid,
Mein Lustspiel, wenn ich lache,
Mein Tagewerk, das mich erfreut,
Mein Denken, wenn ich wache,
Im Schlafe mein Traum und süsse Ruh,
Mein Vorhang, den ich immerzu
Mir um Bette mache. (3)

1...Pietists among the writers of the hymns which Bach used are few in number: Johann Jakob Schütz (1640-90) and Samuel Rodigast (1649-1708), two lawyers, were among Spener's "Geistesgenossen"; Johann Freystein (1671-1718) is the only one of the Halle Pietists whose hymns are included in Bach's music. (cf. Bunsen, op. cit., pp. 727f.; see also Appendix C below.)

2...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 18; Spitta (vol. 1, pp. 363ff.) thoroughly disposes of the suggestion that Bach had any part in the preparation of the Freylinghausen Gesangbuch.

3...#61 in the 1704 collection.

*...cf. below, pp. 115, 132ff.

Nenne mich nur deine Braut,
Nenne mich nur deine Taube,
Mache mich dir recht vertraut,
Mache, dass ich an dich glaube. (1)

Language like this appears in the texts of many of Bach's cantatas, especially in the numerous soprano-bass dialogues between "the soul" and "the voice of Jesus"; (2) but Pietism carried the intensely intimate expression to much greater length in the Cöthen Gesangbuch of 1736. (3) These are representative stanzas from among 23 in that collection addressed to the "Osterlämmlein":

Osterlämmlein, ach wie süsse
Süsse süsse schmeckest du;
Deiner Wunden Honigflüsse
Schaffen meiner Seelen Ruh.
Ewig Leben mir zu geben
Lässt du dich in Liebe braten;
Osterlämmlein, welche Gnaden.

O theurer Riss, o süsse Höhle,
Lass dies verlockte Täubelein,
Die jämmerlich verletzte Seele
In dir nun ganz verschlossen sein;
Dein heilger Blut- und Wasserstrom
Mach' mich gerecht und gründlich fromm. . . (4)

These excesses came to be characteristic of the expression in the hymns of the Moravian Brethren, led by Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf (1700-60), who dominated the last phase of Pietism as a distinguishable movement. (5) Zinzendorf, although he himself remained a Lutheran, opened his estate to a band of Moravian Protestant refugees in 1722, and the village of Herrnhut which they founded on his land was an attempt to put

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1...#349 in the Freylinghausen Gesangbuch, 1704
2...As, for example, the duet in #s 7 and 8 of the cantata Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis (S.21); see below, p. 140.
3...On the influence of Pietism in Cöthen after Bach's departure for Leipzig, see below, p. 149n.
4...Quoted in Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 491
5...Ritschl (vol. 2, p. 218) remarks of the Pietism of Spener that "...seine religiösen Anregungen in den Kreisen des hohen und des niedern Adels besondern Anklang fanden."

Christianity into practice in a community where "emphasis was laid on personal religious experience, but individualism was corrected by brotherhood." (1) Like Methodism, its later parallel in Britain, Moravian Pietism gradually broke away from the official Church, and the ecclesiola assumed an independent status.

In Württemberg, some distance removed from Halle and the main centres of Pietism, Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), (2) who had studied for a time in both Leipzig and Halle, was urging the necessity of a connection between personal piety and doctrinal theology --- elemmnts which had so often been divisive. (3) A pioneer in Biblical study and criticism, Bengel shared much of the spirit of the Pietists, but he urged that ". . . the devout should look over the walls of their little meetings, meet 'the world' on their own ground and evangelize boldly." (4) He sought to bring the practical concern of Pietism into the life of the Church, without yielding to any sentimental excesses:

> "Our separatists consider themselves experienced Christians, and we must put up with it. . . No doubt there are among them righteous individuals known to God, but such are to be sought chiefly in the first generation of them. . . God, however, makes use of separatism to accomplish his own good purposes; for instance, to serve as a standing protest against radical corruptions in our church. . . Still it is certain, that pious persons, both ministers and people, may serve God with a pure conscience in the very heart of our degenerate church; and corrupt as its multitude is, I can find in it a larger number of such pious persons than are to be found among our separatists." (5)

1...Drummond, op. cit., p. 69
2...Bengel was thus an exact contemporary of Bach; the theologian was two years younger than the musician, and died two years after him.
3...cf. Burk: Memoir of the Life and Writings of John Albert Bengel (tr. Walker); Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 62ff.
4...Drummond, op. cit., p. 67
5...Burk, op. cit., p. 151

Again, speaking of the sentimental expression of many of the Pietist hymns, Bengel says:

> "As for the diminutive 'Jesulein', I object not to the use of it in the old Christmas hymns, where the word has certainly a peculiar pleasantness, a kind of charm that touches the heart; but in other and modern hymns, where it is used chiefly for the sake of the rhyme, surely it is unseemly and improper." (1)

There is no evidence of any direct contact between Bach and Bengel, although Bengel did visit Weimar during the summer of 1713, at a time when we know Bach was there. (2) But, as we shall see in our further study of Bach's piety and faith, these two men were remarkably alike in their infusing some of Pietism's sense of personal religious experience into the forms and institutions of the established and very orthodox Church of their day.

The German Church at the Beginning of the Enlightenment

The last years of Bach's and Bengel's lives marked the close of a period of controversy. The orthodoxy of the 17th century and the Pietism of the early 18th century had both passed their highest points, and into the ground opened by their conflict there was planted the seed of the Aufklärung. The age of Reason in Germany built upon Pietism's emphasis upon individual conviction to the neglect of Church authority, but developed individualism in rational instead of evangelical terms. Indeed, it became as strongly critical of the mystical tendencies still remaining in Pietism as orthodoxy itself was

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1...Burk, op. cit., p. 201
2...ibid., p. 8; cf. also Terry: Bach, a Biography, pp. 89ff.

of the Pietists' concern for practical theology. (1) Curiously, the order of Rationalism and of Pietism was the opposite in Germany from that in Britain. In Great Britain the first half of the 18th century had been dominated by Hume and the Deists, to be followed by the evangelical revival of Wesley and Whitefield in the second half of the century; but in Germany the Pietism of Bach's and Bengel's day was followed by an age of Reason which submerged the remaining influences of both orthodoxy and Pietism:

> "Lessing and Semler presided over the destiny of German Protestantism in the second half of the eighteenth century, and secured the triumph of rationalism on a scale unthought-of in England." (2)

Although the Aufklärung with its rationalism led to many absurd extremes in the religious life of Germany, (3) the realisation which it brought of the importance of thorough intellectual study of the faith was one of the greatest contributions of German thought to Christian theology. In particular, the German scholars of the Aufklärung began to direct their attention to the critical study of the Bible, going far beyond what Bengel had done. It was the work of Reimarus (1694-1768) and Eichhorn (1752-1827) which laid the foundation for the claim which Schweitzer could later make:

> " . the greatest achievement of German theology is the critical investigation of the life of Jesus. What it has accomplished here has laid down the conditions and determined the course of the religious thinking of the future." (4)

1...cf., for example, the comment of the Duchess of Bayreuth on the Pietism of Francke; Ritschl, vol. 2, p. 291.

2...Drummond, op. cit., p. 81

3...Drummond, p. 102, cites examples of the way in which rationalism secularised German preaching: "...a Christmas sermon on the stall-feeding of cattle, a Palm Sunday sermon on the damaging of trees...a Pentecost sermon on drunkenness."

4...Schweitzer: The Quest of the Historical Jesus, p. 1

The effect of Rationalism upon music, both within and without the Church, was marked. The polyphonic tradition which Bach had brought to its fullest development had been discouraged or denied by the Pietists; and in the Enlightenment its place was taken not by the sentimental hymn of the Pietists but by an aria-like solo which reflected the growing popularity of operatic style. Further, the skepticism which the Enlightenment fostered gave to music a much larger degree of freedom than it had previously known:

> " . in the liberation of imagination, the reaction against the formal and artificial, which marked all forms of art under the Romantic movement , music took on a new richness of vocabulary, a wider sweep of reference. . .
> "Thus absolute music becomes 'absolute' in a new sense; not only is it free from the associations of words and dance-forms, but it is free from any connection with the institutions of Church or of Court." (1)

In the midst of this development, Bach's music, which had been so closely bound to the institutions of Church and Court, fell into neglect immediately upon his death. Occasional performances were made of a few of his works, and Mozart and Beethoven both acknowledged Bach's greatness; but for the most part his music and its meaning remained virtually unknown during the 75 years in which Rationalism was at its highest point. (2) Goethe was acquainted with some of Bach's music, as we know from his correspondence with Zelter; (3) but it was not until Mendelssohn's revival of the St Matthew Passion just before Goethe's death that Bach's music began to attract any consid-

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*...cf. above, p. 110; below, pp. 132ff.
1...Routley, op. cit., p. 164
2...cf. Gerhard Herz: Johann Sebastian Bach im Zeitalter des Rationalismus und der Frühromantik, esp. pp. 2-4;44-52.
3...cf. Zelter und Goethe, Briefwechsel, ed. by Dr M. Hecker; esp. the letters of June 21 and of September 7, 1827.

erable degree of public interest. By that time the Aufklärung was well on its wane. It had taken a renewed awareness of the truth of evangelical faith to open musical ears, even within the Church, to the Gospel in Bach's music.

Chapter 4

BACH IN THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH

We have seen some of the musical background and more of the theological background to the day in which Bach lived, and something of his relation to those backgrounds, in the hymns which he used and the books which he owned. Before making a detailed study of the ways in which Bach's music shows and illuminates those backgrounds, it now remains to look at Bach's life in relation to the immediate religious situation in which it was lived --- almost entirely in the service of the Church.

The life of Bach has often been told. From the earliest biographical notice, which appeared in Johann Gottfried Walther's Musikalisches Lexikon in 1732, (1) to the present day an increasing volume of "Lives" has appeared. (2) The first full account of Bach's life was the ten-page obituary written by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel and by Johann Friedrich Agricola, and published as one of three tributes to "Members of the Musical Society" in the final issue of Mizler's Musikalische Bibliothek (IV/1, 1754); (3) a few other tributes, mostly praising Bach's

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1...An English translation of this notice appears on page 46 of David and Mendel: The Bach Reader, which also includes English versions of all contemporary documents relating to Bach's life.

2...The serious study of Bach began with the first systematic publication of his works by the Bach-Gesellschaft, beginning in 1850. "In the 50 years between 1800 and 1850 only 37 books on Bach appeared, all of them small and mostly quite unimportant; from 1850 to 1900 there were 163, amongst them a number of large-scale works; in the 10 years from 1900 to 1910 alone no less than 297 appeared." (Blume: Two Centuries of Bach, p. 62) The spate has continued since 1910; it was especially full in 1950 at the commemoration of the bicentenary of Bach's death.

3...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 215-24

virtuosity in performance, appeared during the remainder of the 18th century. (1) It was not until the publication of Johann Nikolaus Forkel's Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke. Für patriotische Verehrer echter musikalischer Kunst (2) in 1802, that a full "biography" appeared; even this was more enthusiastic appreciation than real biographical study. Not until a century after Bach's death did his life and work begin to be a subject for serious research. In the centenary year, 1850, the Bach-Gesellschaft began its publication of the 46 volumes of the definitive edition including all of Bach's extant works. That same year two studies of his life appeared: a "Lebensbild" by Pastor J. K. Schauer of Jena, and the first critical evaluation, Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Wirken und Werke, by C. L. Hilgenfeldt. (3) Fifteen years later, C. H. Bitter, the Prussian Minister of Finance, published the first really comprehensive study of Bach. (4) Bitter's work, though erring or incomplete in its knowledge of many details, (5) is the first attempt at an understanding of the religious meaning of Bach's life and work. (6)

1...These are printed in David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 252-92; cf. also Blume, op. cit., pp. 11-36.

2...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 295-356; publ. also in a translation by C. S. Terry, 1920.

3...cf. Spitta, Johann Sebastian Bach, vol. 1, p. iv

4...J. S. Bach, Berlin 1865 in 2 vols.; 2nd edition 1881 in 4 vols.; abridged English translation by Janet E. Kay-Shuttlesworth, 1873.

5...He ascribes, p. 14, 300 of the tunes in the Freylinghausen Gesangbuch of 1704 to Bach as either composer or arranger; see above, p. 110.

6...Bitter sums up this point of view: "The real difference between sacred and secular music lies in the frame of mind produced in the hearer; and Bach's cantatas. . .inspire purely devotional feelings, whereas there is much music set to solemn words and performed in churches that leaves the hearers worldly, morbid or frivolous." (Kay-Shuttlesworth translation, p. 46)

Bitter's studies were rejected rather discourteously by Spitta, who personally searched every available source pertaining to Bach, however remotely, so thoroughly that his Johann Sebastian Bach has become the standard source for every subsequent study of Bach. (1) Spitta's 1869 pages (2) cover every conceivable aspect of Bach's life and work from the religious controversies of the day to detailed study of the watermarks in the paper used by Bach for his MSS. His aim was

> ". . . to disentangle . . the threads which united in [Bach], and to trace the reasons why it should have been in Bach that they converged, and in none other." (3)

In addition to providing a study of Bach's life and times and an exposition of his works, Spitta collected most of the available documents pertaining to Bach's life from official archives. Spitta's exhaustive text and these documents, only very slightly abridged or occasionally omitted in the English edition, have provided the basic material for all the later studies of Bach. The only significant additions to the materials provided by the researches of Spitta are those discovered by Charles Sanford Terry in his preparation of Bach, a Biography, and in his detailed researches into many aspects of Bach's work. (4) The German translation of Terry's biography (5) is particularly valuable, since all the original documents were freshly consulted wherever possible in its preparation. It includes many

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1...Johann Sebastian Bach, 2 vols., 1873-80; English translation by Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland in 3 vols., 1884-5.
2...1796 pages in the English translation
3...Spitta, op. cit., vol. 1, p. i (English)
4...Bach, a Biography, London 1928; 2nd revised edition 1933
Bach's Chorals, 3 vols., Cambridge 1915-21
Joh. Seb. Bach: Cantata Texts sacred and secular. With a reconstruction of the Leipzig liturgy of his period, London 1926
5...By Alice Klengel; Leipzig 1929

of Bach's own letters and documents from Church and civic archives which have become available since the completion of Spitta's work in 1880. (1)

A separate collection of Bach's letters and writings did not appear until 1938, when E. H. Müller von Asow published Joh. Seb. Bach, Gesammelte Briefe. (2) All of these letters and every other available document (with the single exception of a small Latin "Albumblatt", Müller #71) from Bach's hand, together with many relevant documents written about Bach by others, have been collected and translated into English by Hans David and Arthur Mendel in The Bach Reader. (3)

The distinction of other biographical studies of Bach has lain in their interpretation rather than in their contribution of new biographical information. In English, the studies of Reginald Lane Poole (1882) and of Sir C. Hubert H. Parry (1909) are the most outstanding of the pre-Terry works which are not translations from German originals; both of them acknowledge their dependence upon Spitta. In French, lives by David (1882) and Cart (1884; 2nd ed. 1950) also depended upon Spitta. The aesthetic interpretation of Bach, rather than the study of his life, was the aim of Pirro (4) and of Schweitzer, whose J. S. Bach, le musicien-poète (1905), rewritten in German (1908), has

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1...Terry's biography is not only the only English work on Bach to find acceptance in a German translation, but it has become the standard biography (as distinguished from interpretation) of Bach in most languages; there is also an Italian translation (Milan 1938).

2...Second edition, enlarged, 1950

3...New York 1945; cf. also Schmieder: Johann Sebastian Bach als Briefschreiber in "Bach-Jahrbuch" 1940-48, pp. 126-33.

4...J. S. Bach, 4th edition, Paris 1913
L'esthétique de Jean-Sébastien Bach, Paris 1907

become a standard work in its English translation. (1) In German, the interpretive studies since Spitta have come from many pens, those of Wolfrum (1906), Moser (1935), Gurlitt (1936) and most recently of Hans Engel (1950) being perhaps the most outstanding. Some additional biographical information has appeared from time to time in the specialised studies published in the Bach-Jahrbücher (2) and the researches of Rudolf Wustmann, Arnold Schering and Friedrich Smend; (3) but the principal sources for our knowledge of the life of Bach are the biographies of Spitta and Terry and the collected documents of Müller and of David & Mendel.

In 1897 Sedley Taylor published a brief booklet (4) in which he sought to extract from the mass of detail in Spitta's 1800 pages the story of Bach's life as it related to the Church life in which most of it was lived. The following pages are an attempt to do the same, making use not only of Spitta but also of the documents and sources which have become available since Taylor wrote.

1...The translation is by Ernest Newman; first published in 1911, it has been reprinted many times since.

2...These Jahrbücher were published annually from 1904 to 1938 by the Neue Bachgesellschaft; an omnibus volume dated 1940-48 has been published since the series was interrupted by war.

3...All three of these men published the results of most of their studies in the Bach-Jahrbücher, but each of them has also made additional contributions of significance, especially the following:
Wustmann: J. S. Bachs Kantatentexte, Leipzig 1913
Schering: Johann Sebastian Bach und das Musikleben Leipzigs im 18. Jahrhundert, Leipzig 1941
Smend: Luther und Bach, Berlin 1947

4...The Life of John Sebastian Bach in relation to his work as a Church Musician and Composer, Cambridge 1897

Bach's Early Life and Education

The Bach family provided musicians to the Churches and towns of Thüringia for generations. So many Bachs had been cantors, organists or town musicians ". . . that Erfurt's musicians were named 'the Bachs' long after a Bach had ceased to fiddle among them." (1) Johann Sebastian was born to one of these town musicians in Eisenach, the ancestral home of Luther's mother and the site of Luther's Wartburg, on March 21, 1685. The records of St George's Church, Eisenach, contain the following entry of his baptism:

> "March 23, 1685. To Mr. Johann Ambrosius Baach, Town Musician (Haussmann), a son, g(odfathers) Sebastian Nagel, Town Musician at Gotha, and Johann Georg Koch, Ducal Forester of this place. Name: Joh. Sebastian." (2)

The house in which Bach was born stands in the street now known as the Lutherstrasse, (3) and the musical and religious tradition of the city made Eisenach a singularly fitting birthplace for a man who has come to represent the highest degree of union between music and faith. (4) After a brief period of education in the Gymnasium in Eisenach, where he had his earliest study of the Bible and Catechism (reading and writing were taught

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1...Terry: Bach, a Biography, p. 1. Unless otherwise indicated all references to Terry in this chapter are to this work.

2...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 47

3...Conrad Freyse, the present curator of the Bach-Haus in Eisenach, tells the most recent history of the house in the Bach-Jahrbuch 1940-48, pp. 154-60.

4...As a boy Bach must indeed have climbed to the walls of the Wartburg, as Terry suggests: "...the chamber was accessible in which the German Bible had its birth..." but it is claiming too much to go on, as Terry does: "and the valiant hymn-tunes were conceived which bear the Reformation on their virile phrases." (op. cit., p. 18) Luther did work at the translation of the New Testament within the Wartburg, but it was more than a year after his departure from thence that his earliest hymn was written; and it has not yet been established that Luther actually composed the tunes of any of his hymns; see above, pp. 56ff.

using the Gospels and Epistles of the Lutheran lectionary in both Latin and German), (1) Bach was orphaned shortly before his tenth birthday. He then went to Ohrdruf to live with his elder brother, Johann Christoph, who was organist in the Michaeliskirche there. For five years Bach lived and studied in Ohrdruf. He had his earliest instruction on the clavier from his brother, (2) and continued his education in the town school. Terry has shown that it was in Ohrdruf that Bach was introduced to the study of the Compendium of Leonhard Hutter, (3) and that he had sung in the choir. It is certain that in Ohrdruf Bach had the foundation of a thoroughly orthodox school with good musical facilities, (4) but in the spring of 1700 the following entry, referring to Bach, was made in the Ohrdruf school record: "Left for Lüneburg, on account of insufficient school funds." (5) Bach was 15 and at an age when many young men were leaving school to find a livelihood; but he was going on to Lüneburg for additional study. The records of the Mettenchor of Lüneburg indicate a payment of 12 groschen to "Bach" as a soprano in the choir during April and May of 1700. (6) In Lüneburg, where he remained for three years, Bach had his first opportunity to learn the possibilities of music in the Church, for the churches of Lüneburg were much better equipped musically than those of Eisenach and Ohrdruf. The libraries of the Lüneburg churches in particular offered a young musician fuller

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1...Terry, op. cit., p. 21
2...He had begun the study of strings from his father; cf. Terry, op. cit., pp. 22f.
3...ibid., p. 30
4...ibid.; Spitta, vol. 1, p. 188
5...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 47
6...ibid., p. 48

opportunities for study; and Georg Böhm, the organist of the Johanniskirche, was one of the outstanding masters of the generation preceding Bach's own. With the change of his voice, Bach was not able to remain a soprano in the Mettenchor for long, (1) but in the three years he was in Lüneburg he must have given a good deal of attention to developing his instrumental skill and to becoming acquainted with the musical literature available in the city's extensive libraries. He probably worked in close association with Böhm, and there were also opportunities for journeys to Hamburg and to Celle, where he was able to broaden his acquaintance with his world of music. (2)

Arnstadt: the Conflict with the Consistory

When at the age of 18 Bach left his studies at Lüneburg to begin his full-time musical career, he returned to Thüringia to become a member of the court orchestra of Johann Ernst, younger brother of the reigning Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Weimar, probably as a violin- or viola-player. (3) His first stay in Weimar was very brief, however; he had gone there in April 1703, but in July he was invited to try the new organ in the Neukirche at Arnstadt, and to be its first player on July 13. (4) Within a month he had received an appointment as organist in the Neukirche, satisfying his desire to have an organ of his own:

1...cf. Mizler's Necrology; David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 217

2...Spitta, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 190ff.; Pirro remarks upon the parallel between Bach's early desire to inform himself about every aspect of music and the youthful studies of Leibniz, his contemporary, to prepare his own mind: "Tous deux furent guidés par le sort, et stimulés par leur impatience de savoir." (L'esthétique de Jean-Sebastién Bach, p. 391)

3...Spitta, vol. 1, p. 221

4...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 49; Terry, op. cit., p. 62

> "Whereas our Noble and Most Gracious Count and Master, Anthon Günther, one of the Four Counts of the Empire, has caused you, Johann Sebastian Bach, to be accepted and appointed as organist in the New Church, now therefore you are, above all, to be true, faithful, and obedient to him, His above-mentioned Noble Grace, the Count, and especially to show yourself industrious and reliable in the office, vocation, and practice of art and science that are assigned to you; not to mix into other affairs and functions; to appear promptly on Sundays, feast days, and other days of public divine service in the said New Church at the organ entrusted to you; to play the latter as it is fitting; to keep a watchful eye over it and take faithful care of it; to report in time if any part of it becomes weak and to give notice that the necessary repairs should be made; not to let anyone have access to it without the foreknowledge of the Superintendent; and in general to see that damage is avoided and everything is kept in good order and condition. As also in other respects, in your daily life to cultivate the fear of God, sobriety, and the love of peace; altogether to avoid bad company and any distraction from your calling and in general to conduct yourself in all things toward God, High Authority, and your superiors, as befits an honor-loving servant and organist. . ." (1)

Bach remained in Arnstadt for nearly four years, under the supervision of Johann Gottfried Olearius, the Superintendent. (2) During this time he began to show his abilities as composer as well as performer. In Ohrdruf and Lüneburg he had already written a few small works for clavier or for organ; but it is in Arnstadt that he began to develop his abilities in composition, writing chorale-preludes, fantasies and fugues for organ, and in 1704 the earliest of his extant cantatas, Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen, (3) was written for Bach's first Easter Day as an organist with his own responsibilities for music in the Church. He had begun to work out

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1...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 49f.; the appointment, dated August 9, 1703, continues with an itemised statement of the proposed salary, with the sources from which it was to come.
2...See above, pp. 92f.
3...S.15

his own music after the pattern he had discovered at Lüneburg.

It was difficult for Bach to maintain the cultivation of the love of peace and the conduct toward his superiors which had been enjoined upon him by the terms of his appointment. In August of 1705 two meetings of the Consistory had to investigate a fracas between Bach and a student named Geyersbach. Names had evidently been called and the two had come to blows; (1) the incident served to illustrate a life-long characteristic of Bach:

> ". . . he was a bad disciplinarian, easily provoked to temper, and prone to outbreaks which diminished his authority, even lowered his dignity, in the eyes of those under him." (2)

Terry might have added "of those over him" as well, for it was very soon after the incident with Geyersbach that Bach came into conflict with the Consistory over the conception of the exact nature of the organist's calling. He was to "avoid all distraction" from it, but it soon became evident that the organist and the Consistory did not share a common understanding of the exact nature of this calling. The lack of agreement certainly did not increase the willingness of the organist to submit to the judgement of his superiors.

After two years of work in Arnstadt Bach must have

> ". . . felt the need of throwing himself into a more bracing musical atmosphere, and rubbing shoulders, or rather minds with the masters of his craft." (3)

To provide himself with a kind of refresher course Bach asked for four weeks' leave of absence in October 1705. His cousin,

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1...The incident is reported in full by David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 51.
2...Terry, op. cit., p. 67
3...Taylor, op. cit., p. 17

Johann Ernst Bach, was available as a substitute, so the leave was readily granted. Bach made the journey to Lübeck to hear and to learn from Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707) at the famous Abendmusiken which Buxtehude conducted following the afternoon services in the Marienkirche. (1) The musical opportunities of Lübeck were of greatest interest and significance to the 20-year-old organist from Arnstadt. (2) Buxtehude's music which he heard there

> ". . . confirmed impressions formed at Lüneburg, and gave him a conception of music's relation to public worship which never left him, an ideal tardily realized at Leipzig." (3)

He was, indeed, so taken with the music which he found in Lübeck that he stayed away for not only the four weeks of his permitted leave, but for nearly four months. (4) When he finally returned to Arnstadt in late January of 1706, he immediately introduced into his organ-playing many of the ideas which he had learned during his sojourn. Because of his difficulty in handling the choir-boys, however, he was not able to provide the "figured music" (i.e., Cantatas with orchestra) which Arnstadt expected of him, much less on such a grand scale as that in Lübeck. There was lodged against him therefore a dual complaint, recorded as following in the proceedings of the Arnstadt Consistory for February 21, 1706:

1...Terry, op. cit., pp. 67f., casts doubt upon the traditional tale that Bach walked the 300 miles from Arnstadt to Lübeck.

2...One of the special services, on December 2, 1705 in memory of Kaiser Leopold I, attracted such a crowd that two corporals and eighteen privates were designated to watch the doors of the Marienkirche. (cf. Terry, op. cit., p. 69)

3...Terry, op. cit., p. 69

4..."When the year 1706 arrived, Bach gradually remembered that his home was not Lübeck but Arnstadt." (Spitta, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 311)

"Joh. Sebastian Bachen, Organisten in der Neuen Kirche betr. wegen Langwierigen Verreissens vnd Unterlassener Figural music. 706.

"Actum d. 21. Febr. 706.
Wird der Organist in der Neuen Kirche Bach vernommen, wo er unlängst so lange gewessen, vnd bey wem er dessen verlaub genommen?

Ille (Bach)

"Er sey Zu Lübeck gewessen vmb daselbst ein vnd anderes in seiner Kunst zu begreiffen, habe aber zu vorher von dem Herrn Superintend Verlaubnüss gebethen.

Dominus Superintendens (Olearius)

"Er habe nur auf 4 wochen solche gebethen, sey aber wohl 4 mahl so lange aussen blieben.

Ille

"Hoffe das orgelschlagen würde unterdess von deme, welchen er hierzu bestellet, dergestalt seyn versehen worden, dass desswegen keine Klage geführet werden könne.

Nos (the Consistory)

"Halthen Ihm vor dass er bissher in dem Choral viele wunderliche variationes gemachet, viele frembde Thöne mit eingemischet, dass die Gemeinde drüber confundiret worden. Er habe ins Künfftige wann er ja einen tonum peregrinum mit einbringen wolle, selbigen auch auszuhalten, vnd nicht zu geschwinde auf etwas andres zu fallen, oder wie er bissher im brauch gehabt, gar einen tonum contrarium zu spiehlen. Nechstdeme sey gar befrembdlich, dass bissher gar nichts musiciret worden, dessen Ursach er gewessen, weile mit den Schühlern er sich nicht comportiren wolle, Dahero er sich zu erclähren, Ob er sowohl Figural alss Choral mit den Schühlern spiehlen wolle. Dann man ihm keinen Capellmeister halthen könne. Da ers nicht thuen wolte, solle ers nur categorice von sich sagen, damit andere gestalt gemachet vnd iemand Der diesses thäte, bestellet werden könne.

Ille

"Würde man ihm einen rechtschaffenen Director schaffen, wolte er schon spiehlen.

Resolvitur

"Soll binnen 8 tagen sich erclähren." (1)

By the terms of his call, Bach had been hired as an organist, and it was as organist that he proposed to serve Arnstadt; since the training of a choir for Figural-music was not one of his specified duties, Bach refused to make such music his concern unless a director were appointed to take charge of the

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1...Spitta, op. cit., (German) vol. 1, pp. 313f.

choir for it. (1) Rambach, who was the Prefect of the Arnstadt choir, was called before the same meeting of the Consistory for discipline; the further minutes of the meeting indicate plainly that Bach's relations with his associates in the music of the Neuen Kirche were far from good. But the complaint against Bach and his reaction to it serve to indicate that it was actually a desire to make the best possible music in the service of God which was Bach's purpose, and that no personal considerations could deter him from that purpose. He had felt that what he could learn in Lübeck was of much more importance than his returning to Arnstadt within the four weeks of his leave, particularly since he knew that his cousin was a capable deputy. The Grace of his musical calling transcended the Law of his employers' demands. The novelty of his virtuosity on the organ would not be suppressed by the demands of the congregation to "keep it simple". So although he had been given a week in which to make explanation of his transgressions, Bach evidently just ignored the demand, for the next we hear of the complaint is eight months later, in November of 1706, when the Consistory minutes continue the record:

> "Actum d. 11. Novemb. 706.
> Wird dem Organisten Bachen vorgestellet, dass er sich zu erclähren, ob wie ihm bereits anbefohlen er mit denen Schühlern musiciren wolle oder nicht; dann wann er Keine schande es achte bey der Kirchen zu seyn, vnd die Besoldung zu nehmen, müsse er sich auch nicht schähmen mit den Schühlern so darzu bestellet so lange biss ein anders verordnet, zu musiciren. Dann es sey das absehen dass dieselben sich exerciren sollen, umb dereinst Zur music sich besser gebrauchen zu lassen.
> Ille
> "Will sich derwegen schrifftlich erclähren." (2)

1...Thus he must not have found it easy to prepare the Cantata (S.15; above, p. 125) for his first Easter in Arnstadt.
2...Spitta, op. cit., (German) vol. 1, p. 323

In spite of this assurance, no written explanation ever came. Bach was too busy with the organ and with his composition even to worry about the controversy. But further inquiry by the Consistory into his private life, when it asked him to explain the presence of the "strange maiden" whose voice had been heard in the empty church when he was rehearsing, (1) made Bach realise that he had perhaps accomplished as much in Arnstadt as he would be able to do. (2)

Mühlhausen: Pietism and Orthodoxy in Bach's Life

The "strange maiden" of whose presence the Consistory of Arnstadt complained was probably Bach's cousin, Maria Barbara Bach, whose father had been organist at Gehren. Her mother had come from Arnstadt, and Maria Barbara was probably visiting relatives there after her mother's death in 1704; there was thus natural opportunity for her to meet the young organist. Bach, meanwhile, had received several offers to become organist elsewhere, (3) and in the midst of the unpleasantness of his relations in Arnstadt he was considered for a vacancy which seemed very attractive to him. Johann Georg Ahle, the organist of the Kirche Divi Blasii in Mühlhausen, died on December 2, 1706; Bach was not asked to appear until the following Easter (April 24, 1707), but the parish record of St Blasius for May 27, 1707 clearly indicates that Bach was the first choice for the post:

1...Spitta, op. cit., (German) vol. 1, p. 324
2...cf. Terry, op. cit., pp. 72f.
3...Forkel, op. cit., (tr. Terry) p. 15; David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 303

"Whether consideration should not first be given to the man named Pach from Arnstadt, who had recently done his trial playing at Easter?
"Conclusum. And an equitable agreement should be worked out with him. To this end, the said person should be bidden to appear here . . ." (1)

Three days after this entry, a large part of the town of Mühlhausen was destroyed by fire; but within two weeks (on June 14) Bach did appear, and the following day received the appointment to the post. (2) Later that month Bach presented his resignation to Arnstadt; when it was accepted in July, it was recorded that Bach had assigned the last quarter of his salary to his cousin Johann Ernst, who became his successor. (3) In September, probably on the 15th, (4) Bach began his duties in Mühlhausen, and a month later, on October 17th, he and Maria Barbara were married in the Church at Dornheim, a small village near Arnstadt. (5)

The year Bach spent in Mühlhausen was distinguished musically by the writing of two important Cantatas: Gott ist mein König (6) for the inaugural service of the Town Council on February 4, 1708 (the only one of Bach's cantatas ever to be published during his lifetime), and Aus der Tiefe rufe ich (7) in commemoration of the fire of 1707. (8) In February of 1708 Bach prepared a specification of work which he would like to have seen done to the organ, in which he indicated his detailed

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1...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 54; misspelling in original.
2...Three of the deputies of the parish "...said they had no pen or ink, and were so dismayed at the calamity that they could not think about music -- whatever the other gentlemen did would satisfy them." (ibid., p. 55)
3...ibid., p. 56
4...cf. Terry, op. cit., p. 75n.
5...The Arnstadt marriage record is in David and Mendel, p. 56.
6...S.71
7...S.131
8...Terry, op. cit., p. 81, establishes the date of this cantata at the anniversary of the fire in May 1708.

knowledge of the building of organs as well as of their music; (1) the extensive proposals which he made were agreed to by the officials of the Church. But the year in Mühlhausen was most important in Bach's life for the light which it shed upon the theological environment of the young musician. It was in Mühlhausen that the conflict between Pietism and Orthodoxy first came close to Bach's immediate situation. (2)

Johann Adolph Frohne (d. 1713), the minister of the Kirche Divi Blasii, had been deacon in Mühlhausen since 1684 and its Superintendent since 1691; he had been a leader of Pietism in Mühlhausen for years when Georg Christian Eilmar (d. 1715) came to the pulpit of the Marienkirche as a leader and an outspoken champion of the strictest orthodoxy. For years the controversy between personal and doctrinal religion was fought in sermons, in pamphlets and in the streets; (3) the quarrel was at its very height during the year of Bach's residence in Mühlhausen. A partial reconciliation was reached in the Council on May 8, 1708. (4)

Bach's position in the controversy has always been a difficult one to assess. Although his own pastor was the more moderate and courteous in the dispute, Bach can hardly have been very closely drawn to Frohne because the minister, like other Pietists, had little enthusiasm for music except in hymns. (5)

1...Mühlhausen parish minutes, February 21, 1708; David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 58f.
2...In Arnstadt Pietism had attracted only a small following; Superintendent Olearius was a stern opponent of Pietism. (Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 4/692)
3...In May 1700 the Council had issued a general order forbidding all ministers to let their controversy show in public discourses; cf. Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 1, p. 360.
4...ibid., p. 361
5...cf. above, pp. 110, 115

Following his training that had been in schools dominated by strict orthodoxy, Bach seems to have preferred the position of Eilmar, even though the minister of the Marienkirche was a particularly overbearing and pedantic person. (1) Spitta places particular stress upon Bach's choice of Eilmar as godfather to his first child, Catharina Dorothea, (2) as evidence of his preference for Eilmar's side in the dispute. (3) There is good reason to believe that Eilmar was the author of the libretti for both of Bach's extant Mühlhausen cantatas, or at least collaborated with Bach in their preparation. (4) Later evidence of association with Neumeister seems to strengthen the claim that Bach's own theological position was as rigidly orthodox as that of Eilmar himself. (5)

In spite of this, the spirit of personal expression which comes so often into Bach's music is so strongly akin to that of Pietism that Hans Barth could find that Bach's real affinity lay with Frohne and not with Eilmar:

> "Bachs Wesen hatte ja Stammverwandtes mit dem Pietisten Frohne . . . Da die Orthodoxie in Mühlhausen gegen den Pietismus war, so war Bach, ohne weiter zu prüfen, gegen ihn eingenommen und machte sich gar nicht klar, wie er seiner Herzensstimmung nach eigentlich wohl mit Recht in das Lager der Pietisten gehöre." (6)

Hashagen more nearly realises the situation, however, when he shows that it was not an "either-or" choice between Pietism and

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1...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 1, p. 361
2...She was baptized in Weimar on December 29, 1708. (Terry, op. cit., p. 98)
3...Spitta, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 361
4...Terry, op. cit., pp. 78, 81; see above, p. 131
5..."Als Glaubensmensch ist Bach nicht nur von der Überlieferung seiner Familie, sondern auch von einer bekenntnismässig fest geprägten theologischen Schulung bestimmt." (Gurlitt: Joh. Seb. Bach, p. 63)
6...Hans Barth: J. S. Bach, ein Lebensbild, p. 89

Orthodoxy which confronted Bach:

> "Wir sind genötigt darauf zurückzugehen, dass Bach alles wahrhafte Evangelium des Pietismus bereits in seinem Luthertum besass und suchte, daneben aber in seinem kirchlich orthodoxen Glaubensstande sich anderer hoher geistiger Gaben erfreute, für welche im einseitigen Pietismus kein Raum war, ja die der extreme Pietist verachtete." (1)

Indeed, it was quite possible for dogmatically orthodox churchmen themselves often to show some of the piety of the Pietists they combatted. Pietism was not a movement whose membership or whose limits were always clearly defined; and many men could be called by the name "semi-Pietist" which Pirro gave to Bach. (2)

> "Bach did not allow Pietism to make itself much felt in his external life. But he admitted that it exerted its influence upon his religious ideas of art." (3)

There are, certainly, later incidents in Bach's life --- at Halle and Cöthen in particular --- which serve further to establish his opposition to Pietism as a movement, if not in spirit.

The question whether Bach was strictly Orthodox or whether he had Pietist leanings and if so, how strong these leanings may have been is a rather fruitless one. Besch concludes that it is of much less final significance to find the answers to such questions than to be assured that Bach was a believing Christian. (4) At the same time he urges us to realise how false it is to imagine that Bach or any other Christian could

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1...Hashagen: J. S. Bach als Sänger und Musiker des Evangeliums und der luther. Reformation, p. 153
2...L'esthétique de Jean-Sébastien Bach, p. 23
3...Schrade: Bach: the Conflict between the Sacred and the Secular, in "Journal of the History of Ideas", vol. 7, no. 2, p. 167. It is true that Bach allowed Pietist expression into the text of much of his orthodox music, but Schrade does not show the direct admission of Pietist influence which he here claims for Bach; influence it surely had, but it was more indirect than Schrade would suggest.
4...Besch: J. S. Bach, Frömmigkeit und Glaube, pp. 196f.

live apart from his own times. (1) In Mühlhausen Bach's Christian faith was thrust into the very midst of the religious circumstances of his time.

Weimar: the Development of an Artist in the Service of Faith

After just a year in Mühlhausen, Bach received an invitation to become Court organist and Chamber Musician to the Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Sachsen-Weimar. The Church at Mühlhausen accepted his departure with regret, insisting that he should continue to supertise the work on the organ which had been begun at his request. The letter of resignation which Bach sent to the Mühlhausen authorities remains the principal testimony in his own words to his understanding of the nature of his calling:

"An die
Allerseits respective
Höchst und Hochgeschätzten
Herrn Eingepfarrten
D. Blasii,
unterthäniges
Memoriale.

"Magnifice, Hoch und WohlEdle, Hoch und Wohlgelahrte, Hoch und Wohlweise Herrn, Hochgeneigte Patroni und Herrn.

"Welcher gestallt Ehr: Magnificenz, und Hochgeschäzte Patronen zu dem vor dem Jahre verledigtem Organisten Dienste D. Blasii meine Wenigkeit Hochgeneigt Haben bestellen, darneben auch Dero Milde zu meiner besseren subsistenz mich geniessen lassen wollen, habe mit gehorsahmen Danck iederzeit zu erkennen. Wenn auch ich stets den Endzweck, nemlich eine regulirte kirchen music zu Gottes Ehren und ihren Willen nach gerne aufführen mögen, und sonst nach meinem geringen vermögen der fast auf allen Dorfschafften anwachsenden Kirchen music, und oft besser, als allhier fasonirten harmonie möglichst aufgeholffen hätte, und darümb weit und breit, nicht sonder kosten einen guthen apparat der auserlessensten kirchen Stücken mir angeschaffet, wie nichts weniger das project zu denen

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1...Besch, op. cit., p. 197

abzuhelffenden nöthigen Fehlern der Orgel ich pflichtmässig überreichet Habe, und sonst aller Ohrt meiner Bestallung mit lust nachkommen währe: so hat sichs doch ohne wiedrigkeit nicht fügen wollen, gestalt auch zur zeit die Wenigste apparence ist, dass es sich anders, obwohl zu dieser kirchen selbst eigenen Seelen vergnügen künfftig fügen mögte, über diesses demüthig anheim gebende, wie so schlecht auch meine Lebensarth ist, bey dem Abgange des Hausszinses und anderer äusserst nöthigen consumtion, ich nothdürftig leben könne.

"Alss hat es Gott gefüget, dass eine Enderung mir unvermuthet zu handen kommen, darinne ich mich in einer hinlänglicheren subsistence und Erhaltung meines endzweckes wegen der Wohlzufassenden kirchenmusic ohne verdriesslichkeit anderer ersehe, Wenn bey Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen-Weymar zu dero Hofcapell und Cammer music das entree gnädigst erhalten habe.

"Wannenhero solches Vorhaben meinen Hochgeneigtesten Patronen ich hiermit in gehorsahmen respect habe hinterbringen und zugleich bitten sollen, mit meinen geringen Diensten vor diessesmahls vor willen zu nehmen, und mich mit einer gütigen dimission förderlichst zu versehen. Kan ich ferner etwas zu Dero Kirchen Dienst contribuiren, so will ichs mehr in der That, als in Worten darstellen, verharrende lebenslang

"Hochedler Herr
Hochgeneigte Patronen und Herrn
Deroselben

"Dienstgehohrsamster

"Joh. Seb. Bach.

"Mühlhausen, den 25. Jun. ao: 1708." (1)

"Toward a well-regulated Church music, to the glory of God and in conformance with your wishes . . . ": this is the goal toward which Bach aimed not only during his year in Mühlhausen, but throughout his life. If other musicians took Church positions perfunctorily, Bach served in the Church with a true purpose: to use his God-given gifts to impart a new and more meaningful structure to the music of the Church. (2)

1...E. H. Müller von Asow: Bachs Gesammelte Briefe, pp. 37ff. The English translation of David & Mendel is in their volume, pp. 60f.; I have used the German text as a representative illustration of Bach's own writing.

2...cf. Schrade, op. cit., p. 154

In the court at Weimar Bach found many advantages he had not known in the Churches of Arnstadt and Mühlhausen. Five years previously he had been briefly in Weimar as a member of the private orchestra of the Duke's younger brother; (1) but now, as organist and chamber musician to the Duke himself, he found much greater opportunities. During the nine years he remained in Weimar he had opportunity to develop his virtuosity on the organ; it was indeed the last place in which Bach served regularly as organist, and it was largely his performances while living in Weimar which earned for him the only reputation by which he was known to the world of his day. (2) During these nine years he wrote most of the great show-pieces for organ, but the Weimar experience meant even more to Bach than simply an opportunity to develop his mastery of the organ and of writing for that instrument. The musical facilities of the Weimar court gave him just the opportunity to work at the development of the well-regulated Church music which was his Endzweck.

Wilhelm Ernst was neither Pietist nor narrowly orthodox, but he was earnestly Christian. He took as his motto "Alles mit Gott", and the life of his court revolved about the chapel. (3) No theological controversy like that at Mühlhausen troubled the musical life of the court. When Bach became Concertmeister as well as organist in 1714 and a year later assumed also most of the functions of the Capellmeister as well, (4) he became ". . . obliged to perform new works

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1...See above, p. 124
2...cf. Terry, op. cit., p. 115
3...ibid., p. 86; but see also Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 104
4...But not the title; cf. Spitta (English), vol. 1, p. 526

monthly", (1) which is to say that he was expected to prepare a new Cantata each month. These monatlich neue Stücke were of especial importance in the development of Bach's subsequent Cantata-style; (2) a total of twenty Cantatas written in Weimar still survives. One of these comes from the early part of his residence there, before he was charged with the regular responsibility of Cantata-writing. Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, often called the Actus Tragicus, (3) is an outstanding example of his abilities, for in this funeral-cantata Bach himself not only composed the music but probably also made the selection of Bible-verses and the closing hymn-stanza which make up its libretto. (4) When the regular assignment of monthly Cantatas first came to him, Bach used texts from the published collections of Erdmann Neumeister, but by the spring of 1715 he had discovered the poetic abilities of Salamo Franck (1659-1725), a member of the Weimar court who was secretary to the Superior Consistory of Saxony and librarian and custodian of the court's collection of coins and medals. (5) Six of Bach's early Weimar Cantatas are to texts by Neumeister, but from Easter of 1715 until his departure for Cöthen in the autumn of 1717 twelve of Bach's thirteen extant Cantatas are to texts by Franck, whose poetry

> ". . . is a very conspicuous witness to the fact that the transfusion of the objective catholic-church sentiments into personal religious feeling met an universal predisposition half-way as it were, even outside the special circle of the Pietists." (6)

1...The appointment is given in David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 67
2...cf. Spitta (English), vol. 1, pp. 466-513
3...S.106
4...Terry, op. cit., pp. 76, 88, outlines the debate over the date of writing this Cantata; the majority opinion prefers the funeral of the Rector Grossgebauer in Weimar in 1711.
5...Spitta (English), vol. 1, pp. 471ff.; 526ff.
6...ibid., p. 528

That Franck was no Pietist is attested by his standing in the court of Wilhelm Ernst, by his friendship with Olearius in Arnstadt, (1) and most of all by his published Cantata-texts and hymns. (2) Years later when Bach was in Leipzig he returned to Franck's texts for some of his Cantatas; they were generally far superior to the libretti of Picander, who was Bach's usual collaborator in Leipzig.

In addition to playing the organ and to composing for organ and for choirs, Bach taught a number of pupils in Weimar. An important detail of his spirit in playing and in teaching is shown in a letter which Johann Gotthilf Ziegler wrote in support of his application for the post of organist at the Liebfrauenkirche in Halle in February 1746:

> "As concerns the playing of the chorales, I was instructed by my teacher, Capellmeister Bach, who is still living, not to play the songs merely offhand but according to the sense of the words." (3)

Distinguished as an organist, Bach was also called upon frequently to examine new organs. Sometime in the autumn of 1714 he made a journey to Cassel; Spitta discovered that the court organ there had been newly restored, and concludes that Bach's visit had been in reply to an invitation to try the instrument. (4) In that same year Bach appears also to have made his first journey to Leipzig; on December 2, the first Sunday in Advent, he performed his Cantata Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland (5) and

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1...cf. Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 1, p. 528
2...Evangelische Andachts-Opffer, Weimar 1715
3...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 237; Spitta, op. cit., (German) vol. 1, p. 519. Ziegler had been organist for many years in the Ulrichskirche in Halle, whose pastors had been Francke and Freylinghausen; he had earlier studied theology in the university in Halle. The Liebfrauenkirche is the church in which Bach himself applied for the post of organist in 1713/4 (see below, pp. 140ff.).
4...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 1, pp. 513f.
5...S.61

deputised at the organ in either the Nicolaikirche or the Thomaskirche. The Cantata score bears the date 1714, and on the back of the title-page, in Bach's handwriting, is the order of service in Leipzig, probably to guide him through the service. (1)

For the purpose of our study, probably the most important of Bach's journeys during his years in Weimar was the visit to Halle in the autumn of 1713. Zachau, organist at the Liebfrauenkirche in Halle and the teacher of Handel, had died in 1712 and a fine new organ was being built, planned to be completed by Easter of 1714. Bach seems to have visited the Church to inspect the organ, and was urged by Dr Heinecke, the pastor of the Church, to present himself as a candidate for the post. (2) Whether or not he did think of himself as an actual applicant, Bach prepared a Cantata (3) for the Halle Church; and on December 14, 1713 the electors of Halle sent Bach a "vocation" for his signature:

> ". . . we have herewith appointed and accepted the honorable and learned Mr. Johann Sebastian Bach as organist of the Church of Our Lady, on condition that he be faithful and regular in attendance upon us and our Church, strive for a virtuous and exemplary life, above all cling faithfully all his life long to the unchanged Augsburg Confession, the Formula of Concord, and other symbolic confessions of faith, keep diligently to the altar of this Church and be devoutly obedient to the Word of God, and thus demonstrate to the entire Congregation his confession of faith and Christian character . . ." (4)

1...Terry, op. cit., pp. 124ff., concludes that the Leipzig visit did not take place until 1717, when Bach was invited to make a trial of the organ in the Paulinerkirche (see below, p. 146). Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 140, comes to the same conclusion. Most other authorities agree with Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 1, p. 519, that the Leipzig visit was made in 1714 in order that Bach might make the acquaintance of Kuhnau (cf. David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 70n.)

2...Terry, op. cit., p. 101

3...Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis, S.21

4...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 65

The call from Halle required Bach, in detail, to attend to the organ music for all services and to present on all feast-days and every third Sunday

> ". . . a moving and well-sounding sacred work . . . in such a way that the members of the Congregation shall be the more inspired and refreshed in worship and in their love of hearkening to the Word of God. . ." (1)

Further, he was to present his texts and music to the pastor for his approval, and

> ". . . to accompany attentively the regular chorales and those prescribed by the Minister . . . in such a manner that the Congregation can take the organ as the basis of good harmony and unison tone, and thus sing devoutly and give praise and thanks to the Most High." (2)

It was a call which Bach might willingly have accepted. The organ was a better one than he had at Weimar, and the post would have given him ample opportunity to work toward the well-regulated Church music of his goal. The terms of the call make it evident that although Halle was the centre of Pietism, the Liebfrauenkirche was plainly orthodox in its emphasis. But the financial arrangements did not seem as agreeable as the other terms of the call. Bach did make further inquiry in a letter sent on January 14, 1714, in which he indicated that it was only the matter of salary which stood in the way of his acceptance, closing with the hope that

> ". . . the honored Church Board will also be graciously pleased to remove the few difficulties that may still arise. In the hope of a prompt and happy issue, I remain . . ." (3)

Evidently the Halle Church Board would not hear of changing the

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1...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 65
2...ibid.
3...ibid., p. 67

the terms of their call, for Bach returned the "vocation" unsigned; this drew from Halle the suggestion that he had been using their offer only to improve his position in Weimar. (1) It was in fact just then that the Duke did appoint Bach as his Concertmeister, with the requirement of monthly new pieces, (2) but Bach replied to Halle's accusation as follows:

> "A Monsieur.
> Monsieur A. Becker Licentié en Droit.
> Mon très honoré Ami à Halle. p. couvert.
>
> "MOST NOBLE, MOST THOROUGHLY LEARNED, AND MOST HONORED SIR!
>
> "That the Most Honored Church Board is astonished at my declining the desired post of organist to which, as you think, I aspired, astonishes me not at all, since I see that they have given the matter so very little thought. You say I applied for the said post of organist, but I do not know of any such thing. This much I do know, that I presented myself and that the most Honored Collegium applied to me; for I, after presenting myself, should immediately have taken my leave if the request and courteous invitation of Dr. Heinecke had not compelled me to compose and to perform the piece that you know of. Moreover it is not to be assumed that one will go to a place where one's situation will be worsened; but this I could not learn accurately in a fortnight or three weeks, since I am wholly of the opinion that even after many years one cannot rightly know one's livelihood in a place where one must count incidental fees as part of one's income, let alone in a fortnight; and that is more or less the reason why I at first accepted and then, on request, in turn rejected the appointment. But it is by no means to be inferred from all these circumstances that I should have played such a trick upon the Honored Church Board in order to induce my most Gracious Master to increase my salary, since the latter already shows so much graciousness toward my service and art that I do not have to journey to Halle in order to have my salary increased. Accordingly I regret that the assurance of the Honored Church Board has thus had a somewhat uncertain outcome, and add the following: Even if I had received just as good a salary in Halle as here, should I not then have been bound to prefer the prior service to the other one? You, as one learned in the law, can best judge of this, and, if I may ask you to, can present this my justification to the Honored Church Board. I remain, in turn..." (3)

1...Terry, op. cit., p. 104
2...See above, p. 138
3...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 68; Bach addressed the letter in the quoted French and closed with a customary signature and date: "Weimar, March 19, 1714."

Any feeling of ill will which may have arisen could not have been long-lasting, for within two years, in April 1716, the Church Board of the Marienkirche invited Bach, together with Kuhnau of Leipzig and Rolle of Quedlinberg, to examine and to report on the completed organ. On May 1 of 1716 they completed their detailed report (1) and were among the guests at the festive dedication Hauptgottesdienst and dinner on the following Sunday. But Bach remained in Weimar, where the first six of his children were born, serving as organist and Concertmeister in the service of Duke Wilhelm. When Johann Samuel Drese, the court Capellmeister, died in December 1716, the Duke did not appoint Bach to his place, as Bach had hoped and expected, but gave the post instead to Drese's son, Johann Wilhelm. (2) It was apparently when this blow came that Bach determined to find other employment; and when Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen offered him the post of Capellmeister in his court, Bach was quite ready to accept. From August 1, 1717 Bach received his salary from the Cöthen court, (3) but Duke Wilhelm was unwilling to grant his request for dismissal from Weimar. In November the duke actually ordered Bach's detention for insisting so obstinately upon his release. Not until a month later, as the records of the Weimar court indicate, was Bach's wish granted:

> "On November 6, (1717), the quondam concertmeister and organist Bach was confined to the County Judge's place of detention for too stubbornly forcing the issue of his dismissal and finally on December 2 was freed from his arrest with notice of his unfavorable discharge." (4)

It was an unhappy close to nine years which had been singularly happy ones in Bach's life.

1...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 72ff., where not only the full report of the organists is given, but also a copy of the menu for the dinner given in their honour.
2...Terry, op. cit., p. 113
3...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 76
4...ibid., p. 75

Cöthen: the Lutheran in exile

The following six years, which Bach spent in the court at Cöthen, have posed perhaps the most critical single problem to Bach's biographers and interpreters: why did Bach, who was so surely Lutheran in his own faith, spend such a long time in a court whose confession was Reformed? He could have no opportunity in Cöthen to work toward the well-regulated Church music which had been his goal in Mühlhausen and Weimar, for the music of the court chapel in Cöthen was limited to the singing of Psalms and hymns, (1) and Johann Jakob Müller, the organist of the Reformed Church in the town, probably also played the small organ at the court chapel. (2) The organ at the Lutheran Church in the town was served by Christian Ernst Rolle, and although Bach and his family evidently worshipped there, (3) the only music for which Bach was actually responsible during the entire period of his Cöthen appointment was the chamber-music of the court. This music was on a high level, and the young Prince himself often took part in it either as a singer or as an instrumentalist. But the Church music of his first goal was not available, and the letter which he wrote to Erdmann (4) indicates that he may have abandoned this goal altogether. Schrade (op. cit., pp. 176-83) holds that his acceptance of this appointment is evidence of Bach's having substituted a secular goal for his original sacred one:

1...As in other German Reformed worship (cf. above, pp. 103f.), hymns as well as metrical Psalms would have been used in Cöthen's chapel.

2...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 2, p. 3

3...The Prince's mother had been Lutheran, and through her influence a Lutheran Church and School were provided in the town of Cöthen. (Terry, op. cit., p. 118)

4...See below, pp. 155f.

> ". . . Bach has moved out of the sphere of church music. . . he is aiming at a sphere of art that Italian baroque had . . . made the extreme opposite of church music, the realm of chamber music, indissolubly linked to the life of the court." (1)

But although Bach was not responsible for the writing of Church music in Cöthen, it does not follow that the music which he did write in Cöthen was not sacred, as Schrade insists. (2) It was certainly not written merely to achieve further glory for himself and his music, as Schrade implies.

It is true that non-Church instrumental music was at that very time just beginning to achieve a position of its own in the world of music; (3) a completely "well-regulated Church music" required Bach's mastery of other aspects of the art of music than most Church facilities could make available to him. Before he could achieve his goal, as ultimately he was to do in Leipzig, it was necessary for Bach to master the use of orchestral music as well as music for voice and organ, (4) and the Cöthen court's chamber music provided Bach with just the facilities he needed to bring his understanding of orchestral music to fuller development.

The circumstances of his Cöthen employment did not prevent Bach from working at the composition of music in the Church tradition. The Orgelbüchlein, (5) whose dedication has often been

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1...Schrade, op. cit., p. 180
2...ibid., p. 176; from the point of view which we have set forth in chapter 1, Bach's Cöthen music, far from being "secular" as Schrade would have it, is as truly sacred as any of the works composed at Mühlhausen or Weimar (cf. Lilje, op. cit., p. 20).
3...Grove: Dictionary of Music & Musicians, vol. 1, p. 159
4...In non-Lutheran Protestantism we are apt to forget the importance of the orchestra in the Lutheran service; Bach's ideal music required orchestral facilities which Churches today would regard as exceptional indeed.
5...S.599-644

cited as a testimony of Bach's faith, (1) was perhaps carried out to its present form in Cöthen, though the extended form in which it was planned and begun in Weimar was never realised. (2) Five of the Cantatas (3) and the St John Passion may also be dated from the Cöthen period (probably written in preparation for Bach's duties in Leipzig). (4) Two "secular" Cantatas (5) which later were adapted for Church use are among the earliest Cöthen compositions; and as we have seen above, (6) the music which Bach later adapted for the closing chorus of the St Matthew Passion also was written in Cöthen.

Bach's further interest in the organ and the Church is shown by two of the private journeys which he made during his service in Cöthen. The first, undertaken only a week or ten days after beginning his new position, was a trip to Leipzig for the trial of the rebuilt organ of the Paulinerkirche. His first rehearsal of the orchestra at the Cöthen court was on December 10, 1717; the report on the organ which he made to the Leipzig Collegium was dated December 17. (7) For the next two years he was steadily and busily at work providing music for the court, (8) but in the summer of 1720 Bach returned from an official journey to Carlsbad with his Prince to discover that

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1...See above, p. 37
2...On the plan of the Orgelbüchlein, see Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 3, pp. 18-66, summarised below, Appendix E, pp. 338-342. Terry argues that it was written and completed to its present state during the Weimar imprisonment; Engel: Johann Sebastian Bach, p. 27, suggests that it was planned during the imprisonment but not actually written until Bach was settled as Capellmeister in Cöthen.
3...S.47, S.141, S.22, S.23, S.202
4...With the exception of S.47; see below, p. 147
5...S.173a, S.134a
6...Above, p. 36
7...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 76ff.
8...In October 1719 Bach tried unsuccessfully to meet Handel in Halle. (Terry, op. cit., p. 119)

Maria Barbara had died. (1) Bach's immediate reaction shows how deeply the Lutheran Church tradition affected him even in exile: his first composition after his wife's death was the Cantata Wer sich selbst erhöhet, der soll erniedrigt werden. (2) Although there was no opportunity for its performance in Cöthen it was the necessary response of Bach's faith to his bereavement. Besch comments: "Er hat das Lied des Glaubens gesungen!" (3)

"Jesu, beuge doch mein Herze
Unter deine starke Hand,
Dass ich nicht mein Heil verscherze,
Wie der erste Höllenbrand.
Lass mich deine Demuth suchen
Und den Hochmuth ganz verfluchen.
Gieb mir einen niedern Sinn,
Dass ich dir gefällig bin!" (4)

At the same time that Bach was working on this music of tribute to his wife, he was looking to the possibility of making a change of position which would return him to the direct service of the Church. When Heinrich Friese, the organist of Neumeister's Jacobikirche in Hamburg, died in September 1720, Bach's was one of eight names put forward as candidates in the vacancy. Bach himself went to Hamburg in November, but was unable because of Cöthen's demands upon his time to remain until the official Probe at which only four men performed on November 28. (5) He had given a demonstration of his playing some days earlier on the organ of the Catharinenkirche for the aged master, Jan Adam Reinken (1623-1722), who was delighted. Neumeister and a number of the men of the congregation of the Jacobikirche were anxious that the call should be given to

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1...The record of her death is in David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 78.
2...S.47
3...Besch, op. cit., p. 289
4...The words of the Bass aria, S.47/4
5...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 80; cf. also Terry, op. cit., pp. 130ff.

Bach. (1) When the vote was taken "in God's Name", the majority of the votes went to one Johann Joachim Heitman, who, it is further recorded, showed his gratitude by the payment of 4000 marks, in spite of an earlier agreement that

> ". . . there were many reasons not to introduce the sale of an organist's post, because it was part of the ministry of God. . ." (2)

The November meeting had agreed that if after a free choice had been made the successful candidate wished to demonstrate his gratitude, a gift might be accepted for the benefit of the Church; (3) but Neumeister was certain that there was some collusion involved in Heitman's selection, and expressed his bitter disappointment in his Christmas sermon. Mattheson, in Der musicalische Patriot, 1728, tells the story:

> "I remember, and a whole large congregation will probably also remember, that a few years ago a certain great virtuoso, whose deserts have since brought him a handsome Cantorate, presented himself as a candidate for the post of organist in a town of no small size, exhibited his playing on the most various and greatest organs, and aroused universal admiration for his ability; but there presented himself at the same time, among other unskilled journeymen, the son of a well-to-do artisan, who was better at preluding with his thalers than with his fingers, and he obtained the post, as may be easily conjectured, despite the fact that almost everyone was angry about it. This took place just at Christmas time, and the eloquent chief preacher, who had not concurred in the Simoniacal deliberations, expounded in the most splendid fashion the gospel of the music of the angels at the birth of Christ, in which connection the recent incident of the rejected artist gave him quite naturally the opportunity to reveal his thoughts, and to close his sermon with something like the following pronouncement: he was firmly convinced that even if one of the angels of Bethlehem should come down from Heaven, one who played divinely and wished to become organist of St. Jacobi, but had no money, he might just as well fly away again." (4)

1...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 80
2...ibid.
3...ibid.
4...ibid., pp. 81f.

Spitta holds that the journey to Hamburg had been planned even before Bach left for Carlsbad with the Prince in May, and that the Cantata was written in anticipation of the visit to Reinken; that it was only accidental that Bach happened to be in Hamburg at the time the Jacobikirche was seeking an organist. (1) The character of the Cantata and of the journey, however, make Terry's version much the more likely. The death of Bach's wife had prompted from him in his exile a characteristically Lutheran response.

When he failed to secure the Hamburg position Bach returned to his music-making in Cöthen. A year later, on December 3, 1721, he was married to Anna Magdalena Wülcken, daughter of the trumpeter to the Prince of Saxe-Weissenfels. (2) During the remaining years in Cöthen Bach and his wife continued to be the most steadfast of Lutherans. The reminder of Pfeiffer's Anti-calvinismus (3) on the title-page of the Clavierbüchlein which he wrote in Cöthen for Anna Magdalena is evidence that the confession of the Court made no impression upon the Capellmeister.

Life became gradually less musical in the Cöthen court following the marriage of the Prince, a week after Bach's wedding, to Friederica-Henrietta of Anhalt-Bernburg. (4) The new Princess found no happiness in music, (5) and the pleasure of

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1...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 2, pp. 12f.
2...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 83
3...See above, pp. 90f.
4...Terry, op. cit., p. 138
5...In this she was not unlike her sisters-in-law, the first and second wives of Leopold's younger brother August Ludwig, who were influential in bringing the Pietist Conrad Allendorf (1693-1773) to Cöthen as court preacher. Allendorf was responsible for the publication of the Pietists' Cöthen Gesangbuch in 1736, some years after Bach's departure for Leipzig. (cf. Ritschl, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 490f.; Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 50)

the relations Bach had enjoyed with his patron was diminished. Furthermore, the education of his children was beginning to be a concern. The small Lutheran school which the Prince's mother had established in Cöthen was quite inadequate, and Bach was anxious to find a place where his elder sons might have a suitable Lutheran education of University level. Accordingly, when Kuhnau (1) died on June 3, 1722, the possibility of becoming Cantor in so surely Lutheran a place as Leipzig definitely appealed to Bach. During his years of separation from Lutheran Church music, Bach had increased his mastery of the full range of his art, and now he turned to a post in which he could devote all his powers once again to his Endzweck: a well-regulated Church music, to the glory of God.

Leipzig: the "Director Musices" fulfills his calling

The first choice of the Leipzig Consistory was not Bach but Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), but "after he had received an increase of a few hundred thaler in Hamburg his application was withdrawn." (2) In December of 1722, Bach together with several other candidates presented himself for examination; on January 15 the councillors voted to call Graupner, a pupil of Kuhnau who was serving as Capellmeister in Darmstadt. The issue was undecided until March 23, when Graupner sent a letter telling of his patron's unwillingness to release him. Meanwhile Bach, who then became the third choice of the Leipzig authorities, had been visiting in Leipzig through most of the month of March, and on Good Friday,

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1...See above, p. 143
2...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 87

March 26, he directed the St John Passion as a special commission from the Leipzig Council, who were anxious that music on a suitably large scale should be performed in their Church on Good Friday. (1) On April 9 the town Council received with keen disappointment the news that Graupner would be unable to accept the post:

> "The man who had been favored for the Cantorate, namely Graupner, could not obtain his dismissal --- the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt simply would not dismiss him. The others in view were the Capellmeister at Cöthen, Bach; Kaufmann in Merseburg; and Schotte here, but none of the three would be able to teach also . . .
>
> "Appeals Councilor Plaz: . . . since the best man could not be obtained, mediocre ones would have to be accepted. . ." (2)

Leopold's Princess had died on the 4th of April, but nine days later he graciously gave Bach a cordial letter of dismissal with "the highest recommendation for service elsewhere." (3) Almost at once Bach took the dismissal to the Leipzig Council, with an assurance that he would be willing to

> ". . . instruct the boys admitted into the School not only in the regular classes . . . but also, without special compensation, in private singing lessons." (4)

This assurance removed any misgivings which the Councillors may have had concerning Bach, and they proceeded to his election. On May 5 Bach gave his written promise of agreement to the conditions of the appointment; eight days later, after satisfactorily passing an oral examination of his theological soundness, (5) Bach put his signature to the Formula of Concord

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1...Terry, op. cit., p. 145; Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 174
2...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 88
3...ibid., p. 89
4...ibid.
5...ibid., pp. 92f.; this examination serves to remind us of the position which Leipzig still held as a centre of orthodoxy (cf. above, p. 101).

and was duly confirmed as Cantor and Director of the Collegium Musicum. (1) On the 30th of May the University records recall that the new Cantor ". . . produced his first Music here, with great success," and on the first of June he was formally installed in his new post. (2)

It was something of a disappointment for a man who had been Capellmeister to a Prince to become a Cantor to a grammar-school controlled by municipal authorities, but ". . . only as a Cantor could he make a new and final effort toward his goal," (3) and Bach found in Leipzig the place in which he might serve and work toward that goal --- not always happily, it is true --- for the remainder of his life. In Leipzig he found a congenial Lutheran atmosphere in which as Cantor he was responsible for the music in the Churches of the city. He was determined to show that directing music for the Churches in a city like Leipzig is at least as important as providing music for a princely court:

> ". . . at the bottom of his uneasy relations with the Council throughout his Leipzig career was his determination to fulfill its functions in that sense." (4)

He did more than was expected of the Cantor. In previous positions he had been perfecting his abilities in music for organ, voices and instruments; in Leipzig at last he was able to bring these together in their fullest development: the great flow of Cantatas, which appeared at a rate averaging one every month for the next twenty years; the Passions, Motetts and the Christ-

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1...Terry, op. cit., p. 149
2...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 93f.
3...Schrade, op. cit., p. 184
4...Terry, op. cit., p. 177

mas Oratorio and the B minor Mass fully justified the title "Director Musices" with which Bach almost invariably designated his office in Leipzig. (1) At the close of his long career, the last great compositions, the Canonic Variations, the Musikalisches Opfer and Die Kunst der Fuge stand in their completeness and genuineness of musical expression as a testimony to the essentially sacred view of all his music.

Even as the greatest number of his surviving compositions are those from the Leipzig years, (2) most of Bach's extant letters and documents from his pen come also from the latest portion of his life. (3) Many of these are simply notes of thanks for, say, a gift of venison, or receipts which Bach had signed, or notes testifying to the musical abilities of students; but some of the Leipzig documents from his hand are of greater interest. In 1725 he bore a complaint against the University in Leipzig to the King Frederick Augustus himself, with partial success for his appeal. (4) In 1728, and thus at the very time when he must have been busy at work on the composition of the St Matthew Passion, Bach sent a petition to the Council complaining that the sub-deacon at the Nikolaikirche was violating the agreement which by long tradition had given the Cantor the right to choose the hymns preceding and following the sermon. (5) Gaudlitz, the sub-deacon, was substituting other hymns without any regard to their place in the well-

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1...Terry, op. cit., p. 177
2...Schmieder, op. cit., pp. 649-56, lists 438 out of 747 compositions as being datable in the Leipzig period.
3...Schmieder, in Bach-Jahrbuch 1940-48, pp. 132f., lists 75 out of 91 letters as being from the Leipzig years; this tabulation does not include Cantata-texts or poems which Bach may also have written.
4...David and Mendel, op. cit., pp. 98-105
5...ibid., p. 114

regulated musical plan of the service. Ultimately, in a memorandum dated February 16, 1730, the Consistory upheld Bach's point of view. Soon after this, however, in August, Bach came in for severe censure from the Council for his failure to fulfill that part of his agreement relating to his teaching duties. The Vice-Chancellor and Bürgermeister reported to the Council on August 25, 1730: "He had spoken with the Cantor, Bach, but he shows very little inclination to work . . ." (1) From the perspective of our day we can see that this was at a time when Bach had recently finished the St Matthew Passion and while he was in the midst of his most productive period of writing Cantatas. (2) Actually Bach had presented to the Council only two days before the Bürgermeister's complaint a detailed report, entitled Kurtzer, iedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben. (3) In its pages he sets forth what he considers the essential personnel requirements, both vocal and instrumental, for a "wohlbestallten Kirchen Music" and then proceeds to specify exactly how the Council, by the withdrawal of the beneficia formerly made available for musical scholarships, had tied the Cantor's hands: ". . . the powers are taken from me to bring the music into a better state." (4) He needed at least 36 students who could understand music in order to provide singers for the choirs of the

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1...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 120
2...cf. Terry, op. cit., p. 197: "Nothing is more striking than the contrast between Bach's pugnacity over the prerogatives of his office, and the buoyancy which floated his creative genius upon a sea of difficulties. . ."
3...Müller, op. cit., pp. 110ff.
4...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 123

three Churches, (1) and 18 additional students for the instrumental music; but the Thomasschule, with reduced beneficia, had only 55 students all told. Bach reported to the Council on the musical abilities of 54 of these, summarising to show their inadequacy for the task which was expected of him: "17 usable, 20 not yet usable, and 17 unfit." (2)

The charge of neglect of his duties was not pressed against Bach, but he was so disturbed by it that he gave some thought to resigning and looking for other employment. Not sure just where to turn, he wrote to an old schoolmate, Georg Erdmann, who had become Imperial Russian agent in Danzig. The thought of looking for new employment was probably only a passing mood, (3) but in the course of expressing that mood to his friend Bach gave us one of our clearest views of his understanding of his calling:

> ". . . You know the course of my life from my youth up until the change in my fortunes that took me to Cöthen as Capellmeister. There I had a gracious Prince, who both loved and knew music, and in his service I intended to spend the rest of my life. It must happen, however, that the said Serenissimus should marry a Princess of Berenburg, and that then the impression should arise that the musical interests of the said Prince had become somewhat lukewarm, especially as the new Princess seemed to be unmusical; and it pleased God that I should be called hither to be Director Musices and Cantor at the Thomas-Schule. Though at first, indeed, it did not seem at all proper to me to change my position of Capellmeister for that of Cantor. Wherefore, then, I postponed my decision for a quarter of a year; but this post was described to me in such favorable terms that finally (particularly since my sons seemed inclined toward [university] studies) I cast my lot, in the name of the Lord, and made the journey to Leipzig, took my examination, and then made the change of position.

1..."The Peterskirche received the remainder, namely those who do not understand music and can only just barely sing a chorale." (David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 121)

2...ibid., p. 124

3...cf. Terry, op. cit., p. 206

> "Here, by God's will, I am still in service. But since 1) I find that the post is by no means so lucrative as it had been described to me; 2) I have failed to obtain many of the fees pertaining to the office; 3) the place is very expensive; and 4) the authorities are very odd and little interested in music, so that I must live amid almost continual vexation, envy, and persecution; accordingly I shall be forced, with God's help, to seek my fortune elsewhere . . ." (1)

Whether Bach had actually planned to remain in Cöthen all his life we have no indication except this, which comes out of a time of disillusionment in Leipzig. In all likelihood his personal inclination would have been to remain in Cöthen, but it was a call from God which had led him to leave the personal happiness which he had found at that court and to make his music amid the "vexation, envy and persecution" of Leipzig. It was in a nearly continual personal Sturm und Drang that he remained for the rest of his life there, the servant of very odd authorities; and the B minor Mass, at least part of which was offered to the Roman Catholic King of Saxony and Poland as an evidence of Bach's skill, arose from the midst of the conflict and Anfechtung. (2) At last in 1736 the King did confer upon him the title which he had sought, not so much for personal honour as for the recognition of his art and of the end which it served:

> "The fight on his part had been waged less for self than for his art and station, and for what remained to him of life he was not impeded." (3)

It is the music of Bach's Leipzig years which has come to be known supremely as "the style of Bach" --- a style which

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1...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 125
2...cf. Terry: Bach's B minor Mass
3...Terry: Bach, a Biography, p. 242

> ". . . spoke neither to his times nor out of his times. . . This timelessness was the result not only of the greatness of his work; it emanated also from the religious goal of his art." (1)

To the end of his life, Bach's transcendent aim continued to be out of touch with the times and the "odd authorities"; in June 1749, more than a year before his death, steps were being taken by the Council to find a successor. A letter of introduction from the Graf von Brühl to Vice-Chancellor Born introduced Gottlob Harrer as a candidate ". . . for the future filling of the post of Capell-Director there, upon the eventual occasion of the decease of Mr Bach." (2) On June 8 Harrer actually gave a trial performance "for the future appointment as Cantor of St Thomas's, in case the Capellmeister and Cantor Mr Sebastian Bach should die . . ." (3)

In spite of this, Bach lived to find himself in yet one more conflict with a Rector, the following year. (4) During all this, he had been preparing his final compositions, and Die Kunst der Fuge, left incomplete, when it was finally published, appeared as it were a confession of the faith so out of line with the dawning Enlightenment. With it appeared Bach's last composition, in which "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein" was transformed into a prelude on von Hodenberg's hymn, Vor deinem Thron tret ich hiermit:

> Ein selig Ende mir bescher,
> Am jüngsten Tag erweck mich, Herr,
> Dass ich dich schaue ewiglich:
> Amen, Amen, erhöre mich. (5)

1...Schrade, op. cit., p. 189
2...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 185
3...ibid.
4...ibid., pp. 186f.
5...The fifteenth and concluding stanza of the hymn (1646), in the text given by Bunsen, op. cit., #555. See also below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298a

Chapter 5

BACH'S MUSICAL EXPOSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

> No one should despise Music... Whoever does despise it (Said Doctor Martin Luther), as all the fanatics do, with them I am not at all pleased. For Music is an offering and a gift of God, not a human gift. It drives away the devil, and makes people happy; by its aid one can forget all anger, impurity, pride and other vices. After Theology, I give Music the next place and highest honour. And one can see, as David and all the saints have put their godly thoughts in verse, rhyme and song, quia pacis tempore regnat musica.
>
> ...from Luther's Table Talk

It now remains for us to make a more detailed study of the way in which Bach through his music presented the Christian faith. For it was through his music that Bach's faith became most articulate. In the preceding chapter we have examined the non-musical writings from his pen which seem to give any suggestion of Bach's theological position --- only one or two specific points in letters which have been preserved --- and also the biographical details which help to illuminate Bach's faith as it was shown in his relation with the Churches in which he served. Yet his music so eloquently expressed and testified to Bach's faith that Söderblom could speak of it as a "fifth Evangelist", (1) and Werner Richter has made the not unjustified claim that Bach has been the only person in the four centuries of the Reformation who has really understood Luther and who has

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1...In The Living God, p. 339; see above, pp. 18; 32

succeeded in giving full expression to the Lutheran presentation of the Christian Gospel:

> "Aber nur einem gelang es bisher in vierhundert Jahren, die ringende Inbrunst lutherischen Glaubens, die reformatorische Verklärung des Lebens im Tode, die Erlösung und die Gottesnähe, kurzum die lutherische Seele, die Seele -- weiter nichts -- aus verschwiegenen Tiefe in die Zeitlosigkeit emporzuheben, es gelang Johann Sebastian Bach." (1)

The musician succeeded where generations of theologians had either failed or achieved only partial success. He did so by basing his music upon the Bible, which was the foundation of all Lutheran theology. It is relatively easy to trace the composer's use of the Bible as text or as inspiration for his music. (2) But even in music like Bach's, the task of tracing the theological and doctrinal ideas derived from the Biblical text is more difficult --- a task which Hans Engel, among others, considers to be a fruitless one. (3) Admittedly, except in the case of the Orgelbüchlein and the "catechism" chorale-preludes for organ (in which it was liturgical considerations which suggested Bach's plan), Bach nowhere used his music as a vehicle for systematic presentation of theological

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1...Richter: Wandlungen des Lutherbildes und der Lutherforschung in "Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht", March 1946, p. 149

2...See below, chapter 6

3...op. cit., pp. 234f. Engel grants some importance to the fact that Bach's education and certainly his reading, shown by his library, were theological; but he cannot see more than casual meaning in the relation between the theological influences which surrounded Bach and the music which he wrote. His objections are based too much upon the naive idea that a theological meaning must consist in some kind of numerical correspondence between certain theological propositions and musical representation. Such an objection requires us to make a complete divorce between theology and music (or for that matter, between theology and any other human concern)...a divorce which would not allow validity to the conception of sacredness upon which this thesis is written.

concepts. Still the basic doctrines of the Lutheran Christian faith are so constantly being reflected and expounded in Cantatas and other choral music and in chorale-preludes for organ that we must think of Bach as a great Christian preacher if we are adequately to understand him. (1) He was a preacher of unusually great power because of the depth of faith which sang its praise and prayer to God through the skill of his musical power. By setting examples of his preaching against the background of theological doctrine which we know he must, as a follower of Martin Luther, have held, we can gain in understanding both of the music, because the doctrine serves to explain it, and of the theology, because the music illuminates it. It is music, which Luther called God's gift to men, which Bach took as a gift from God and used supremely to bear witness to his faith.

Although we cannot discern a consciously-planned theological system, (2) it is possible to see the theological bases of his composition. As Bishop Hanns Lilje (3) and Fräulein Ina Lohr (4) have set it forth, even the most abstract of Bach's compositions are to be understood as the specific expression of Christian faith; but this difficult position must inevitably rest upon the more certain evidence of that large body of Bach's music which is directly associated with texts --- texts which either directly or indirectly proclaim the Gospel. It is these

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1...cf. Naumann: Bach the Preacher, in "the little Bach Book", pp. 14-25

2...The Orgelbüchlein and the "Catechism" chorale-preludes for organ suggest the outlines of a systematic musical theology.

3...In Musik aus Glauben; see above, pp. 34-38

4...Frl. Lohr, of the Scola Cantorum Basilensis, is the proponent of the interpretation of Die Kunst der Fuge as theology referred to by Prof. Brunner (see above, p. 30).

works which become our clue to the understanding of Bach as preacher; and in an analysis of these works we can find the way to understand how Bach used music in the exposition of the Gospel which he was called to preach.

The remaining chapters of this study will examine the most prominent Christian concepts which are expounded and illustrated in the music of Bach. Beginning with a survey of Bach's use of the Bible (and of the importance of the Bible in Bach's music), (1) attention will be directed in turn to his treatment of each of the persons of the Trinity and of the ideas which in Lutheran doctrine were derived from those persons. In the present chapter we will outline the musical means of expression in which Bach expounded his Gospel.

The expression of these doctrines may be found most plainly in Bach's vocal music: Cantatas, Passions, motetts, masses and arias; but it will be heard also in the instrumental (organ) music upon texts whose words may be heard transfigured in tone: the chorale-preludes. The interpretation of the theology in music may be as pictorial and as obvious as the suggestions of Schweitzer and Pirro, who find abundant illustrations to support their claims that Bach made every pictorial idea as evident in music as possible; or it may be as symbolic and as subtle as the reading of Schering and Emery, who discount as much too naive the effort to find a meaningful pictorial expression in almost every bar of Bach's music.* (2) There can

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1...This order follows Luther's own emphasis.

2...Schweitzer and Pirro, ops. cits.; Schering: introductions to the Cantatas in Eulenburg edition and various articles in Bach-Jahrbücher; Walter Emery: Bach's Symbolic Language, in "Music and Letters", October 1949, pp. 345-54 See also below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298a

be no mistaking the fact, however, that whether subtly or naively, doctrinal concepts are being given musical expression wherever Bach has associated his music with a Christian text; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Bach's musical doctrine is to be found even in his music which is not explicitly Christian.

It is the Cantatas which provide the richest store of music displaying Bach as Preacher: a total of 202 sermons in music, in which the musician had full opportunity to expound the Word of his text. (1) Only 47 of the extant Cantatas exhibit a direct connection with the prescribed text from the Lectionary for the particular Sunday or Festival for which they were written, but many more show an indirect relation to the spirit of the liturgical occasion of their performance, by their use of Biblical passages related to the days' use. (2)

Except for the Cantata-texts of Franck, Neumeister, Picander and Marianne von Ziegler which were separately published, we do not have certain knowledge of the actual authorship of the libretti which Bach used, but in all of the Cantatas the final choice of the text seems to have been the composer's own, thus giving us a fairly clear picture of the thoughts to which Bach's faith sought to give musical expression. Bach himself is thought to have written a number of the texts, and to have

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1...Terry: The Cantatas and Oratorios, Book I, p. 49, indicates a total of 208 Cantatas, out of the presumed total of 295 which Bach may have written, as surviving; six of these are the six parts of the Christmas Oratorio.

2...Fifty-four of the Cantatas are built largely upon the texts of familiar hymns (mostly paraphrased but with first and last stanzas usually unaltered), chosen for their relation to the subject of the day's worship and sermon; cf. also below, p. 180n.; Appendix G, pp. 351-3.

arranged or altered others to suit his needs. We cannot be certain of this, since his name was never signed to them; but the texts of the following Cantatas were not improbably written or arranged by Bach himself, and in the chapters to come the major emphasis is therefore given to these: (1)

Probably written by Bach himself:

S.15 Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen
S.150 Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich
S.106 Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit
S.173 Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut
S.134 Ein Herz, das seinen Jesum lebend weiss
S.22 Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe
S.16 Herr Gott, dich loben wir
S.153 Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind'
S.81 Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen
S.83 Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde
S.23 Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn
S.184 Erwünschtes Freudenlicht
S.82 Ich habe genug
S.66 Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen
S.35 Geist und Seele wird verwirret
S.51 Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen
S.27 Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende
S.58 Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid
S.43 Gott fähret auf mit Jauchzen
S.34 O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe
S.151 Süsser Trost, mein Jesus kommt
S.40 Dazu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes

Probably written by others, but possibly by Bach:

S.71 Gott ist mein König
S.64 Sehet, welch eine Liebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget
S.65 Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen
S.63 Christen, ätzet diesen Tag
S.154 Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren
S.148 Bringet dem Herrn Ehre seines Namens
S.42 Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbats
S.56 Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen
S.143 Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele
S.17 Wer Dank opfert, der preiset mich
S.122 Das neugebor'ne Kindelein
S.131 Aus der Tiefe rufe ich, Herr, zu dir

1...These degrees of probable authorship are based largely upon Terry's judgement, substantiated in part by Schmieder, who tends however to be more skeptical of Bach's authorship. The numbering is that of Schmieder's Verzeichnis, which for the Cantatas follows the completely planless but generally accepted numbering of the Bach-Gesellschaft. The order of the Cantatas above is chronological, following Terry.

Written by others but probably altered by Bach:

S.160 Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöser lebt
S.142 Uns ist ein Kind geboren
S.161 Komm, du süsse Todesstunde
S.70 Wachet, betet, seid bereit allezeit
S.147 Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben
S.158 Der Friede sei mit dir
S.68 Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt
S.175 Er rufet seinen Schafen mit Namen
S.176 Es ist ein trotzig und verzagt Ding
S.144 Nimm, was dein ist, und gehe hin
S.145 Auf, mein Herz, des Herren Tag
(So du mit deinem Munde bekennest)
S.36 Schwingt freudig euch empor
S.84 Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Glücke
S.103 Ihr werdet weinen und heulen
S.108 Es ist euch gut, dass ich hingehe
S.87 Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen
S.128 Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein
S.183 Sie werden euch in den Bann tun

As we have seen, (1) the development of the Cantata as the principal musical feature of the Lutheran liturgy gave to Lutheran composers the opportunity, unique in Church music, of having a place in the service virtually equal to that of the preacher --- a position which made the Biblical emphasis of the Cantata all the more important. The form of the Cantata was continually changing and even in Bach's days it was by no means set in its form. Like a sermon, the Cantata had no rigidly fixed pattern, but it gave to its librettist and composer the same freedom which homiletic practice allowed to the preacher. Often, though by no means always, the Cantata was sung in two parts, one preceding the sermon and the other following it, thus using music as an introduction to and a recapitulation of the message of the sermon. The evolving form of the Cantata made it possible for the composer (depending upon the musical facilities of his Church) to use not only the individual

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1...Above, pp. 73f.

voices of soloists in recitative and aria (1) and the group voice of the choir in the more extended choral movements, but also gave music to the voice of the congregation in the chorale-stanza with which nearly every Cantata closed. (2) Thus, related to the text for the day though not generally as closely bound to it as was the sermon, (3) the Cantata became in music an expression of the element of freedom in the order of the Lutheran liturgy.

Because Bach wrote his Cantatas for the use of Churches in Arnstadt, Mühlhausen, Weimar and Leipzig and not for general publication, (4) it has never been possible to determine just how many Cantatas Bach did write. Most authorities accept the statement of the Necrology (5) that Bach had written "five full years of church pieces, for all the Sundays and holidays." In the Leipzig Church calendar, 59 occasions (Sundays and festivals) during the year called for the use of a Cantata in the

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1...Though it must be recognised that the often arbitrary use of the da capo aria form, which was growing in popularity, did not always help in the effective expression; the concluding da capo phrase might occasionally violate the true sense of the text (cf. Spitta (English) vol. 1, p. 476).

2...Only 33 of the Cantatas do not close with a chorale-stanza.

3...Preuss (Bachs Bibliothek, p. 123) tries to show a parallel between the structure of the Cantata and that of the sermon;

Sermon		Cantata
Introductory prayer	-	Opening chorus
Text	-	Text-recitative
Exposition of theme	-	Arias
Closing prayer	-	Closing chorale

But this becomes a difficult parallel to follow too closely, for the Cantatas following this or similar patterns are only one type out of many. Often it is the opening chorus which is used to state the text, and the recitatives are used for exposition as often as are the arias; and in a large proportion of Bach's Cantatas there was no need to state or to expound a text. The Cantata did become a musical aid to the sermon but never a substitute; cf. Spitta, vol. 1, pp. 475f.

4...Gott ist mein König (S.71) was the only one of Bach's Cantatas to be published in his lifetime (Spitta, vol. 1, p. 344).

5...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 221

service; (1) accordingly it is usually estimated that Bach must have written five Cantatas for each of these occasions --- a total of not fewer than 295. This may be the case; if so, the parts or scores of nearly a hundred of these have never been found. The remaining Cantatas (2) provide music by Bach for every observance in the Christian year except the Sundays of Lent. (3) The only days for which the full cycle of five Cantatas has been preserved are Christmas Day, the Feast of the Purification and Easter Day. For 11 other occasions four Cantatas remain; only 6 days (3 of these being Sundays in Advent and another one being Palm Sunday, for which days no music was required in Leipzig) of the Church Year are represented by only one of the extant Cantatas. We have only slight indication of how often Bach may have repeated some of his Cantatas in subsequent years; we do know that he often made use of the works of other composers, (4) but probably he also returned not infrequently to his own older works for music to perform on a given Sunday or feast-day, when the pressure of other duties made it impossible to prepare an entirely new work. (5) Yet from the Cantatas which have been preserved we have been able

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1...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 2, p. 349; but Bach actually wrote music for 61 occasions in the Leipzig use by writing Cantatas for four Sundays after the Epiphany and for twenty-seven Sundays after Trinity --- a greater number, of course, than the Sundays of any single year.

2...181 written for Sundays and festivals of the Church Year; 5 for the civic service at the election of the Council; 3 for weddings; 5 probably for funerals; the 6 Cantatas of the Christmas Oratorio and the one of the Easter Oratorio; 3 for unspecified occasions and 4 incomplete fragments --- a total of 208 extant Cantatas.

3...Pre-Leipzig works do provide us with Cantatas for the last three Sundays in Advent and for Palm Sunday.

4...cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 156

5...Still Bach's Leipzig Cantatas did average one a month over a period of twenty years.

to get a much more complete picture of the worship of the Church in Leipzig than from sermons which might have been preserved. (1)

Although the Cantata provided the most regular and by far the most frequent opportunity for the musician to "preach", the other music of the service also gave opportunity for musical expression to Christian doctrine. The Passion-music in particular, even though it was very special and limited to the Good Friday service, gave the richest and deepest musical commentary upon the meaning of the Passion. Thus though there was no opportunity for elaborate music for the Sundays of Lent, the whole music of the Lenten season was concentrated into the great presentation of the Passion story with comment upon it by the congregation in chorales and by individual believers represented in recitatives and arias. For use in Leipzig, Bach prepared the two great Passions according to St John and St Matthew; the outline of the St Mark Passion has been preserved with fragments of its music, (2) but the St Luke Passion ascribed to Bach is almost certainly the work of another composer. (3)

The St John Passion was prepared while Bach was still in Cöthen for Good Friday of 1723 in Leipzig, just before Bach's appointment to the Cantorate; (4) the St Matthew Passion appeared at Good Friday 1729. Between the appearance of these

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1...Only two sermons are still extant which were preached in the Thomaskirche in Leipzig during Bach's Cantorate: one for the First Sunday after Trinity 1732 and the other for New Year's Day 1734. The preacher on both occasions was Carl Gottlob Hofmann; cf. Besch, op. cit., pp. 222f.; 230.

2...S.247

3...The St Luke Passion was first performed in Weimar about 1712 (cf. Schmieder, op. cit., p. 355) and a copy of it exists in Bach's handwriting; but the ascription of this to Bach rests on a very weak case, supported only by Spitta, pp. 508ff. The Picander Passion has been lost; cf. ibid., pp. 506f.

4...See above, pp. 150f.

two surviving Passions Bach may have made a musical setting of the Passion story by Picander in 1725, but if he did so, all trace of the work has been lost. (1) From the point of view of the actual construction of the libretto, the Picander Passion barely outlined the actual Biblical narrative, and it nearly excluded the congregational chorales altogether. In short, the Picander Passion (whose text was published separately by Picander, so that it is available to study) was, like so much else from Picander's pen, a sentimental poetic fantasia about the events of Good Friday, following the popular model of the earlier Passion of Brockes. (2) It was a far nobler and more fitting libretto which Picander provided for Bach when the narrative from St Matthew was the basis of the text; the contrast between Picander's Passion and the St Matthew Passion is so great that Terry suggests that the latter must have been written under the supervision of Bach himself:

> "The libretto of the St Matthew Passion . . . appears to have been written under Bach's direction. Picander's facile but insincere pen was available to supply his technical literary deficiencies. But the general treatment of the text was his own, and the choice and distribution of the Chorals, so admirably selected and placed, must also be attributed to him. Picander took so little responsibility for them that, whereas he published his 1725 and 1731 Passion texts in full, his St Matthew omits everything except the lyrics which came from his pen." (3)

As in many of the Cantatas, the actual responsibility for the libretto of the St Matthew Passion must have been Bach's.

In 1731, two years after the St Matthew Passion, Bach provided music for Picander's version of the Passion according to

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1...Terry: The Passions, vol. 1, pp. 52ff.
2...See above, pp. 75f.
3...Terry: The Passions, vol. 2, p. 9

St Mark --- but Bach was clearly anxious to make this setting with the least possible effort, and he adapted old musical material, chiefly from the Trauer-Ode (1), to the entire text. The St Mark Passion dates from a time when Bach was not happy in Leipzig and probably not disposed to make a great effort, especially since the St Matthew Passion had been rather casually received. (2) The St Luke Passion is clearly not an original work of Bach; it probably dates from about 1712, during Bach's Weimar period; the score which exists partly in Bach's handwriting is certainly a copy which he probably made for use in 1733. (3) It was only every two or three years that the Good Friday service was held in Bach's own Thomaskirche; for these occasions he probably used one of his own Passions, and when the service was in the Nikolaikirche he was probably willing to make use of the music of another composer.

> "Certainly from 1731 onwards the library of the Thomasschule possessed such a number of its Cantor's Passions as, heard in rotation in the principal church over a span of twenty-seven years, could not become so cheapened by excessive use as to call for an addition to that number. Nor, after the St Matthew Passion was written, could Bach feel he had more to say in that form." (4)

What he had begun at Good Friday in 1723 with his interim music for the Passion, based upon the Gospel according to St John, Bach brought to such a high point in 1729 that he could say no more. But in the two great Passions --- above all in the St Matthew Passion --- we shall find abundant illustration of the ways in which Bach presented faith and doctrine in music.

1...S.198
2...See above, pp. 154ff.; David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 119
3...Terry: The Passions, vol. 2, pp. 79f.
4...ibid., p. 80

In addition to these distinctively Lutheran uses of music in the Church service, (1) there were also used in the Leipzig order musical forms which the Lutheran Churches still held in common with the Roman Catholic tradition: the musical numbers of the Mass, the canticles and the motett. Bach wrote in each of these forms, but the outstanding examples of his use of them are few: the great B minor Mass, the Magnificat, and the six German motetts.

The Lutheran liturgy allowed the use of all the musical numbers of the Mass, but restricted the designation "Missa" to the Kyrie and the Gloria. Bach left four settings of this "short Mass" and possibly as many as five settings of the Sanctus and a brief separate setting of the Christe eleison; (2) but none of these works is of great importance to the present study. The "Lutheran Masses" are all adaptations of other music previously composed; the settings of the Sanctus are possibly not Bach's original work, but revisions of music written by other composers.

Of the works in which Bach directed his attention to the text of the Mass, then, the B minor Mass (3) stands uniquely "emporragend", as Fritz Volbach refers to it. (4) By his own titles, Bach reserved the designation "Missa" for the first, Lutheran portion of the text. Each of the other numbers --- Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei --- was to him an addition to the

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1...Passion-music had a place in the Roman liturgy, but in a more closely disciplined form than that of the Lutheran Passion (cf. above, p. 75).
2...S.233-242
3...S.232
4...Volbach: Introduction to Eulenburg score of the B minor Mass, p. viii

Mass proper. But this entire massive work, treating each phrase of the Canon of the Mass clause by clause, (1) which Bach prepared for presentation to his Catholic sovereign, is filled with examples of Bach the theologian at work. The catholic text of the Mass gave the Lutheran Bach opportunity to complete a grand design in which he might declare unmistakably his Christian faith. This Mass is neither Roman Catholic (its design is too immense for disciplined liturgical use and its deviations from the exact form of the Canon are subtle but significant) nor Protestant (its presentation to the Catholic Augustus III was an act of Bach's faith in the una Sancta). It is a protestation of the Catholic faith which is confessed by both Rome and Wittenberg.

> "From what did Bach derive this work, and to what was he offering it? The answer is --- Christendom, or the Universal Church, or the Invisible Church, the inheritor and custodian of Christian belief, which transcends the denominations and schisms. . . The Mass in B minor is as ecumenical a gesture as the World Council of Churches." (2)

Phrase by phrase, the B minor Mass is a musical exposition on the grandest scale of the ecumenical Christian faith of its composer.

From among the canticles, the Lutheran order of Leipzig prescribed the use of only one: the Magnificat, which was sung in Latin at Vespers on Christmas Day, Easter Day and Pentecost. Normally Bach, like other Lutheran composers, seems to have been content to use the musical settings of others for this canticle. But on his first Christmas in Leipzig, for Christmas

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1...Bach adds the non-canonical word 'altissime' in the Domine Deus, and substitutes the Biblical 'eius' for the liturgical 'tua' in the Sanctus; cf. Terry: B minor Mass, pp. 11ff.
2...Routley, op. cit., p. 157

Day of 1723, Bach wrote the noble setting, rather longer than the usual Cantata, in which the words of Mary are sung by soloists and choir. In the Leipzig use, the Christmas Magnificat was interspersed with stanzas of chorales telling the Christmas story; the addenda to Bach's original score (1) include these four additions, which have the double effect of relating the canticle even more closely to the immediate Gospel for the day and of increasing the Protestant sense of the song of praise by the use of chorale-tunes. The present score (S.243) is based upon Bach's later revision, probably dating from 1730. In this form the Magnificat was prepared to be used at Vespers on Easter Day or Pentecost as well as at Christmas; but by the omission of the Christmas chorales some of the distinctly Protestant significance of the original Christmas version has been sacrificed in the search for the most accurate musical score.

The Motett in the Lutheran service was usually a short choral number, sung in Latin, at the opening of the service. This type of Motett has not survived in any examples from Bach's hand; for this portion of his Leipzig music he must have depended entirely upon the compositions of others. There are however the six German works for unaccompanied choir (2) to which the name 'Motett' has been given: works whose exact purpose remains clouded in some obscurity, but which seem most likely to have been written and sung for funeral or memorial services in Leipzig. In funerals, as also during the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent, the Leipzig Churches silenced their instru-

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1...cf. S.243a
2...Except, perhaps, Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit, S.226; cf. Terry: The Magnificat, Lutheran Masses and Motets, p. 37

mental music; for such occasions Bach provided these choral works in which voices alone might give expression to the hymn-stanzas and Biblical passages which form the basis of their texts. (1) They probably represent Bach's only examples of writing for unaccompanied voices.* At the funerals, the Motett probably followed the sermon, giving a musical treatment not only of the idea of death and consolation, but of the Christian faith which is fully prepared to meet death. (2)

In addition to this large amount of choral music, Bach set music to definite texts also in the large number of solo arias and "geistlichen Lieder" in the Schemelli Gesangbuch (3), the Notenbuch of Anna Magdalena (4), and five miscellaneous "geistliche Lieder" (5); but these are of relatively little importance. We shall have occasion to refer to one or two of these arias, however, to indicate how the doctrine which Bach sang in them was entirely compatible with that of the larger solo and choral works.

It was not only in vocal music, however, that Bach was able to portray his faith. Some of his most eloquent exposition is to be found in the works for organ which by their association with hymn-tunes became the richest of all examples of the use of music alone to enrich and to comment upon the meaning of the words: the chorale-preludes. (6) In these, the music of the organ penetrates into the spirit and meaning of 77 different

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1...Terry: The Magnificat, Lutheran Masses and Motets, p. 36
2...cf. ibid., p. 40
3...S.439-507; subsequent research casts doubt on Bach's authorship of many of the Schemelli songs (cf. Schmieder, p. 401).
4...S.508-18
5...S.519-23
6...These are the perfect illustration of music in Schlink's third category (cf. above, p. 21).

*...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298a

hymns; unhindered by the words of Picander or even by his own, Bach lets the voice of his music become the interpreter of these hymns and of the faith which they proclaim. The chorale-preludes appeared in several collections: the Orgelbüchlein, comprising 45 of the projected collection of 164 which were actually completed; (1) the Schübler collection, (2) six chorale movements from the Cantatas which were arranged for use on the organ alone; the collection of "18 Chorales"(3) from various periods of his life from Weimar to the latest days in Leipzig; the Kirnberger collection (4); the third part of the Clavier-Übung, (5) in which by making two settings each of ten hymns illustrative of the major points of doctrine, Bach was able to present a "Larger" and a "Shorter Catechism" in music --- a deliberate parallel to Luther's catechisms; and 27 additional, miscellaneous chorale-preludes not included in one of the other collections: a total of 141. In addition we may also consider the early works (Bach's title was "Partite Diverse") based upon hymn-tunes, the youthful variations on Allein Gott in der Höh', and the canonic variations on Vom Himmel hoch, (6) in which the mature master used the familiar hymn as the basis for his illustration of "the art of canon".

These, briefly, are the works in which we may most readily seek for a picture of Bach's faith in his music: works which

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1...S.599-644; cf. Appendix E, pp. 338-342
2...S.645-50
3...S.651-68
4...S.690-713a
5...S.669-89
6...S.769; other works in the Schmieder Verzeichnis include a number of additional chorale-preludes (S.741-65) which are attributable to Bach only on very doubtful grounds, but which may, if there is any justification for ascribing them to him, give still further musical illustration.

are distinctly Wortgebundenen, but which utilise many musical means, vocal and instrumental, to interpret and to proclaim the Word of faith.

The specific musical features by means of which Bach made his comment have been treated exhaustively by Schweitzer and by Pirro. In their enthusiasm, both Schweitzer and Pirro (1) were almost over-anxious to find pictorial representation in sound of nearly every kind of idea; recently there has been an effort to discount their interpretations as being too naive. (2) But although Schweitzer in particular may at times have been too anxious to find tone-pictures at every turn, (3) the realism of sound and rhythm which he traced throughout Bach's music does stand as our key to the understanding of Bach's musical language; (4) and there are many situations throughout the Wortgebundenen music of Bach in which the analysis of Schweitzer and Pirro does show very plainly.

Wherever the text refers, for example, to elevation or to abasement, the musical line helps to make the motion plain by means of an upward- or downward-tending melody or interval. Reference in the text to "ewig" or to other suggestions of eternity leads Bach to prolong the music; "eilen", "laufen" and

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1...The researches of Schweitzer and of Pirro were carried on independently of each other, although they were published at almost the same time (Schweitzer in 1905; Pirro in 1907).
2...Especially by Emery; see above, p. 161
3...cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 94
4...Schweitzer often seems to stretch his pictorial interpretation too far in his effort to fit Bach's music to his categories; what does he mean when he says: "Syncopated 'step' motives, in an idealised form, express the weariness that has found rest in Christ" (vol. 2, p. 94)? And the incomplete state of the plan for the Orgelbüchlein cannot possibly be accounted for, as Schweitzer tries to do, by any lack of pictorial images in the hymns which were not completed in that collection (vol. 1, p. 287).

similar words are shown by means of hurried musical expression. Grief is pictured by close chromatic progressions; pity in a sequence of paired notes falling like a sigh; joy by rapid, agitated figures of music. Even more definite pictures in sound appear at words referring to waves (the music suggesting their motion by means of wave-like figures), to the serpent (by strongly convoluted, twisting musical lines), and to clouds (described by Schweitzer as "vapourous arpeggios floating upward to symbolise the rising mist"). (1)

Many of the constructions in Bach's musical language represent his use of older conventions and well-established precedent; the dramatisation of the disciples' question "Is it I?" and the repetition of the identical musical figure, transposed, to convey both Jesus' "Eli, Eli..." and the Evangelist's translation of it are to be found in the St Matthew Passion of Schütz, which was written 63 years before Bach's St Matthew Passion. (2) But whether following older tradition or breaking new ground, Bach so completely used music as a means of express-

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1...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 77; Pirro goes still further, to find musical expression for words like "crown" in a pattern of notes falling and rising.
2...cf. Terry: The Passions, vol. 1, p. 27

ing and of commenting upon the meaning of the text at hand, that his music cannot be fully understood apart from the faith which inspired its composition. Our attention must be directed in the following chapters to the principal doctrines of that evangelical Lutheran faith and to illustrations of the ways in which Bach set it to music.

The Lutheran expression of Christian doctrine was based upon Scripture, and we shall turn first to a study of the use which Bach made of the Scriptures in his music. Following this we will look at the theological formulations derived from Scripture. From Luther himself to Bach's day (and on to our own) these theological formulations have been expressed in terms of the trinitarian formula. Luther's two Catechisms are in fact explanations of the meaning of belief in Father, Son and Holy Spirit; and the Augsburg Confession, the Formula of Concord, and all subsequent Lutheran theology sought to give further expression to this historic conception of the faith. All the other concerns of Christian faith --- the ideas of man, of sin, of salvation, of the Church, of death and eternal life --- are included in Lutheran thought under one of these three heads. So it will be the purpose of the subsequent chapters to explore the ways in which Bach drew upon and illuminated with music the concepts of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 6

BACH AND THE BIBLE

> For the Word of God is the sanctuary above all sanctuaries, yea, the only one which we Christians know and have. . . At whatever hour, then, God's Word is taught, preached, heard, read or meditated upon, there the person, day and work are sanctified thereby, not because of the external work, but because of the Word, which makes saints of us all. Therefore I constantly say that all our life and work must be ordered according to God's Word, if it is to be God-pleasing or holy.
>
> ...Luther: Larger Catechism, #91

The Bible was the foundation of Bach's faith, as indeed it underlay the faith of every Lutheran. To the orthodox Lutherans of Bach's day, the concept of Scripture was prior to all other matters of doctrine, and all else was looked upon as dependent upon the view of the Bible. This absolute supremacy of Scripture for faith and doctrine was set forth by the opening sentence of the Formula of Concord, the classic expression of the orthodox Lutheran doctrine, to which as we have seen Bach was required to subscribe at each of his Church positions:

> "We believe, teach and confess that the sole rule and standard according to which all dogmas together with (all) teachers should be estimated and judged are the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament alone. . .
>
> "Other writings, however, of ancient or modern teachers, whatever name they bear, must not be regarded as equal to the Holy Scriptures, but all of them together be subjected to them . . ." (1)

1...Formula of Concord #1; the English version is that of the Concordia Triglotta (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921) p. 777.

Following the example of the Konkordienformel, Lutheran theologians made their articles on Holy Scripture the very first consideration in the preparation of their Loci or Compendia. (1) We may be very sure that in all of Bach's religious education the primary emphasis was placed upon the Scriptures as the foundation of all else; it could not possibly have been otherwise in his Lutheran background. Thus Besch is entirely correct in devoting a section of his monograph to "Bach und die Bibel, das alleinige Fundament seines Glaubens," (2) although he has singularly failed to show how completely Bach made the Bible the "only foundation of his faith." Most of what Besch has to say about Bach and the Bible is based upon a resumé of Martin Jansen's symbolic interpretation of Bach's music, (3)

1...cf. Schmid, op. cit., passim; see also above, pp. 88ff.
2...Besch, op. cit., pp. 231-43
3...Jansen: Bachs Zahlensymbolik, an seinen Passionen untersucht, in Bach-Jahrbuch 1937, pp. 96-117. This study is a fantastic analysis of the Passion-music in which Jansen looks for numerological significance at every possible turn and at many which are quite impossible. Numerical symbolism has long been a favourite pursuit of many of the orthodox German Lutherans, and was not unknown to the Biblical scholars whose commentaries Bach possessed; the commentary of Olearius was particularly rich in Zahlensymbolik. But it is a gross distortion of the meaning of the Bible as fundamental to faith to rest the case as Jansen (and following him, Besch as well) does on examples such as these:
"Die Summe der Continuotöne sämtlichen Christusworte beträgt 365" (p. 106) --- as if the number of days in the year had a really essential connection with the words of Christ in the Passion-narrative of St Matthew.
Again, Jansen finds a suggestion, by counting 43 notes in the continuo accompaniment to the words of Christ "Ich werde von nun an nicht mehr von diesem Gewächs des Weinstocks trinken, bis an den Tag. . ." (this far only), of the 43 days from Maundy Thursday to the Ascension. (p. 104) This is possibly intentional, but could easily be mere coincidence.
At several points Jansen tries to discover patterns of notes repeated 36 times and 34 times, thus artificially to produce a total symbolic of the year of the destruction of the Temple. (p. 102)

(continued on p. 180)

with only very brief reference to the prevalent Lutheran doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. (1) Bach lived, of course, in days before textual criticism of the Bible had been thought of; and to him as to any other layman of his day the idea of verbal inspiration must have been taken quite for granted. But this was not what made the Bible in a very real sense the foundation of Bach's faith and of his music.

It is in the use Bach made of the Bible in the total range of his composition, and not only in specific instances to which numerological symbols may conceivably be attached, that we find the full sense in which his faith was founded upon the Bible. For his Wortgebundenen music was closely and distinctly tied to the Word of the Bible. Only 42 of the Cantatas contain no easily-traced quotation from or direct allusion to the text of the Luther Bible; (2) 47 of the Cantatas bear a direct relation to one of the liturgical lessons for the day on which they were sung, and in the remainder of the Cantatas there are Biblical passages or allusions which may not have a readily discernible relation to the lesson for the day. A number of these, however,

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(note 3, continued from p. 179:)

More deviously, he tries to show patterns of notes in the Evangelist's narrative of the earthquake a numerical allusion to the numbers of Psalms referring to earthquakes (pp. 107f.); and in his anxiety to find a numerical symbol in the upward scale (which Bach plainly did use) to portray the ascent of the Mount of Olives, Jansen has to break the scale before it is finished in order to account for the twelve disciples and Jesus. (p. 109)

Things like these may well have interested Bach; but they are very far from giving an adequate picture of the Bible as the "alleinige Fundament seines Glaubens"!

1...Besch does give a fair summary of the doctrine of Verbal-inspiration, pp. 237-40; but his section on Bach und die Bibel gives remarkably little information about Bach's use of the Bible!

2...Nine of the Cantatas are set to the verbatim text of chorales which are lyric settings of Biblical passages.

afford interesting examples of indirect reference, by the use of Biblical quotations or references which are suggested by ideas in the Epistle or the Gospel for the day. (1) Among the Motetts, all six either include important Biblical quotations or are based upon primarily Scriptural texts. The Christmas Oratorio includes the entire text of the Nativity story from both St Luke and St Matthew; and the two great Passions, following the order for Good Friday worship in Leipzig, include the full text of the Passion-story in their respective versions. (2) Indeed, of all the vocal works for the Church, it is only the Masses which, bound by the nature of their text, are not intimately and directly Biblical in their words --- and these, too, include of course the passages from the Bible which have formed considerable portions of the text of the Mass. In the following pages we shall examine Bach's use of the Bible in some specific detail.

Biblical Passages directly related to Occasion of Performance

Of the 65 Sundays and festivals of the Church Year for which Bach wrote Cantatas, the extant number of Cantatas provides us with a direct musical expression of the lessons asso-

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1...In Appendices F and G (below, pp. 343-353), Bach's use of the Bible is shown in two lists:
   a...A list of all the direct quotations from the text of Luther's German version of the Bible which can be traced in the works of Bach. Because the poetic style of many of the texts is itself consciously Biblical, it is not always easy to determine whether a given phrase of text is purposely quoted from the Bible; but in general the list includes every quotation of a full phrase or longer passage from the Luther text.
   b...A list of the liturgical lessons which are referred to in Cantatas written for services in which those lessons were read.

2...The St John Passion adds two passages from St Matthew in order to complete the full narrative of the Passion-story.

ciated with 33, although it is for only a few days, notably Pentecost, the Monday of Pentecost, the Ascension and Exaudi, that he returned regularly to the lessons appropriate to the day for the Scriptural material in the Cantatas. (1) In addition to the regular Cantatas for Sunday and Festival use, those for special occasions --- especially those for weddings and funerals --- make use of suitable Biblical passages, though the lectionary provided no set readings for such services.

From what we are able to know of the circumstances surrounding the writing of the Motetts, (2) it seems probable that the Biblical verses which are so important in their texts are from the passages chosen to be read and preached upon at the funeral services in which they were sung. (3) The Christmas Oratorio in its first Cantata sets forth the Gospel for Christmas Day; in its closing Cantata it sings the Gospel for the Epiphany; and in the intervening four Cantatas it joins these two festivals by presenting a connected musical version of the entire Nativity narrative from both St Luke and St Matthew. The Passions are the most extended examples of all of the use of a lesson from the Bible as the text for choral music; each Good Friday the full Passion-story from one of the Evangelists was sung.

1...Of the 55 possible Sundays and 15 other Festivals of the Church Year, the Sundays in Lent were never the occasion of large-scale choral music (though there is one Cantata, S.182, for Palm Sunday), and the last three Sundays in Advent were also observed in Leipzig as penitential days, without figural music. But it is only the 5 Sundays from Invocavit to Judica for which Bach wrote no music at all.

2...cf. Terry: The Magnificat, Lutheran Masses and Motetts, pp. 33ff., for detailed study of the question of the original purpose and occasion of these six Motetts.

3...This seems to be almost certain with respect to Jesu meine Freude; cf. ibid., p. 37.

In these last-mentioned three works, the ones which deal most extensively with connected passages of Scripture, the narrative of the Biblical text is set in recitative for a tenor voice as the Evangelist, but with other solo voices and occasional chorus passages to call attention to the words of actual participants in the story. Thus the words of Christ in the Passions are sung by a baritone voice, (1) as also the words of Peter, of Pilate, of Judas, of the High Priest, and in the Christmas Oratorio, the words of Herod. Similarly, the words of the angel in the Christmas Oratorio (2) and of the maids in the St Matthew Passion (3) are given to a soprano recitative. In all cases where the words of the Bible represent the words of a group of people, (4) the Biblical text is put to music for the chorus. Perhaps the most notable specific example of Bach's use of the chorus to present this dramatic effect is in the scene after the Crucifixion in the St Matthew Passion. (5) St Matthew is unique among the Evangelists in ascribing the acknowledgement of Jesus as the Son of God to the centurion and others; the confession is shown to be one made by a group of

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1...In the St Matthew Passion the words of Christ are always distinguished by an accompaniment of strings alone, except for the cry "Eli, eli, lama sabachthani", where an organ accompaniment seems to emphasise the humanity of Jesus; it is used symbolic of His human nature.
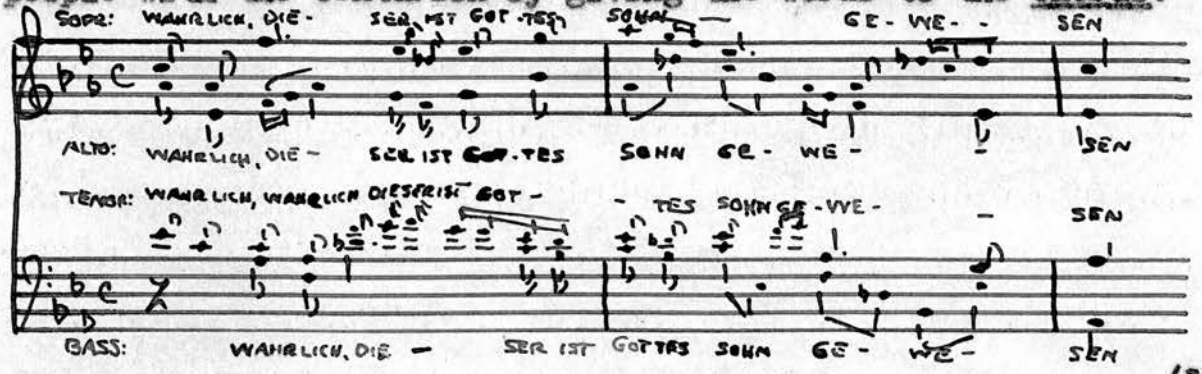
2...In the second Cantata of the Oratorio, S.248/13; the words of the angel in #16 of the same Cantata are given by the score to the tenor as Evangelist; but editors have rightly suggested that this recitative should be given to the soprano, since it continues the words of the angel in #13.

3...In the scene of Peter's betrayal; S.244/45.

4...In the Christmas Oratorio, S.248/21, 26, 45
In the St John Passion, S.245/3, 17, 23, 25, 29, 34, 36, 38, 42, 44, 46, 50, 54
In the St Matthew Passion, S.244/5, 7, 14, 15b, 42, 43, 45, 49b, 54, 59, 62, 67, 71, 73, 76

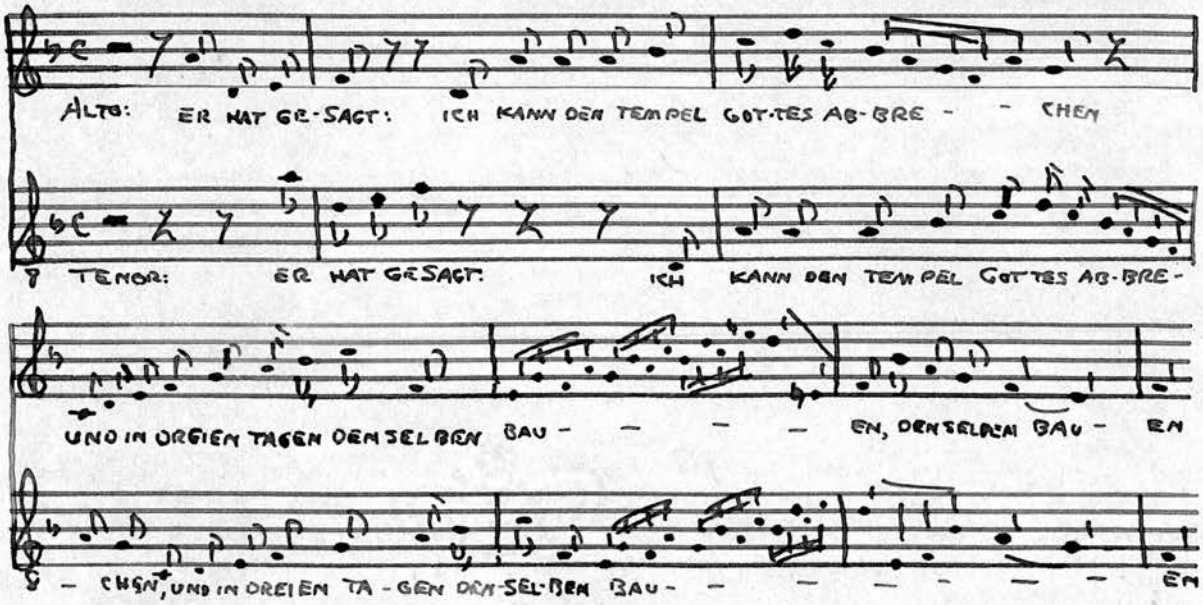
5...S.244/73

people with the centurion by giving the words to the chorus:



(1)

Another instance of Bach's use of voices from the chorus to dramatise the Biblical narrative is in #39 of the St Matthew Passion, in which the two false witnesses (St Matthew 26:61) are presented by means of two voices, an alto and a tenor, in close canon to indicate the previous planning of their agreed story, to use Jesus' own words (2) falsely against him:



(3)

In each of these major works Bach's use of the Bible is quite straightforward. The narrative appropriate to the season is presented with such dramatic touches as the text itself sug-

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1...S.244/73
2...cf. St John 2:19
3...S.244/39

gests and makes possible. The comments of individual believers are interspersed in arias; those of the congregation in chorale-stanzas.

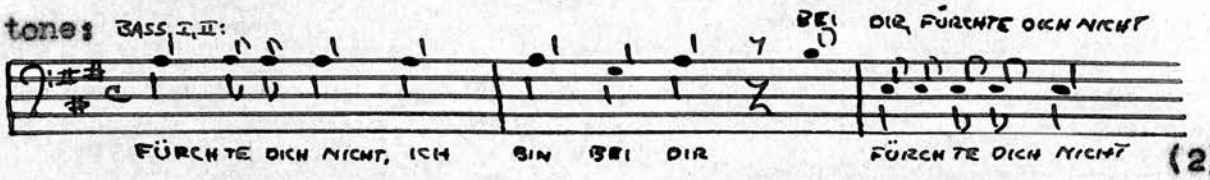
In the Motetts the use of the Bible is more varied. Two of them are based largely upon passages from the Psalms: Singet dem Herrn (1) opens with a great song of joy to the words of Psalm 149:1-3, and closes (after a movement based upon a chorale-stanza)* with verses 2 and 6 of Psalm 150; Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden (2) is a verbatim setting of Psalm 117. (3) Two others, Jesu meine Freude (4) and Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf (5), present between them the most complete musical treatment Bach has given to any Pauline passage; seven of the verses of Romans 8 are to be found expounded in these two Motetts. Of all the Motetts, Jesu meine Freude is probably the most notable in its construction, alternating stanzas of Johann Franck's familiar hymn with verses from Romans 8 (vv. 1, 2, 9, 10 and 11) with remarkable appropriateness. (6) In the remaining Motetts, Fürchte dich nicht (7) makes use of two verses from Isaiah (41:10 and 43:1). The preacher's text at the funeral in which it was sung was the latter verse; Bach was not content to use only a word of consolation but searched for a declaration of assurance with which to begin the funeral-music:

1...S.225
2...S.230
3...These Motetts are especially good examples of Bach's use of a sense of exalted joy on a funeral occasion.
4...S.227
5...S.226
6...Jesu, meine Freude, dating from Bach's first Summer in Leipzig, is probably the earliest of the six Motetts.
7...S.228

* The hymn is itself a paraphrase of Psalm 104.
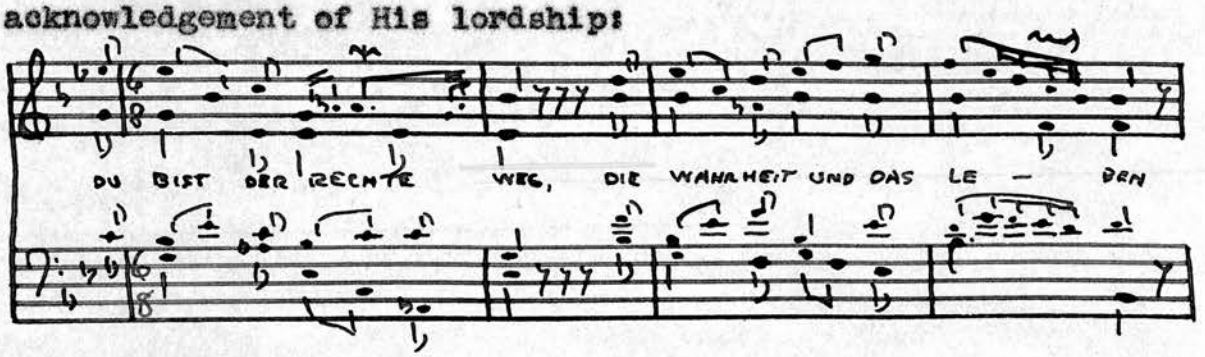
> "Turning to his Bible, Bach found in an earlier chapter [than that of the text] the beginning of the divine 'expostulation', and the vision of Israel, the 'chosen servant' of Jehovah, 'taken from the ends of the earth and called from the chief men thereof', to whom, through the prophet, came the message of God's assurance and encouragement: 'Fear thou not; for I am with thee.'" (1)

And the assurance was declared from the start with a confident tone:



(2)

Komm, Jesu, komm! (3) is the only one of the Motetts which has no direct use of Biblical material; yet its text, two stanzas of a hymn by Paul Thymisch, (4) is distinctly Biblical: an invitation clearly based upon Revelation 22:20, a declaration of the believer's earnestness in making the call, and Jesus' own words (from John 14:6) put into the second person as an acknowledgement of His lordship:



(5)

Among the Latin works, the Magnificat, by virtue of its prescribed text, is perhaps the best example of Bach's use of

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1...Terry: The Magnificat, Lutheran Masses and Motets, p. 51
2...The opening words of S.228, sung by the bass voices of both choirs; the upper voices of the two choirs answer antiphonally.
3...S.229
4...So identified by Schmieder, in the Verzeichnis, p. 306
5...From bar #79 of the opening chorus of S.229

a Latin Biblical text:

> "In the arrangement of his material Bach exactly follows the Bible text, with the single exception that the words 'omnes generationes' receive particular treatment. Otherwise, each stanza of St. Luke's narrative (1:46-55) furnishes the text of a separate movement, with the addition of the 'Gloria'." (1)

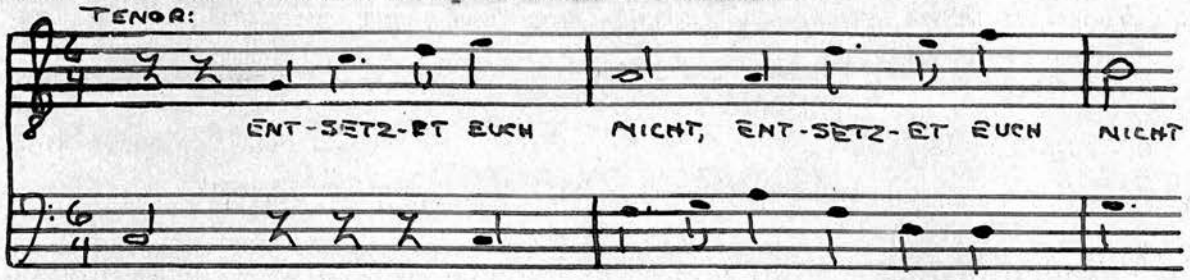
But it is in the Cantatas, the week-by-week works in which so often the librettist and composer sought to present either a direct or an indirect commentary in music upon the lesson for the day, that we find the fullest range of Bach's use of the Bible. It is here too that we can most clearly see the truth of the claim that the Bible was the very foundation of his faith. Sometimes, in Cantatas whose texts were written by someone else, Biblical allusions often became somewhat far-fetched --- especially in Cantata-texts written by Picander, whose flippant pen and insincere spirit Bach often had to correct where he was able to do so. (2) Still throughout the Cantatas there is prominent use made of Biblical reference, even in the Picander texts --- but especially in those Cantatas whose texts seem to have been written or adapted by Bach himself. Of the twenty-five Cantatas whose libretti were most likely written by the composer himself, (3) ten bear a direct relation to the Gospel or the Epistle of the day for which they were written, eleven others display indirect Biblical reference or allusion, and only four have no discernible Scriptural reference. An examination of three or four of these Cantatas will help to show more plainly the ways in

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1...Terry: The Magnificat, Lutheran Masses and Motets, p. 12
2...cf. Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 2, p. 344
3...See above, p. 163; the total of 25 includes S.71, S.63 and S.131 from the second ('possible') list.

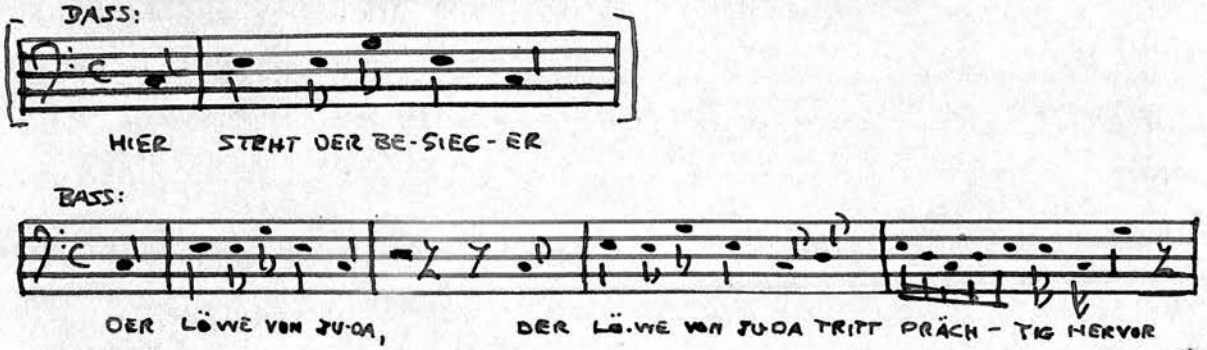
which Bach related his music to the Word of the Bible.

The earliest of all Bach's Cantatas, the Easter Cantata from Arnstadt, Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen, (1) gives a tenor aria to the words which are at the heart of the Easter Gospel from St Mark:



(2)

and surrounds them with reference to Psalm 16:10 (from which the Cantata takes its title) and to Revelation 5:5 in the bass voice of the terzett:



(3)

The Cantata which Bach used for his probation in Leipzig on Quinquagesima 1723, Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe, (4) draws an eloquent picture of the sense of the coming Passion by

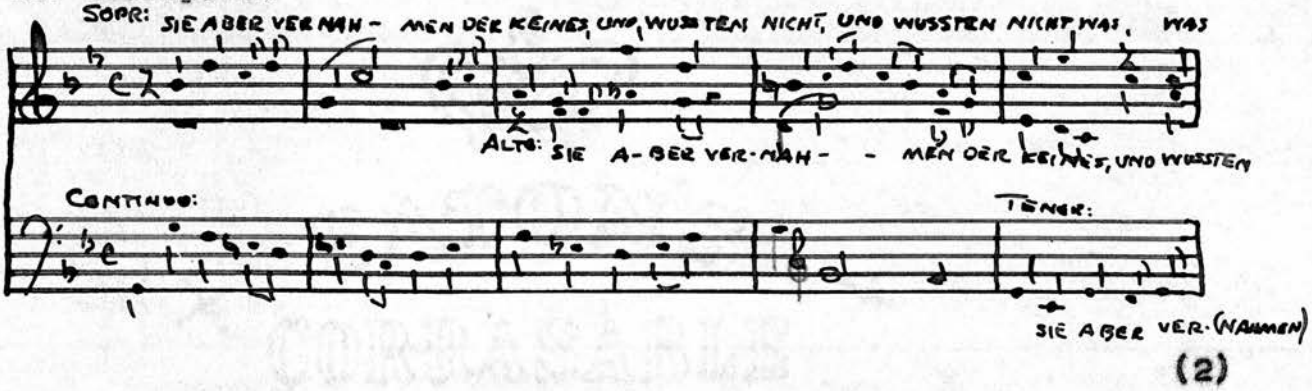
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1...S.15
2...S.15/4; the repetition of words to the same intervals at a higher pitch is a common formula where Bach wishes to depict reassurance: "..les paroles de consolation sont aussi redites avec le même motif, haussé d'un ton." (Pirro, op. cit., p.263)
3...It will be seen that the reference to the Lion of Judah is set to a repetition of the music which the bass has sung to "Hier steht der Besieger". (S.15/6)
4...S.22

choosing its text for the opening chorus from just <u>two</u> verses of the Gospel for the day:

(tenor) Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe und sprach:
(bass) Sehet, wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem, und es wird Alles vollendet werden, das geschrieben ist von des Menschen Sohn. (St Luke 18:31)
(chorus) Sie aber vernahmen der Keines, und wussten nicht, was das gesaget war. (St Luke 18:34)

Schweitzer complains because Bach has "passed over" the pictures of dramatic possibility in the intervening verses, not demonstrating musically the fury of the heathen. (1) But by the choice of these two verses only, Bach (if as seems probable he was indeed his own librettist for this Cantata) has penetrated to the very heart of the day's Gospel, and the music of the chorus effectively portrays the complete bewilderment of the disciples:



(2)

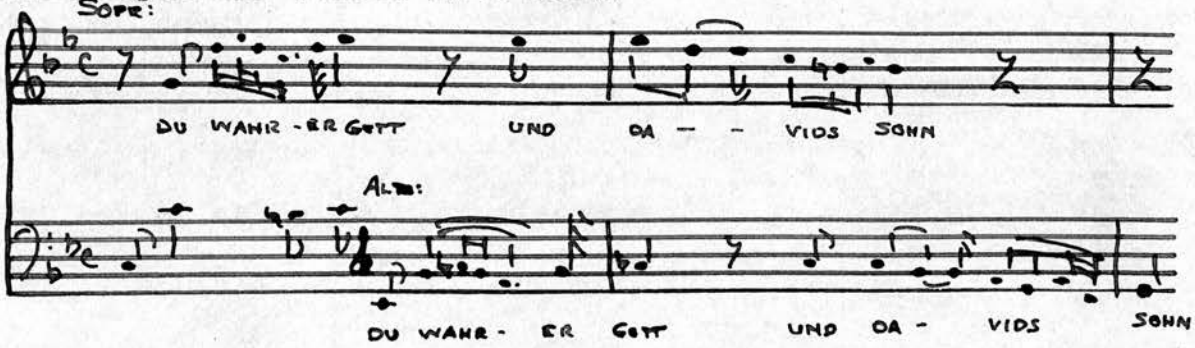
It was Bach's way of showing how impossible the idea of the Passion must be to the human point of view, and it was the right music for the Sunday just before the beginning of Lent. (3)

The Cantata for the same Sunday in the following year (1724), <u>Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn</u>, (4) presents one of

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1...Schweitzer, <u>op. cit.</u>, vol. 2, p. 149
2...Bars #42-6 of S.22/1
3...It is difficult to know what Parry means when he speaks of this Cantata as being "...as far mundane as the occasion would allow" (<u>op. cit.</u>, p. 203); he contrasts S.22 unfavourably (and unnecessarily) with S.23 (see below).
4...S.23

the most interesting of all examples of Bach's use of the Bible. The Gospel for the day (1) continues from the introductory passage which had been the theme of Cantata #22 to tell the story of the healing of the blind man (St Luke 18:35-43). But when Bach chose to write music for this story, he turned not to the appointed passage from Luke but to the parallel passage in St Matthew (20:29-34), where the story is told of the healing not of one but of <u>two</u> blind men; Bach puts their confession of faith upon the voices of a duet!



(2)

This may have been because Bach had the use of two good voices for a duet available in his choir at the time, and may have written especially for them; the circumstances of his available resources often dictated his use of voices or of instruments. But whether or not that is the reason for the change in the version of the story used, it does give us our most specific single example of Bach's dealing with what non-musicians have called the "harmony of the Gospels".

Among the Cantatas for which Bach probably wrote libretti but to which some greater measure of doubt attaches, (3) every

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1...In Bach's scores the Sunday is designated <u>Estomihi</u> instead of Quinquagesima, its more common designation today.
2...Bars #9,10 of S.23/1
3...See above, p. 163
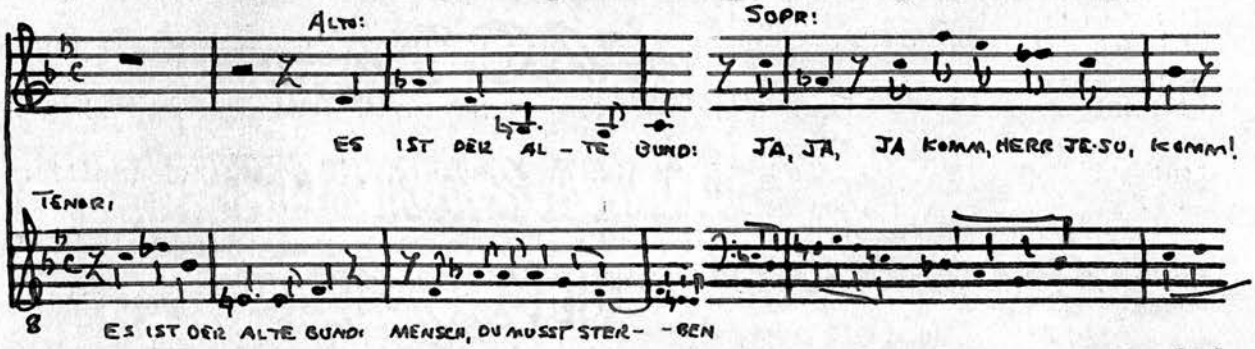
one contains important Biblical material, much of it from the Psalms --- although only three of these bear a direct relation to the lessons for their respective days. (1)

In addition to Cantata #15, mentioned above, (2) two others of Bach's very early Cantatas are especially noteworthy for their use of passages from several parts of the Bible brought together into a coherent whole. The Rathswahl Cantata for Mühlhausen, Gott ist mein König, (3) brings together four verses of Psalm 74 (vv. 12, 16, 17, 19) with verses from 2 Samuel 19 (vv. 35, 37), Deuteronomy 33 (v. 25) and Genesis 21 (v. 22) to declare the rule of God and to ask His blessing upon the rulers of the town. This text may possibly be by Eilmar, (4) but the "Actus tragicus" (Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, S.106) is more probably by Bach himself. From whatsoever pen its text may have come, this funeral Cantata is the most remarkable of all the examples of selected Biblical verses woven together into a connected text:

(chorus) In ihm leben, weben und sind wir . . (Acts 17:28)
(tenor) Ach, Herr! Herr, lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen, auf dass wir klug werden. (Psalm 90:12)
(bass) Bestelle dein Haus! denn du wirst sterben, und nicht lebendig bleiben. (Isaiah 38:1)
(chorus a,t,b) Es ist der alte Bund: Mensch, du musst sterben. (Ecclesiasticus 14:17)
(soprano) Ja, ja, ja komm, Herr Jesu, komm! (Revelation 22:20)
(alto) In deine Hände befehl' ich meine Geist; du hast mich erlöset, Herr, du getreuer Gott. (Psalm 31:6)
(bass) Heute wirst du mit mir im Paradies sein. (St Luke 23:43)

1...Appendix F will indicate the large use which Bach has made of the Psalms in the Cantatas; several of the Cantatas are based entirely upon passages from the Psalms (e.g., S.143).
2...See above, p. 188
3...S.71
4...See above, pp. 132f.

Gathered together from all parts of the Bible, this text has become a funeral sermon itself, especially in the passage where the three lower voices sing the "old decree" from Ecclesiasticus, while above them the soprano sings its rapturous call:



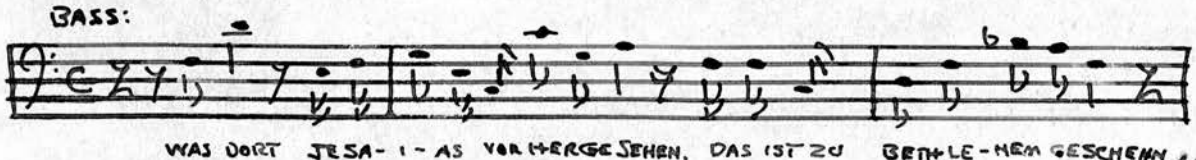
(1)

And to these passages Bach has added words of his own which have an almost Biblical spirit of their own: Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit.

The Cantata for the Epiphany, Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen, (2) is one of two Cantatas of Bach which are directly related to both the Epistle and the Gospel for its festival. (3) The opening chorus presents the prophecy of Isaiah in the Epistle:

> "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen, Gold und Weihrauch bringen und des Herrn Lob verkündigen." (4)

and the bass recitative shows the prophecy fulfilled in a retelling of the story from St Matthew 2:1-12, although not verbatim:



(5)

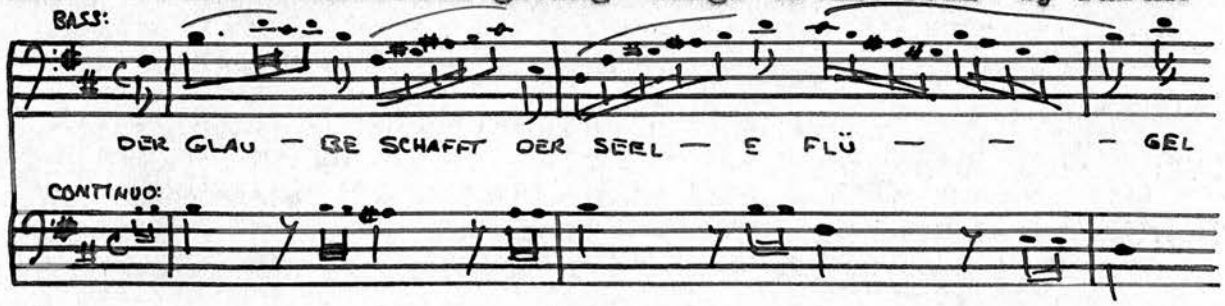
1...Bars #131-4; 146f. of S.106/2
2...S.65
3...The other is the Ascension Oratorio, S.11 (see below, p.194).
4...Isaiah 60:6
5...The opening bars of S.65/3

It is difficult to see how Spitta could be more completely wrong than he is when he says of this Cantata:

> "The recitatives and aria bear, it is true, the stamp of church use, but they are but slightly [sic!] connected with this particular festival." (1)

The aria is a subjective reflection, it is true, but it is the reflection of the believer upon the meaning for him of this fulfilled prophecy. Pace Spitta, few of Bach's Cantatas are more closely connected with their particular festival!

The only occasions for which Bach's text was regularly more closely related to the lessons were the festivals of the Ascension and of Pentecost. Among the Cantatas for Ascension Day, Gott fähret auf mit Jauchzen (2) paints the very picture of the Ascension from St Mark 16:19, introduced with the verse from Psalm 47 which gives the Cantata its title and which provides opportunity for a brilliant shout of joy. Wer da glaubet und getauft wird (3) uses a verse from the Ascension Gospel (St Mark 16:16) to show the place of the believer and his faith in relation to the occasion of the festival; the bass aria shows Christ's Ascension giving "wings to the soul" by faith:



(4)

1...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 2, p. 389
2...S.43
3...S.37
4...Bars #7f. of S.37/5

Of all the Ascension Cantatas, Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen (1) presents the most complete version of the Epistle and Gospel story of the day. (2) Its use of the Biblical text in its recitatives weaves all the Ascension narrative of the Bible into a single continuous story; to the Epistle (Acts 1:1-11) and the Gospel (St Mark 16:14-20) (3) for the festival Bach adds also the verses from the closing chapter of St Luke which immediately precede the opening of the Acts in the total Lucan narrative:

#2 (tenor) Der Herr Jesus hub seine Hände auf und segnete seine Jünger; und es geschah, da er sie segnete, schied er von ihnen. (St Luke 24:50f)

#5 (tenor) Und ward aufgehoben zusehens, und fuhr auf gen Himmel, eine Wolke nahm ihn weg vor ihren Augen, (Acts 1:9)
und er sitzet zur rechten Hand Gottes. (St Mark 16:19)

#7 (tenor) Und da sie ihm nachsahen gen Himmel fahren, siehe, da stunden bei ihnen zwei Männer in weissen Kleidern, welche auch sagten:
(tenor & bass) (4) Ihr Männer von Galiläa, was stehet ihr und sehet gen Himmel? Dieser Jesus, welcher von euch aufgenommen ist gen Himmel, wird kommen, wie ihr ihn gesehen habt, gen Himmel fahren. (Acts 1:10f)

#9 (tenor) Sie aber beteten ihn an, (St Luke 24:52a)
wandten um gen Jerusalem von dem Berge, der da heisset die Ölberg, welcher ist nahe bei Jerusalem, und liegt einen Sabbatherweg davon, (Acts 1:12)
und sie kehreten wieder gen Jerusalem mit grosser Freude. (St Luke 24:52b)

It is probable that Picander prepared the bulk of the libretto for this Cantata, but this use of Biblical passages is so strongly reminiscent of Bach's synthesis of Bible verses in the

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1...S.11
2...On the designation of S.11 as the Ascension Oratorio, cf. Terry: The Cantatas and Oratorios, Book I, p. 10.
3...Bach, of course, was following general liturgical custom, and in his day no doubts had yet arisen about the authenticity of the closing verses of St Mark 16.
4...Note the use of a duet to portray the two men in white clothes; this is very typical of Bach's realism in setting Biblical texts.

Actus tragicus (1) that it seems most probable that it was Bach himself who prepared at least the recitatives in this text. Of all Bach's works, the Ascension Oratorio is probably the most closely and completely bound to the Scripture lessons appropriate to its festival.

In the case of the Pentecost Cantatas (2) Bach turned more consistently to the Gospel for the days than on any other occasion. Three of the four Cantatas for Whitsunday expound the text from the Gospel for the day: "Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten"; (3) and all three of the extant Cantatas for Whitmonday include the words of John 3:16, from the Gospel for the day. Curiously, none of the Cantatas for Pentecost itself treats the Epistle for the day (the story of the gift of the Holy Spirit in Acts 2); reference to the Holy Spirit in these Cantatas is made only by the use of chorale-stanzas or in arias.
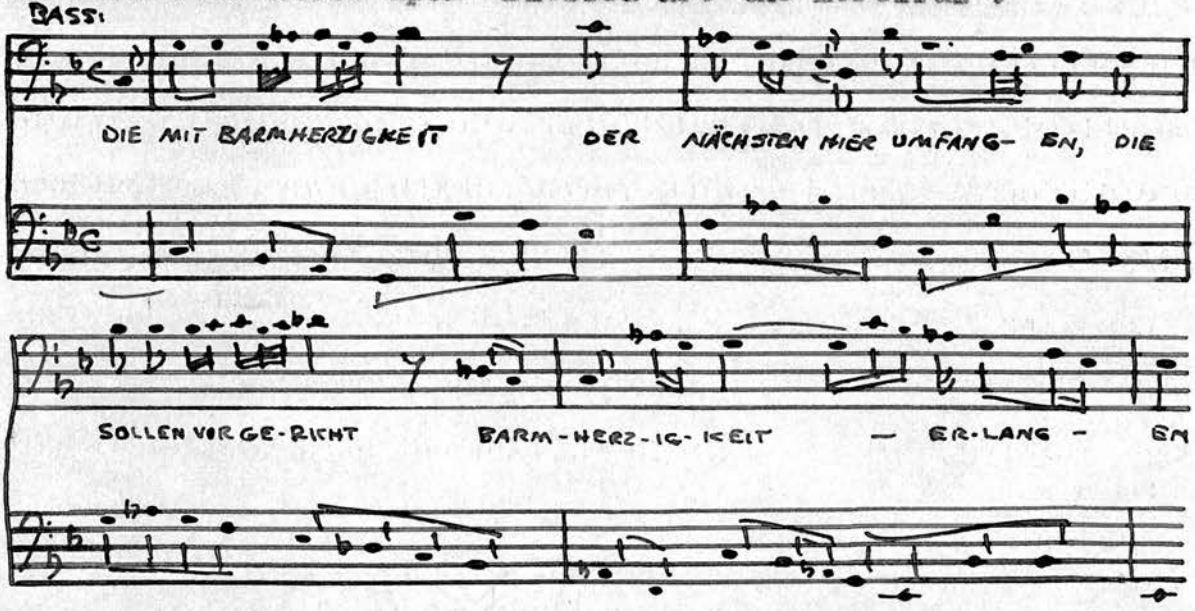
Biblical Passages Suggested to Bach by their Appropriateness

There are others among the Cantatas which do not themselves relate directly to the lesson for the day but which make use of Biblical passages suggested by the text for the day. Perhaps the most notable of these are Ihr, die euch von Christo nennet (4) and Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot (5). In the first of these, the Gospel's story of the "barmherziger Samariter" (6) suggests

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1...cf. above, p. 191
2...These include Cantatas written for the Sunday of the festival and the following two days as well; Pentecost was observed in Lutheran Leipzig as a three-day festival.
3...St John 14:23
4...S.164
5...S.39
6...In St Luke 10:23-27, the Gospel for the 13th Sunday after Trinity.

the bass recitative upon "Blessed are the merciful":



(1)

In the case of Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot, which was written for the service at which Leipzig welcomed and offered hospitality to 1600 Protestant refugees from the persecution of Firmian, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, the Epistle and Gospel for the day (2) offered a remarkable opportunity to call for Christian compassion toward those in need. Since the Salzburgers were present at the service in which this Cantata was sung, (3) the passages from Hebrews and Isaiah make the call of the liturgical lessons more plain and specific:

1...Bars #3-6 of S.164/2

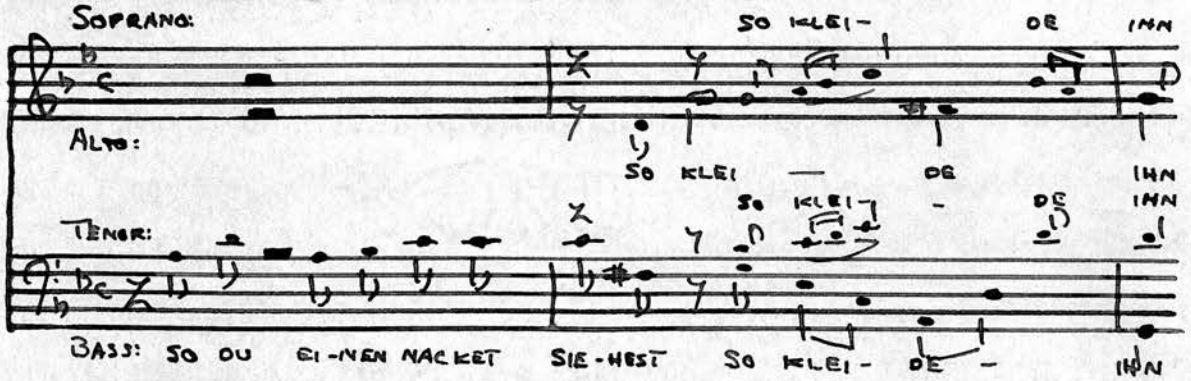
2...The Epistle (1 John 4:16-21) includes the admonition "that he who loveth God love his brother also"; the Gospel (St Luke 16:19-31) for the first Sunday after Trinity is the story of Dives and Lazarus.

3...The refugees reached Leipzig in two parties on Friday and Saturday, 13 and 14 June 1732, and remained in Leipzig until the following Tuesday, when they continued their journey to new homes farther North. The people of Leipzig, which at that time had a population of about 30,000, offered far more hospitality to the emigrants than they were able to accept. The sermon preached at that service by Carl Gottlob Hofmann is one of two surviving sermons from services of Bach's churches; the full story of the Salzburgers' sojourn in Leipzig is told in detail from the records of the Leipzig Town Council by Besch, op. cit., pp. 214ff.

#1 (chorus) Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot, und die, so in Elend sind, führe ins Haus. So du einen nacket siehest, so kleide ihn, und entzeuch dich nicht von deinem Fleisch. . . (Isaiah 58:7)

#4 (bass aria) Wohlzutun und mitzuteilen vergesset nicht, denn solche Opfer gefallen Gott wohl. (Hebrews 13:16)

The first chorus gives Bach a special opportunity; he gives vivid musical expression to the words. "So du einen nacket siehest" is sung by the unaccompanied Bass voice; "so kleide ihn" is literally "clothed" with sound:



(1)

Many other places in the Cantatas introduce Biblical material; often it is difficult to determine with exactly what connection to the service of the day for which it was prepared. It may be a rather far-fetched allusion to the occasion --- for example, Bach's own text in the Christmas Cantata Christen ätzet diesen Tag, (2) in which the tenor recitative brings together bits from three very widely-scattered references to the Messiah:

. . . Der Löw' aus Davids Stamme ist erschienen, (Revelation 5:5)
sein Bogen ist gespannt, (Lamentations 2:4)
das Schwert ist schon gewetzt, (Ezekiel 21:9,11)
(womit er uns in vor'ge Freiheit setzt.)

1...Bars #94f. of S.39/1
2...S.63
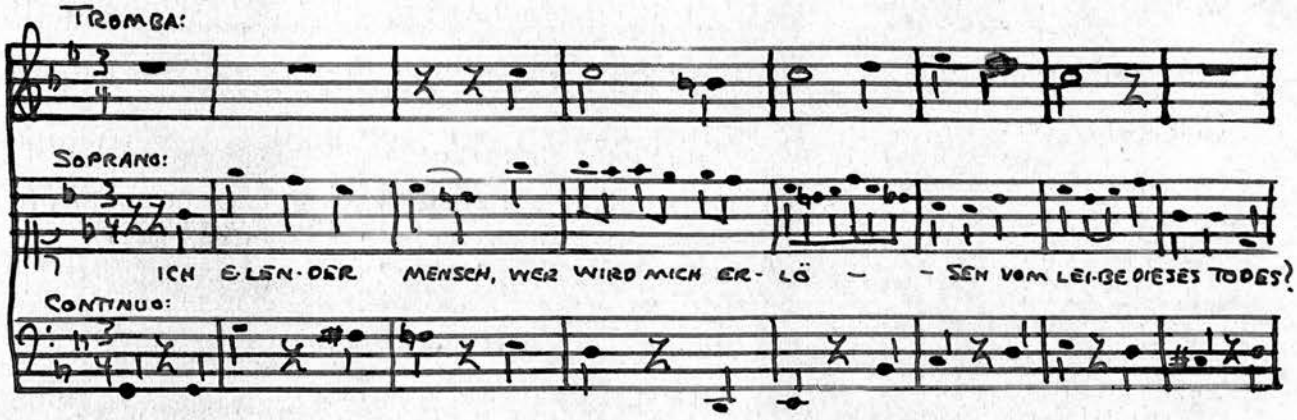
Or it may be, as frequently throughout the Cantatas, the quotation of a verse from the Psalms; (1) Bach followed Luther in finding a full measure of Christian meaning in the Psalms.

> "The 'lovingkindness of the Lord' became 'grace'; the 'Deliverer of Israel' became 'the Saviour'; and 'life' was rendered 'eternal life.' That was why Bach could treat the Sixteenth Psalm as an Easter hymn." (2)

From the very earliest of his Cantatas (3) Bach was a true follower of Luther in this specifically Christian use of the Psalms.

One or two other illustrations will suffice to show the range of imagination which prompted some of the Biblical references. For the second day of Christmas observance, in the opening aria of Selig ist der Mann (4), Bach could put the words of James 1:12 [redacted] into the mouth of Jesus. And for the 19th Sunday after Trinity of 1732, when the Gospel (5) told the story of the forgiveness of sins to the man sick of the palsy, the Cantata (6) was based upon the related question asked in Römans 7:24: "Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen vom Leibe dieses Todes?" The answer was given not in words but by the trumpet which, while the choir was asking the question, rang out the answer: "Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut:"

1...There are quotations from or allusions to the Psalms in 48 of the Cantatas, nearly one in four of the total.
2...Bainton, op. cit., p. 334
3...S.15, the Easter Cantata from Arnstadt, which opens with a bass recitative on Psalm 16:10.
4...S.57
5...St Matthew 9:1-8
6...S.48



(1)

This limited number of examples will help to show how true it was, and in how many ways the music shows, that the Bible was the very foundation of Bach's faith. The Bible is so constantly present in Bach's music that it is not possible to comprehend the full depth of the music without a realisation that, son of Luther that Bach was, the Bible was the basis and the support of it all.

1...Bars #12-19 of S.48/1

Chapter 7
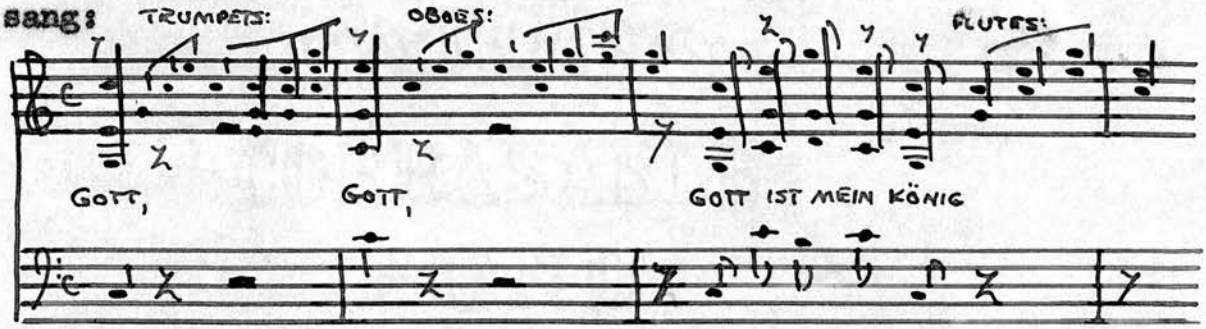
THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN BACH'S MUSIC

> I believe that God has made me and all creatures; that He has given me my body and soul, eyes, ears, and all my limbs, my reason, and all my senses, and still preserves them; in addition thereto, clothing and shoes, meat and drink, house and homestead, wife and children, fields, cattle and all my goods; that He provides me richly and daily with all that I need to support this body and life, protects me from all danger, and guards and preserves me from all evil; and all this out of pure, fatherly, divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness in me; for all which I owe it to Him to thank, praise, serve, and obey Him. This is most certainly true.
>
> ...Luther's Small Catechism

'Sovereign' is the one word which most nearly sums up the Lutheran idea of God as Father in the Trinity. He is the Ruler of all, because He is the Creator of all. He provides all necessary things, and continually preserves and defends the individuals of His creation. Both the smaller and larger catechisms of Luther are expressions of individual, personal faith, describing in the first person the relation between God and man. In such a concept of God, the individual can see himself only as God's creature, utterly dependent upon the goodness of God, and able in return to give only thanks, praise, service and obedience. And since these are simply the response of the believer to what God has first done for him, the initiative in the rela-

tion between God and man is always God's. (1) By implication, since evil and danger are referred to in the catechisms, there seem to be some limitations upon the omnipotence of God, (2) but the idea of the personification of evil in the devil, so typical of much of Luther's thought, does not enter the catechism until the following article. (3)

Bach's Lutheran understanding of his own relation to God is evident in every score which he closed with "S.D.G." as his ascription of praise; and there are literally hundreds of places in his works where the music sings to the glory of God as sovereign. It is one of the characteristic features of Bach's musical language that the <u>trumpet</u>, in Cantatas and other vocal works, often calls attention to the glory of God, (4) and in the very early Rathswahl Cantata for Mühlhausen in 1708, Bach sang:



(5)

1...cf. Aulen: <u>Christus Victor</u>, pp. 170ff.
2...The Larger Catechism (paragraph #22) naturally gives greater detail concerning the dangers and evils from which God can preserve the individual; but in this article sins are looked upon as either perversity or ignorance which keep the individual from knowing the Sovereignty of God.
3...cf. below, pp. 230f.
4...This is not invariably true, but in the <u>B minor Mass</u>, the best illustration of this point, the trumpet is used only in those portions of the Mass which sing of the glory of God: #s 4, 11, 13, 17, 19b, 20, 21 and 24.
5...S.71/1; the text of this Cantata is probably by Eilmar, but Terry sees strong probability for Bach's contributing hand. (Terry: <u>Cantata Texts</u>, p. 520)

The whole mood of this Cantata acknowledges the ultimate sovereignty of God; although the service for which it was written was for the inauguration of Mühlhausen's new town council, it was God's rule which was emphasised. The title-page is inscribed:

"GRATULATORY CHURCH MOTETTO
as given
when at the Solemn Divine Service in the Principal Church B.M.V.
with God's Blessing the Council was Changed
on the 4th of February in the year MDCCVIII
and the Government
of the Imperial Free City of
MÜHLHAUSEN
was joyously entrusted
to the Fatherly Care of the New Council
namely to
the Most Noble, Steadfast, Most Learned and
Most Wise Gentleman
MR. ADOLFF STRECKER
and
the Noble, Steadfast and Most Wise Gentleman
MR. GEORG ADAM STEINBACH
both Most Deserving Burgomasters
as well as
the other Most Highly Respected Members
most dutifully furnished
by
Johann Sebastian Bach
Organist of St. Blasius" (1)

The second number of the Cantata continues the emphasis upon divine providence; while the tenor aria sings verses from 2 Samuel 19, (2) slightly altered from Luther's text, the soprano adds a stanza from Heermann's hymn O Gott du Frommer Gott:
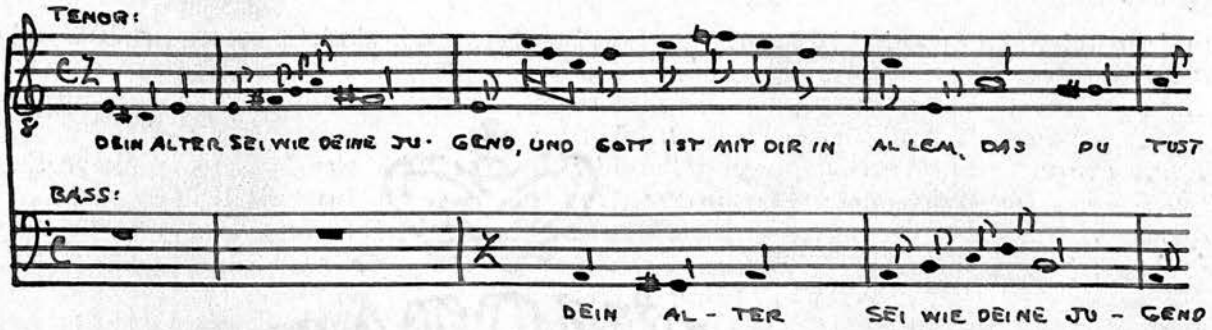
> Soll ich auf dieser Welt mein Leben höher bringen
> Durch manchen sauren Tritt hindurch in's Alter dringen,
> So gieb Geduld, vor Sünd' und Schanden mich bewahr;
> Auf dass ich tragen mag mit Ehren graues Haar. (3)

1...David and Mendel, op. cit., p. 57; as we have seen (above, p. 131), this Cantata is the only one of Bach's to be published in his lifetime; it was his first published work.

2...vv. 35, 37; not 1 Samuel 19, as in Terry: Cantata Texts, p. 520

3...The last line is slightly altered from Heermann's original sixth stanza (1630), which read "all meine grawe Haar;" but the stanza is still closely in keeping with the Biblical text which the tenor has just sung.

In the third number of the same Cantata, the chorus sings an assurance of God's presence, with words appositely chosen from Deuteronomy and Genesis:

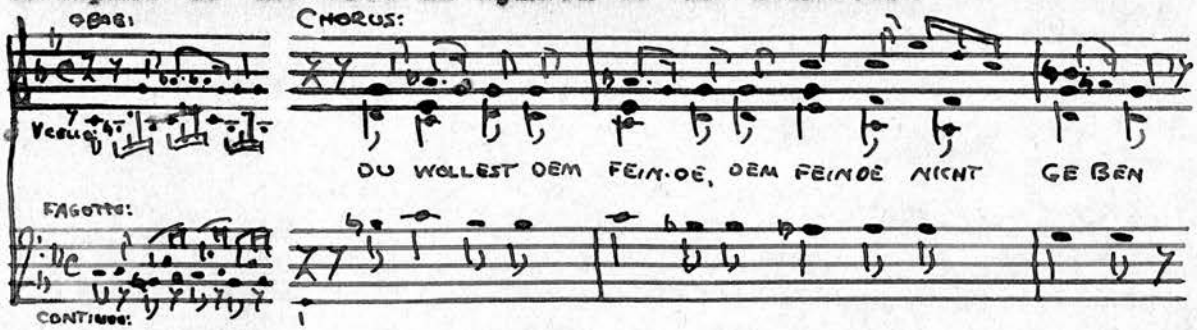


(1)

The bass arioso, to words from Psalm 74, and the alto aria which follow continue the picture of God's control over all, and of His protection from evil:

> Durch mächtige Kraft erhältst du unsre Grenzen,
> . . . Hier muss der Friede glänzen,
> Wenn Mord und Kriegessturm sich allerorts erhebt. (2)

The sense of personal protection which God gives the individual believer is remarkably illustrated in #6, in which the chorus sings Psalm 74:19; the cello arabesque serves to enhance the metaphor of the dove as symbol of the believer:



(3)

1...S.71/3; the words are from Deuteronomy 33:25 & Genesis 21:22.

2...S.71/5; Pirro comments (op. cit., p. 276) on the significant musical illustration of the contrast between the peace of the God-protected city and the tumult outside, calling attention to the change in <u>modality</u> "quand Bach veut opposer à l'état de paix ou vit la cité que Dieu protège, 'la tempête de meurtre et de la guerre, partout déchainée.'"

3...S.71/6; the Biblical text is slightly altered; 'Feinde' rather than 'Tier' serves to suggest the completeness of God's protection.

This early Cantata is a remarkable illustration of Bach's musical conception of God; while Spitta found the text scarcely suitable and the music "too darkly-coloured for the occasion", (1) Parry, commenting on this as Bach's first really important work, says,

> "With the possible exception of an early Passion by Handel, there probably was no other sacred work of the kind in existence which could in any way compare with it. . . The words are treated throughout with vivid sense of their meaning, often suggesting inferences which widen the horizon, and the whole scheme is carried out with surprising efficiency." (2)

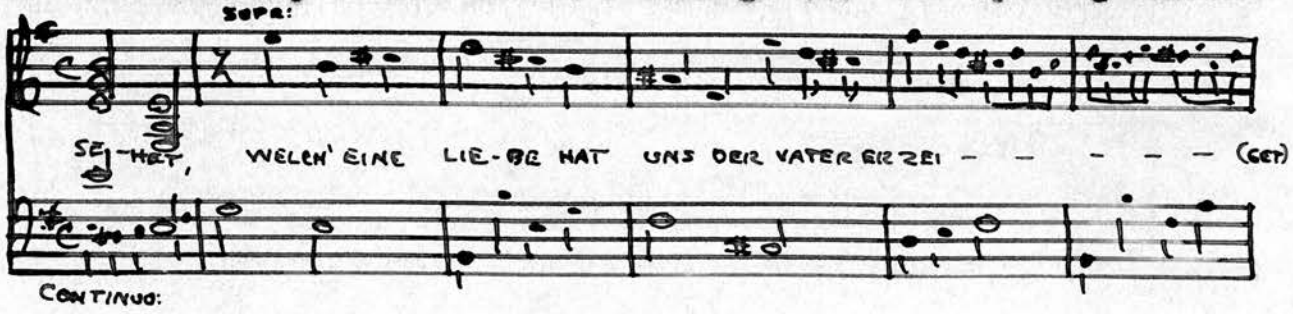
Remembering that it was in Mühlhausen that he first declared his purpose of making music to the glory of God, (3) it is not difficult to see that it was Bach's Lutheran understanding of God as Sovereign and protector, together with his already great musical skill at the age of 22, which made this Cantata possible.

From this early Cantata to the final chorale-prelude, significantly entitled "Vor deinem Thron tret ich hiermit", this Lutheran idea of God continually recurs, and the following can be only illustrative of many other examples. In the Actus tragicus, to which we have already referred and to which still further consideration will be given when we come to deal with Bach's understanding of the idea of death, (4) it is God's time that is the best, and it is to God that the soul looks for ultimate security as the flute announces the chorale "Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt" at the conclusion of the opening chorus. The final response of the individual in the concluding chorus, is the one thing possible for man to give to God: praise to Him.

1...Spitta, op. cit., (English) vol. 1, pp. 347ff.
2...Parry, op. cit., pp. 52ff.
3...cf. above, pp. 135f.
4...Above, pp. 191f.

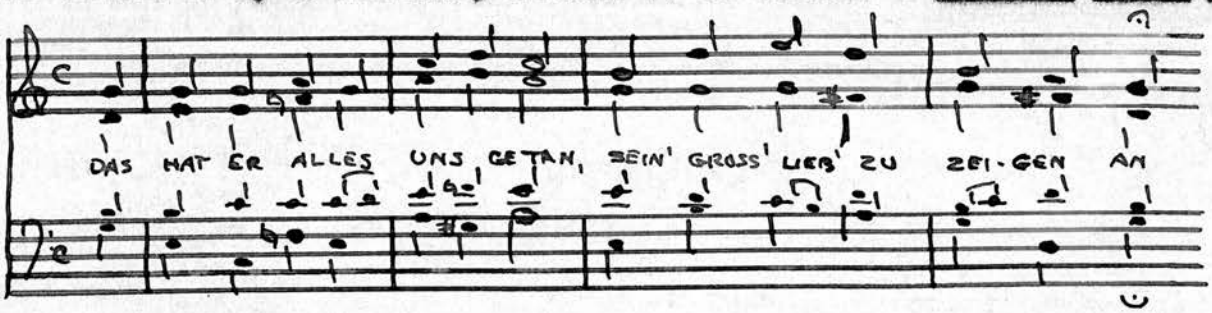
"Glorie, Lob, Ehr' und Herrlichkeit
Sei dir, Gott Vater und Sohn bereit,
Dem heil'gen Geist mit Namen!
Die göttlich' Kraft
Mach' uns sieghaft
Durch Jesum Christum, Amen." (1)

Cantata #64, Sehet, welch' eine Liebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget, was written for the day of St John the Evangelist and therefore to be sung in the midst of Christmas observance. But it turns its attention away from the immediate person of Christ, who of course is central to all Christmas music, to the purpose of God which lay behind Christ's coming. (2) The opening chorus:



(3)

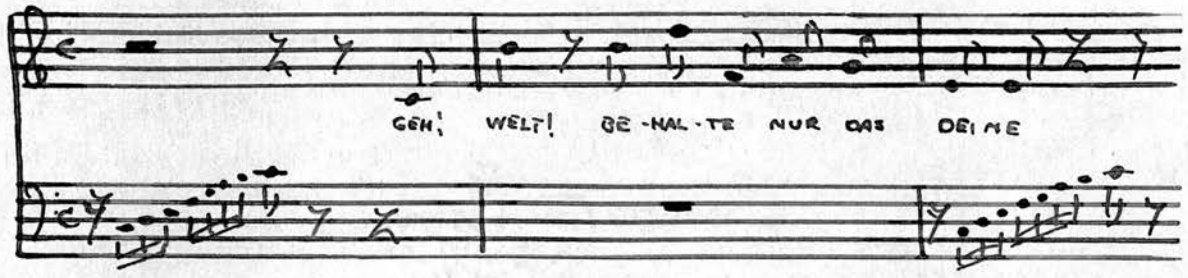
is followed by a chorale, stanza #7 of Luther's Gelobet seist du:



(4)

1...From S.106/4; the words are the 7th stanza of Reissner's hymn "In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr".
2...Spitta remarks, (op. cit., English vol. 2, p. 385) with lack of insight, that this does not seem as close to Christmas as the other Christmas music of 1723...but this was a Johannine feast, and the Johannine literature is always more concerned to demonstrate God's purpose than to describe incidents.
3...S.64/1
4...S.64/2

The further development of the cantata illustrates the distinctly Lutheran idea of the meaninglessness of the world and its transitory nature as contrasted with the permanence of God's purpose for man; the alto sings:



(1)

It is Lutheran thought that although God provides all things necessary for man's life in the world, his concern must not be with these, but beyond them:



(2)

and man knows himself to be primarily a child of God, most secure and most confident when he places his trust in God.

These two main ideas in the concept of God reappear constantly in Bach's works: God as sovereign and faithful Ruler, and man's response in praise. In none of the Cantatas is this twofold concept more plainly set forth than in the Cantata for New Year's Day 1735, Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele, (3) in which

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1...S.64/3; Schweitzer points out (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 87) the fact that the bass figure in the continuo of this recitative is the same as that which Bach uses in the St Matthew Passion to depict the setting-out of Jesus and the disciples toward Gethsemane; and from this grows a violin motive in the soprano aria which follows (S.64/5), which suggests that things in this world are equally transitory (vol. 2, p. 154).
2...S.64/6
3...S.143

the text (written either by Bach or by Christian Weiss, the pastor of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig) is dominated by Psalm 146. The opening chorus begins the year's music with a great florid passage on the word 'Lobe'; (1) the bass aria which follows is a musical picture of the majesty of God as king; to the accompaniment of three corni di caccia, the bass sings:

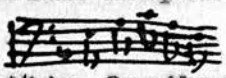


(2)

But there are other ways in which the composer gives expression to the sovereignty and majesty of God. In Cantata #150, an early Cantata for an unspecified occasion, the chorus sings Psalm 25:5 in contrapuntal style until the appearance of the words "der Gott, der mich hilft. . .", when suddenly the four voices appear together to repeat the words der Gott many times, as if to emphasise the majesty of which they are singing. (3)

In the Christmas Oratorio, where of course the emphasis is primarily upon the appearance of Christ, rather than upon God the Father, the relation of God's power to the Incarnation is remarked in the soprano aria:
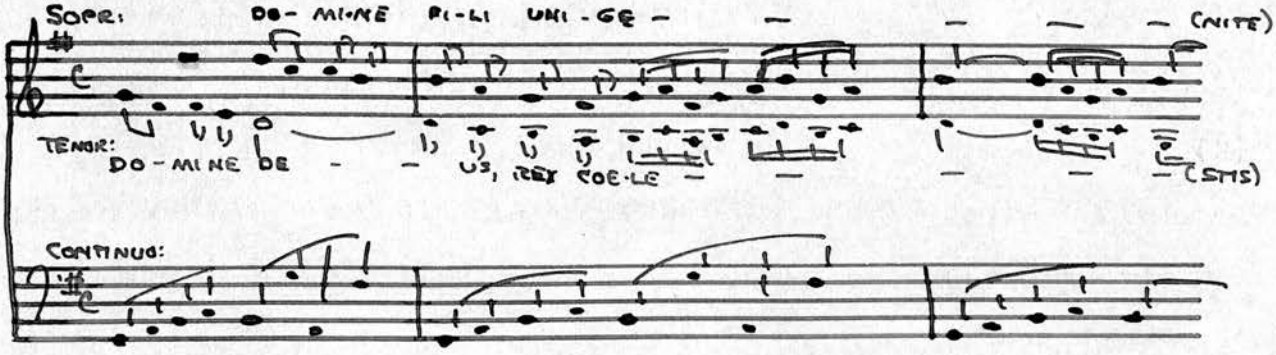
1...This passage is quoted below,
2...S.143/5; the aria is sung to the tenth verse of the Psalm:
Der Herr ist König ewiglich,
Dein Gott, Zion, für und für.
Pirro finds in this aria an excellent example of the 'crown' figure to express the idea of majesty, in this stately 'crown-shaped' arpeggio, often repeated: (op. cit., pp. 50ff.)



Spitta further implies (vol. 3, p. 65) that this aria is a tribute to the peacemaking influence of Augustus III, Bach's own king in Saxony.
3...cf. Pirro, op. cit., p. 255

Nur ein Wink von seinen Händen
  stürtzt ohnmächt'ger Menschen Macht. . .
Spricht der Höchste nur ein Wort
  seiner Feinde Stolz zu enden,
O so müssen sich sofort
  sterblicher Gedanken wenden. (1)

The power of God and the Incarnation in Christ are even more closely bound together in the B minor Mass, where Bach treats the liturgical text of part of the Gloria as a canon, mingling both ideas and music together:



(2)

Here "Deus Pater omnipotens" and "Jesu Christe altissime", like "rex coelesti" and "unigeniti" are shown to be aspects of the same majestic Godhead by the way in which both words and music are exchanged from soprano to tenor solo voices, throughout the first part of the duet. (3)

As would be expected, in the opening phrases of the Credo of the Mass, Bach does of course give a picture of the power and majesty of the God in whom faith is confessed. It begins

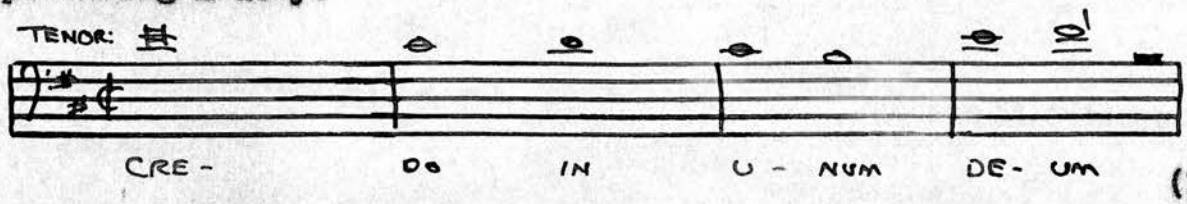
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1...S.248/57; this aria is of course in the Cantata for the Epiphany, the last part of the Oratorio; and it follows the chorus "Herr wenn die stolze Feinde schnauben,
so gib, dass wir im festen Glauben
Nach deiner Macht und Hülfe sehn."

2...S.232/7
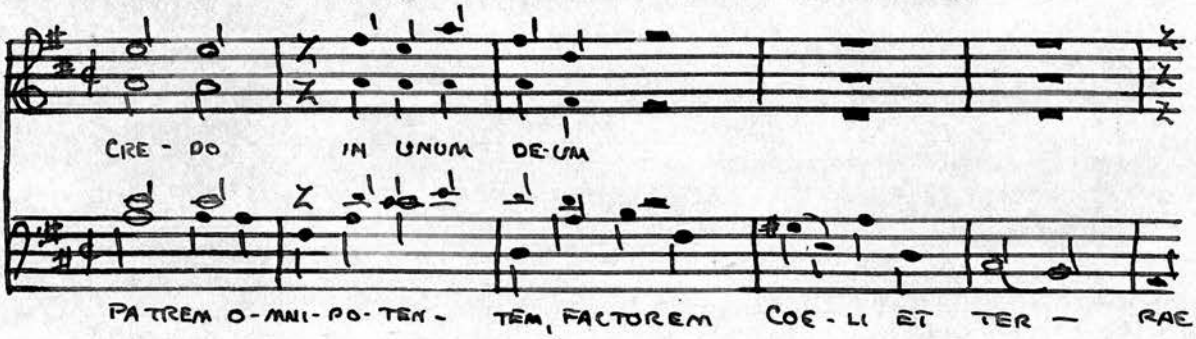
3...The concluding 21 bars of the duet relate the majesty of God more closely to the redeeming purpose of the Incarnation, leading into the "Qui tollis" chorus which follows.

with the contrapuntal chorus in which two violins join the five voices of the chorus in singing "Credo in unum Deum" to the old plainsong melody:
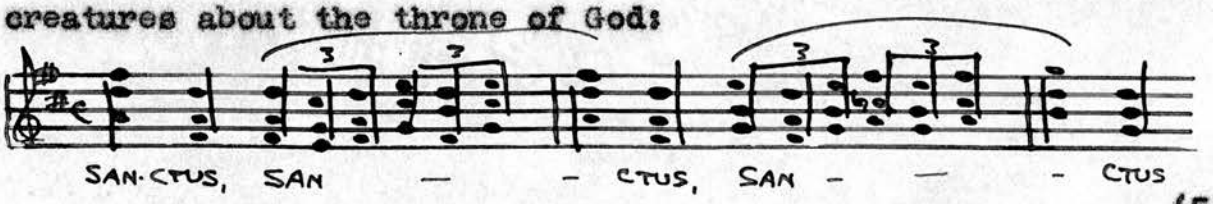


(1)

In the chorus which immediately follows, the basses interrupt the other voices as if to indicate the irresistible power of God as Father Almighty and as Creator of all things:



(2)

Similarly, the choruses of the Sanctus and the Osanna (3) are sung in praise to God's omnipotence and majesty. It has often been remarked that in the Sanctus Bach used six voices (two sopranos and two altos with tenor and bass) in the chorus to give musical portrayal to the six-winged seraphim of Isaiah; (4) and the doubled triplet-figure of the three upper voices seems by its repetition to emphasise this picture of the six-winged creatures about the throne of God:



(5)

1...S.232/12, bars #1-4; see below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298a
2...S.232/13, bars #1-6
3...S.232/20f.
4...e.g. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 322; elsewhere in the Mass the chorus is 5-voiced or (#21) double 4-voiced.
5...S.232/20, bars #1-3, upper voices only

There are still other ways in the Cantatas in which the majesty and faithfulness of God are shown. In the Michaelmas Cantata Es erhub sich ein Streit (1) it is the power of God through 'the uncreated Michael' which is victorious in the war which had broken out in heaven:

> Gottlob! der Drache liegt.
> Den unerschaffne Michael und seiner Engel Heer
> hat ihn besiegt. (2)

The eternity of God's faithfulness is portrayed, in one of the passages especially dear to Pirro's delight in pictorial interpretation, by the bass aria in the Cantata Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen (3), in which the first syllable of "ewig" is prolonged by a long-sustained accented passage to give emphasis to the eternity of God's truthfulness which is being sung:

> Lasset dem Höchsten ein Danklied erschallen
> Für sein Erbarmen und ewige Treu'. . . (4)

It is this eternal faithfulness which is the best ground for man's happiness, as the chorus sings in the Cantata Herr Gott, dich loben wir, (5) written for New Year's Day in 1724; the text is very probably Bach's own:

> Lasst uns jauchzen, lasst uns freuen:
> Gottes Güt' und Treu'
> bleibet alle Morgen neu. (6)

In this same chorus, Pirro does not fail to recognise the crown-like figure of God's majesty in the music of the bass solo:



(7)

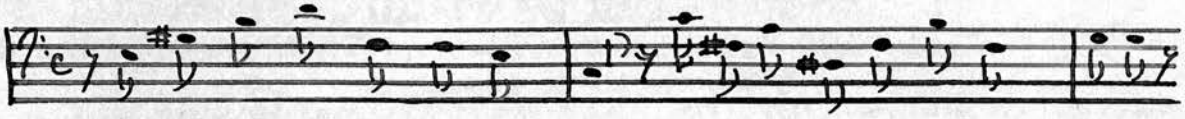
1...S.19
2...S.19/2
3...S.66
4...S.66/3; cf. Pirro, op. cit., p. 92
5...S.16
6...S.16/3
7...ibid., bar #24; cf. Pirro, op. cit., p. 38

The alto aria in the Cantata Geist und Seele wird verwirret (1) is a reminder of the goodness of the God who is both powerful and faithful:



(2)

This faithfulness is further assured in the bass recitative in Cantata #58, Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid:



(3)

This recitative continues with the reminder that God was able to escape the wrath of Herod (the Cantata is for the first Sunday following the Circumcision) by leading the Holy Family into Egypt; it concludes with the assurance of God's own word, quoting Isaiah 54:10:
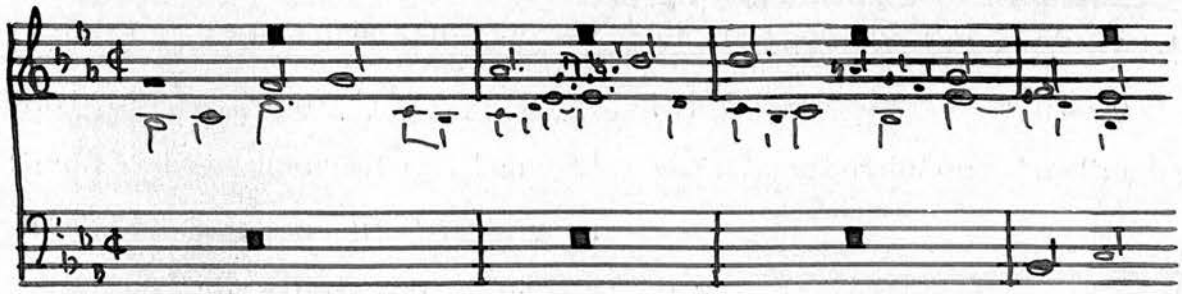
> Er spricht: wenn Berg und Hügel niedersinken,
> Wenn dich die Fluth des Wassers will ertrinken,
> So will ich dich nicht verlassen, noch versäumen. (4)

Among non-vocal compositions, the chorale-preludes for organ afford several examples of musical pictures of the power and majesty of God; the preludes upon Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr' are particular examples of this. (5) In the third part of the Clavier-Übung, the collection of preludes known as the 'Catechism' for organ, Bach gives the most complete organ expression to the understanding of the majesty of God as Father,

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1...S.35
2...S.35/4
3...S.58/2
4...ibid.
5...Schmieder lists a total of fifteen chorale-preludes upon this hymn, including variant forms.

especially in the preludes on Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit:
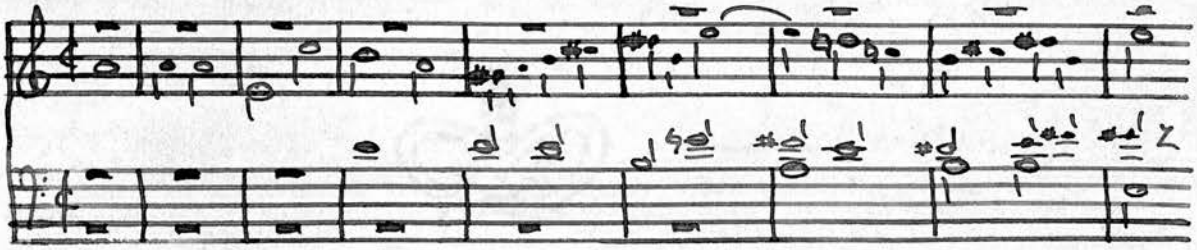


(1)

and on Wir Glauben all' an einen Gott:

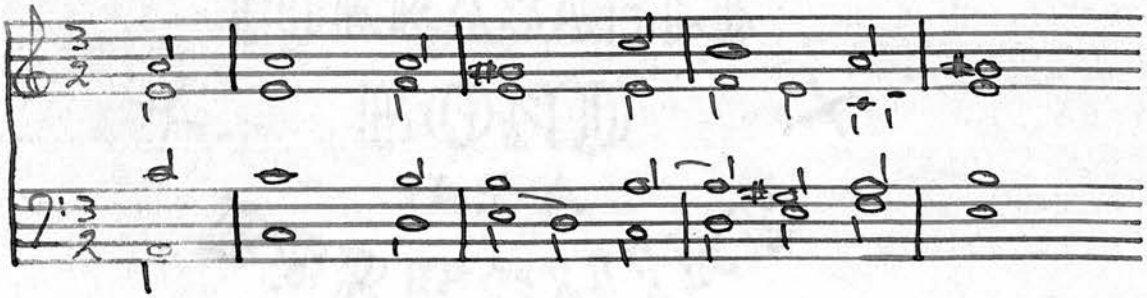


(2)

Again, the majesty of God and his power are clearly shown in the settings of Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt in the Kirnberger collection:



(3)



(4)

1...S.669; cf. also S.672
2...S.680; cf. also S.681 and S.740, the latter one of the miscellaneous chorale-preludes; see below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298b
3...S.707
4...S.708a; cf. also S.708

This feeling of majesty had already been noticeable in some of the very early examples of Bach's organ-writing, the partitas on O Gott du frommer Gott (1) and Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr', (2) but these do not reflect either the theological or the musical maturity of the artist.

Of all the organ works, the one which most nearly relates Bach's "pure" (i.e., wordless) music to the Wortgebundenen music of the chorale-preludes is the E flat Major Prelude and so-called "St Anne" fugue, which were published with the third part of the Clavier-Übung in 1739. The close relation of this prelude and fugue to the undoubted doctrinal plan of the "catechism" chorale-preludes helps to make it evident that majesty in Bach's music is always a godly majesty, and always is in fact a musical representation of the majesty of the God to whom Bach offered his music. It is by no means without reason that Schweitzer sees that

> "The prelude in E flat major, that introduces the greater chorales, symbolises godlike majesty. The triple fugue at the end of them is a symbol of the Trinity. The same theme recurs in three connected fugues, but each time with another personality. The first fugue is calm and majestic, with an absolutely uniform movement throughout. . ." (3)

If majesty is the principal attribute of God which Bach portrays in his music, its corollary response from man, as we have begun to see, is one of praise. It is not possible (nor would we want it to be so) for us to separate these two ideas

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1...S.767
2...S.771
3...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 277; the theme, from which the collection of fugues is known in English as "St Anne", bears resemblance to Croft's familiar tune only by coincidence; although Croft wrote the tune in 1708, when he was organist of St Anne's, Westminster (whence the name of the tune), it seems not to have been known in Bach's Germany.

completely from one another; Bach's music was all an offering of praise. But since the music is the expression of men who are creatures offering praise to their Creator, Bach's music is filled with examples of the praise which human voices lift to God as their response to His sovereignty and majesty. Among the Cantatas (expressions of praise are absent from scarcely any of them!) let us look in detail at the one written for the dedication of the organ at Störmthal in 1723, later adapted in 1731 for use on Trinity Sunday, Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest. (1) The special occasion commemorating the restoration of the Church at Störmthal, with its new organ which was being dedicated, was one which called for praise, and virtually every number in the Cantata is one of joyous praise. (2) The words of this praise are almost certainly Bach's own; the first chorus is one of gladness at this "eagerly-awaited festival of joy", that God has permitted the restoration of the Church and that He permits us to make our praise to Him. It is
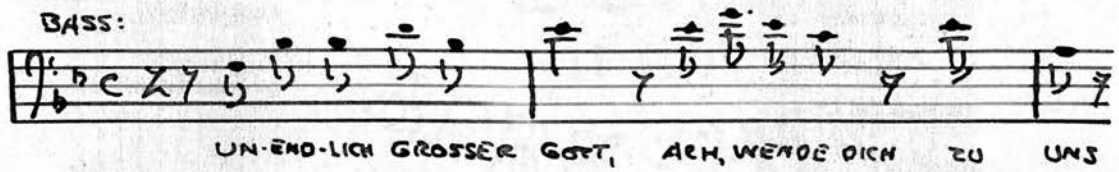
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1...S.194

2...Spitta and Schweitzer both feel that the music here sounds as though it were adapted from some orchestral suite which Bach may previously have written (possibly in Cöthen), in order to have something ready for this outside occasion, and Spitta says (vol. 2, p. 367) that "...it lacks that highest degree of sacredness which can only be given when the composer's imagination is set in motion by an event of universal importance to the Christian church."* This judgement presupposes the idea that an orchestral suite must somehow be less sacred in inspiration and intention than a wholly original Cantata...and it is plainly against the major emphasis of this thesis. (cf. also Schweitzer, vol. 2, p. 165) Parry, on the other hand, cites this very Cantata as evidence of "...how little Bach was inclined to relax the exercise of his powers in works written for special occasions..." (op. cit., p. 217); and Terry (Bach: a Biography, p. 178) adds a reminder --- which must not be overlooked --- that within the following two months Bach produced the Magnificat and three additional great new Cantatas for the Churches of Leipzig, and that he must have been at work on those during the time that this special assignment was given him.

*...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298b

unmistakably the Lutheran God of majesty to whom this praise is sung:



(1)

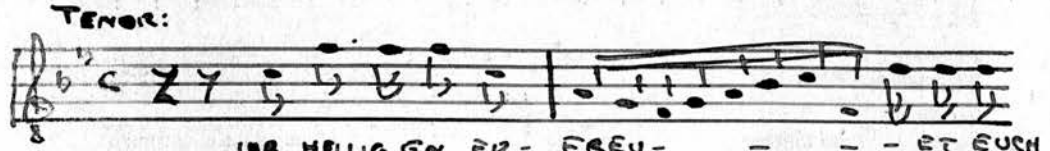
This recitative continues:

> . . . Du, den kein Haus, kein Tempel fasst
> Da du kein Ziel noch Grenze hast,
> Lass dir dies Haus gefällig sein,
> Es sei dein Angesicht
> Ein wahrer Gnadenstuhl,
> Ein Freudenlicht. (2)

The worshippers, anxious to offer their new place of worship to God, yet conscious of the imperfection of their work before His majesty, continue in the words of the soprano recitative:

> Wie könnte dir, du höchstes Angesicht,
> Da dein unendlich helles Licht
> Bis in verborg'ne Gründe siehet,
> Ein Haus gefällig sein?
> . . . . . .
> Wo deine Herrlichkeit einziehet,
> Da muss die Wohnung rein
> Und dieses Gastes würdig sein... (3)

The following aria is one in which the work of these men is dedicated to God, asking His blessing upon their offering; and the first half of the Cantata closes with two stanzas (4) of Heermann's hymn, Treuer Gott, ich muss dir klagen. After the sermon, the second part of the Cantata opens with a tenor recitative:



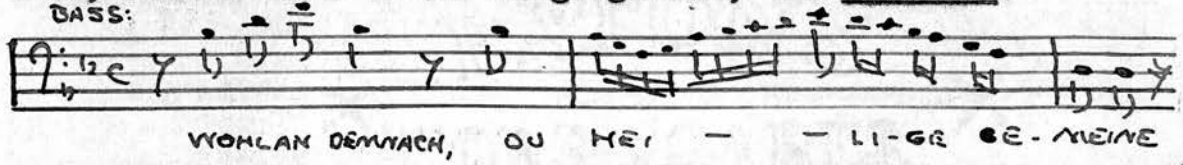
(5)

1...S.194/2
2...ibid.
3...S.194/4
4...Stanzas #6 and 7
5...S.194/7

Throughout this recitative the words of the singer are directed at the hearts of men whose worship and praise are being offered to God, and in effect the tenor is saying "Here one can see the meaning of the Trinity." (1) The following aria, in typical Lutheran manner, shows the greatness of God as the only possible source of real happiness for man, and brushes away all earthly pretensions:

> Des Höchsten Gegenwart allein
> Kann unsrer Freuden Ursprung sein;
> Vergehe, Welt, mit deiner Pracht;
> In Gott ist, was uns glücklich macht. (2)

Following soprano and bass duets, the bass continues in recitative, with a word to the congregation, the Gemeinde:
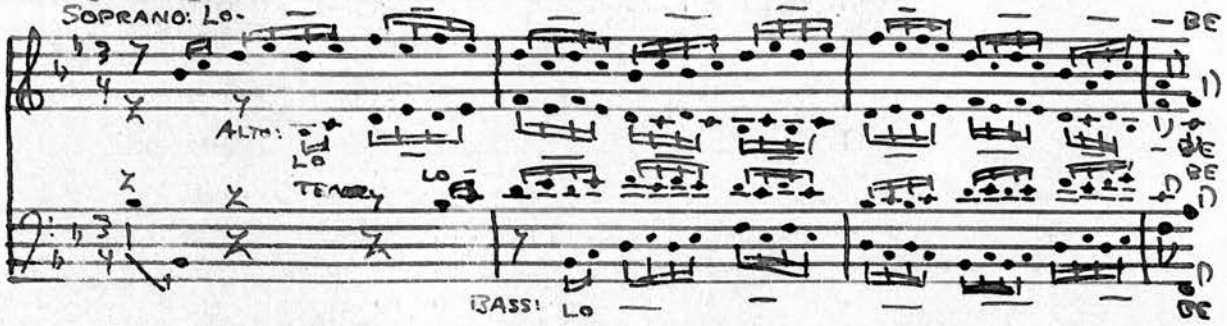


(3)

to remind the people that the praise of God must be offered by each worshipper's heart, not just as the formal dedication of these walls. If this was indeed music from an earlier orchestral suite, adapted for use at this special service, Bach has demonstrated its sacredness well by the expression it gives to the greatness of God and by the spirit of praise and dedication which it evokes from the believer. (4)

Other examples from the Cantatas showing man's praise as the response to God's rule over him are many; the following illustrations can be taken as representative of many others.

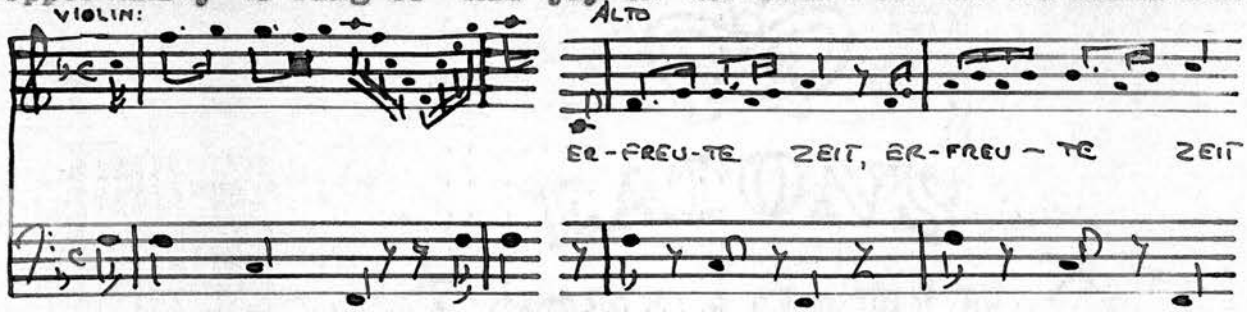
1...S.194/7; the words of the recitative say as much:
"...Das Herze sei erhoben zu Gottes Ehrenreich...
Ein Stand, so billig selig heisst:
Man schaut hier Vater, Sohn, und Geist..."
2...S.194/8
3...S.194/11
4...Schweitzer (vol. 2, p. 165) has some pertinent criticism of the declamation in the gavotte and minuet arias.

We have commented above (1) on the opening of Cantata #143, in which the chorus sings a tremendous extended shout of praise in the opening words of Psalm 146:1:



(2)

This praise is plainly an expression of the highest kind of joy, based upon confidence in God. The opening aria of Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde (3) gives an alto soloist with violin obbligato an opportunity to sing of this joy on the feast of the Purification:
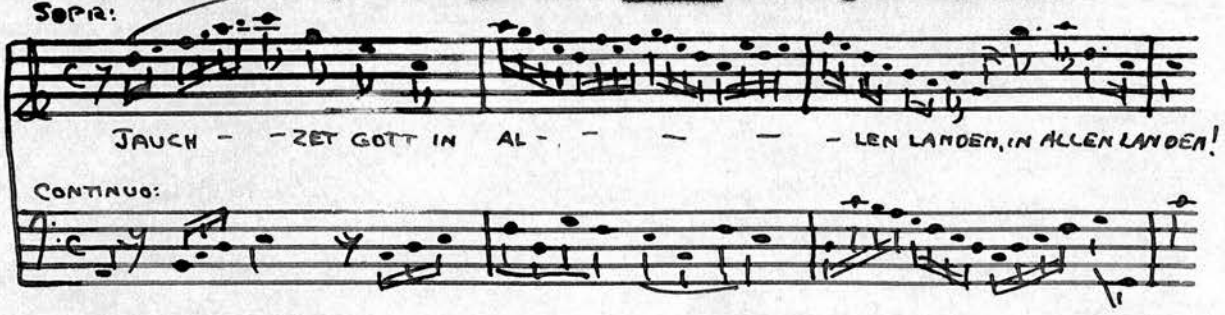


(4)

This sense of jubilation, which music can so easily give to the spirit of praise, fills the Cantata for soprano solo, Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen. (5) This is an example of one of Bach's
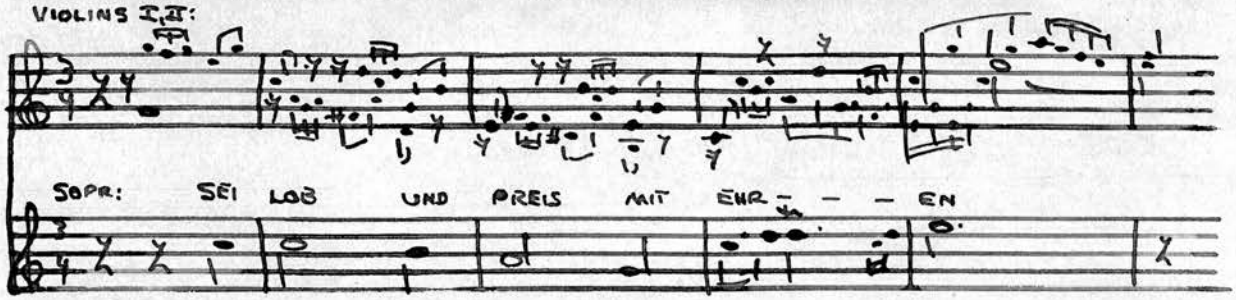
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1...Above, p. 207
2...S.143/1
3...S.83
4...S.83/1; Spitta remarks (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 390) about the way in which this Cantata seems to be a kind of pendant to the organ-dedication Cantata; and Pirro (op. cit., p. 211) speaks of the violin solo here as 'garlanding' the aria with joy.
5...S.51

Cantatas which bears no noticeable relation to the lessons appointed for the day of its performance, but it is designated in the score as a Cantata not only for the 15th Sunday after Trinity, but also for general use ("in ogni Tempo"); and such an expression of praise as this could find general use:



(1)

The soloist sings the chorale Sei Lob und Preis mit Ehren, while two violins continue the mood of joy:



(2)
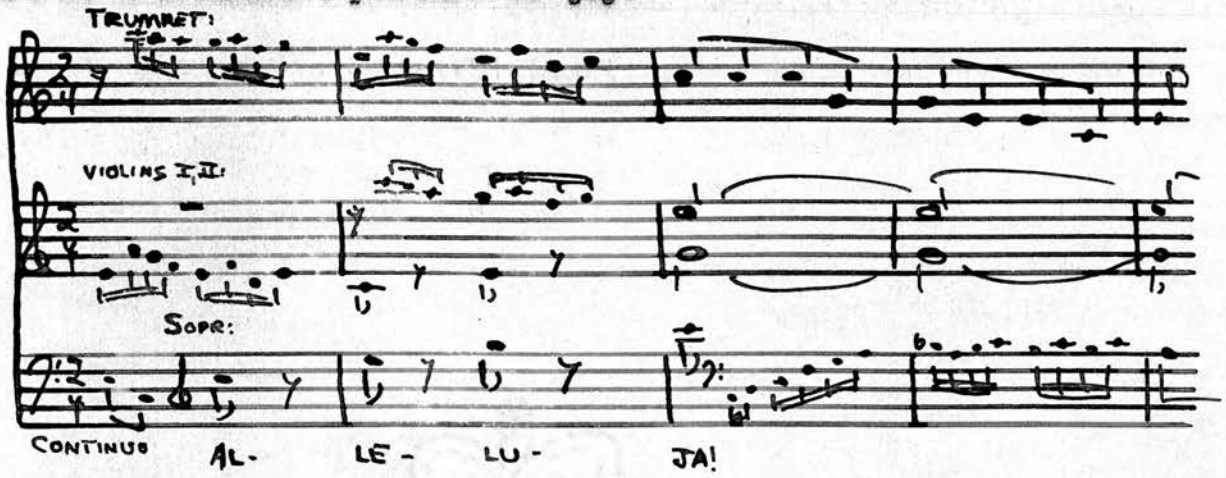
and immediately after the chorale-stanza is ended, the violins lead into a fiery "Alleluia", with a trumpet added to the instrumental rejoicing. With long vocalises to extend the exult-

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1...S.51/1, bars #28-30; Schweitzer comments (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 253n.) on alterations in the text which make this Cantata specifically appropriate to Michaelmas; Bach's own designation, "Dominica 15 post Trinitatis et in ogni Tempo", serves to confirm the opinion that this is a Cantata Bach intended for use at any time when a capable soprano (Parry, op. cit., p. 431, suggests Anna Magdalena) would be available. The spirit of praise which it calls forth could serve for many occasions in the Church Year.

2...S.51/4a, bars #11-15; Pirro (op. cit., p. 295) describes this passage as a picture of liturgical prayer: "Le soprano parle d'une prière au temple, et les instruments imitent le murmure des oraisons publiques..."

ant praise, and arpeggios leading all the way up to a high C, it is a brilliant picture of joy:



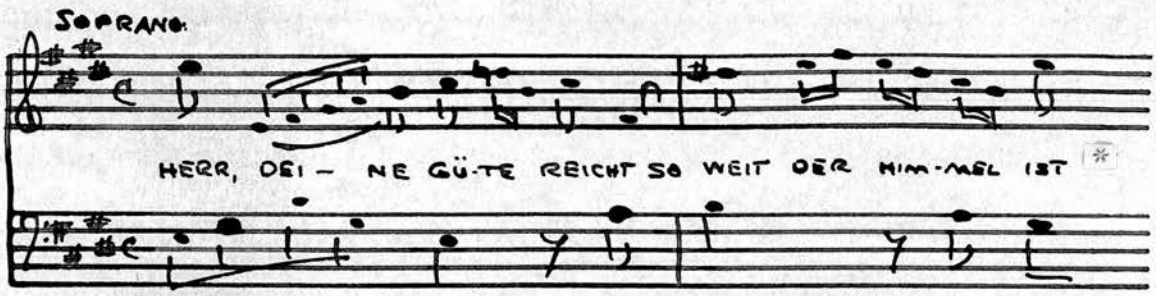
(1)

A survey of all the Cantatas would show that the form in which man's praise to God is most frequently sung is that of thanksgiving. The expression of man's thankfulness is often repeated in aria and recitative; often an entire Cantata will serve as an exhortation to thankfulness, as, for example, Wer Dank opfert, der preiset mich (2). This entire Cantata is a commentary upon the gratitude of the Samaritan leper who was healed by Jesus, told in the Gospel for the 14th Sunday after Trinity. (3) The Cantata begins with quotations from Psalms 50 and 57, reminding the congregation that thanks are the proper praise to offer God:

> Wer Dank opfert, der preiset mich,
> Und das ist der Weg,
> dass ich ihm zeige das Heil Gottes. (4)

The chorus in which these words are sung is followed, after a recitative for alto, by a soprano aria:

1...S.51/4b, bars #61-3
2...S.17
3...St Luke 17:11-19
4...Psalm 50:23; the following soprano aria is to a text which is a poetic adaptation of Psalm 57:10. The quoted passage above is the text of the opening chorus of S.17.



(1)

In the second part of the same Cantata, the story of the grateful Samaritan is told in a tenor recitative; the following aria relates this gratitude to that of the present-day worshipper:

> ...Herr, ich weiss sonst nichts zu bringen,
> Als dir Dank und Lob zu singen. (2)

Through all the festivals of the Church Year, thanks is the expression of the praise sung by men to God, as in the Cantata for Bach's first Christmas in Leipzig, Christen ätzet diesen Tag. (3) In this Cantata the bass recitative is a call to the members of the worshipping congregation in Leipzig to give their thanks to God for what He has done at Christmas in the Incarnation:

> ...Steigt fröhlich himmel-an,
> Und danket Gott für dies,
> Was er gethan. (4)

1...S.17/3; the alto recitative (#2) which precedes this aria offers a significant comment upon Bach's Lutheran view of the created world --- a world not by any means as wholly evil as some passages from Bach's texts might seem to indicate, but a world which actually is a testimony to the source of goodness in God. This recitative, probably written by Bach himself (though Schweitzer detects Picander's influence) is probably our best summary of Bach's understanding of the relation between man, the world about him, and God:

> Es muss die ganze Welt ein stummer Zeuge werden von Gottes hoher Majestät. . . ihn preiset die Natur mit ungezählten Gaben, die er ihr in den Schooss gelegt. . .
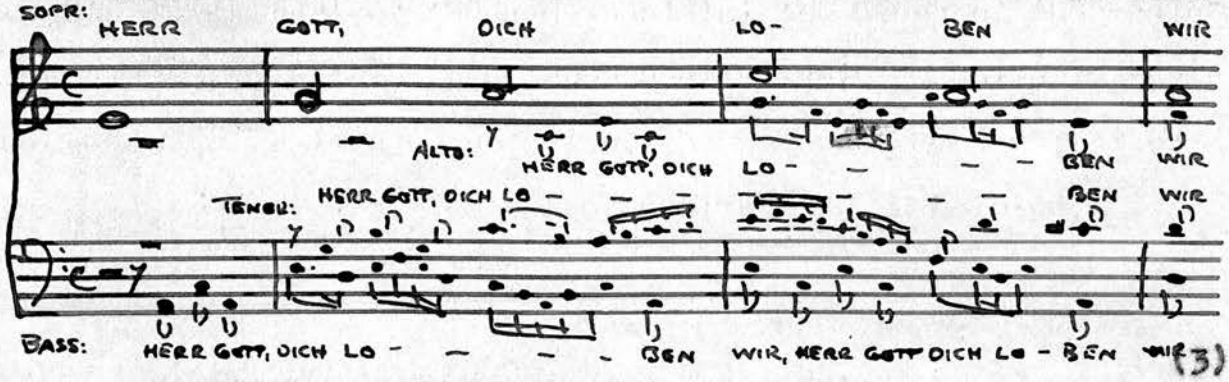
2...S.17/5
3...S.63
4...S.63/6

*...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298b

In the great concluding chorus, all voices join together in a petition that the praise and thanks offered may be worthy so as to be received by God:

> ...Lass den Dank, den wir dir bringen,
> Angenehme vor dir klingen... (1)

Also in the Cantata for the following New Year's Day, Herr Gott, dich loben wir, (2) the sense of praise is begun in the opening chorus, to clauses from Luther's German version of the Te Deum:



(3)

It continues in a bass recitative:

> So stimmen wir bei dieser frohen Zeit mit heisser Andacht an, und legen dir, o Gott, auf dieses neue Jahr das erste HerzensOpfer dar. . . O! sollte darum nicht ein neues Lied erklingen, und wir in heisser Liebe singen? (4)

Even though man is led to feel his own extreme insignificance before the majesty of the God he praises, it is still a spirit of praise and of thanksgiving which is always called forth from man; and whenever he is beset by any trouble, man's course must always be to turn to this sovereign God, in whom alone he can find hope. So the alto soloist in the Cantata Geist und Seele wird verwirret (5) begins with a cry of bewil-
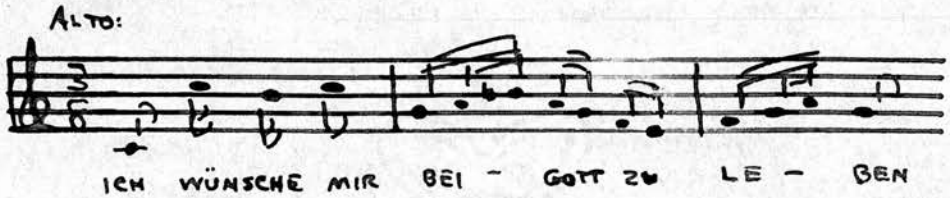
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1...S.63/7
2...S.16
3...S.16/1, bars #5-7; it should be kept in mind that all of these Cantatas in the tremendous output between November 1723 and February 1724 seem to have had Bach's texts and music.
4...S.16/2
5...S.35

derment at contemplating the power of God; the individual feels unable to offer the praise which he knows must be given to God:

> Geist und Seele wird verwirret,
> Wenn sie dich, mein Gott, betracht;
> Denn die Wunder, so sie kennet
> Und das Volk mit Jauchzen nennet,
> Hat sie taub und stumm gemacht. (1)

The perplexity of the soul is portrayed by a tortuous vocalise on the word "verwirret"; but when "Jauchzen" appears, Pirro says of it that it is "literally pushed" forth by cries of gladness, and then after the words "taub und stumm gemacht", voice and accompaniment are left suspended, as it were. Even the accompaniment to the opening lines of this aria seems, by its disconnected, random succession of notes to help create the idea of man's confusion before the greatness of God. (2) In a later aria, the assurance that God has made all things good leads the soul, in words of the soloist, to be able to conclude the Cantata with the desire to remain always in God's presence:
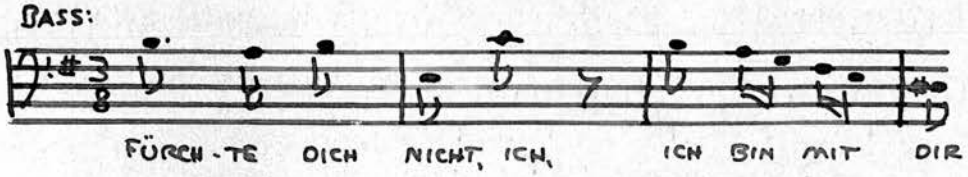


(3)

Again and again, the music of the Cantatas shows the instinctive call of the soul to God leading to a sense of confidence in Him. The cry of despair of the perplexed soul in the opening of the Cantata Schau', lieber Gott, wie meine Feind' (4)
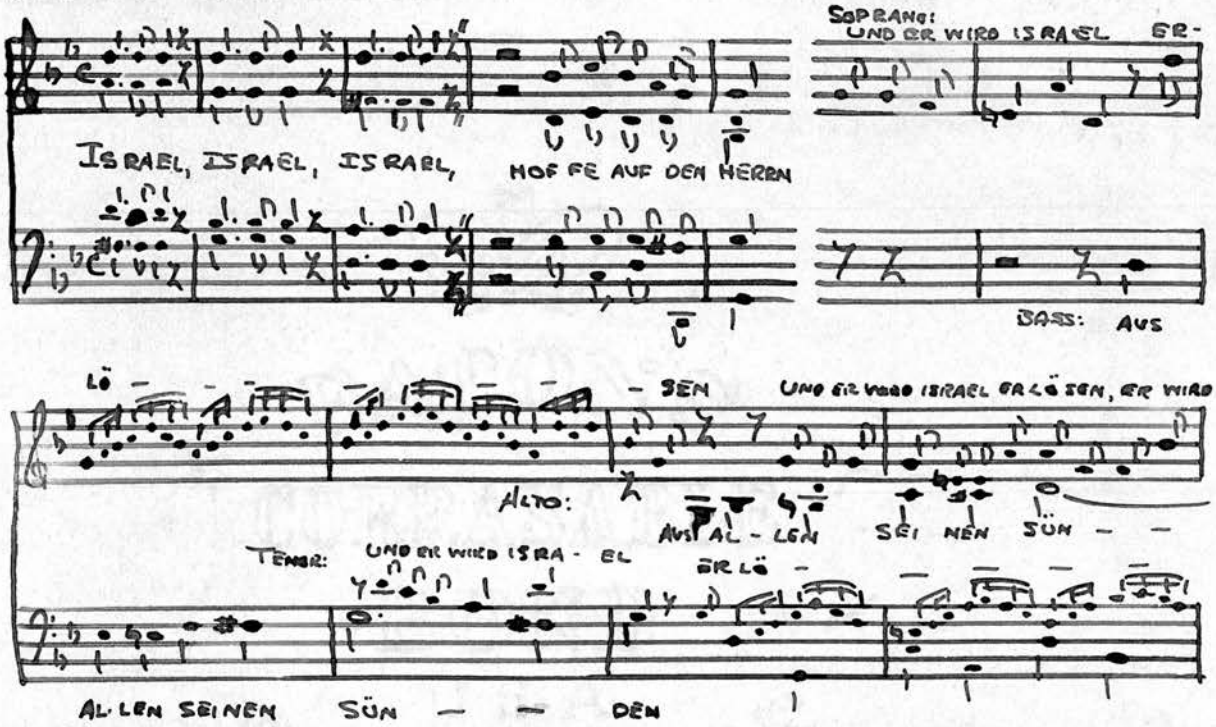
1...S.35/2; the da capo form so common in the Cantatas adapts itself well to this text; as it returns to the beginning, the final repetition of the opening two lines brings the aria to a fitting close (cf. above, p. 165n., on the possible weakness of this form). See also below, Addenda, p. 298b
2...cf. Pirro, op. cit., pp. 55, 100, 113, 151
3...S.35/7
4...S.153

is answered by the assuring words of God from Isaiah 41:10:



(1)

It is another Biblical text, the 130th Psalm, which was the source of Bach's expression of assurance in God in the Cantata probably written just after the Mühlhausen fire, Aus der Tiefe rufe ich, Herr, zu dir:



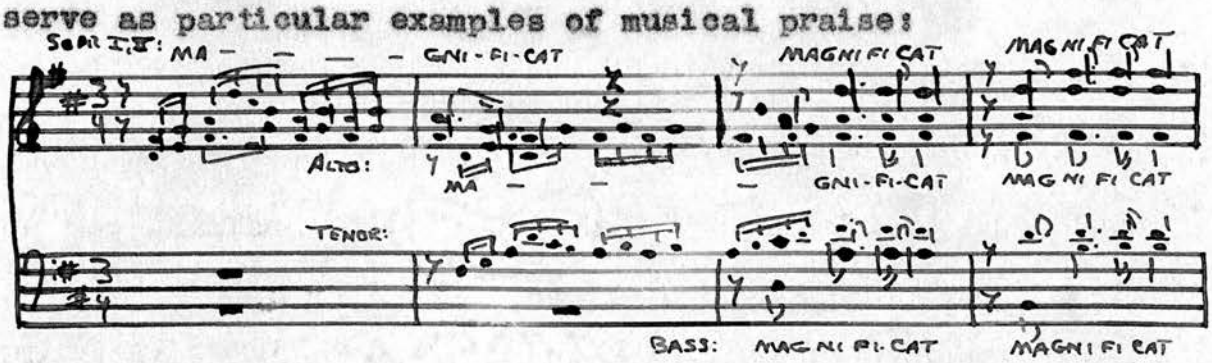
(2)

We have been dealing with Cantatas; but Bach's praise to God appears also in the other choral works, especially in the Magnificat. Except for the Misericordia duet (3) the entire
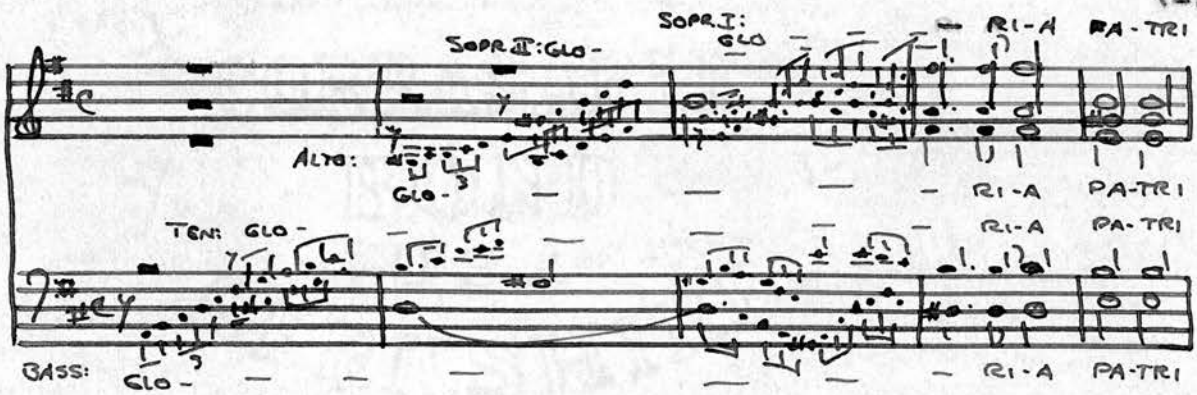
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1...S.153/3
2...S.131/5; Pirro comments (op. cit., p. 84) on the upward chromatic motive in the bass as symbolising the redemption which is being sung. Pirro also leans heavily upon this Cantata, whose text was supplied by Eilmar, as evidence of Bach's Lutheran orthodoxy.
3...S.243/6

Magnificat from its opening chorus to its final Amen is in the mood of unceasing praise. It is bound to be so by the nature of its rejoicing text; but the opening and closing choruses serve as particular examples of musical praise:

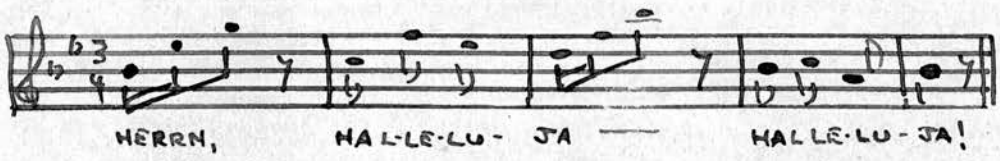


(1)



(2)

Among the Motetts, the two which are based upon texts from the Psalms (3) are filled even more freely than the Cantatas with this spirit of praise. The conclusion of Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied is a tremendous call to all creation to praise the Lord, ending with a triumphant



(4)

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*...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298b
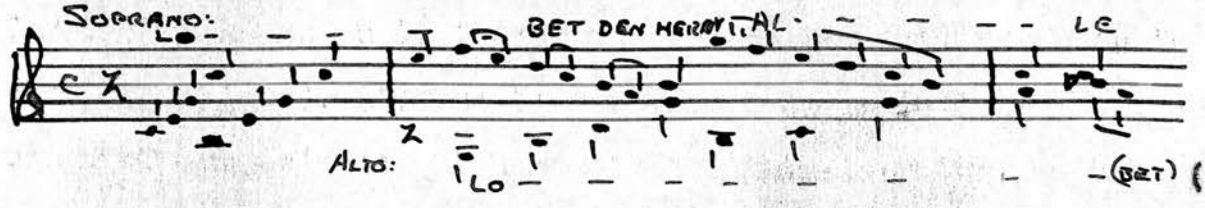
1...S.243/1, bars #31-4

2...S.243/12, bars #2-6; this Gloria is repeated for each of the persons of the Trinity, and is followed by jubilation upon "sicut erat..." with 9 bars being used to extend the final "...et in saecula seculorum" almost into eternity, as it were, to portray "world without end" before the final Amen.

3...S.225; 230

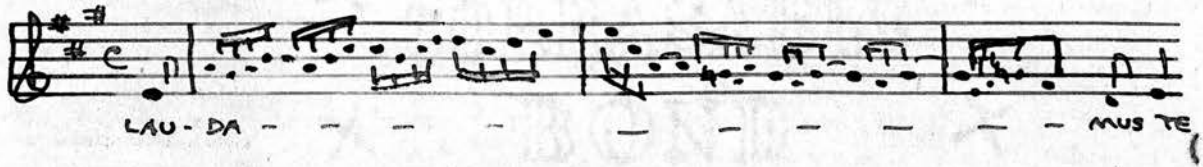
4...S.225, bars #363-7

More of the same rejoicing is heard in the setting of Psalm 117 in Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden:



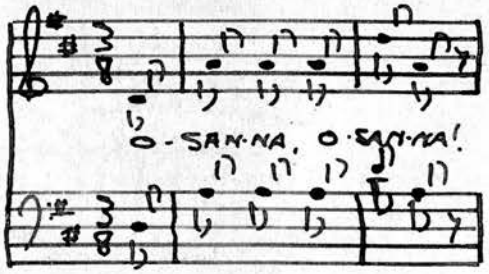
(1)

In the B minor Mass, the text naturally gives opportunity for praise to God in the Gloria in excelsis Deo; and there is a quieter expression of joy, which is also praise, in the Laudamus te:
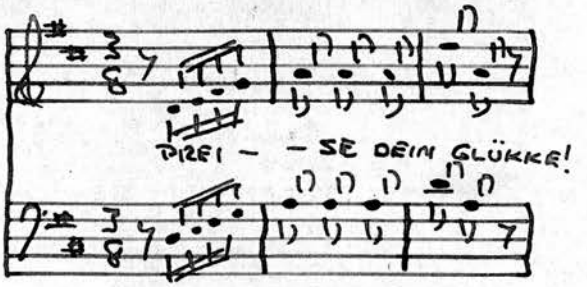


(2)

The Gratias agimus tibi (for which Bach uses the same music as for the concluding Dona nobis pacem) is a more subdued expression of the worshipper's thanks to God. There is an extended treatment of the "glory of God the Father" in the conclusion of the Cum sancto Spiritu; and we may take the Osanna, whose music is adapted from a "secular" Cantata, as evidence that for Bach all joyful music could be used to praise the Lord:



(3)



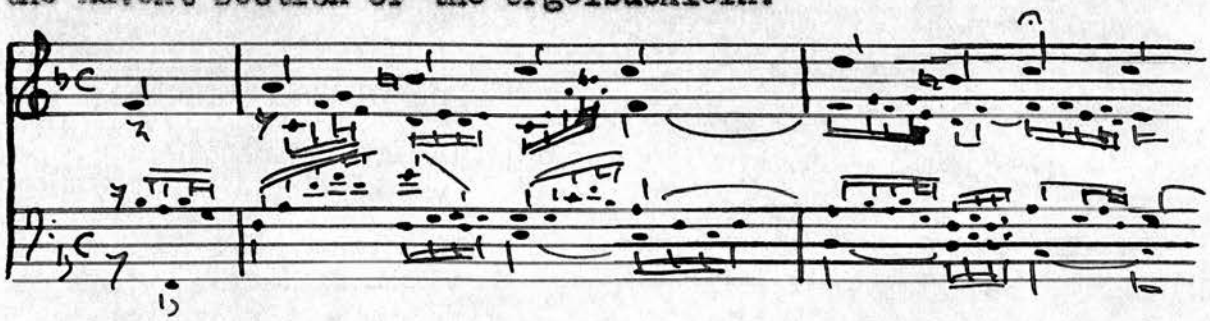
(4)

1...S.230, opening bars
2...S.232/5, bars #13-15
3...S.232/21, set next to the opening of its source, the opening chorus of Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen (S.215).
4...S.215/1, bars #33-35

The note of praise as such is not heard in the Passions; but in the Christmas Oratorio the fifth part opens with a chorus of praise to God, who has brought to pass all the happiness which is celebrated at the Christmas season:
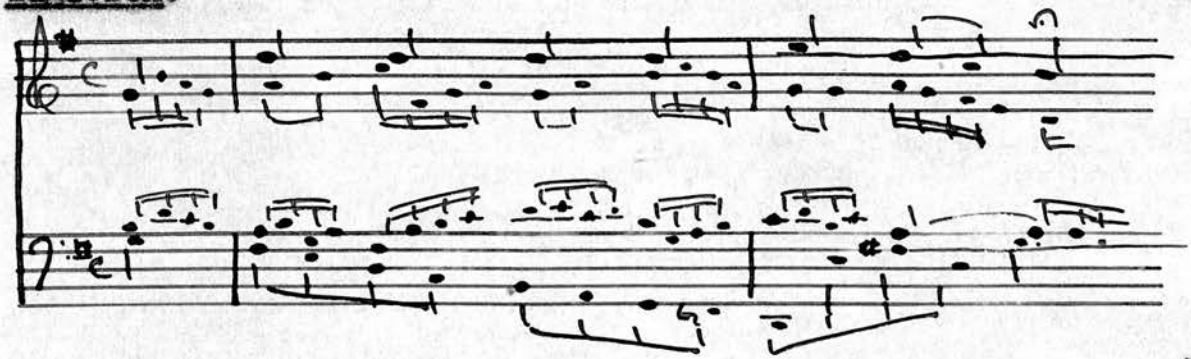
Ehre sei dir, Gott! gesungen,
Dir sei Lob und Dank bereit't.
Dich erhebet alle Welt,
Weil dir unser Wohl gefällt,
Weil anheut unser aller Wunsch gelungen,
Weil uns dein Segen so herrlich erfreut. (1)

The spirit of praise appears also in the organ works, most noticeably in certain of the chorale-preludes. It may be in majestic tones, as in Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott (2) from the Advent section of the Orgelbüchlein:



(3)
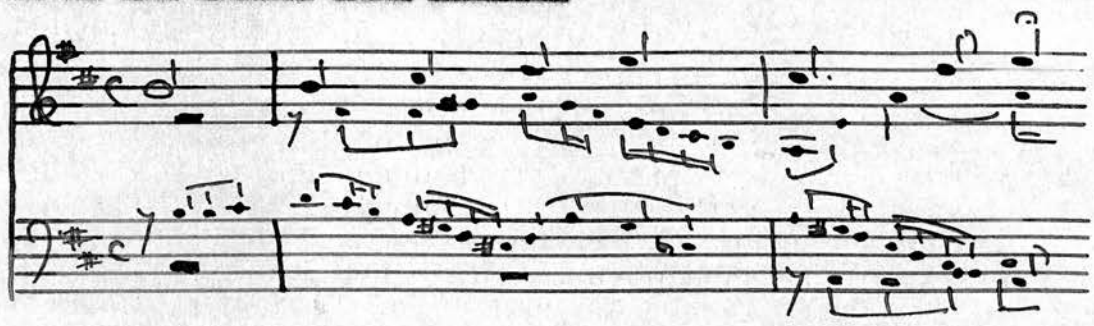
Or it may be animated and filled with joy, as in the Christmas prelude from the same collection, Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich:



(4)
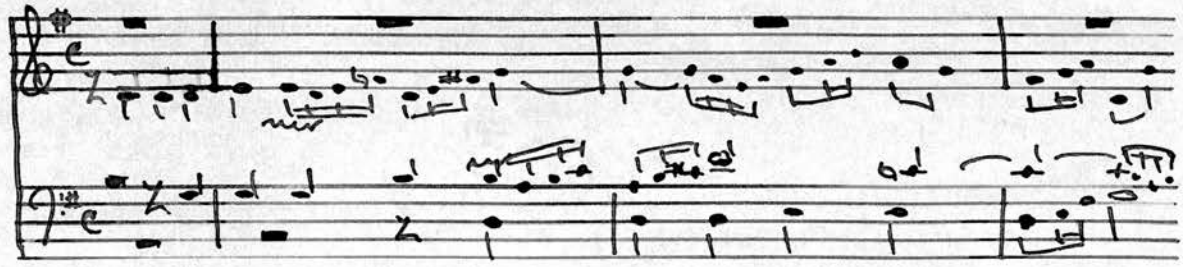
1...The text of S.248/43
2...S.602
3...ibid., opening bars
4...S.609, opening bars

Again, it may be quiet and subdued --- but still joyful --- as in the hymn for the close of the year from the Orgelbüchlein, Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen:



(1)

The organ tells of the Christian's thanksgiving of praise in the prelude on Nun danket alle Gott:



(2)

These examples will serve to show how Bach presented this aspect of Lutheran doctrine: God as Sovereign Ruler, and man as His creature, able only to offer praise and thanks to God. But Lutheran theology only begins with these points, and we must go on from here to the central concern of Lutheran thought and to examine the ways in which Bach helps us to see how the gap has been bridged between Creator and creature.

1...S.613, opening bars.
2...S.657, opening bars. A different note is sounded in the Schübler prelude on the German Magnificat, S.648. This prelude is based, not upon the characteristic expression of praise in the opening chorus of the Cantata "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn" (S.10), but on the duet "Es denket die Barmherzigkeit" (S.10/5), in which the music expresses the compassion of God, using a familiar plainsong melody.

Chapter 8

REDEMPTION IN CHRIST: the Gospel in Bach's Music

> I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and won (delivered) me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver, but with His holy, precious blood and with His innocent suffering and death, in order that I may be (wholly) His own, and live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and blessedness, even as He is risen from the dead, lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true.
>
> ...Luther's Small Catechism

Just as sovereignty is the heart of Lutheran teaching about God as Father, the Incarnation and all it implies are summed up in Lutheran doctrine by the word redemption. While the Creed which the catechisms take as their outline deals with the Trinity as the pattern of Christian faith, these Lutheran catechisms (and following them, the other Lutheran doctrinal writings) draw from the threefold Godhead implications which relate these beliefs to the human situation. The sovereignty of God has shown man as creature, able only to praise God. The Incarnation of God in Christ relates much more specifically to the nature of the relation between God and man. In the Larger Catechism of Luther, the article on faith in God as Father had touched only in passing on the problem of sin, which has broken

the intimate relation of creature to Creator in which full praise might be given:

> ". . . For we sin daily with eyes, ears, hands, body and soul, money and possessions, and with everything we have, especially those who fight against the Word of God." (1)

It is this sin which limits the possibility of human fellowship with God, and which has made necessary an action on God's part in order that this fellowship might be restored. Thus although in the first article of the Creed the human implications of belief in God as Creator could follow as a consequence of what God is seen to be, in the second article it is necessary first to set forth and to explain the full significance of man's sin before showing how in the Incarnation God took the action needed to repair the breach and to reconcile the world to Himself. With this purpose clearly in mind, we can see the way in which Jesus accomplished this reconciliation and can understand the relation of the individual believer to Him. (2)

The Larger Catechism attempts at first briefly to sum up the meaning of faith in Christ with a single sentence:

> "If now you are asked, What do you believe in the Second Article of Jesus Christ? answer briefly: I believe that Jesus Christ, true Son of God, has become my Lord." (3)

This immediately prompts a further question, however; and the answer to this question leads directly to a realisation of the full implication of sin and of the necessity of divine intervention to overcome it:

1...Luther's Larger Catechism, paragraph #22; in the Concordia Triglotta, p. 683.

2...In both catechisms of Luther these doctrines are presented, not impersonally, but in the first person, varying between singular and plural as if to show that this is the faith both of the individual and of the Gemeinde.

3...Larger Catechism #27; Concordia Triglotta, p. 685.

> ". . . But what is it to become Lord? It is this, that He has redeemed me from sin, from the devil, from death, and all evil. For before I had no Lord nor King, but was captive under the power of the devil, condemned to death, enmeshed in sin and blindness." (1)

Thus before the meaning of faith in Christ as Lord can be explained, the character of the break in divine-human relations must be accounted for; why has man turned away from God? The answer is that he has yielded to the temptation of Satan. The devil was very real to Luther, and appears as the destroyer of man's fellowship with God:

> "For when we had been created by God the Father, and had received from Him all manner of good, the devil came and led us into disobedience, sin, death, and all evil, so that we fell under His wrath and displeasure and were doomed to eternal damnation, as we had merited and deserved." (2)

Notice that for Luther this is no better than man as creature ever deserved. Even in the first article of the Creed he had dealt at some length with the fact that all the goodness of God, for which we offer Him our praise, is completely undeserved by man:

> "Moreover, we also confess that God the Father has not only given us all that we have and see before our eyes. . .and that He does all this out of pure love and goodness, without our merit, as a benevolent Father, who cares for us that no evil befall us." (3)

For the ordinary course of man's life, the immediate strength of Satan seems to be greater than the power of God to protect him from evil, and so man was left quite helpless until God Himself took action to help undo the power of the devil. It

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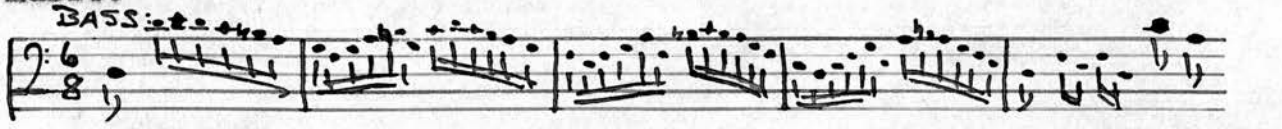
1...Larger Catechism, #27f.; Concordia Triglotta, p. 685
2...ibid., #28a
3...ibid., #17, p. 681

was only God who could do so, and He did it in Christ Jesus:

> "There was no counsel, help, or comfort until this only and eternal Son of God in His unfathomable goodness had compassion upon our misery and wretchedness, and came from heaven to help us." (1)

This is the necessary background to our understanding of the place of Jesus in Lutheran faith and piety which is so frequently expressed in Bach's music --- and the background too finds illustration in many parts of his composition.

Although Bach never threw an inkpot at the devil, as Luther is reputed by legend to have done, there did flow from his pen ample pictorial illustration of Satan as the source of evil in the world. (2) The origin of Satan's power is described in the Michaelmas Cantata Es erhub sich ein Streit; (3) the "war in heaven" as described in Revelation 12 gives the musician opportunity to portray the rage of Satan with raging music:



(4)

The destruction of Satan's cruelty is pictured with even greater dramatic effect:



(5)

1...Larger Catechism, #28b.; Concordia Triglotta, p. 685
2...Schweitzer points out (op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 78f.) that the devil is always presented by a contorted, snake-like figure.
3...S.19
4...S.19/1, bars #46-50
5...ibid., bars #76-82

There are other points at which the devil appears, serpent-like, in the Cantatas. Schweitzer comments at some length on the bass aria in Cantata #40, where the 'Höllische Schlange' is heard being destroyed by the heel of the woman's son; (1) and in the Reformation Day Cantata on Ein' feste Burg, (2) where the chorus sings in unison the stanza beginning "Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär'", the trumpets, woodwinds and strings of the accompanying orchestra seem to be filling the air with legions of devils. (3) Elsewhere, Bach's comment on Satan and his power is directed toward his being overcome by the power of God.* Thus the alto recitative in the New Year's Day Cantata Herr Gott, dich loben wir (4) directs a petition to God to protect His Word and the Church and School, in order that His kingdom might be increased, and the power of Satan overcome:

> ...beschütz' auch fernerhin dein werthes Wort,
> beschütze Kirch' und Schule,
> so wird dein Reich vermehrt,
> und Satans arge List gestört;
> erhalte nur den Frieden und die beliebte Ruh,
> so ist uns schon genug beschieden
> und uns fällt lauter Wohlsein zu. (5)

Further testimony is given to Satan's inability to stand against the final power of God in passages from Cantatas for Christmas and Eastertide. In Christen, ätzet diesen Tag (6) the alto recitative gives thanks to God for this 'ungemeines Tag' (i.e., Christmas Day) in which He

> ...suchet Israel von der Gefangenschaft und
> Sklavenketten des Satans zu erretten. (7)

1...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 78f.
2...S.80
3...S.80/5; Pirro, op. cit., p. 77, remarks how frequently Bach made use of a descending chromatic line to help portray Satan as a figure of evil. *...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298b
4...S.16
5...S.16/4; the word 'laut' is typical of Bach's diction.
6...S.63
7...S.63/2
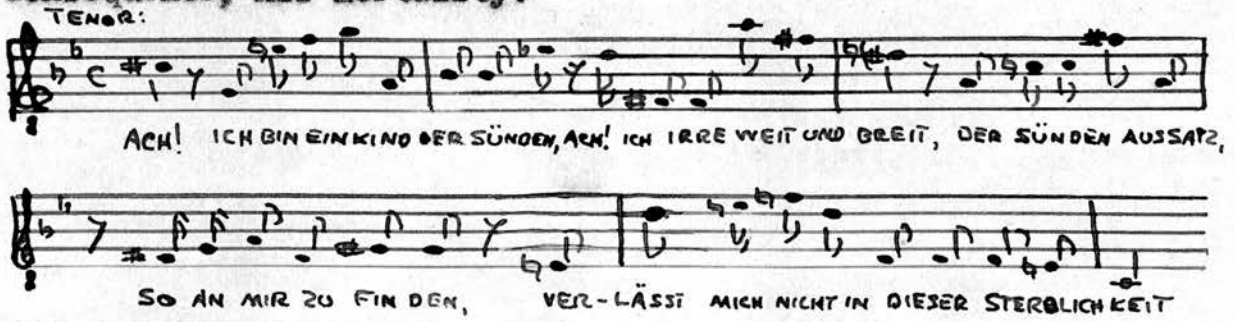
In Ein Herz, das seinem Jesum lebend weiss (1) the tenor recitative reminds that the power of the Resurrection is so great that even Satan must tremble, great though his power over men may be:

> Wohl dir, Gott hat an dich gedacht,
> o Gottgeweihtes Eigenthum;
> der Heiland lebt und siegt mit Macht,
> zu deinem Heil, zu seinem Ruhm
> muss hier der Satan furchtsam zittern
> und sich die Hölle selbst erschüttern... (2)

Later in the same recitative, the alto joins the dialogue to proclaim the final power of God, even though the tenor still feels concern at the number of enemies in whose persons Satan confronts the soul:

> (tenor) Die Feinde zwar sind nicht zu zählen!
> (alto) Gott schützt die ihm getreuen Seelen. (3)
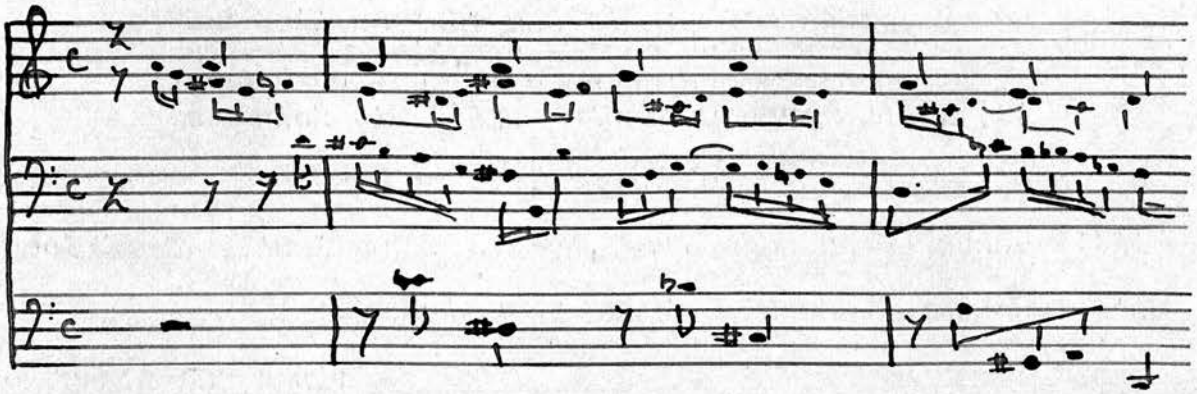
So much for the source of man's trouble and sin. Although the power of Satan over man's life is strong, it cannot abide the redemptive power of Christ. Still the influences of sin, both in Bach's thought and in his music, are many; it is sinful man who must be saved and redeemed, and apart from God's own graciousness there is little good that can be said of or for man. By himself, man can acknowledge only his sin and its consequence, his mortality:



(4)

1...S.134
2...S.134/3
3...ibid.
4...S.78/3, bars #1-5

This is an assertion, in fact, of the Lutheran doctrine of original sin. Perhaps Bach's best musical expression of this doctrine is the chorale-prelude for organ on Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt:



(1)

The pervasive influence of sin is shown in the recitative from Christen, ätzet diesen Tag which we have quoted above. (2) Even after God's victory over Satan has been acknowledged, the recitative continues:

> Du liebster Gott! was sind wir Armen doch?
> Ein abgefall'nes Volk, so dich verlassen... (3)

But here, too, is reassurance that God does not forsake even those who have forsaken Him:

> ...und dennoch willst du uns nicht hassen! (4)

The idea of man as sinful appears again in Es erhub sich ein Streit, (5) but the question of Psalm 8:4 is closely related to the assurance that God's host of angels are on man's side in the struggle for his soul:

1...S.637; the diminished seventh intervals in the pedal-part serve to emphasise the fall; cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 3, 56.
2...Above, p. 232
3...S.63/2
4...ibid.
5...S.19

Was ist der schnöde Mensch, das Erdenkind?
Ein Wurm, ein armer Sünder.
Schaut, wie ihn selbst der Herr so liebgewinnt,
dass er ihn nicht zu niedrig schätzet
und ihm die Himmelskinder,
der Seraphinen Heer
zu seiner Wacht und Gegenwehr,
zu seinem Schutze setzet. (1)
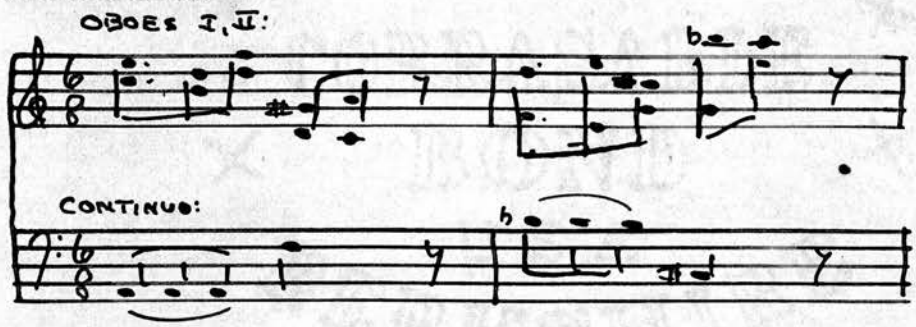
Over and over again, either in arias or recitatives or in chorale-stanzas appropriate to the occasion, Bach's Cantatas sing of the weakness and difficulties and limitations of man's life. Still behind all these there is a confidence, sometimes only implied but often expressed, that God will bring the believer through all hardship into the fullness of joy --- the kind of joy in which God's praise can truly be sung. So in the Rathswahl Cantata for Mühlhausen, the soprano sings a stanza of the hymn O Gott du frommer Gott as a reminder of the heaviness of man's unaided life:

Soll ich auf dieser Welt mein Leben höher bringen
Durch manchen sauren Tritt hindurch ins Alter dringen,
So gieb geduld... (2)

And we have seen above (3) how this is followed by an expression of assurance, in words from Genesis 21:22, that "God is with thee in all that thou doest." But here, as in many similar places in the Cantatas, Bach uses texts which point out the weakness and inability of human nature to know or to find anything but "sauren Tritt" in the course of man's life through this world, without the enabling help of God's grace.
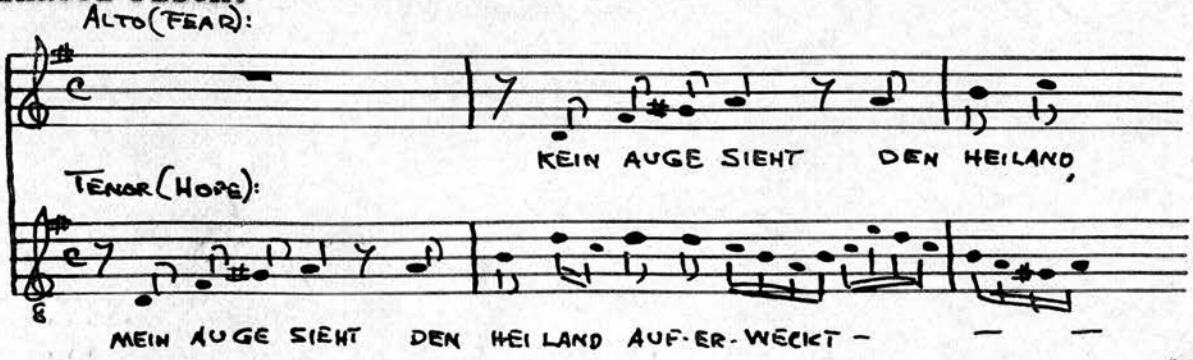
1...S.19/4
2...The opening lines of S.71/2, from stanza #6 of the hymn by Heermann.
3...Above, pp. 202f.; this is, however, one of the few Cantatas in which the expression of assurance is not made with reference to Jesus as man's Redeemer.

This sense of human weakness may be expressed as the inability of human understanding to comprehend the divine, as in the opening aria of Geist und Seele wird verwirret. (1) Pirro remarks that the accompaniment to this aria serves to show us Bach's way of portraying the confusion of human weakness by means of an apparently random succession of notes thrown out with no logical connection:



(2)

The indecision of human frailty is often suggested in the Cantatas by means of a dialog between two voices representing conflicting influences at work within the individual's soul. The Cantata for Easter Monday 1731, Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen, (3) has a long duet in which the alto voice personifies Fear, while the tenor represents Hope; the two voices wrestle, often in canon, with the idea of the Resurrection as Fear throws up doubts in spite of the assurance of Hope that the Saviour is indeed risen:



(4)

1...S.35
2...S.35/2; Pirro, op. cit., p. 222
3...S.66
4...S.66/4

Fear seems almost to win this colloquy; in spite of all the reassurance Hope can offer, Fear still cries out, at the close of the recitative:

Ich glaube, aber hilf mir Schwachen... (1)

and in the following duet, Fear still matches every assurance of Hope with an equal doubt remaining:

Ich fürchte {zwar / nicht} des Grabes Finsternissen
Und {klagete / hoffete} mein Heil sei {nun / nicht} entrissen!.. (2)

A similar duet (3) appears in the Cantata for the first Sunday of the year in 1733: Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid, (4) in which the soprano personifies the difficulties and weakness of man by singing stanzas of hymns in which the troubles of man's life are sung --- but the bass soloist, counselling patience, answers the worries of the soul line for line with words of hope:

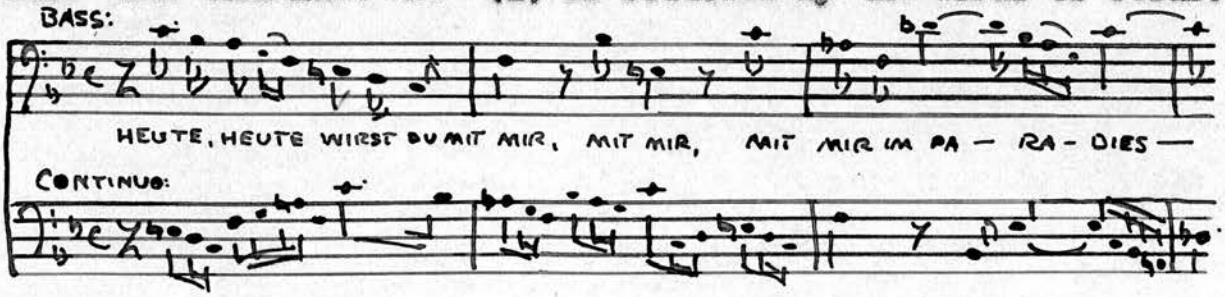
Soprano: ACH GOTT, WIE MANCHES HERZELEID
Bass: Nur Geduld, mein Herze, Geduld!
S: BEGEGNET MIR ZU DIESER ZEIT
B: Es ist eine böse Zeit
S: DER SCHMALE WEG IST TRÜBSALSVOLL
B: Doch der Gang zur Seligkeit
S: DEN ICH ZUM HIMMEL WANDERN SOLL.
B: Führt zur Freude nach dem Schmerze. (5)

In the closing duet, the counsel of patient hope wins in the end:

S: ICH HAB' VOR MIR EIN SCHWERE REIS'
B: Nur getrost, ihr Herzen.
S: ZU DIR, INS HIMMELS PARADEIS.
B: Hier ist Angst, dort Herrlichkeit!
S: DA IST MEIN RECHTES VATERLAND,
B: Und die Freude jener Zeit
Überwieget alle Schmerzen.
S: DARAN DU DEIN BLUT HAST GEWANDT.
B: Nur getrost, nur getrost:
Hier ist Angst, dort Herrlichkeit! (6)

1...Quoting, of course, St Mark 9:24
2...s.66/5
3...The best-known of the fear-hope dialogs is O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort. (S.60)
4...S.58
5...S.58/1; the hymn-stanza, indicated by upper-case letters, is the first stanza of Martin Möller's hymn.
6...S.58/5; the hymn is Martin Behm's O Jesu Christ.

This closing vision of the majesty of the proper Fatherland of the soul is typical of all Bach has to say about the difficulties of man's way through life. Trouble is never unrelieved; perplexities are always finally resolved by relating them to God. Even the mortality of man, though it is presented as evidence of the sin and frailty of unaided humanity, is not shown with a sense of finality; it is always placed over against the assurance of eternal life in Christ. The desperate and urgent needs of man are shown only in relation to God's ability to supply them. The reminder of mortality in the Actus Tragicus, that 'man thou must die' (1) is followed by the words of Jesus:



(2)

The Arnstadt Easter Cantata, Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen (3) sums up the mortality of man and places it in right perspective in a few words of the soprano recitative:

...Ein Mensch der kann zwar sterben,
Gott aber lebet immerdar... (4)

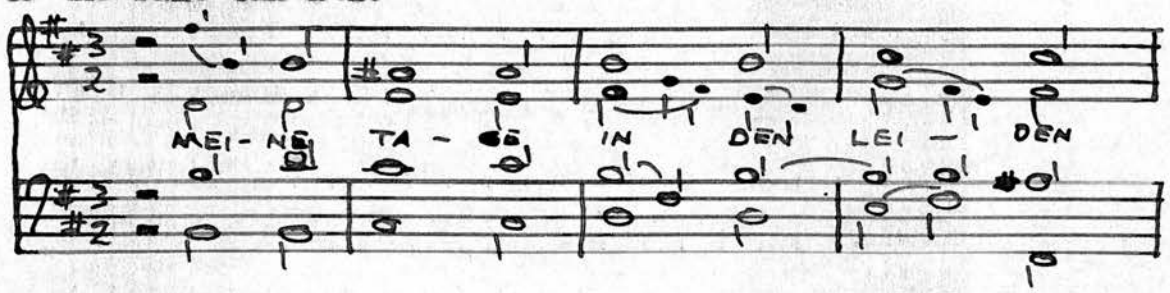
Throughout the Cantatas, the sinfulness and weakness of man is put into proper perspective; Bach's texts never attribute to man any sense of goodness of his own, but he never leaves him hopeless. The answer to his problem and the source of his goodness are kept always in sight. So in Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich (5)

1...S.106/2
2...S.106/3
3...S.15
4...S.15/2
5...S.150

the soprano aria concludes with the words:

> ...Ob Unfall schlägt den treuen Knecht,
> Recht ist und bleibet ewig recht. (1)

The heavy burden of the opening line of the concluding chorus to the same Cantata:



(2)

is answered by the line which follows:

> ...endet Gott dennoch zu Freuden! (3)

The two Cantatas for Quinquagesima (4) relate the sinfulness and need of man's pride to the approaching Lenten season, especially in the bass recitative of Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe:

> ...Fleisch und Blut verstehet ganz und gar,
> Nebst deinem Jüngern nicht, was das gesaget war.
> Es sehnt sich nach der Welt... (5)

The power of the world, symbolic of all that detracts from God, is strongly felt, but its power is not absolute nor final, and the closing petition is in the words of Elisabeth Creutziger's chorale:

> Ertödt' uns durch dein Güte,
> Erweck' uns durch dein Gnad';
> Den alten Menschen kränke,
> Dass der neu' leben mag
> Wohl hie auf dieser Erden,
> Den Sinn und all' Begehrden
> Und G'danken han zu dir. (6)

1...S.150/2
2...S.150/7, bars #5-8
3...ibid., following the bars quoted above
4...S.22 and S.23
5...S.22/3
6...S.22/5

By a kind of back-handed reference, the soprano recitative in the Cantata for the dedication of the Störmthal organ tells of the inconsequence of man's pride and strength even while it praises God for what had been accomplished in Störmthal by those who had restored the Church there:

> ...Es schleicht sich Eitelkeit allhier
> an allen Enden ein...
> Hier wirkt nichts Menschenkraft... (1)

The later duet recitative between bass and soprano gives us the most complete picture of the dichotomy between man and God to be found in any of Bach's texts:

> Bass: Kann wohl ein Mensch zu Gott gen Himmel steigen?
> Soprano: Der Glaube kann der Schöpfer zu ihn neigen.
> B: Er ist oft ein zu schwaches Band.
> S: Gott führet selbst und stärkt des Glaubens Hand,
> den Fürsatz zu erreichen.
> B: Wie aber, wenn des Fleisches Schwachheit wollte
> weichen?
> S: Des Höchsten Kraft wird mächtig in den Schwachen.
> B: Die Welt wird sie verlachen.
> S: Wer Gottes Huld besitzt, verachtet solchen Spott...

Even this debate is resolved in a duet between the two voices:

> S & B: Da er den Glauben nun belohnt
> Und bei uns wohnt,
> Bei uns als seinen Kindern,
> So kann die Welt und Sterblichkeit
> Die Freude nicht verhindern. (2)

The Cantata for the first Sunday of the New Year, Schau', lieber Gott, wie meine Feind', (3) dramatises the anxiety of sinful man in lurid terms:

> ...Ich wohne hier bei lauter Löwen und bei Drachen,
> und diese wollen mir durch Wuth und Grimmigkeit
> in kurzer Zeit den Garaus völlig machen. (4)

Even after the bass assures him with the confident quotation of
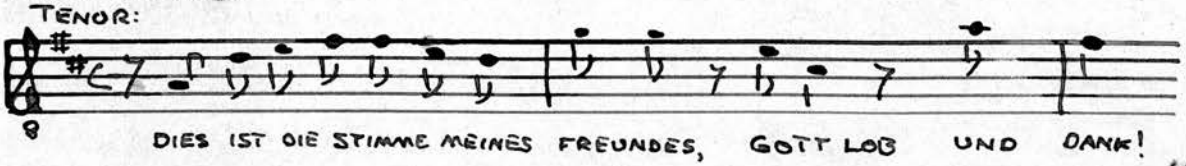
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1...S.194/4
2...S.194/9
3...S.153
4...S.153/2

"be not afraid", from Isaiah 41:10, the soul still calls for help --- but at the last, the alto can sing in an aria that no matter what may be the difficulties of life, its end is heaven:

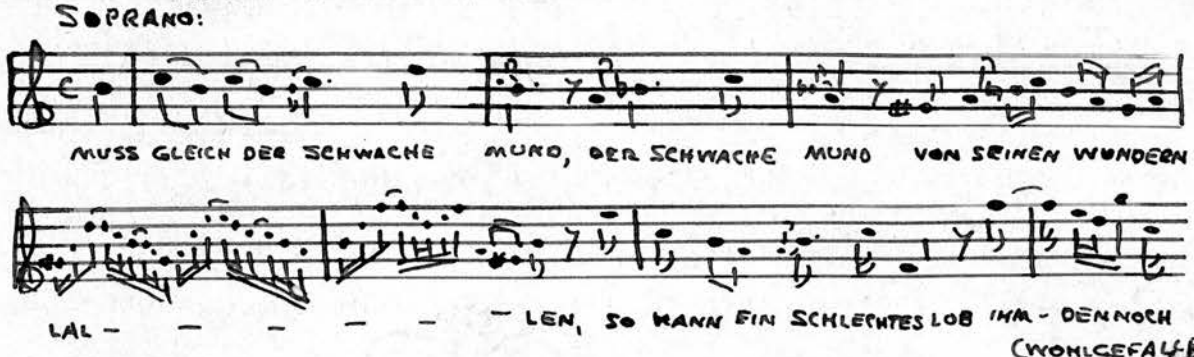
Soll ich meinen Lebenslauf
unter Kreuz und Trübsal führen,
Hört es doch im Himmel auf... (1)

The sins of man are pictorially represented as "thick clouds" in the alto aria of the Cantata for the first Sunday after the Epiphany, Mein liebster Jesu ist verloren; (2) but at the sound of Jesus' voice the clouds are broken and faith once more becomes strong:



(3)

However weak and sinful man may be, it is always possible for him to sing his praise to God:



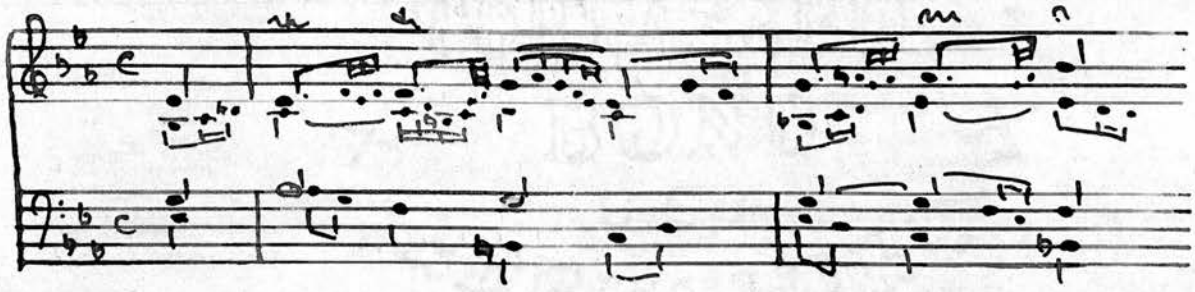
(4)

The awareness man has of the depth of his sin leads him to plead for mercy. The call to God for forgiveness has been heard at many places in the Cantatas; it is heard with still
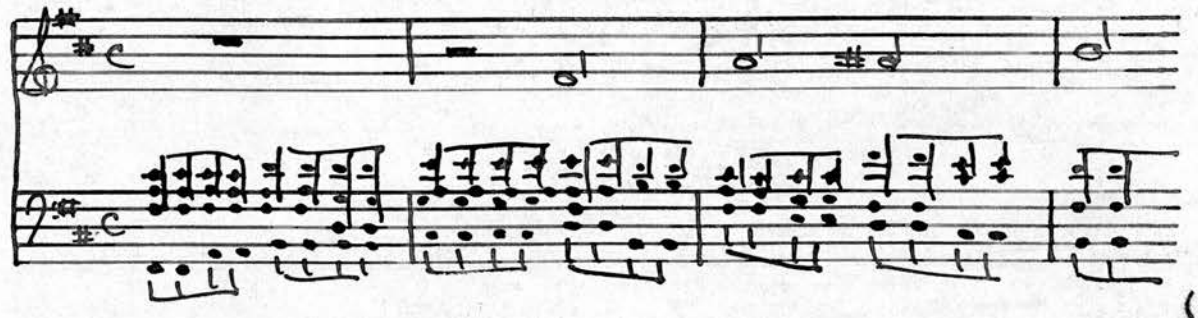
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1...S.153/8; this Cantata provides Pirro with numerous illustrations to sustain his claim that dissonance is Bach's means of showing disturbance and anxiety, while the consonant arpeggio of a major chord expresses the relief of a profound sense of joy. (op. cit., pp. 52, 62, 267)
2...S.154
3...S.154/6
4...S.51/2, bars #9-15

greater clarity in some of the chorale-preludes for organ, especially in O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross:
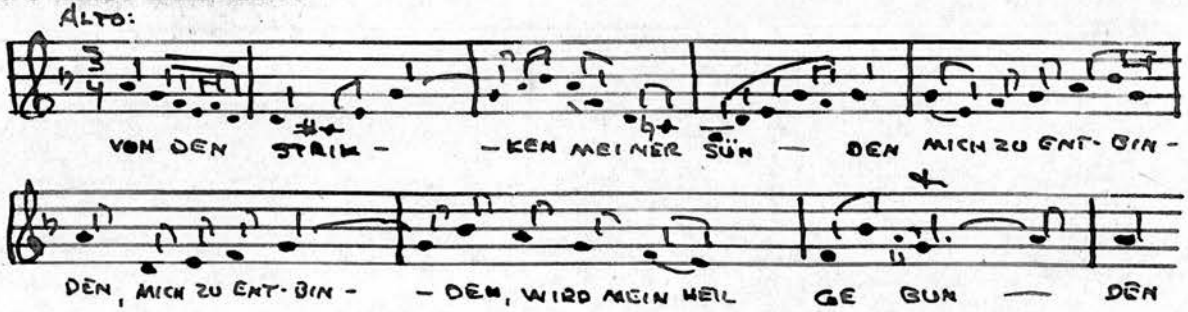


(1)

and in Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott:



(2)

The Passions reflect the depth of man's sin as they point out the cause of Jesus' Passion; the alto sings in an aria in the St John Passion:



(3)

and the opening chorus of the St Matthew Passion eloquently sums up in a few words the purpose of it all:
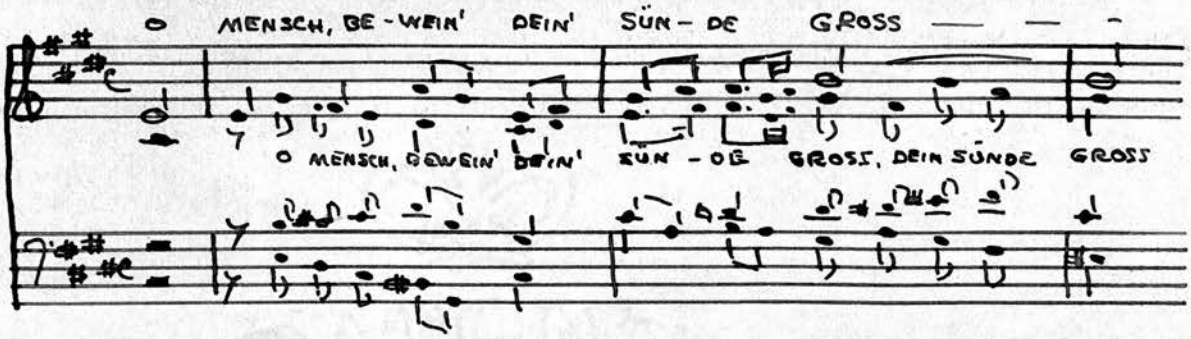
1...S.622, in the Orgelbüchlein
2...S.721, one of the Miscellaneous Chorale-preludes; others which might be cited are S.742, S.743 and S.745, though Schmieder in listing them casts doubt upon their authenticity.
3...S.245/11, bars #9-17

Was?
  Seht die Geduld
Wohin?
  Auf unsre Schuld... (1)

Later in the same Passion the depth of human sin is shown in the alto aria:

Buss und Reu
Knirscht das Sündenherz entzwei. (2)

The first part of the Passion concludes with the chorale:



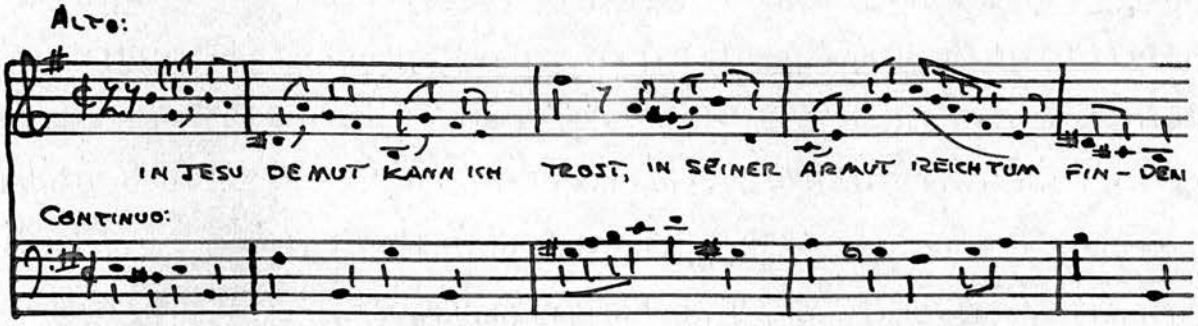
(3)

Bach does not dwell upon man's frailty and sin, but directs attention to it only in order to be able to show the way to relief from its burden. The Cantata for the third day of Christmas, Süsser Trost, mein Jesu kommt, (4) is aware of the gulf separating man from God, but it shows how in the Incarnation God has overcome the gulf of that separation, restored fellowship between himself and man, and transformed the liabilities of human life into real values:

...O wundervolle That!
Gott wird ein Mensch und will auf Erden
Noch niedriger als wir und noch viel ärmer werden. (5)

The alto aria which follows sums up the sense of confidence man finds because God has done this in the Incarnation:

1...From the opening chorus of the St Matthew Passion, S.244/1.
2...S.244/10
3...S.244/35, bars #17-19
4...S.151
5...From the recitative for bass, S.151/2.



(1)
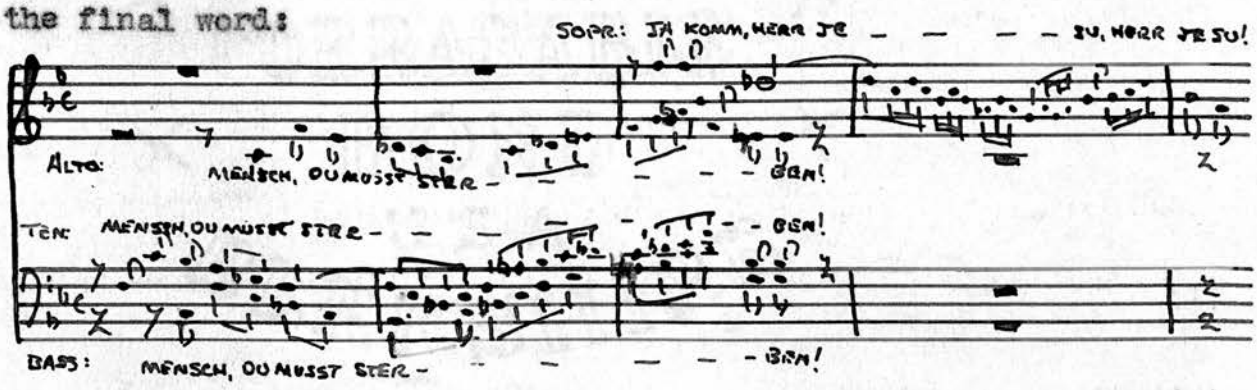
It is to accomplish this deliverance and transformation that Christ came; and Bach's Lutheran faith is directly centered in him through whom God revealed himself to man and by whom God has redeemed man. The survey of Bach's works dealing with the person of Christ which follows, while it is only selective, will help to cast some light on our understanding of Bach's faith, although not even a complete study of every reference Bach made to Jesus would give us a final and conclusive answer to the puzzle: how much of a "pietist" was Bach? Unquestionably these examples will show us an intimately personal attitude on the part of the composer toward Jesus as his Saviour --- but this alone cannot make a man "pietist". The mystical spirit of Paul Gerhardt, for example, was similar in expression but unmistakably orthodox in pattern; and at many points Bach's faith appears very like that of Gerhardt.

Throughout Bach's music Christ is shown as Redeemer; the response of the individual who has received this redemption is always being presented as one of hope or, when assured, of sublime happiness and joy. In the very early Actus tragicus, (2) the soprano resolves the troubled dilemma of humanity which is
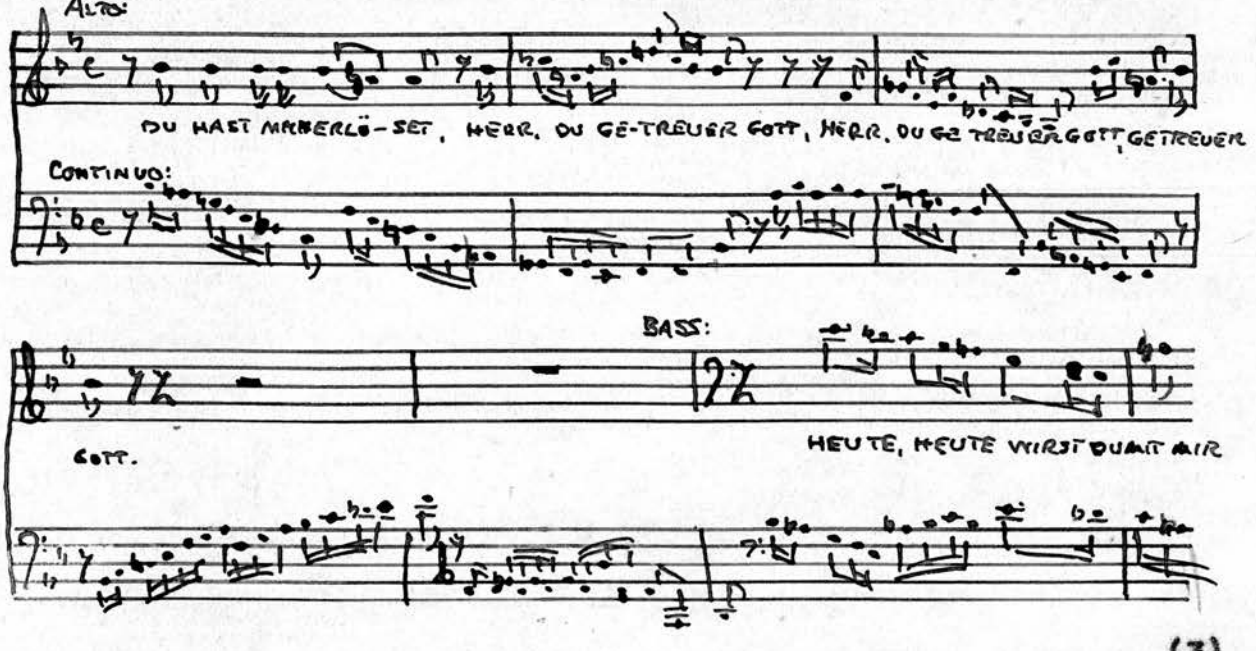
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1...S.151/3
2...S.106

being sung by the other voices of the chorus (1) with the rapturous cry "Ja komm, Herr Jesu" --- and it is this cry which is the final word:



(2)

Bach sees to it that the cry is answered; in the alto-bass duet which follows, the soul (alto) sings "Du hast mich erlöset" and the music subtly changes as the bass enters, singing the words of Jesus:



(3)

The conclusion of this Cantata marks with majesty the accomplishment of this redemption, as a Gloria is sung to the tune

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1...cf. above, pp. 191f., 238
2...S.106/2, bars #180-5
3...S.106/3, bars #20-26; Pirro, commenting on this passage, points out how it is the force of musical expression alone which effects the transformation "...de la tendresse grave jusqu'à l'enthousiasme contemplatif." (op. cit., pp. 256f.)

"In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr" --- a reminder at the conclusion that the three persons of the Godhead are not finally separable, and although special praise is sung to Christ who is the Redeemer, he is seen in relation to the other members of the Trinity.

The purpose of the Incarnation is shown especially in Bach's Cantata settings of the Christmas music, and most notably in the Christmas Oratorio. (1) In this catena of musical settings of the Christmas story, the Nativity narrative is told by recitatives and the chorus sings its praise in the opening choruses of parts #1, 3, 4, 5 and 6; also in the "Ehre sei Gott" chorus of part #2. The arias interspersed throughout add the observant comment of the individual believer, often in tenderly intimate terms; and the chorale-stanzas give opportunity for the Gemeinde (2) to relate its faith. There is ample room in the Christmas Oratorio to find expressions which seem very close indeed to the language of Pietism. The relation of the individual to the infant Redeemer is so close that it can be expressed in the lullaby-like alto aria:

Schlafe, mein Liebster,
Geniesse der Ruh',
Wache nach diesem für Aller Gedeihen!
Labe die Brust,
Empfinde die Lust,
Wo wir unser Herz erfreuen. (3)

This intimate relation of the believer to the Saviour is further shown in the soprano-bass duet in the fourth part of the oratorio:
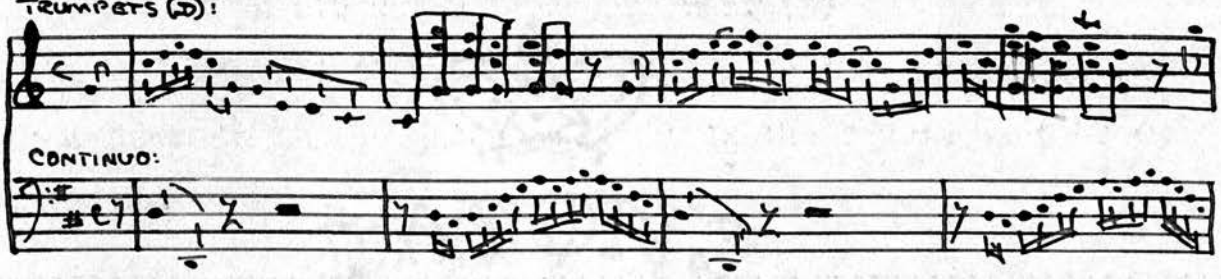
1...S.248
2...Usually, of course, now represented by the chorus.
3...S.248/19

Bass: Immanuel, o süsses Wort!
Mein Jesus heisst mein Hirt,
Mein Jesus heisst mein Leben.
Mein Jesus hat sich mir ergeben,
Mein Jesus soll mir immerfort
vor meinen Augen schweben;
Mein Jesus heisset meine Lust,
Mein Jesus labet Herz und Brust.
Soprano: Jesu du, mein liebstes Leben,
B: Komm! ich will dich mit Lust umfassen,
S: Meiner Seelen Bräutigam,
B: Mein Herze soll dich nimmer lassen,
S: Der du dich für mich gegeben
B: Ach! so nimm mich zu dir!
S: An des bittern Kreuzes Stamm!
B: Auch in dem Sterben
Sollst du mir das Allerliebste sein,
In Not, Gefahr und Ungemach
Seh' ich dir sehnlichst nach... (1)
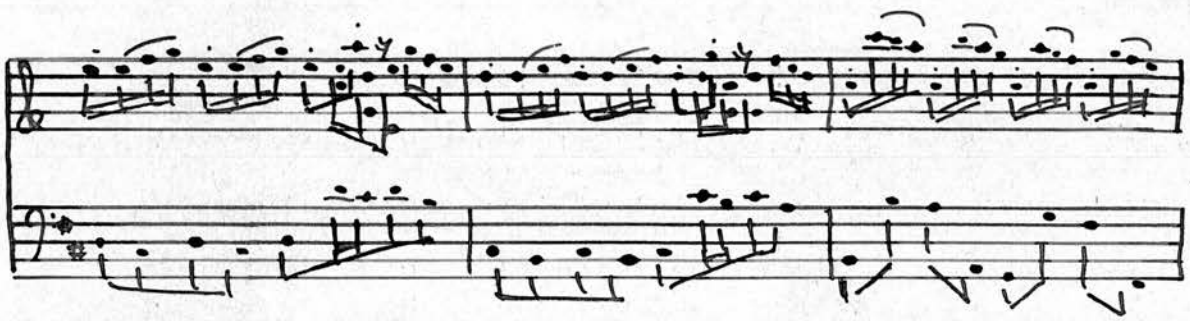
Thus even while celebrating the coming of the infant Saviour, the end of his life is kept in view; it is because this life led even to the Cross that he is able to claim and to keep the affection of the believer through all difficulty and hardship. The chorales of the Christmas Oratorio also relate the Nativity to the believer, as in the close of the first part; the section for Christmas Day concludes as the chorus sings:

Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein!
Mach' dir ein rein sanft Bettelein,
Zu ruhn in meines Herzens Schrein,
Dass ich nimmer vergesse dein. (2)

But the ultimate purpose of the Incarnation is shown in the final chorus of the sixth part, in which trumpets lead the orchestra in great jubilation at the Epiphany of Christ:



1...S.248/38
2...S.248/9

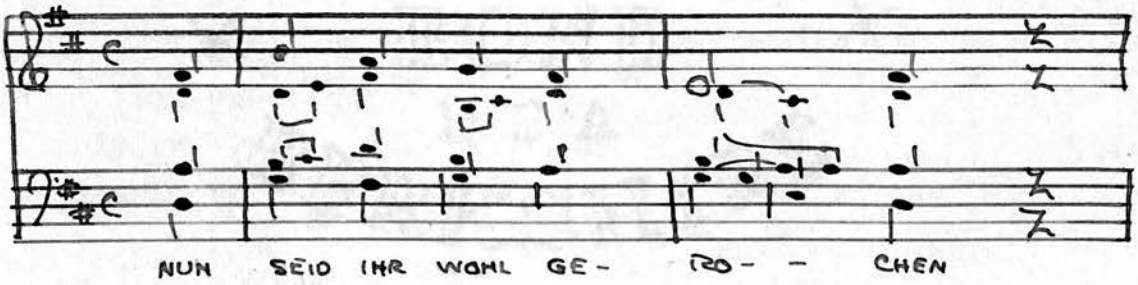


(1)

Meanwhile, the voices of the chorus are singing what has been accomplished by God in Christ:

Nun seid ihr wohl gerochen
An eurer Feinde Schar,
Denn Christus hat zerbrochen
Was euch zuwider war;
Tod, Teufel, Sünd' und Hölle
Sind ganz und gar geschwächt,
Bei Gott hat seine Stelle
Das menschliche Geschlecht. (2)

Here the whole work of redemption is summed up: death, the devil, sin and hell are overcome completely, their power over man broken by him whose coming the oratorio was written to welcome; and by this action mankind has been restored to fellowship with God. In this one chorus Bach sums up the whole doctrine of redemption --- for through all the exultation of the orchestra, the music to which these words are sung is that of the Passion Chorale:
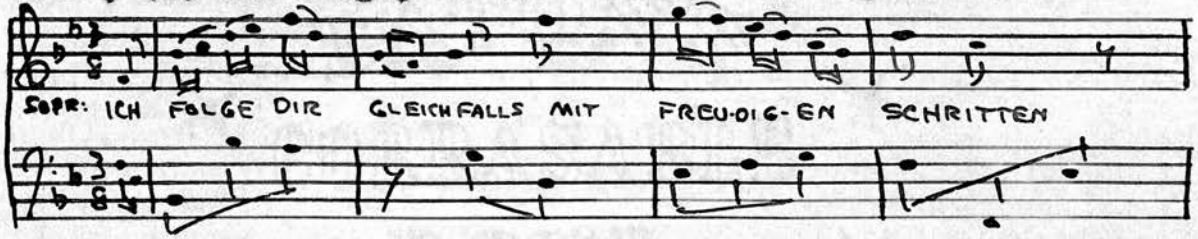


(3)

1...The opening music (trumpet parts and continuo only) of S.248/64.
2...The words of S.248/64; they are the concluding stanza of Georg Werner's hymn "Ihr Christen auserkoren".
3...The opening phrase of the music of the chorale in its Christmas Oratorio setting.

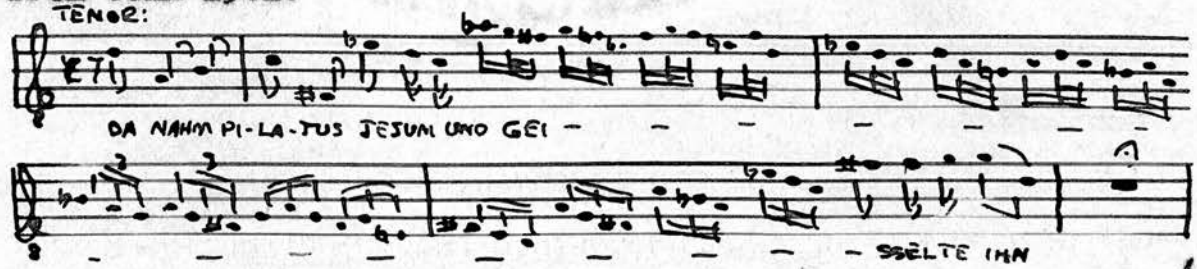
The chorale of Passiontide, sung at the close of the Christmas observance, (1) helps to show that the crib and the cross are both parts of God's redemptive process in Christ.

Like the Christmas Oratorio, the Passions help to show the relevance of the Biblical narrative of redemption to the present believer's need by means of their reflective arias and chorales. In the St John Passion, the believer identifies himself with the "other disciple" who followed Jesus along with Peter, (2) and sings, in the voice of the soprano aria:



(3)

The scourging of Jesus, shown as the Evangelist sings the phrase from John 19:1:



(4)

draws forth the comment, in the bass arioso:
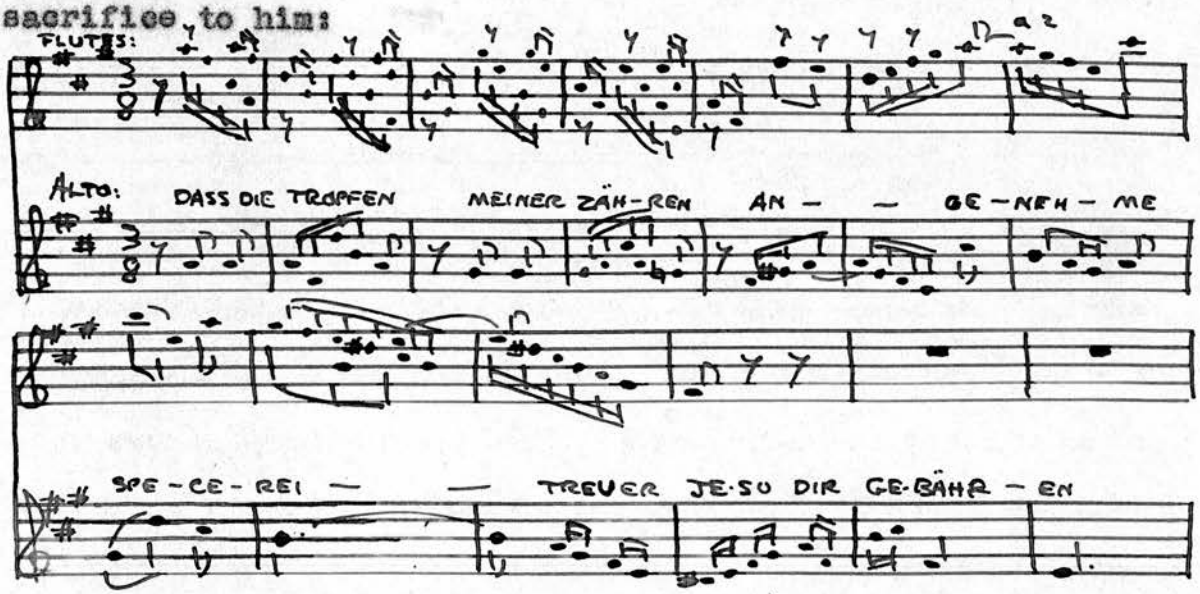
> Betrachte, meine Seel', mit ängstlichem Vergnügen,
> Mit bitt'rer Lust und halb beklemmt von Herzen,
> Dein höchstes Gut in Jesu Schmerzen... (5)

The close and tender relation of the believer to the Saviour is reflected in the closing chorus:

1...As, in S.248/5, it had also been sung at the beginning of the Oratorio: "Wie soll ich dich empfangen".
2...St John 18:15a; S.245/12
3...S.245/13
4...St John 19:1; S.245/30
5...S.245/31

Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine,
Die ich nun weiter nicht beweine,
Ruht wohl, und bringt auch mich zur Ruh'.
  Das Grab, so euch bestimmet ist,
  Und ferner keine Not umschliesst,
  Macht mir den Himmel auf,
  Und schliesst die Hölle zu. (1)

In the St Matthew Passion, the narrative of Jesus' gratitude for the woman's gift of the alabaster box of precious ointment leads to the aria "Buss und Reu", in which the individual's tears of penitence are offered as the present worshipper's sacrifice to him:



(2)

Later, when Peter and all the disciples join in protestation of their loyalty to Jesus, the chorale-stanza affirms the congregation's common cause with the disciples:

Ich will hier bei dir stehen;
Verachte mich doch nicht!
Von dir will ich nicht gehen,
Wenn dir dein Herze bricht... (3)

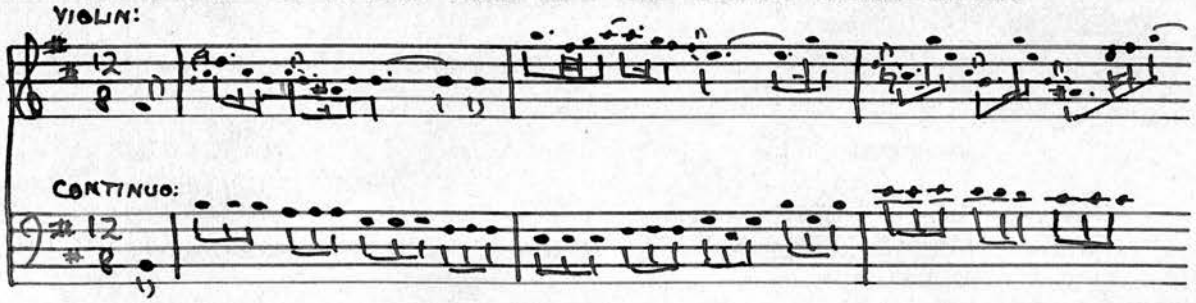
The first part of the St Matthew Passion closes on a note of

1...S.245/67; these words are sung, as we have noted above on p. 36, to music adapted from a "secular" original, the Rondeau from the Overture in B minor, S.1067.
2...From bar #69 of S.244/10
3...S.244/24

grief for the sinfulness of man which makes necessary the loving sacrifice of the Cross:

O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross,
Darum Christus sein's Vaters Schoos
Küssert, und kam auf Erden.
  Von einen Jungfrau rein und zart
  Für uns er hie geboren ward,
  Er wollt' der Mittler werden.
Den'n Toten er das Leben gab,
Und legt' dabei all' Krankheit ab,
Bis sich die Zeit herdrange
  Dass er für uns geopfert würd',
  Trüg' unsrer Sünden schwere Bürd',
  Wohl an dem Kreuze lange. (1)

The violin obbligato to the alto aria "Erbarme dich" is perhaps even more expressive of the sinful soul's contrition when facing the sacrifice of Jesus than are the words themselves:
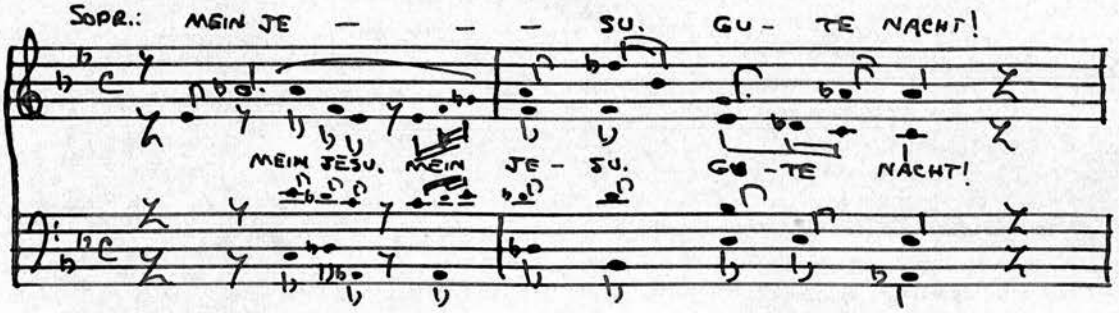


(2)

The remorse of Peter, whose realisation of his own denial of Jesus has just been told in the preceding recitative, seems to fill this entire aria --- but it is the individual lamenting his <u>own</u> sin, not just an objective picture of Peter confronting Jesus. So too, reflection upon the repentant last moment of Judas leads the soul to sing "Gebt <u>mir</u> meinen Jesum wieder". (3) And when Pilate asks "What evil hath he done?" the soprano solo, singing in behalf of each individual believer, sums up all of Jesus' activity:

1...S.244/35
2...The opening bars of the obbligato in S.244/47.
3...S.244/51

Er hat uns allen wohl getan.
Den Blinden gab er das Gesicht,
Die Lahmen macht' er gehend;
Er sagt' uns seines Vaters Wort,
Er trieb die Teufel fort;
Betrübte hat er aufgericht't;
Er nahm die Sünder auf und an;
Sonst hat mein Jesus nichts getan. (1)

The intensity of the personal relation between the Redeemer and the believer is nowhere shown more surely than in the penultimate chorus of the St Matthew Passion; as the bass, tenor, alto and soprano soloists comment in turn on the entombment, the voices of the chorus quietly sing:
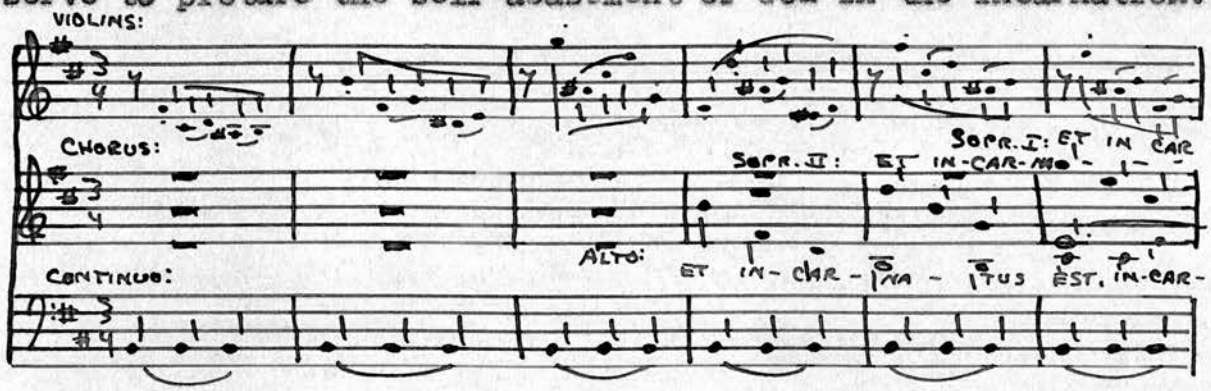


(2)

The B minor Mass naturally gives us opportunity to examine Bach's musical treatment of the second person of the Trinity. We have seen (3) how Bach used a duet of equal voices in canon to indicate the unity of Christ with the Father in the Domine Deus of the Mass. The following chorus, Qui tollis peccata mundi, conveys (like the Agnus Dei for alto solo) by its serenity of musical expression the ideas of supplication, of contrition, and of entreaty for the Saviour's mercy. In the Credo of the Mass, the choruses Et incarnatus est and the Crucifixus which follows, by their always downward-inclining tone lines
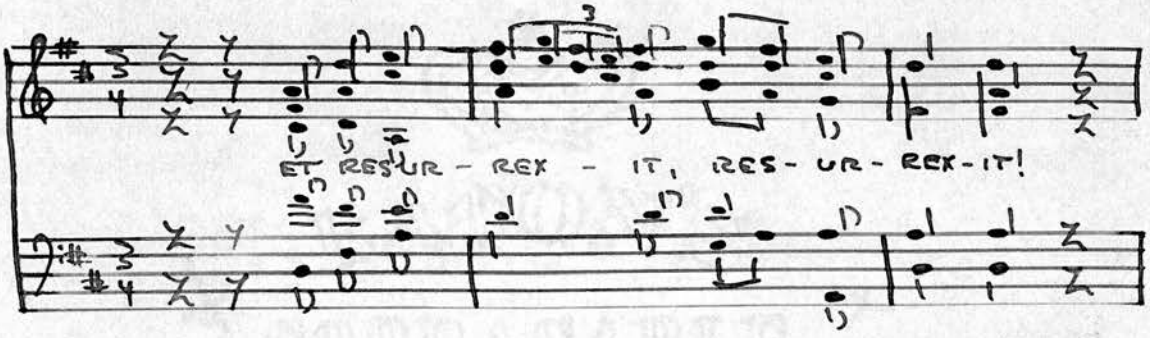
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1...S.244/57
2...Bars #2 and 3 of S.244/77; with each repetition of this phrase following the successive solo recitatives, the entry "Mein Jesu..." is given to a different voice in the chorus.
3...Above, p. 208

serve to picture the self-abasement of God in the Incarnation:



(1)

but immediately following the music of crucifixion, suffering and burial, the chorus bursts into a great upward shout:



(2)

Among the organ works, the Orgelbüchlein is especially rich in examples of musical illustration of the meaning of Christ to the composer. Of the 45 chorales actually completed in this collection (3) fourteen have to do directly with the Advent and the Nativity, seven with the Passion and six more with the Resurrection. The entire plan of the Orgelbüchlein is a demonstration of Bach's concern with a Christocentric expression of the faith. Following the pattern of the Liturgi-

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1...The opening of S.232/15
2...The opening of S.232/17
3...See Appendix E below for a comparison of the projected Orgelbüchlein with the list of chorale-preludes which Bach actually completed for this collection.

cal Year, which itself is Christocentric, it begins with Advent and the Nativity; these chorales and those having to do with the Passion and Resurrection are basic to faith, and emphasise the entire purpose of redemption. It was these chorales to which Bach first directed his attention, and three out of four preludes in the completed collection have to do either with the coming of Jesus at Christmas or with his sacrifice and its climax at Easter. (1)

It is only natural, however, that Christ should dominate the chorale-preludes as he does. We have seen in considering the development of the chorale (2) that it was a specifically and essentially Christian faith which was being sung by Lutheran congregations. Organ compositions based upon the hymns of the Lutheran church would have to deal very largely with the figure of Christ, because Christ was at the very centre of the faith which they sang --- of the faith which was Bach's own. Not in the Orgelbüchlein alone, though especially there, the song of redemption in Christ is being sung in the chorale-preludes. It is sung either in acknowledging Christ as the source of man's redemption or in pleading to him for help from the depths of man's need --- implicitly in virtually every one of the chorales, and explicitly in a large number. This is illustrated well in the "Catechism" chorale-preludes on Christe, aller Welt Trost.(3) In Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam (4) the Lutheran doctrine

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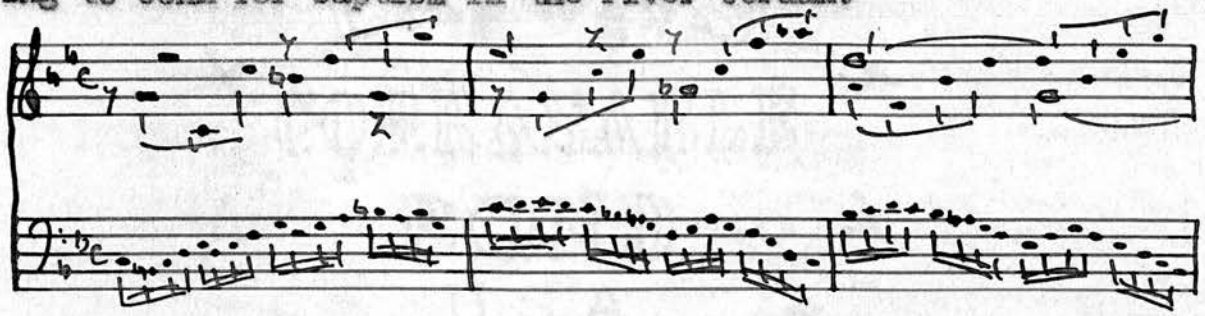
1...Bach completed all the Advent and Easter chorales in his projected collection; among the Christmas chorales, only "Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron" was left uncompleted. Six planned chorales for the Passion section were not finished, but seven Passion chorales were completed for the present collection.

2...See above, pp. 55ff.

3...S.670; S. 673

4...S.684; S. 685

of Baptism is illustrated by the picture of Christ himself coming to John for baptism in the river Jordan:



(1)

It is in the Communion chorale on Jesus Christus unser Heiland (2) that Schweitzer sees (with perhaps too literal and pictorial an eye) the music as portraying the difficulty of belief:

> "...as if some one were standing on a rolling ship and planting his feet wide apart in order to keep a firm footing." (3)

But in similar vein it is not difficult, and it seems more probable, to see in this figure a musical picture of Jesus as reconciling man to God, as the notes of the figure are brought more closely together:
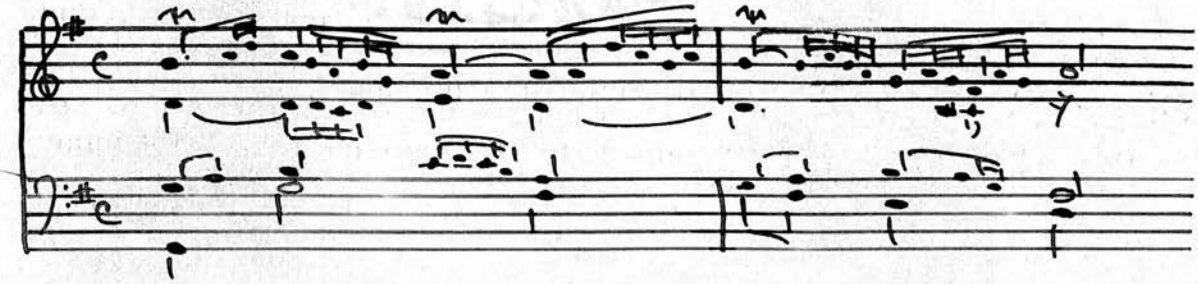


(4)

In the Kirnberger collection of organ chorale-preludes and also among the preludes classified by Schmieder and others as "miscellaneous", a large proportion of the music deals with hymns about Christ. Many of them let the organ speak in the
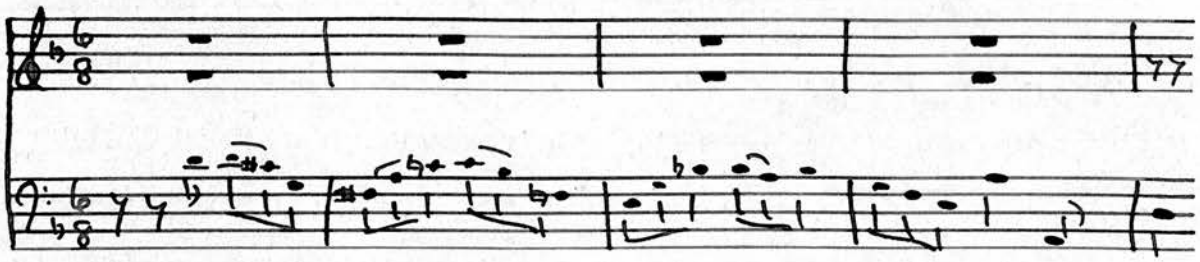
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1...The opening of S.684
2...S.688
3...Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 61
4...The opening of S.688

intimately personal way akin to Pietism about Jesus and the believer's relation to him. There are no fewer than six settings of Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier (1), among which S.731 is the most noteworthy in its musical tenderness:



(2)

Of Jesu, meine Freude there are four organ settings listed in Schmieder's index. (3) But although the typical response of the believer to Jesus in most of these hymns is one of joy, the depth of the Passion is never lost from sight. In the "Schübler" prelude on the Magnificat (4) the heavy mood of the music seems a presentiment of the Passion, even when the melody sings "My soul doth magnify the Lord."



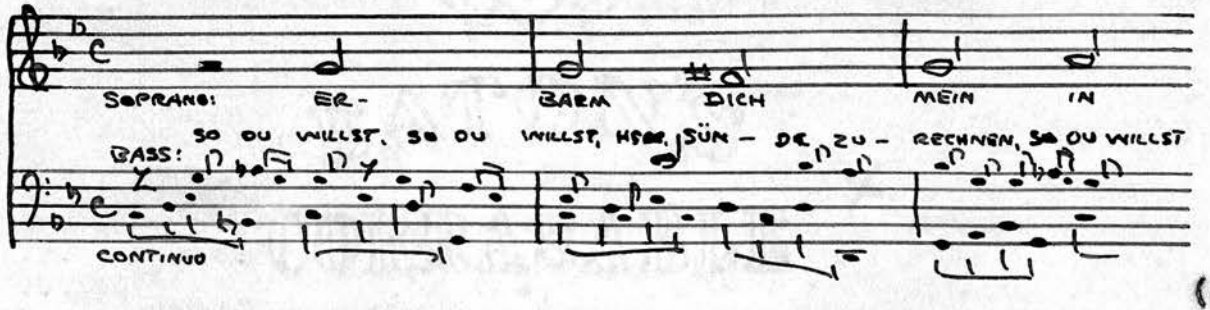
(5)

1...S.633; S.634; S.706; S.730; S.731; S.754
2...The opening of S.731
3...S.610; S.713; S.713a; S.753
4...S.648
5...The opening of S.648; this music, like all but one of the other preludes in the "Schübler" collection, is an arrangement from a Cantata movement; in this case it is the alto-tenor duet from S.10 --- but it is the phrase "Er denket die Barmherzigkeit", as sung by the alto and tenor there (S.10/5), which seems to Bach to sum up the whole depth of Mary's hymn of praise. It is almost as if she could foretell God's mercy even to the Passion at the moment of her visitation.

A Lutheran believer like Bach would find his greatest and truest joy in yielding his faith to God in trust because he knows Christ to be his redeemer. Musical comment on this sense of joy is found most richly in the Cantatas, especially those written for Christmastide and the Epiphany, when the idea of the Incarnation and its purpose is most central. But Bach found opportunity to express other aspects of this joy in Cantatas for Quinquagesima, where he could present it in relation to the approaching Passion; (1) Eastertide and Pentecost gave him a place to deal with the meaning of the risen Lord to the present believer; and even during the long season after Trinity reference frequently comes in the Cantatas to the Redemption which Christ had brought, or to man's happiness in being able to see in this redemption the answer to his deepest problems. Thus in Aus der Tiefe rufe ich, Herr, zu dir (2) the sinner's cry from Psalm 130, sung by the chorus, is followed by a call of trust in the bass:

> So du willst, Herr, Sünde zurechnen, Herr, wer wird bestehen; denn bei dir ist die Vergebung, dass man dich fürchte. (3)

The assurance follows, as the soprano sings a stanza of Ringwaldt's hymn "Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut":



(4)

1...Because there was no large-scale music in the Leipzig Churches during Lent, Bach's only opportunity to deal with the Passion in Cantatas was on the Sunday preceding the penitential season itself; the Passions were written of course for Good Friday.

2...S.131

3...Psalm 130:3f.; it forms the text of S.131/2.

4...From bar #104 of S.131/2

The effect upon the believer of yielding himself in trust to this redeeming goodness is shown in a recitative from the Cantata Geist und Seele wird verwirret. (1) Immediately following the opening aria, in which man's inability to approach God himself had been sung, (2) the believer finds himself facing with astonishment the mighty works of Jesus:

> ...Betracht' ich dich, du thæurer Gottessohn, so flieht Vernunft, und auch Verstand davon. Du machst es eben, dass sonst ein Wunderwerk vor dir was Schlechtes ist. Du bist dem Namen, Thun und Amte nach erst wunderreich, dir ist kein Wunderding auf dieser Erde gleich. Den Tauben giebst du das Gehör, den Stummen ihre Sprache wieder; ja, was noch mehr, du öffnest auf ein Wort die blinden Augenlæder. Dies, dies sind Wunderwerke, und ihre Stärke ist auch der Engel Chor nicht mächtig auszusprechen. (3)

The attitude of the believer toward Christ is given notable treatment in two of the Motetts. (4) In Komm, Jesu, komm! (5) the poem of Paul Thymich is at once a plea for release from the trials of life and an acknowledgement that this release can be found only in Jesus:

> ...Der saure Weg wird mir zu schwer!
> Komm, komm, ich will mich dir ergeben,
> Du bist die rechte Weg, die Wahrheit und das Leben. (6)

The second stanza closes the Motett with the assurance that

> ...Jesus ist und bleibt der wahre Weg zum Leben. (7)

In Jesu, meine Freude (8) the personal and often tender text of Johann Franck is set against St Paul's passage concerning man's

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1...S.35
2...cf. above, p. 222
3...S.35/3
4...It must be borne in mind that these Motetts were probably written for funeral occasions; but the faith which they proclaim is strong and certain in its comfort because it is a faith in Christ.
5...S.229
6...The text of the central part of S.229
7...ibid., the closing words
8...S.227

being in Christ and Christ in him (from the eighth chapter of Romans); the alternate stanzas of the hymn and verses from St Paul serve as commentary to one another. The concluding stanzas, which follow, will serve to illustrate the plan of the entire Motett:

So aber Christus in euch ist, so ist der Leib zwar todt um der Sünde willen; der Geist aber ist das Leben um der Gerechtigkeit willen. (1)

Gute Nacht, o Wesen,
Das die Welt erlesen,
Mir gefällst du nicht!
Gute Nacht, ihr Sünden,
Bleibet weit dahinten,
Kommt nicht mehr an's Licht!
Gute Nacht, du Stolz und Pracht,
Dir sei ganz, du Lasterleben,
Gute Nacht gegeben! (2)

So nun der Geist dess, den Jesus von den Todten auferwecket hat, in euch wohnet; so wird auch derselbige, der Christus von den Todten auferwecket hat, eure sterblichen Leiber lebendig machen, um dess willen, dass sein Geist in euch wohnet. (3)

Weicht, ihr Trauergeister,
Denn mein Freudenmeister,
Jesus, tritt herein.
Denen, die Gott lieben,
Muss auch ihr Betrüben
Lauter Zucker sein.
Duld' ich schon hier Spott und Hohn,
Dennoch bleibst du auch im Leide,
Jesu, meine Freude. (4)

The personal, subjective attitude of the believer toward Jesus sung in the hymn, set against St Paul's objective description of the effect of belief bring to our attention in splendid music the fact that Christian faith in Jesus is neither exclusively objective nor entirely personal. Faith is both; and this Motett will stand as evidence that Bach was neither rigidly orthodox nor sentimentally pietistic in his faith. Such a text as this, with the music to which it was set, confirms Besch's judgement

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1...Romans 8:10
2...Stanza #5 of Franck's hymn
3...Romans 8:11
4...Stanza #6, the concluding stanza of Franck's hymn

that it is sufficient to call Bach simply a Christian, if a label must be found to describe his religious position. (1)

The purpose of the Incarnation is shown especially well in the opening chorus of the Cantata for the second day of the Christmas Festival, (2) Dazu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes. (3) In this Cantata, the text, though not from the Epistle used in the Leipzig Lectionary, provides a good summary of the purpose of Jesus' Nativity, as Lutherans in particular understood it:

> Dazu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes, dass er die Werke des Teufels zerstöre. (4)

The Johannine treatment of the text is continued in the tenor recitative which follows (5) --- a comment, as it were, upon St John 1:14:

> Das Wort wird Fleisch und wohnet in der Welt, das Licht der Welt bestrahlt den Kreis der Erden, der grosse Gottessohn verlässt des Himmelsthron, und seiner Majestät gefällt ein kleines Menschenkind zu werden. Bedenkt doch diesen Tausch, wer nur bedenken kann: der König wird ein Unterthan, der Herr erscheinet als ein Knecht und wird dem menschlichen Geschlecht, o süsses Wort in aller Ohren! zu Trost und Heil geboren. (6)

1...Besch, op. cit., pp. 196f.; cf. above, p. 134

2...In Leipzig the continuing observance of the Nativity took precedence over the fact that December 26 is also the day of St Stephen; cf. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 442f.
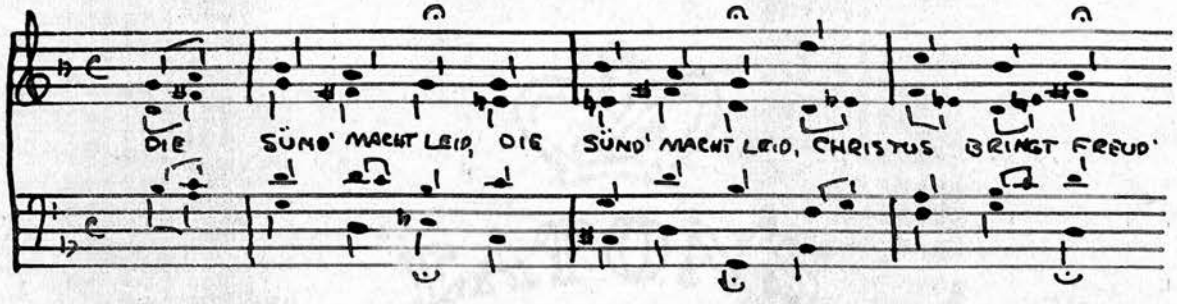
3...S.40

4...1 John 3:8b, the text of the opening chorus of S.40; the liturgical Epistle for the day was Titus 3:4-7.

5...The English translation of Spitta (volume 2, p. 383) mistakenly suggests that the chorus follows the recitative.

6...The text of S.40/2; Pirro sees in this recitative a good illustration of Bach's pictorial use of an ascending or descending tone-line: "Les idées d'humilité, de pauvreté, de bassesse inspirent également à Bach des motifs terminés par les notes graves, ou situés dans le registre profond de la voix..." He goes on to point out how the melody of the recitative falls at the words "ein kleines Menschenkind zu werden", rises at "der König" but drops at "wird ein Unterthan"; it rises once again on "der Herr", but then after a distinct break, as if to show the complete otherness of the transformation which the Incarnation wrought, falls once more at "erscheinet als ein Knecht." (Pirro, op. cit., p. 33)

The chorale which follows, a stanza of Füger's hymn, Wir Christenleut', contrasts the tragedy and need of unaided man with the joy brought by the coming of Christ:



(1)

For the following day (the third day of the Christmas festival is also the feast-day of St John the Evangelist) in 1723 Bach wrote Sehet, welch' eine Liebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget. (2) By its largely Johannine emphasis, this Cantata is directed more to the purpose of Christmas than to the exact events; (3) although it is the Father to whom praise is being sung, he is praised because in Jesus he has come to earth incarnate. (4)

On the following Epiphany, Bach's Cantata began with the prophecy of Isaiah, but as we have seen above, it goes on to show how it was in Jesus that this prophecy has been fulfilled. (5)

1...The opening of S.40/3; this serves to show how Bach made use of the harmonisation of the chorales to comment musically upon the text. Since the melody of the chorales was invariable, such changes as were made had to be in other voices. Pirro points out (op. cit., p. 136) how in this case a hymn which is essentially joyful is given a musical cloak of heaviness in this, the third stanza, when the words speak of the sorrow of sin --- and when the joy which Christ brings is mentioned, the music becomes brighter by a change from minor to major.

2...S.64

3...cf. above, p. 205

4...cf. Spitta, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 385f.; see also Addenda, p. 298b

5...S.65; cf. above, p. 192

Other Cantatas for Christmas and Eastertide serve further to illustrate Bach's understanding of the Incarnation as the vehicle of God's redemptive act, and of man's happiness in receiving deliverance from his trouble and sin. Thus, Christen ätzet diesen Tag (1) hails the Nativity as

> O sel'ger Tag! O ungemeines Heute, an dem das Heil der Welt, der Schilo, den Gott schon im Paradies den menschlichen Geschlecht verhiess, nunmehro sich vollkommen dargestellt, und suchet Israel von der Gefangenschaft und Sklavenketten des Satans zu erretten. . . (2)

And as we have seen, (3) this Cantata also proceeds to show Jesus as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy:

> Der Löw' aus Davids Stamm ist erschienen. . . (4)

The joy of the believer at the coming of Jesus is celebrated in the Cantata for the third day of Christmas, Süsser Trost, mein Jesu kommt. (5) We have noted above (6) the alto aria from this Cantata in which the text shows how Jesus helps the believer to set values in proper order:
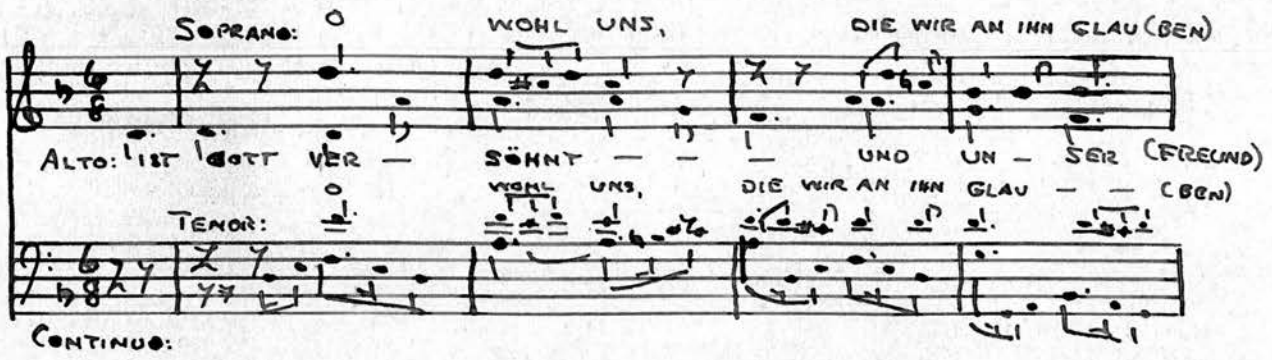
> In Jesu Demuth kann ich Trost,
> In seiner Armuth Reichthum finden.
> Mir macht desselben schlechter Stand
> Nur lauter Heil und Wohl bekannt,
> Ja seine wundervolle Hand
> Will mir nur Segenskränze winden. (7)

The alto voice in the terzett of Das neugebor'ne Kindelein (8) shows the Christian's assurance that the presence of God in the person of Jesus is man's surest defense against the power of
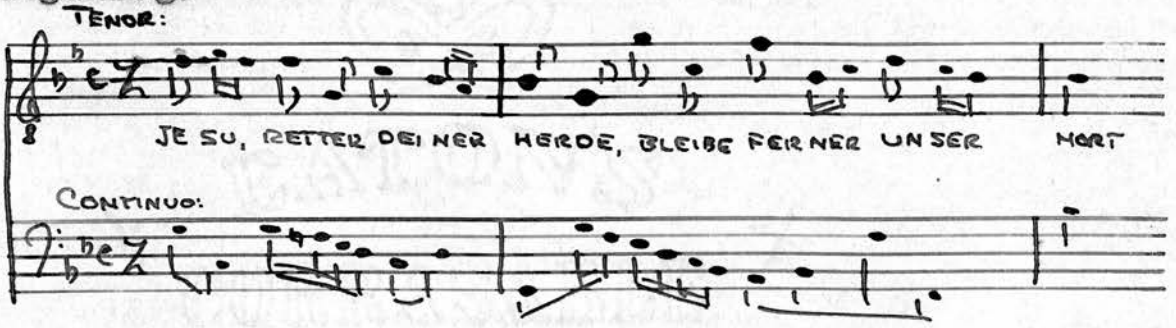
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1...S.63
2...S.63/2
3...Above, p. 197
4...From S.63/4
5...S.151
6...Above, p. 244
7...S.151/3; this stanza, probably written by Bach himself (cf. above, p. 163), is an illustration of the way in which Lutheran faith sees Jesus as transforming all human values.
8...S.122

sin and death:



(1)

While New Year's Day was naturally observed in the Leipzig churches as the feast of the Circumcision, Bach usually found opportunity in his Cantatas for that day to make petition to Jesus for guidance, protection and blessing in the year to come; in Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele (2) the tenor aria is a prayer for Jesus' leadership of this his flock throughout the year, beginning:
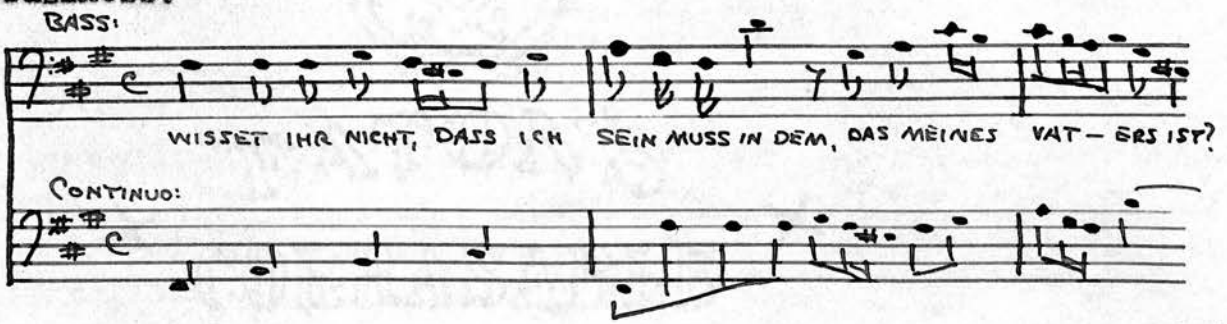


(3)

In Herr Gott, dich loben wir (4) the closing chorale-prayer for a peaceful year is prefaced by a tenor aria singing:

> Geliebter Jesu, du, du allein
> Sollst meiner Seelen Reichthum sein... (5)

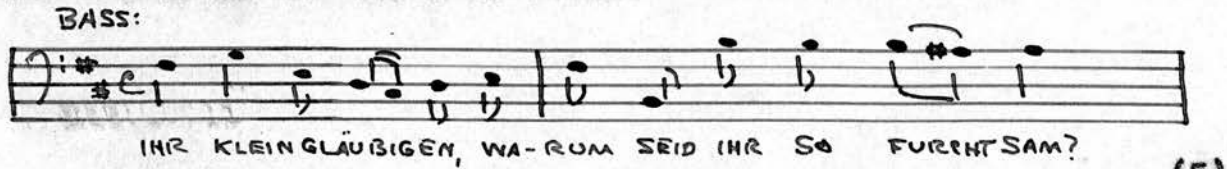
1...S.122/4; see below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298c
2...S.143
3...S.143/6
4...S.16
5...S.16/5

Two Cantatas for the season following the Epiphany call attention to the utter dependence of the believer upon Jesus. On the first Sunday after the Epiphany, when the appointed Gospel tells of Jesus in the Temple, the opening four numbers of Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren (1) are devoted to an exposition of the thought that if Jesus really is lost, then the believer is surely without any hope --- but immediately comes the assuring realisation that we, like Jesus, must be about the Father's business:



(2)

The Cantata concludes with a confident trust that Jesus has indeed been found, in being about the Father's business. (3)
On the fourth Sunday after the Epiphany, when the Gospel tells of Jesus sleeping, the very thought arouses a fear similar to that with which the previous Cantata began; and Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen? (4) finds the only satisfying answer to man's fear in the words of Jesus:



(5)

1...S.154
2...The opening of S.154/5
3...Here is an excellent example of a pietistic-sounding text from the pen of an assuredly non-pietistic writer; if Bach himself was not the author of this, it was most likely by Christian Weiss, the pastor of the Thomaskirche: "...So müsst du Jesum auch im Buss' und Glauben küssen."
4...S.81
5...The opening of S.81/4

One word from Jesus is all the Lutheran spirit needs in order to be quieted and content --- and the Cantata can end on a note of trust, with a stanza of Franck's Jesu meine Freude.

Since there was no special choral music in the Leipzig Churches during the season of Lent, (1) the best opportunity Bach had to demonstrate the believer's anticipation of the Passion was in the Cantatas for Quinquagesima, the Sunday just before Ash Wednesday. In Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe, (2) the Cantata which Bach used for his trial at Leipzig in 1723, Jesus' announcement of the forthcoming Passion and the subsequent failure of the disciples to understand what he was saying, in the opening chorus based on the Gospel for the day, is followed by individual professions of faith by three soloists. The alto sings:

Mein Jesu, ziehe mich nach dir. . .

The bass goes further in petition and says:

Mein Jesu, ziehe mich, so werd' ich laufen. . .

And the tenor makes full commitment of the soul to Jesus:

Mein Alles in Allem, mein ewiges Gut,
Verbessre das Herze, verändre den Muth;
Schlag' Alles darnieder,
Was dieser Entsagung des Fleisches zuwider,
Mein ewiges Gut, mein ewiges Gut! (3)

Following this, the concluding chorale, a stanza of Elisabeth Creutziger's Herr Christ, du einig' Gottes Sohn, makes the entire congregation's petition that they too shall be allowed to share in the benefits of the forthcoming Passion:
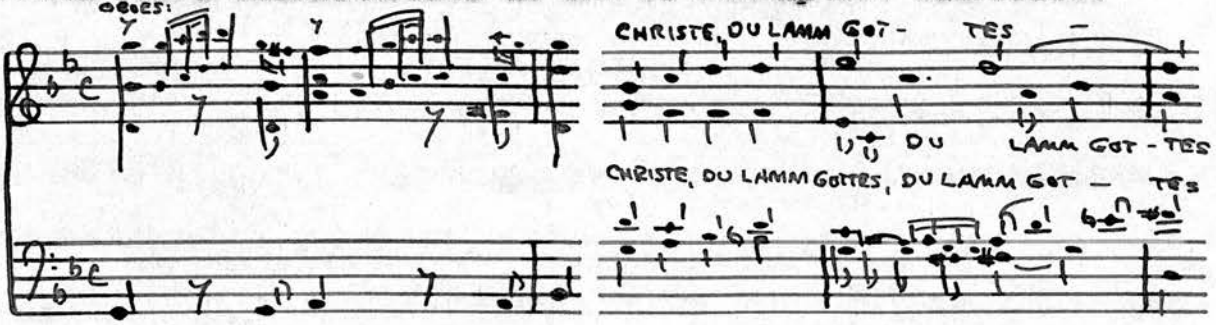
1...We have observed this before; above, p. 166.
2...S.22
3...S.22/4

Ertödt' uns durch dein' Güte,
Erweck' uns durch dein Gnad';
Den alten Menschen kränke,
Dass der neu' leben mag
  Wohl hie auf dieser Erden
  Den Sinn und all' Begehrden
  Und G'danken han zu dir. (1)

The following year on Quinquagesima the expectation of Jesus' Passion and death was forcefully presented in Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn. (2) The confession of Jesus' divinity by the duet as it pleads for his mercy (3) is followed by a chorus in which the eyes of these two blind men are made the pattern for all believers, especially for the individual:

Aller Augen warten,
Herr, du allmächt'ger Gott,
Auf dich!
  Und die meinen sonderlich... (4)

This in turn leads to a final chorus based upon the German version of the Agnus Dei, in which the oboes announce a motive which Pirro characterises as one of redemptive sacrifice:



(5)

Among the Cantatas for Easter Day, even the very earliest one, Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen, (6) is filled with the Lutheran Christian awareness that in Jesus'

1...S.22/5; this is stanza #5 of the hymn.
2...S.23
3...cf. above, p. 190
4...S.23/3
5...The opening of S.23/4; cf. Pirro, op. cit., p. 163; Spitta, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 352 makes extensive comment on this concluding chorale.
6...S.15

resurrection the believer has been delivered from death to life:
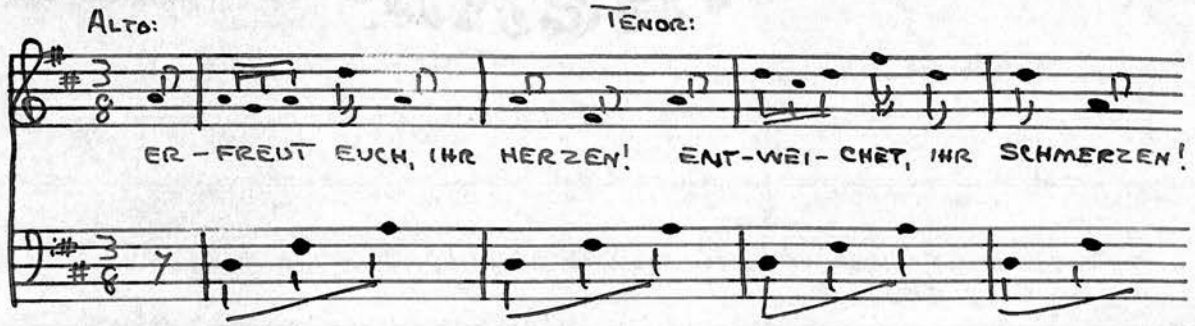
> Mein Jesus ware todt,
> Nun aber lebet er von Ewigkeit;
> Sein Auferstehen rettet mich aus Sterbens Noth
> Und hat mir durch das Grab den Lebensweg bereit. . . (1)

As if to reassure any doubtful spirits, the tenor aria on the words of the angel repeats the declaration:

> Er ist auferstehen und ist nicht hie. (2)

Characteristically, the careful repetition of "nicht hie" serves to give musical expression to the importance of the fact of the resurrection. (3)

After Easter, too, the joy of the continuing presence of the risen Christ calls forth music of joy in the Cantatas. For the second Sunday after Easter in 1731, the Cantata Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen (4) opens with a call to joy:



(5)

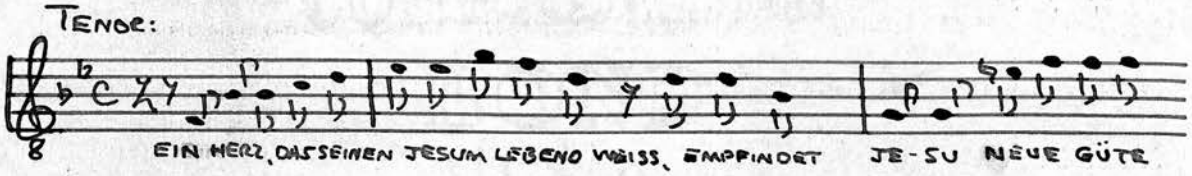
The reason for this joy is made plain as the chorus continues:

> ...Es lebet der Heiland und herrschet in euch;
> Ihr könnet verjagen das Trauern,
> Das Fürchten, das ängstliche Zagen:
> Der Heiland erquicket sein geistliches Reich! (6)

On the following Sunday, the third after Easter in 1731, (7)

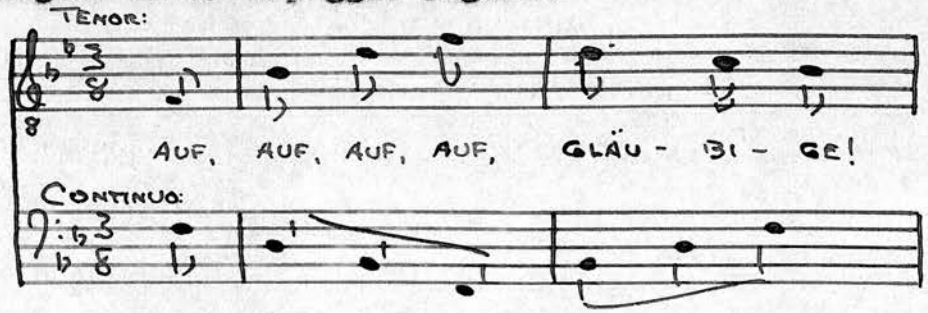
1...S.15/2
2...St Mark 16:6, sung by the tenor soloist in S.15/4
3...cf. Pirro, op. cit., pp. 254f.
4...S.66
5...The opening of S.66/1
6...The concluding lines of the same chorus.
7...Spitta, however (op. cit., vol. 3, p. 68), dates this Cantata four years later, in 1735.

Bach adapted the music of a secular Cantata he had written at Cöthen (1) to a text probably his own, declaring that to those who know Jesus lives he is the source of all good:



(2)

This exalted sense of happiness continues as the tenor sings "Auf, auf, auf, auf, Gläubige" --- each "auf" being lifted up higher on an arpeggio figure:



(3)

The subsequent alto-tenor duet shows how the risen Saviour strengthens the Church:

> ...Der Heiland . . . tröstet und stärket die streitende Kirche durch sich. (4)

The effect of this upon the individual is shown in the following recitative:

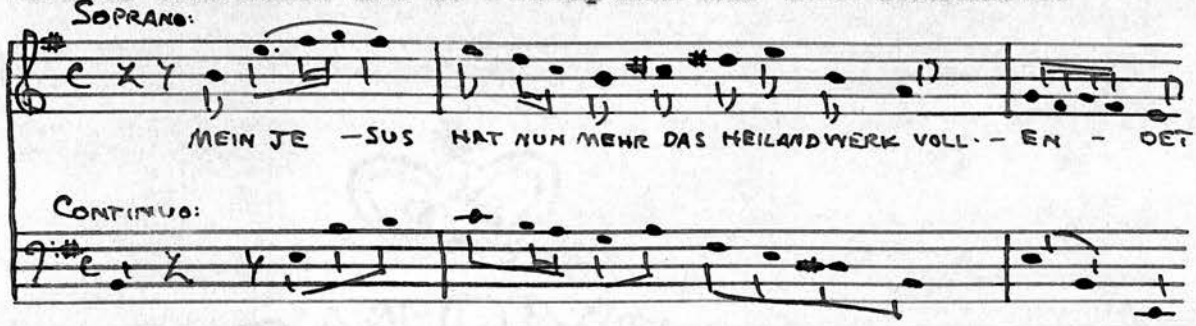
> . . . Es schliesse deine Hand uns ein. . .
> ...dass man nun nach deinem Auferstehen nicht stirbt,
> Wenn man gleich zeitlich stirbt,
> Und wir dadurch zu deiner Herrlichkeit eingehen. (5)

1...This was Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht (S.134a)
2...The opening recitative of Ein Herz, das seinem Jesum lebend weiss, S.134/1
3...Bars #25f. of S.134/2
4...From S.134/4
5...S.135/5; in several of these examples it will readily be seen how the Lutheran confidence that death only leads to fuller life is based upon faith in the Resurrection of Christ.

At the Ascension, Bach used music freely to display this last earthly climax of the Incarnation. We have noted (1) how he made use of a synthesis of Biblical passages in the "Ascension Oratorio" to present a continuous narrative with believers' comment; in the Cantata for Ascension Day 1735, Gott fähret auf mit Jauchzen, (2) the whole feeling of the music presses upward, as a

> ". . . tone-picture of Christ's Ascension full of majestic and graphic movement, both in outline and in detail." (3)

The Biblical announcement of the Ascension in the soprano recitative, is followed by the believer's comment: now, at last, the work of salvation and of redemption has been fulfilled:



(4)

Following the sermon, in the second part of this same Cantata, the meaning of this Ascension for the individual is dramatised in the alto aria:

> Ich sehe schon im Geist
> Wie er zu Gottes Rechten auf seine Feinde schmeisst,
> Zu helfen seinen Knechten aus Jammer, Noth und Schmach.
> Ich stehe hier am Weg und schau' ihn sehnlich nach! (5)

In this last line in particular, the picture of the individual watching the Ascension attracts Bach's special attention. The

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1...Above, p. 194
2...S.43
3...Spitta, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 72f.
4...S.43/5, bars #7-9
5...S.43/9

preceding recitative had closed with similar words:

Ich stehe hier am Weg und schau' ihn freudig nach!

And the recitative which follows concludes:

Ich stehe hier am Weg, und ruf' ihn dankbar nach!

In the aria, the words "ich stehe hier am Weg" are sung with the inflexible repetition of the same note, as if to depict the immobility of the observer; but the words "freudig", "sehnlich" and "dankbar" as they are sung seem impatiently to lift the observer to the same plane of joy which the opening chorus had shown. (1) Happiness --- yearning --- gratitude: these variants of the same line serve to display the believer's response to the ascension of the Lord.

At the feast of Pentecost, the Cantata Erwünschtes Freudenlicht (2) for the Tuesday of Pentecost observance, is filled with such a sense of joyfulness that both Spitta and Parry look at it as a "secular" work. Joyful and cheerful it is indeed; but it is a kind of joy which is founded upon Christian trust in Jesus. It serves as further illustration of the falsity of supposing that joyfulness cannot be sacred; the tenor recitative is a call to Christian souls to find the true ground of their happiness:

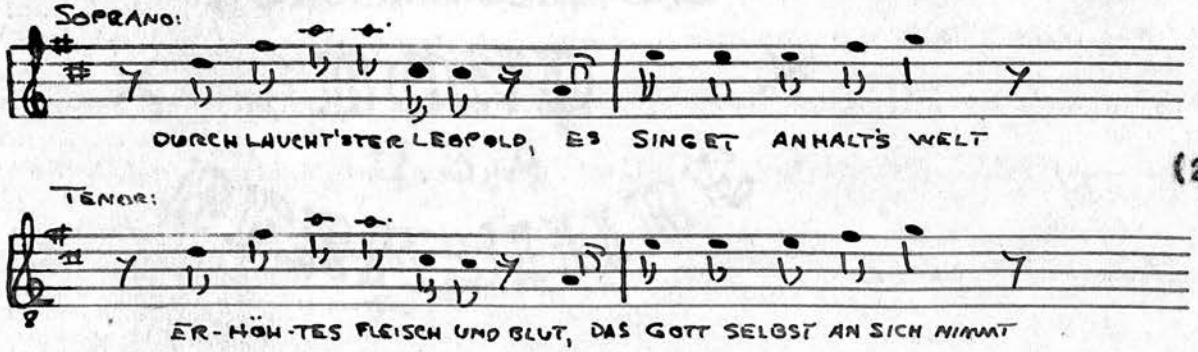
So freuet euch, ihr auserwählten Seelen!
Die Freude gründet sich in Jesu Herz. . . (3)

1...cf. Pirro, op. cit., pp. 45, 85; this aria, Pirro says, "...dépeint non seulement l'élévation de l'âme vers les hauteurs sereines, mais il veut exprimé que le bombier rétient sa praie, et que la secours. . .ne la lui arrache que difficilement." (op. cit., p. 167)

2...S.184

3...S.184/3; cf. Spitta, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 399f.; Parry, op. cit., p. 245 --- but Schweitzer (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 163n.) rejects this judgement as being without foundation: "Spitta wrongly holds that the cheerful character of this cantata shews it to be an arrangement of a secular cantata." See also below, Addenda, p. 298c

Tension is characteristic of the Lutheran view of the relation between God and man --- a tension which man himself can only intensify, but which God can overcome. This tension, and its resolution and overcoming in Christ are being shown continually in Bach's music. The Cantata for Pentecost Monday 1730, Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut, (1) takes music which had been used to greet Prince Leopold's birthday and now makes it sing of the exalted flesh and blood in which God himself had become incarnate:



(2)

(3)

It is this incarnate God in Christ who is man's hope and help, as sung in the closing chorus of the early Mühlhausen Cantata Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich:

> . . .Christus, der uns steht zur Seiten,
> Hilft mir täglich sieghaft streiten. (4)

1...S.173; with music adapted from the birthday serenade of 1718, this is still another example of previous "secular" music being used now by Bach for sacred purposes in worship.
2...The opening soprano recitative of the birthday serenade, S.173a/1
3...The parallel opening tenor recitative of the Church Cantata, S.173/1
4...The closing lines of S;150/7

Chapter 9

THE GIVER OF LIFE: Sanctification and the Holy Spirit

> I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him; but the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, sanctified and kept me in the true faith; even as he calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and keeps it with Jesus Christ in the one true faith; in which Christian Church he forgives daily and richly all sins to me and all believers, and at the last day will raise up me and all the dead, and will give to me and to all believers in Christ everlasting life. This is most certainly true.
>
> ...Luther's Small Catechism

Much of what we have said in the preceding chapters about the relation of the believer to the Father and the Son cannot be seen in full perspective without introducing the third person of the Trinity as well. In Lutheran doctrine the work of God the Father in creation and of Christ the Son in redemption has been completed, but man has not yet been brought into full and complete fellowship with God. This fellowship man is still in process of obtaining, and he does so through the working of the Holy Spirit.

The responses of man to God which we have considered are not actually man's own at all, from a Lutheran point of view, but God's in him; it is not man who lifts his voice in praise to God, but the Holy Spirit of God calls forth the praise.

However much the Lutheran soul may yearn for fellowship with Jesus and for the redemption which he offers, the impulse toward Jesus which man feels is given to him by the working of the third person of the Godhead. This is the continuing presence of God with man; and it is faith in this presence that makes it possible for a Lutheran like Bach both to desire fellowship with God in worship and to recognise man's sinfulness and need of redemption in Christ:

> ". . . This, now, is the article which must ever be and remain in operation. For creation we have ever received; redemption, too, is finished. But the Holy Ghost (1) carries on his work without ceasing to the last day. . ." (2)

This continuing work of God as Holy Spirit in the lives of men is the process of sanctification: making holy the lives and souls of those whom in Christ he has redeemed. Lutheran teaching sums up this process in three points, showing the concluding clauses of the Creed as descriptive of the influence of the Holy Spirit in the lives of men. Believers are made holy by their participation in the Church, by the forgiveness of their sins, and by their faith in the life everlasting.

The Church is God's special creation, a ". . . peculiar congregation in the world, which is the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God. . ." (3) --- not simply an assembly of men, but God's own way of bringing men to himself. The "communion of saints" spoken of in the Creed was

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1...It should be borne in mind that whereas modern English usage seems generally to prefer "Holy Spirit" to "Holy Ghost", German has no such distinction to make. "Der Heilige Geist" where it appears in Luther's works is usually translated by "Holy Ghost", as above; though elsewhere "Holy Spirit" is preferred.

2...Luther's Larger Catechism, #61

3...ibid., #40

interpreted by Luther as referring to a Christian congregation; the Gemeinde in its common faith should be thought of, best of all, Luther said, as eine heilige Christenheit: a "holy Christendom". (1) This community, the Gemeinde, is God's gift to men in order that through participation in its work and worship they might be led to seek their redemption and to praise God. The Holy Spirit's influence is continually at work in this fellowship. The entire activity of the Gemeinde der Heiligen is

> ". . . ordered to the end that we shall daily obtain there nothing but the forgiveness of sin. . . to comfort and encourage our consciences as long as we live here. Thus, although we have sins, the [grace of the] Holy Ghost does not allow them to injure us, because we are in the Christian Church, where there is nothing but continuous, uninterrupted forgiveness of sin, both in that God forgives us, and in that we forgive, bear with, and help each other." (2)

This work of the Holy Spirit does not have to do only with our present life here on earth. Indeed the climax of the Creed is a declaration of faith in the resurrection of the body and of the life everlasting, and this faith is the final and greatest significance of belief in the Holy Spirit: even beyond death his presence is with man, and in the life everlasting he can finally attain fulfillment of all that has been promised. The full meaning of God's dealing with man cannot be known apart from the experience of death:

> "For now we are only half pure and holy, so that the Holy Ghost has ever to continue His work in us through the Word, and daily to dispense forgiveness, until we attain to that life where there will be no more forgiveness, but only perfectly pure and holy people." (3)

1...Luther's Larger Catechism, #49
2...ibid., #55
3...ibid., #57

So the Lutheran believer looks forward to death not in fear but in anticipation of the completion of God's work in him:

> ". . . Here He has Himself revealed and opened the deepest abyss of His paternal heart and of His pure unutterable love. For He has created us for this very object, that He might redeem and sanctify us. . ." (1)

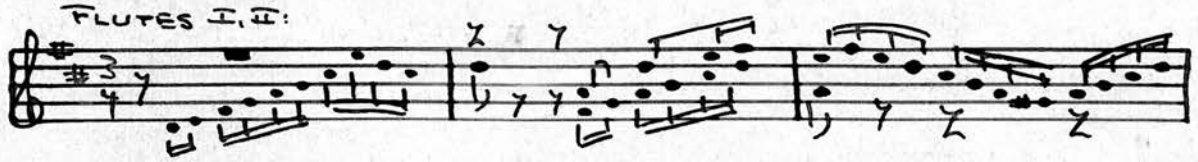
It is not as easy to trace in Bach's works the full Lutheran understanding of the Holy Spirit as it is to see evidence of his Lutheran dealing with the other persons of the Godhead. Important as the congregation was in Bach's life and to his music, there is less musical commentary upon the idea of the Church than there is upon, say, the glory of God or the relation of the believer to Christ.* The idea of the forgiveness of sins, where Bach has dealt with it in organ or choral works, has usually been shown in the relation of Jesus to the believer. (2) But throughout Bach's music there is present the almost-ecstatic longing for death in order that the work of the Holy Spirit might be fulfilled and full fellowship in the life everlasting attained.

One thing stands out with remarkable clarity in a study of Bach's treatment of the idea of the Holy Spirit: wherever his music is meant to call attention to the continuing presence of God at work in the lives of men, it does not give us a sound-picture of the "Comforter" in any sentimental sense of that word. No quiet, soothing music will do for Bach when he wants to portray the Holy Spirit. Always it is the Lord and the Life-giver
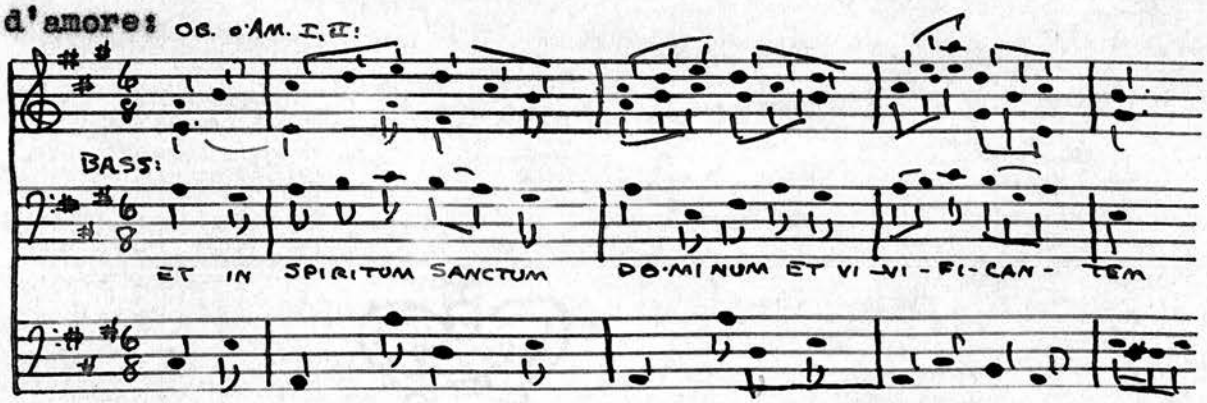
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1...Luther's Larger Catechism, #63 *...See below, Addenda, p. 298c
2...cf. above, pp. 241ff.

who is suggested to Bach by the mention of the Holy Spirit in the text; and the music illustrates this life-giving quality of God's Holy Spirit by its animation. (1) Thus in the B minor Mass, the mention of cum sancto Spiritu calls forth a vivace passage in which the flute bursts forth as the voices begin to sing of the Holy Spirit:



(2)

The bass aria, later in the Mass, in which the Credo sings of belief in the Holy Spirit, is filled with movement both in the solo voice and in the accompanying obbligato duet for two oboes d'amore:



(3)

Similarly, in the Cantata for Sexagesima, Gleich wie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt, (4) when the chorus enters with words which tell of God giving his Spirit, the continuo springs into movement as if forced into life by the appearance of the

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1...Thus Bach's music is a reminder to us of the true meaning of the word "Comforter": the Holy Spirit is not so much one who soothes as one who gives strength.
2...The opening of the flute part to S.232/11
3...Bars #25-9 of S.232/18
4...S.18

Spirit:
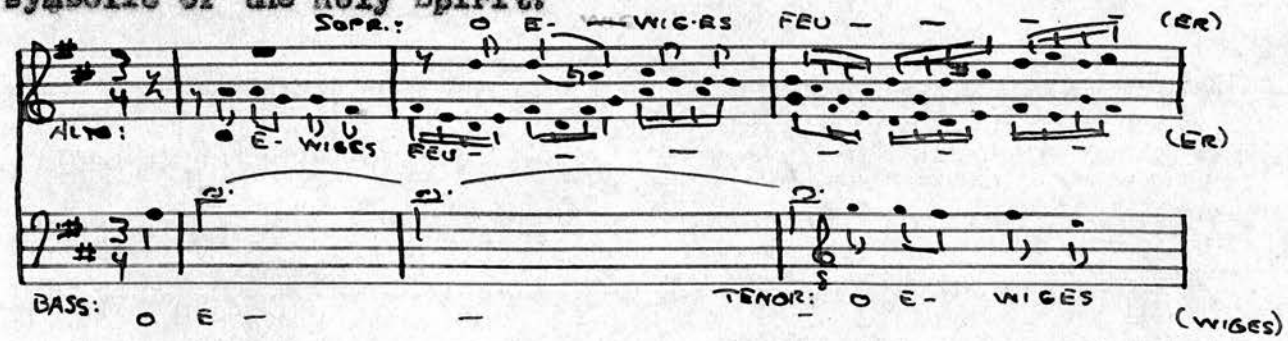


(1)

In the Cantata for the Sunday called "Cantate", Es ist euch gut, dass ich hingehe, (2) the words of Jesus in which he tells of the Spirit who will be with men after he is gone are set for a chorus whose moving counterpoint seems to show the life-giving quality of this spirit:

> Wenn aber jener, der Geist der Wahrheit, kommen wird,
> der wird euch in alle Wahrheit leiten. (3)

The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost is well celebrated in the Cantata O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe. (4) This was written for a wedding in Leipzig about 1730, and it required changes only in the recitatives and in one aria for later use on Whitsunday. The florid music of the word Feuer in the opening chorus is just the right thing to show the flames which are symbolic of the Holy Spirit:



(5)
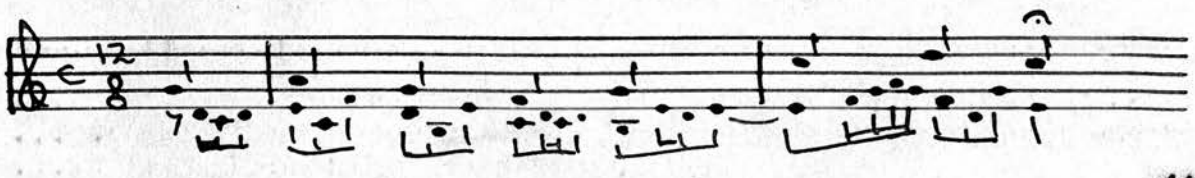
1...The opening bars of the chorus entry in S.18/3, continuo.
2...S.108
3...St John 16:13; the text of S.108/4
4...S.34; the original wedding-cantata bears the same title and is catalogued by Schmieder as S.34a. A mistranslation of Trauungskantate is responsible for the confusing description of the original as a "mourning" Cantata in Schweitzer, vol. 2, p. 347; cf. the German text of Schweitzer, p. 716, where the translator evidently read Traurungs- for Trauungskantate.
5...S.34/1 ; see Addenda, p. 298c

Chorales about the Holy Spirit naturally did not lend themselves as readily to spirited treatment, though they were used in the Cantatas. A stanza of Heermann's Treuer Gott, ich muss dir klagen was used to conclude the first half of the Störmthal organ Cantata (1) with a petition to the Holy Spirit to bless the undertaking of the Church there with his presence:

Heil'ger Geist in's Himmels Throne,
Gleichen Gott von Ewigkeit
Mit dem Vater und dem Sohne,
Der Betrübten Trost und Freud!
  Allen Glauben, den ich find',
  Hast du in mir angezünd't,
Über mir in Gnaden walte,
Ferner deine Gnad' erhalte.

Deine Hülfe zu mir sende,
O du edler Herzensgast!
Und das gute Werk vollende,
Das du angefangen hast.
  Blas' in mir das Fünklein auf,
  Bis dass nachvollbrachtem Lauf
Ich den Auserwählten gleiche,
Und des Glaubens Ziel erreiche. (2)
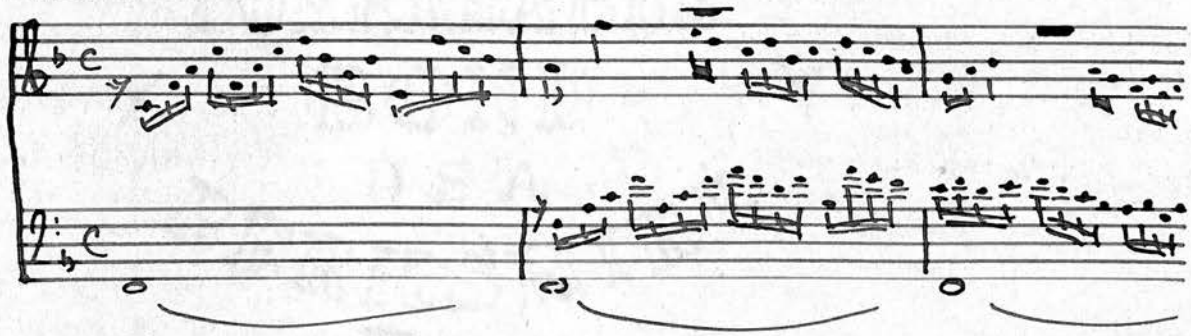
While most of the chorales of the Holy Spirit appear in the Cantatas in musical settings which are quite conventional, some of them when used as the basis for organ chorale-preludes are transformed into pictures of the life-giver. Thus the chorale Komm Gott Schöpfer Heiliger Geist is given a straightforward hymn-setting when it is used at the conclusion of the Pentecost Cantata Gott der Hoffnung erfülle euch; (3) but in the Orgelbüchlein setting of the same hymn the Holy Spirit seems to fill the music with movement:



(4)
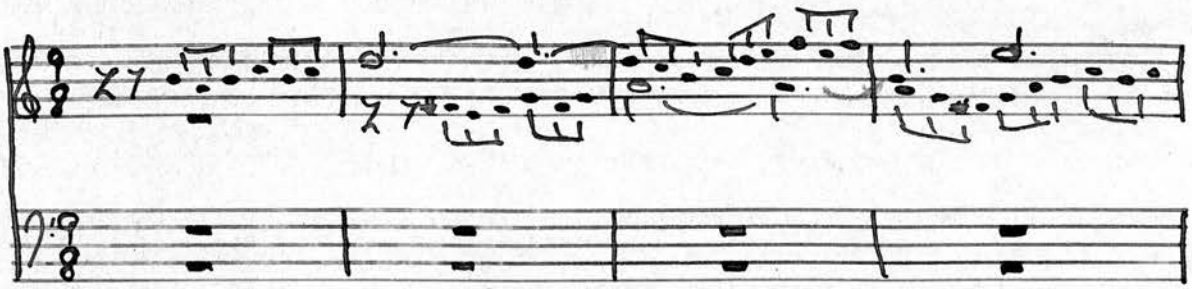
1...S.194
2...S.194/6; note here the sense of personal relation of the Holy Spirit to the believer.
3...S.218
4...S.631

Similarly, Komm Heiliger Geist Herre Gott is sung as a chorale in the Pentecost Cantata Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten. (1) but in the "Eighteen" chorale-preludes, the hymn-tune becomes simply a pedal cantus firmus for a very animated figure:



(2)

Kyrie Gott Heiliger Geist, where it is used in the third part of the Clavier-Übung, is the only one of the Holy Spirit chorales which does not seem almost effervescent when Bach uses it for an organ chorale-prelude; but here, too, motion is apparent, especially in the second form:



(3)

We turn now to the ways in which the Holy Spirit makes its influence felt in the lives of men. We have already remarked (4) about the relatively inconspicuous place given by Bach's music to the idea of the Church as a holy community through which the

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1...S.59
2...S.651
3...S.674
4...Above, p. 275

Holy Spirit operates. Of the plan which was originally projected for the Orgelbüchlein, none of the thirteen preludes in the section on "the Church" was ever written; and the specific references to the Church in Cantatas and other vocal works are much less frequent than suggestions of other points of doctrine. (1) Even in the absence, however, of a large number of examples of Bach's musical illustration of the doctrine of the Church, we may be sure of his Lutheran understanding of the meaning of the Gemeinde from those references which are made; and still more from the undoubted prominent place which was given to the Congregation by the inclusion (for their use) of hymn-stanzas in so large a proportion of the choral works. (2)

Among the illustrations which may be cited, the B minor Mass shows clearly the relation of the Church to the Holy Spirit; as the Credo is sung, it is a continuation of the baritone aria

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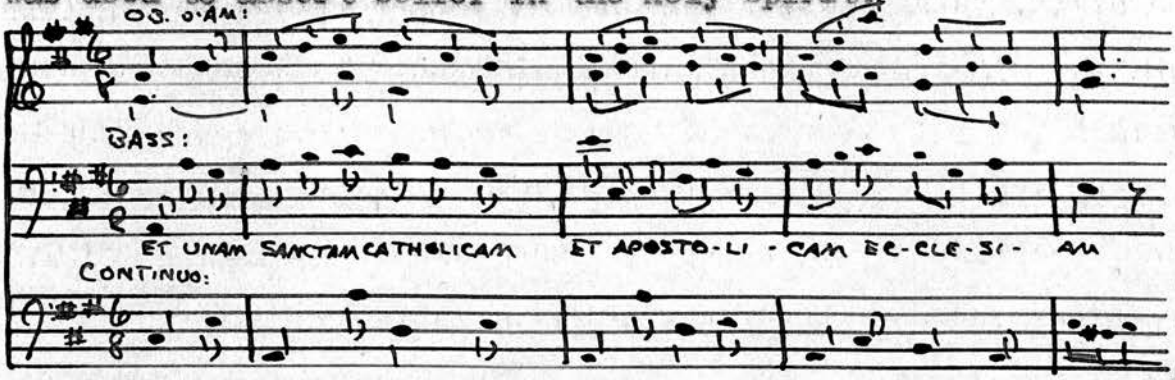
1...Still examples are to be found elsewhere of Bach's treatment of nine of the chorales which he had planned to use in this unfinished section of the Orgelbüchlein:

Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein: Misc. prelude S.741
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl in chorale S.308
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott: Misc. prelude S.720
: chorales S.302/3
: Cantata S.80, passim
Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein: chorales S.311/2
: Cantata S.76/7,14
Wär' Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit: Cantata S.14, passim
: chorale S.257
Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns hält: Cantata S.178, passim
: chorale S.258
Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern: Cantata S.1, passim
: chorale S.436
: Misc. preludes S.739,763f.
Erhalt' uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort: Cantata S.126, passim
Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ: Cantata S.67/7
: Cantata S.116, passim
: Cantata S.143/2

The chorales projected but not used were Wie nach einer Wasser Quelle; Lass mich dein seyn und bleiben; Gib Fried' du frommer treuer Gott, du; and O Grosser Gott von Macht.

2...cf. above, p. 74n.

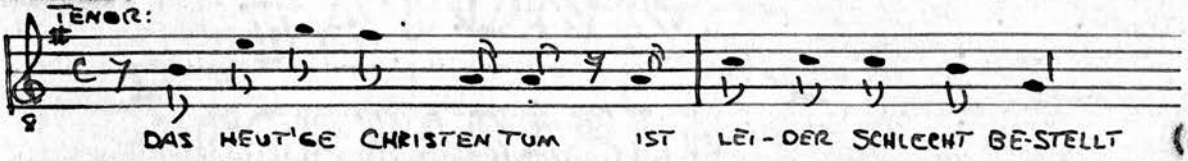
Et in Spiritum sanctum which puts the words of belief in the holy Catholic Church to music almost identical with that which was used to assert belief in the Holy Spirit:



(1)

Later, the word catholicam gives the composer opportunity to illustrate the catholicity of the Church by means of a long-sustained passage. This sense of belief in the unity of the Church is further shown by Bach's use of Gregorian tones for the opening of the Credo and as a cantus firmus in the chorus Confiteor unum Baptisma. Here he was both illustrating the Holy Spirit as influential in the Church and acknowledging the essential unity of the Church by the use of pre-Reformation musical expression, even as Luther had done. (2)

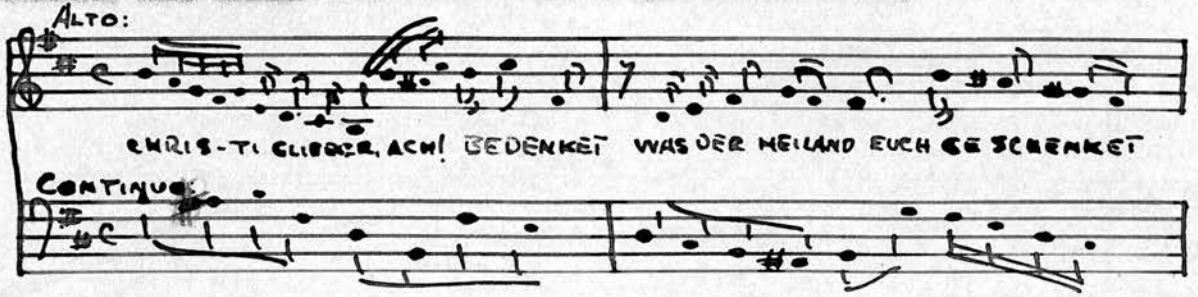
The picture of the Church which we do find in the Cantatas is not uniformly a clear one of the Holy Spirit at work; in Siehe zu, dass deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei (3) the entire text, as the title suggests, is filled with anxious concern over pious hypocrisy, and the tenor in a recitative feels that unfortunately such hypocrisy is not absent from the Church itself:



(4)

1...Bars #105-9 of S.232/18; cf. the passage quoted above, p. 276
2...cf. Routley, cit. above, p. 171; see Addenda, p. 298c
3...S.179
4...S.179/2

It is of course debatable whether "Christendom" is exactly equivalent to the Church; but for Bach's Lutheran background it was almost certainly so --- "Christendom" or "the Church" being interchangeable as antonyms for "the world". The Bach texts are more frequent in their reference to the Church as the company of men and women who have been called by God to be members of a holy Gemeinde.* In at least one place Bach makes use of a text which speaks of Christians, members of the Church, as Christi Glieder: in the Advent Cantata Bereitet die Wege, bereitet die Bahn, (1) the alto sings in an aria,



(2)

The function of Christians in the world as members of this holy congregation can be seen in another alto aria, this one from Sie werden euch in den Bann thun:

> Christen müssen auf der Erden
> Christi wahren Jünger sein... (3)

A number of petitions for God's blessing upon the Church, especially asking for God's protection during the coming year, appear in Cantatas for New Year's Day; because this day is also the Festival of the Circumcision, many of these petitions are addressed directly and personally to Jesus, seeking his guidance. Thus the tenor aria in Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele (4)

1...S.132
2...Bars #9f. of S.132/5
3...S.44/3
4...S.143

*...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298d

concludes with the petition:

> ...Das dies Jahr uns glücklich werde,
> Halte wacht am jeden Ort;
> Führ, o Jesu, deine Schaar
> Bis zu jenem neuen Jahr. (1)

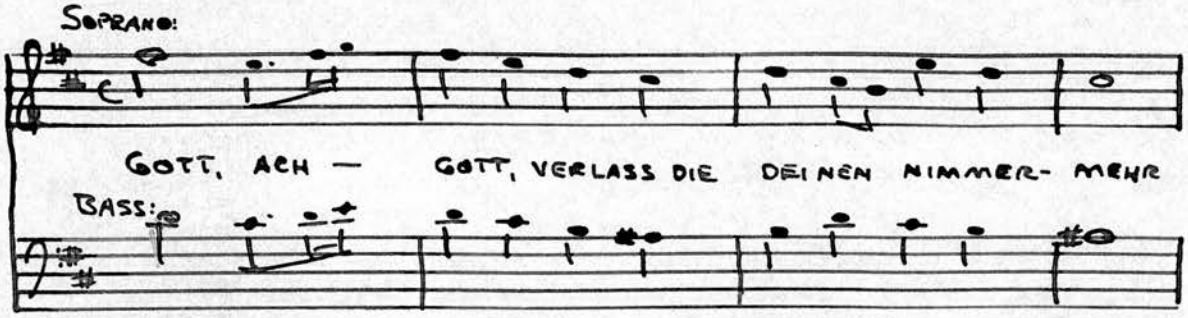
The Schaar referred to is of course the Church. Another New Year's Day Cantata, Herr Gott, dich loben wir, (2) is even more explicit in the alto recitative:

> Ach treuer Hort,
> Beschütz' auch fernerhin dein werthes Wort,
> Beschütze Kirch' und Schule,
> So wird dein Reich vermehrt... (3)

This is in fact Bach's most specific direct reference to the idea of the Church. He seems to be making only the limited application of the petition to the Thomaskirche and its school in Leipzig, for this Cantata was written for his first New Year's Day in Leipzig, in 1724. But as always Bach's text has more than local validity; and it is true to Luther's view of the Church to claim that with Christ's protection his kingdom can be advanced by the Church and school, whether local or catholic.

The two Cantatas for the Reformation Festival, Gott der Herr ist Sonn' und Schild (4) and Ein' Feste Burg ist unser Gott (5), are important to the idea of the Church because the festival for which they were written celebrates the Lutheran conception of the Church as a congregation called by God through the Holy Spirit to be his special creation. But in neither Cantata is there a specific presentation of the idea of the Church. In S.79 the soprano and the bass sing a duet in which they beg God never to forsake those who are his:

1...S.143/6
2...S.16
3...S.16/4
4...S.79
5...S.80
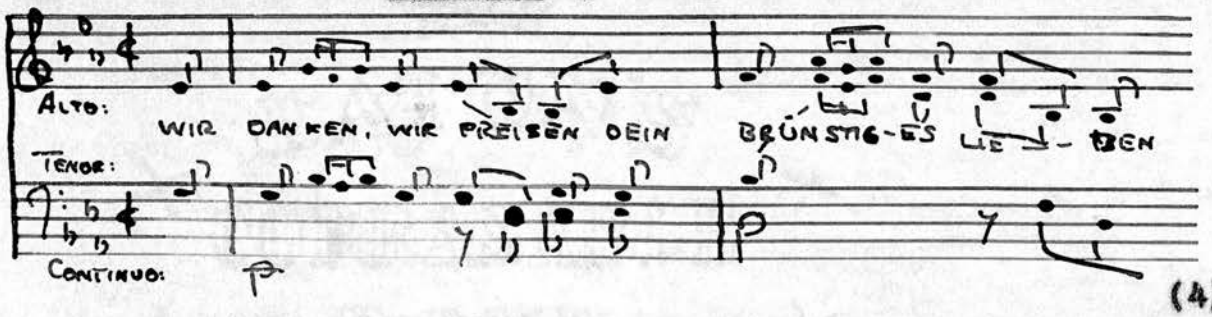


(1)

Clearly, die Deinen refers to the chosen ones who are the Church, as also the Häuflein previously sung by the alto aria:

> ...Darum rühmet dessen Güte
> Unser dankbares Gemüte,
> Die er für sein Häuflein hegt. (2)

In S.80, however, it is only the long-established association of the chorale with the festival which seems to make Ein' feste Burg at all closely related to the Lutheran conception of the Church; most of the comment in its recitatives and arias is remarkable instead for its presentation of the individual's faith, while the concept of the Church involves bringing the faith of varying individuals into a sense of unity. Pirro remarks, commenting upon the duet in Ein Herz, dass seinem Jesum lebend weiss, (3) about the way in which Bach expresses the common faith of the Gemeinde by using two voices in consonance:



(4)

1...The opening bars of S.79/5
2...S.79/2
3...S.134
4...S.134/4, bars #17f.; Pirro, op. cit., p. 132: "L'union parfaite des âmes qu'un même sentiment occupé tout entières se manifeste encore par le symbole des consonnances..."

Yet while this does show a way in which Bach describes the unity of Christians' faith in the Church, it remains largely through the indirect reference of familiar hymns in which the Gemeinde could take part that Bach's music gives expression to the Lutheran idea of the Church. (1)

According to the Lutheran catechisms, the other way in which the Holy Spirit makes its influence felt is in the forgiveness of sins:

> ". . . all this is to be the office and work of the Holy Ghost, that He begin and daily increase holiness upon earth by means of these two things, the Christian Church and the forgiveness of sin." (2)

This is one point at which Bach seems most to depart from the catechism which otherwise formed the pattern of his faith; where he did make reference to the forgiveness of sins, it was not shown to be through the Holy Spirit, but through either the Father or the Son.* Thus in the Cantata for Rogate Sunday, Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen, (3) the alto aria is a petition for forgiveness directed to the Father:

1...It will be of interest to note briefly Bach's treatment of the place of the civil power. While this does not have a place as a doctrine in either of Luther's catechisms, it is an important Lutheran teaching that civil power is established by the will of God; there are three places in Cantatas where Bach makes reference to this teaching:

A...In S.119, Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn, the text is full of passages which seem to show that Leipzig has all things good because they are God's gift; especially the alto aria, which begins "Die Obrigkeit ist Gottes Gabe, ja selber Gottes Ebenbild..."

B...In S.71, Gott ist mein König, the final chorus is an enthusiastic petition for good things to befall the new government of Mühlhausen.
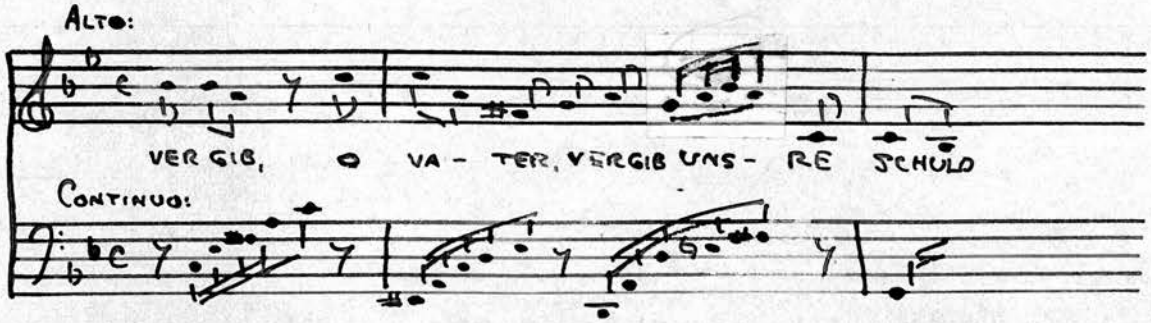
Both of these Cantatas were written for civic occasions; but one Church Cantata for a regular Sunday service closes with a prayer for God's blessing upon the civil rulers:

C...At the close of S.42, Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbaths, the chorus sings "Gieb unsern Fürsten und der Obrigkeit Fried' und gut Regiment. . ." cf. Terry, Cantata Texts, p. 238

2...Luther's Larger Catechism, #59

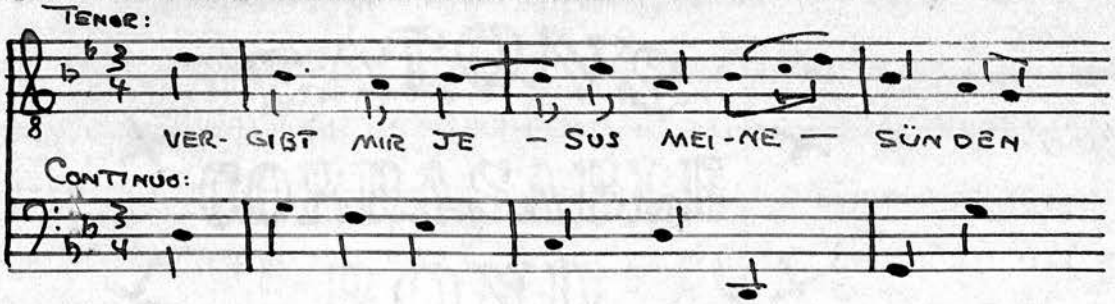
3...S.87

*...See below, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 298a



(1)

On the other hand, and more characteristic of Bach's Christocentric theology, the tenor aria in Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen (2) is an acknowledgement that forgiveness and spiritual health come from Jesus:



(3)

The one specific treatment Bach does make of the Holy Spirit as being influential in the forgiveness of sins is in the B minor Mass, where as we have seen (4) the chorus Confiteor unum Baptisma follows the canonical text and makes the "baptism for the remission of sins" an integral part of the faith which has just previously been confessed in the Holy Spirit. (5)

1...Bars #12-14 of S.87/3; this Cantata is based largely upon St John 16:24f. and commentary upon these verses. Hence, following Jesus' address to the Father, the believer also addresses his petition to the Father, following Jesus' commandment in St John 16:23.
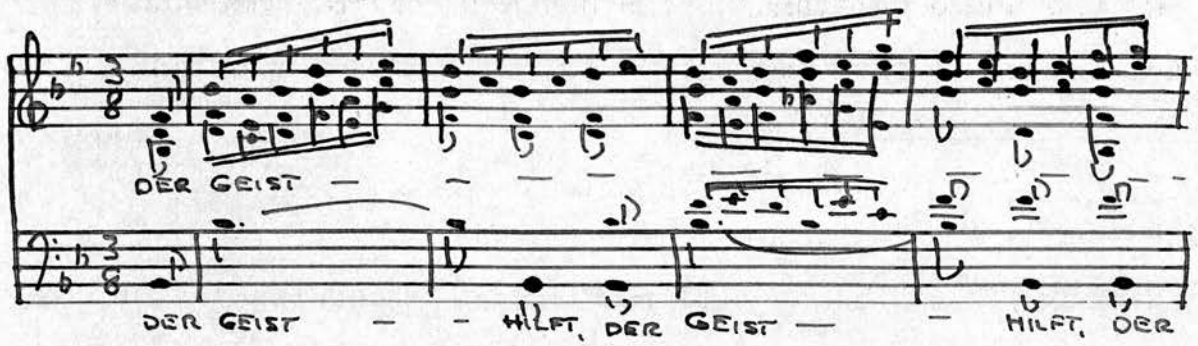
2...S.48

3...Bars #20ff. of S.48/6

4...Above, p. 281

5...Yet this is true precisely because Bach is following the canonical text of the Mass.

The Motett Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit auf (1) suggests the power of the Spirit to overcome man's sinfulness in its use of two verses from Romans 8; (2) this again is an illustration of the way in which Bach portrays in music the contrast between the life-giving power of the Spirit, shown in quick-moving semiquavers, and the weakness of man:



(3)

Still this is a Motett written for a funeral occasion; and it is the idea of the Spirit as life-giver, even in the presence of death, which called for this musical expression. We now need to turn to the idea of the Holy Spirit as man's guide into an understanding of the life eternal; for this is the aspect of Lutheran faith concerning the Holy Spirit which is most surely evident in Bach's music.

Even the fellowship of the Church and the sense of the forgiveness of sins represent only a partial achievement in Lutheran thought, for they are always in process of becoming. The end of the process of sanctification comes with death, when in an instant all the partial blessings of earthly life are finally fulfilled. (4) So the Lutheran consciousness, particu-

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1...S.226
2...cf. above, p. 185
3...The opening of S.226 ; see also below, Addenda, p. 298d
4...cf. Luther's Larger Catechism, #59

larly in Bach's day, looked forward to death with the most eager kind of anticipation, not in any suicidal urge but with a sense of expectancy born of a realisation that not until death could sanctification be complete and full fellowship with God be found by the soul. The faith which led to this eager anticipation continued to look forward to the last day, when at last the process of God's sanctification will be finished, perfectly and finally, in the resurrection of the body. (1)

To the Lutheran soul, death is an experience to be received with welcome, and Bach seems continually to have looked to death as a friend who would lead him into complete fellowship with God. The familiar song, Komm, süsser Tod, (2) is typical of Bach's view of death. He looked to death as "sweet" and welcome; as early as the Actus tragicus, probably written when Bach was 23, he showed a feeling of joy and of willingness to face death, while his final chorale-prelude, dictated from his last illness, showed a sublime confidence that he was at last ready to stand directly before the Father's throne. During the intervening years, Bach often stood close to death, and bereavement came often to him. After the early death of his parents, his Maria Barbara and eleven of his children died before Bach himself. His frequent bereavements served only to strengthen his faith that God's Holy Spirit was surely at work in his life.

1...Luther, and other Lutheran theologians following him, are careful to distinguish between "body" and "flesh" at this point.
2...S.478

Besch has prepared a chronological chart (1) showing how frequently Bach stood "between life and death." From 1713, when twin children died in infancy, to 1739, when his son Johann Gottfried Bernhard died, there was no period longer than six years in which Bach was not facing the loss of one or more of his children, or of Maria Barbara. (2) Between 1726 and 1733, at the height of his Leipzig work, seven of his children (the oldest of these only 4½ years old) died; this was the period which saw the writing of the St Matthew Passion and at least fifty Cantatas.

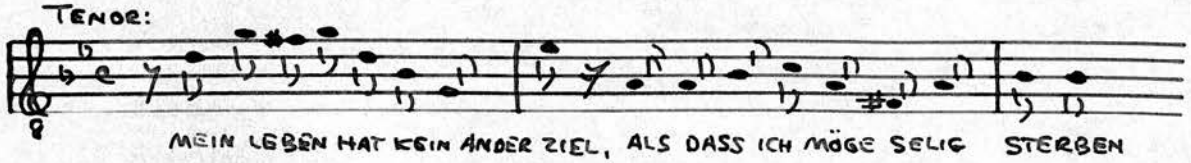
Even though Bach was living in a world which increasingly made Lebenslust its aim, (3) Bach retained steadfastly the Lutheran view that death is God's means of completing the work of his dealings with man. The expression given to death in Bach's texts is characteristically one of welcome; not only does he sing Komm, süsser Tod, but also Komm, du süsse Todesstunde (4) and Liebster Gott, wann werd' ich sterben? (5) The Motetts, most of which were written for funeral services, add to this expression of welcome a sense of exalted joy --- as if through death man were released to sing God's praise fully and perfectly for the first time. (6)

1...op. cit., pp. 286f.
2...It was the death of Maria Barbara, as we have seen above, p. 147, which led Bach to assert his faith by the writing of Cantata S.47, Wer sich selbst erhöhet, der soll erniedriget werden, in the Autumn of 1720 at Cöthen.
3...cf. Besch, op. cit., p. 284
4...S.161
5...S.8
6...This is why a work so filled with happiness as Singet dem Herrn (S.225) could be used at a funeral with complete propriety; a funeral was an occasion, for the Lutheran faith Bach held, of the most sublime joy.

No other Cantata more completely illustrates Bach's Lutheran attitude toward death than Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende. (1) This Cantata was written for the 16th Sunday after Trinity in 1731; the Gospel for the day (2) tells the story of Jesus' raising of the young man of Nain. In comment upon this narrative, Bach provided a libretto in which the believer's thought is directed to his own approaching death in recitative comments upon the opening chorale, line by line:

WER WEISS, WIE NAHE MIR MEIN ENDE?
Soprano: Das weiss der liebe Gott allein,
Ob meine Wallfahrt auf der Erden
kurz oder länger möge sein.
HINGEHT DIE ZEIT, HERKOMMT DER TOD.
Alto: Und endlich kommt es doch so weit
Dass sie zusammen treffen werden.
ACH, WIE GESCHWINDE UND BEHENDE
KANN KOMMEN MEINE TODESNOTH!
Tenor: Wer weiss, ob heute nicht
mein Mund die letzten Worte spricht?
Drum bet' ich alle Zeit:
MEIN GOTT, ICH BITT' DURCH CHRISTI BLUT,
MACH'S NUR MIT MEINEM ENDE GUT. (3)

Immediately, the tenor sings in recitative (and we must remember that both music and words are Bach's):



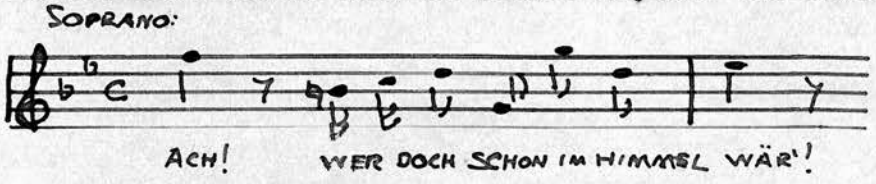
(4)

The following alto aria, in which Bach makes use of a stanza by Neumeister, makes the expression of welcome very plain:

1...S.27
2...St Luke 7:11-17
3...The chorale-stanza, sung by the chorus, and indicated by upper-case letters, is the opening stanza of the hymn by Emilie Juliane von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt; the tune chosen by Bach for the charale is Neumark's Wer nur die leiben Gott lässt walten.
4...The opening of S.27/2

Willkommen! will ich sagen,
  wenn der Tod an's Bette tritt.
Fröhlich will ich folgen,
  wenn er ruft,
  in die Gruft.
Alle, alle meine Plagen nehm' ich mit! (1)

The soprano looks forward with even greater expectation to the fulfillment which can be found beyond the hour of mortality:
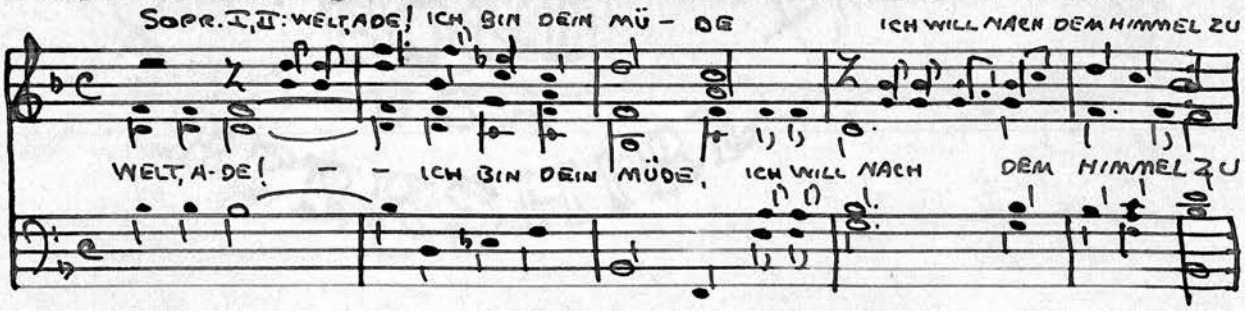


(2)

In quiet contrast to this urgent, anxious hope, the bass sings a lullaby-like farewell to all the cares of earth:

Gute Nacht, du Weltgetümmel, gute Nacht!
Jetzt mach' ich mit dir Beschluss;
Ich steh' schon mit einem Fuss
Bei dem lieben Gott im Himmel. (3)

The concluding chorus continues the mood of serene joy at the thought of leaving this world for the blessedness of heaven:



(4)

1...S.27/3
2...S.27/4
3...S.27/5
4...S.27/6; Spitta (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 451) sees "a token that Bach actually lived in the sentiment he embodied in this composition. . .in certain points of resemblance to [the Passions]: the structure of the opening chorus of the Cantata is strongly reminiscent of that of the closing chorus of the St Matthew Passion, and the bass aria of the Cantata resembles the aria Es ist vollbracht in the St John Passion. In both cases, the relation of the believer's attitude toward death seems to be underlined, as it were, by musical reference to Jesus' Passion and death... Cf. also Pirro, op. cit., p. 148, who sees the descending chords of the opening chorus as "une allusion certaine à la déposition du corps dans la tombe."

There are references in numerous other Cantatas which serve to reinforce this view of death as a welcome release from all the difficulties of earth and as the fulfillment of God's gift of life, since it is not until death that sanctification can be complete. The bass recitative in Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde (1) adds this comment upon the prayer of Simeon at the Purification:

> ...Es ist der Tod ein Ende dieser Zeit und Noth,
> ein Pfand, das uns der Herr gegeben zum Zeichen, dass
> er's herzlich meint, und uns will nach vollbrachtem
> Ringen zum Frieden bringen... (2)

For the individual at the present time, death is often presented as an experience to be hoped for soon; in Geist und Seele wird verwirret (3) the final words of the concluding aria are

> Und lass mich bald in deinen Händen
> Mein Martervolles Leben enden! (4)

The soprano arioso in Ach Gott wie manches Herzeleid (5) is a petition that this consummation might come this very day:

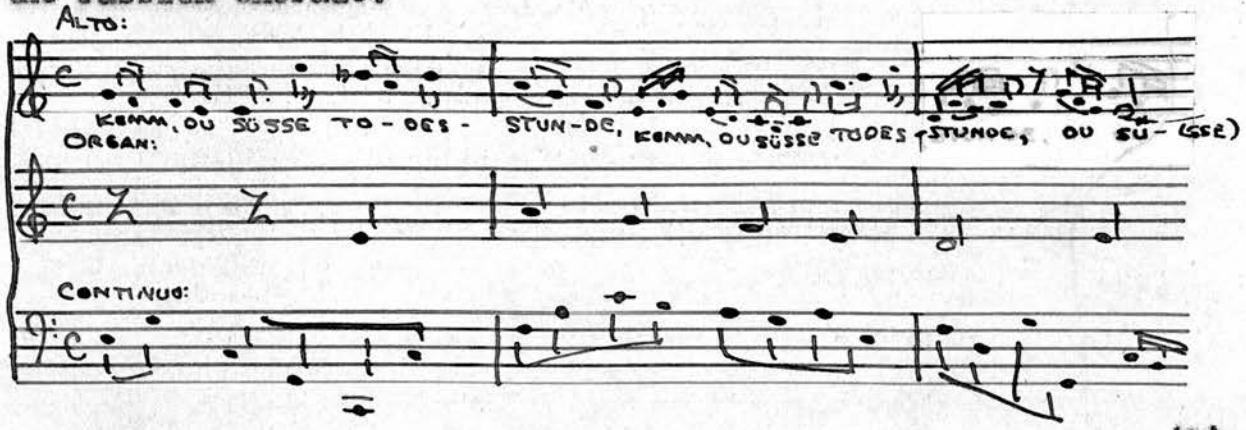
> Ach! könnt es heute noch geschehen
> Dass ich mein Ende möchte sehen! (6)

An earlier Cantata for the same day as Wer Weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende (the 16th Sunday after Trinity) shows how consistently through Bach's life this attitude was maintained. At Weimar as early as 1715 the day's Gospel suggested to Bach the need to comment upon death in welcome; he chose a text by Salamo Franck but made changes of his own in Komm, du süsse Todesstunde. (7) In the opening aria, the alto soloist's call is answered by the

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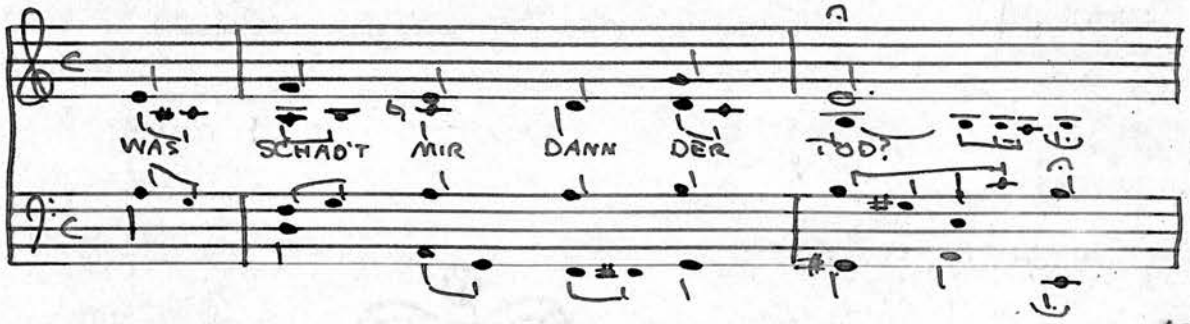
1...S.83
2...S.83/2; S.82, Ich habe genug, is also based upon the song of Simeon, and shows that it was as he received the infant Jesus into his arms that the aged Simeon was enabled to face death in welcome; cf. Pirro, op. cit., p. 259.
3...S.35
4...S.35/6
5...S.58
6...S.58/4
7...S.161

organ which enters with the melody of Herzlich tut mich verlangen, the Passion chorale:



(1)

Each succeeding recitative and aria builds up this cry of welcome until the concluding chorus in which the full choir sings the fourth stanza of Knoll's hymn. It ends with a confident statement of the question to which Bach could only imply an answer which is defiantly negative:
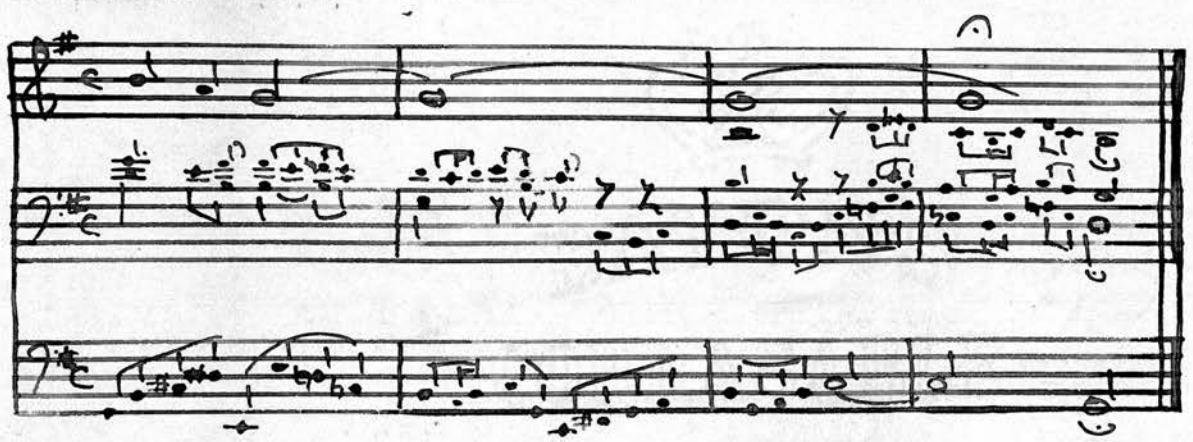


(2)

Luther's doctrine of the Holy Spirit had a real meaning to Bach, and it is reflected in his music. Even though there is less attention in the music to the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church and in the forgiveness of sins than we might find if Bach had set out deliberately to present systematic Lutheran doctrine in his music, the total impression which the music

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1...Bars #13-15 of S.161/1
2...The conclusion of S.161/6

gives us is of the Holy Spirit as the giver of life to men. The process of sanctification, through which this life is given, is completed only with the end of mortal life, and the full meaning of the life which is given by the Holy Spirit can be known only through death. Death is therefore to be welcomed as a door to the life everlasting, as Bach himself sang when he dictated to Altnikol from his own deathbed, Vor deinem Thron tret' ich hiermit:



(1)

1...The closing bars of S.668; cf. above, p. 157

CONCLUSION

> In the limited realm of musical enjoyment, which, in spite of its own beauty, is again a symbol of our whole faculty of perceiving and digesting earthly experiences, recognition of the summit, once and forever, means that from now on we cannot perceive any structure of sound without measuring it against those values which Bach has demonstrated.
>
> ...Paul Hindemith

The faith which supported Bach's life and which is evident in all his music is a Christian faith very like that of Luther both in spirit and in detail. It is not readily identifiable with either of the theological movements of Bach's own day, for it is a faith both more personal than the dogmatic formulations of Orthodoxy and also more objective than the sentimental individualism of the Pietists. It is a faith which far transcends the sterile humanism of the Enlightenment, even though for a time the rationalism of the age which followed Bach's own rejected him and ignored his music. When in the last years of Goethe's life, nearly a century after Bach's day, Mendelssohn helped to renew an interest in the music of the Cantor of the Thomaskirche, the sharpness of the controversy between Orthodoxy and Pietism had mellowed and the succeeding Enlightenment had waned. The generations in which Bach's music has been restored to use are able to receive it both for its intrinsic excellence as music and as a communication of the evangelical Christian faith of Martin Luther.

The technical excellence of the music per se has not been our concern, since so much competent musicological scholarship has dealt with it from every angle. Paul Hindemith has summed up the obligation which he feels has been laid upon himself and upon all musicians by the heritage Bach has left:

> "Recognition of human excellence in its highest form, knowledge of the path that leads to it, the necessary done with dutifulness and driven to that point of perfection where it outgrows all necessity --- this knowledge is the most precious inheritance given us with Bach's music. . .
>
> ". . .there is no possibility of any musical aim with a higher ethical obligation existing for [the musician] than to follow Bach. To be resolved to seek the same road to perfection, more than that no one can do. . . One single type of music will emerge: music which in the sense of Bach's musical ethos, his most valuable bequest, is right." (1)

Others might dispute the perfectionism of Hindemith's claim, but no one would deny Bach a place in the highest rank of musical greatness.

That this great music is the product of great faith, and that it was used by Bach to express that faith: this has been our concern. To a far greater degree than most other Christians, Bach possessed his faith securely and used his incomparable art sincerely to the glory of God who had given it. Our survey of the composer's religious background and of his life helps to show how this was possible. The selection which we have made from the great volume of his music serves to show how Bach dealt with every major point of Lutheran doctrine. It has been profitable to set examples of Bach's art in an outline suggested by the catechisms of Luther, even though this has meant imposing upon the music a system which the com-

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1...Hindemith: Johann Sebastian Bach: Heritage and Obligation, pp. 42f.

poser himself had no need to follow, for all the doctrine to which we have called attention in the foregoing pages is integral to the faith of the man who prayed for Jesus' help as he began his work and who noted 'soli Deo gloria' at the close of his MSS. We have been able only to call attention to facets of that faith as they shine forth. These facets have been selected primarily from the Cantatas for which Bach may have provided texts, since it is these which have been studied in special detail. (1) Some examples have been chosen from Cantatas written to texts by other authors, and from the Passions, the B minor Mass and the Christmas Oratorio, to illustrate ways in which this faith may also be seen and heard in them.

The outline suggested by Luther's catechisms, it must be admitted, is not adequate to demonstrate the full range of Bach's faith. A complete study of the chorale-cantatas, (2) or of the whole body of commentary arias and recitatives in all the Cantatas, for example, would have shown more specifically the anomalous character of the relation between Orthodoxy and Pietism in Bach --- though it is doubtful whether this could have resolved the anomaly. For here was a man thoroughly orthodox in confession, a man who was critical of the Pietist movement and of its sentimental excesses, but a man who owed a significant debt to Pietism's influence in the subjective expression of much of the language and music in which he proclaimed his orthodox faith. Any outline into which we might place this faith would be less than adequate; for no artificial limitation, neither the catechisms of Luther nor the hymns of

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1...cf. above, pp. 163f.; 31 of the 57 Cantatas quoted or discussed in chapters 7-9 above are selected from the two lists on p. 163.

2...cf. above, p. 74.

the Pietists, can suffice to contain the free grace of Christian faith which transcends all patterns. The music which Bach wrote was even more surely Christian than it was specifically Lutheran, though it is unmistakably the product of the Lutheran environment in which he lived. The catechisms have served only as a guide in our examination of Bach's musical evangelism, but they have helped us to see the faith of a Christian artist.

More than any other major artist, more than any other man of his own day, Bach realised the meaning of the concluding portion of Luther's Larger Catechism:

> "From this you perceive that the Creed is a doctrine quite different from the Ten Commandments; for the latter teaches indeed what we ought to do, but the former tells us what God does for us and gives to us. . . The latter doctrine (of the Law), therefore, makes no Christian. . .because we cannot keep what God demands of us; but this (namely, the doctrine of faith) brings pure grace, and makes us godly and acceptable to God. . .
>
> "Let this suffice concerning the Creed to lay a foundation for the simple, that they may not be burdened, so that, if they understand the substance of it, they may themselves afterwards strive to acquire more, and refer to these parts whatever they learn in the Scriptures, and may ever grow and increase in understanding. For as long as we live here, we shall daily have enough to do to preach and to learn this." (1)

Bach could not be a part-time Christian; he was daily both preaching and learning. As he did so, the music which was his means of preaching stood forth, and still stands, as a well-pleasing order of sounds offered with remarkable selflessness to God who had given it. Both as man and as artist, Bach personifies evangelical Christian faith. Because he does, his music is truly sacred.

1...Luther's Larger Catechism, #s 67,70; in the Concordia Triglotta, p. 697.

ADDENDA and CORRIGENDA

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30, note 1...Even within the framework of Christian faith it is not possible to demonstrate the validity of such a claim as that which Brunner makes here. At most, such a claim can only be accepted --- but it can as easily be rejected without doing violence either to one's faith or to one's sense of musical integrity.

77, note 3...The chorale was often grossly distorted, but hymns in some form were retained in the service, in addition to the solo arias; cf. Drummond; German Protestantism since Luther, p. 103; also Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 39f.

157, note 5..There is no evidence that Bach himself intended this chorale-prelude to be associated with Die Kunst der Fuge; it was Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach who decided to publish this deeply devotional work, dictated from his father's deathbed, at the end of the great unfinished work.

161, note 2..Schweitzer, of course, did not see only pictorial significance in Bach's musical language. Many of the motives which he identifies are abstract ideas expressed in characteristic musical patterns: those of Joy, of Grief, of Compassion, of Beatific Peace, etc.; see below, pp. 175f.

173, note *..Internal evidence indicates the probability that these motetts were performed with the support of an organ or clavier. This is suggested in passages where the bass voice-part is given an unusually long-held note, or where the bass and tenor lines cross. (In this latter case, unless the bass were doubled at the octave below by an organ or clavier at these points, the harmonic structure would be false.) Again, in the motetts for double chorus a continuo part can easily be constructed by combining the two bass voice-parts; cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 298.

209, note 1..At the same time that the voices are declaring the power and majesty of God, the continuo seems to be asserting the strength of the faith being affirmed by means of its inexorably marching ostinato bass throughout this chorus. In the following passage, the omnipotence of God is given added emphasis by the extended affirmation of the upper voices singing 'Credo in unum Deum' while the bass enters with its new affirmation.

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212, note 2..The bass line of this prelude serves to accent the strength of the faith being affirmed in the chorale melody.

214, note *..Spitta does not feel that this Cantata is adapted, but holds rather that it was written in the form of an orchestral suite, with added recitatives and chorale-stanzas, perhaps to please the patron of the Störmthal church. (Spitta, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 367) Schweitzer, however, detects faults in the declamation of two arias which lead him to feel sure that the music is in fact adapted from an orchestral suite, or perhaps from a lost secular cantata. (Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 165)

220, note *..It is this breadth of God's goodness in the created world which is one of the most compelling reasons for man to offer God his unceasing praise.

222, note 1..This Cantata incorporates three movements of a Clavier Concerto, of which only a few bars have survived in the original version. The opening chorus of the Cantata is, in fact, the accomodated slow movement of the concerto.

224, note *..Perhaps 'unceasing' is too unqualified a word to describe this praise; the duet 'Et Misericordia' and the alto solo 'Esurientes' relieve the note of jubilation by providing expression of God's mercy and compassion. These afford Bach an opportunity to provide musical contrast to the exultation of the opening and closing choruses.

232, note *..The triumph of God over Satan is combined with an expression of rejoicing over Satan's fall in the fragmentary Cantata "Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft" (S.50). Only a single chorus of this Cantata is extant; it probably represents the opening chorus of a longer Cantata for Michaelmas, but the plan and execution of this description of God's victory over Satan (the text is Revelation 12:10) are "so powerful . . . that we can dispense with the remainder, and almost regard the lack of the solo pieces as a blessing. . . This choral double fugue is one of Bach's mightiest pieces of vocal music." (Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 341; cf. also ibid., p. 118)

261, note 4..Indeed, it is only in the opening chorus and the first chorale that praise is here directed explicitly to the Father; the remainder of the Cantata centers more directly in Jesus, whose coming is being celebrated. The closing chorale is the final stanza of "Jesu meine Freude".

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263, note 1..This Cantata, whose theme throughout is the reconciliation brought to men in the coming of the newborn Child, is based upon the hymn of Cyriacus Schneegass. The alto voice quoted on p. 263 is singing a stanza of the hymn to its own chorale-tune, while the soprano and tenor interpose their comments. The continuo, meanwhile, is written in Bach's characteristic 'angel' rhythm, as if to represent the song of the angels joining their voices to those of men. (cf. Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 81, 358)

270, note 3..In the duet "Gesegnete Christen, glückselige Herde" (S.184/2) a pastoral melody in the flutes helps to create a picture of the Church as a flock; in the closing chorus "Guter Hirte, Trost der Deinen" (S.184/6) the entire focus of the Cantata is brought to centre in the 'Good Shepherd of the Sheep'.

275, note *..What is perhaps Bach's finest exposition of the Gemeinde under the figure of 'the people of his pasture and the sheep of his hand' is to be found in the Cantata "Du Hirte Israel, höre" (S.104). The opening chorus is based upon Psalm 80:2; the bass aria sings of the congregation as "Beglückte Herde, Jesu Schafe"; and the closing chorale is based upon a hymn-version of Psalm 23, "Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt".

277, note 5..The concept of the Holy Spirit as the Lord and Life-giver is further emphasised in the motett "Jesu meine Freude" (S.227). In the alternate numbers of this motett (#s 2,4,6,8,10) which declaim verses from the eighth chapter of Romans, Bach devotes some of his most eloquent exposition to the passages which deal with the Spirit: "Denn das Gesetz der Geistes, der da lebendig machet...", for instance. The tone-line gives special expression to the animation characteristic of the Spirit as the voices sing "Ihr aber seid nicht fleischlich, sondern geistlich..."

281, note 2..This use of pre-Reformation music was characteristic of Lutheran worship, especially in Saxony (cf. Drummond, op. cit., p. 102); the use of these Gregorian tones was in no sense an innovation of Bach's --- they were customarily used in the Leipzig liturgy. It was in following the usage which was familiar in Leipzig that Bach was able to make his music instrumental in demonstrating the essential unity of the Church.

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282, note *..The understanding of the Gemeinde as the great company of the faithful, led by one great Shepherd, is given most vivid expression by Bach in the Cantata "Du Hirte Israel, höre" (S.104; cf. above, p. 298c, note to p. 275). The unity of the Gemeinde is portrayed with especial vividness in the opening movement of the motett "Singet dem Herrn" (S.225), in which the words "die Gemeinde der Heiligen sollen ihn loben, Israel freue sich des, der ihn gemacht hat" from Psalm 149 are set in a closely-knit musical sequence.

285, note *..This is true largely because in the very nature of the texts which Bach used all acknowledgement of the forgiveness of sins is personal, directed to the Father (or occasionally to the Son) in petition --- even though the forgiveness sought is understood to be the office and work of the Holy Spirit.

287, note 3..Later in this motett Bach gives a most moving musical expression to the power of the Holy Spirit to aid man in his helplessness: the words of Romans 8:26 afford particular opportunity for the music to demonstrate the work of the Holy Spirit as helper and life-giver: ". . .denn wir wissen nicht, was wir beten sollen, wie sich's gebühret, sondern der Geist selbst vertritt uns auf's beste mit unaussprechlichen Seufzen."

APPENDICES

An additional note on each of the following Appendices may be in order.

In Appendix A the tabular arrangement which has been used to set forth the relation between church and non-church use of the same or similar music may not always be sufficiently clear; at several relevant points, therefore, notes of commentary have been added to the table.

Appendix B represents an original compilation of the use Bach has made of Luther's hymns. Sources for this compilation have been the Bachgesellschaft edition of Bach's works, Stapel, Wackernagel, Schmieder, and Terry's Bach's Chorals, checked against each other.

Appendices C and D are a conflation of the researches of Terry and of Schmieder, bringing together in one place (which neither Terry nor Schmieder has done) as complete a list as possible of the use Bach has made of each hymn and chorale-tune identifiable as to author or composer. This has been done by bringing together into a single list each of authors and of composers the separate lists in the three volumes of Terry's Bach's Chorals, and by identifying each composition by its numeration in the Schmieder Verzeichnis.

Appendix E is a reproduction of Terry's survey of the plan of the Orgelbüchlein, adding the number of each completed chorale-prelude in the Schmieder Verzeichnis.

Appendix F is an attempt to list every identifiable quotation from the text of Luther's Bible in the vocal works of Bach. Many of these, but not all, have been identified where they appear in the Bachgesellschaft edition; others are noted at appropriate places in Terry's Joh. Seb. Bach: Cantata Texts Sacred and Secular. Neither Terry's notations nor those of the Bachgesellschaft are complete, and others have been found by a careful reading of all Bach's vocal texts with a Luther Bible close at hand. For reasons indicated on p. 343, even this list may be incomplete. Still, by arranging these identifiable quotations in their Biblical order, it has been possible to present these quotations in such a way that Bach's use of any given Biblical passage may readily be found.

Appendix G relates the quotations identified in the preceding Appendix to the lectionary used in the Leipzig churches in Bach's day, as given in Terry's Cantata Texts. This new compilation makes it possible to ascertain Bach's use of any passage from the Leipzig lectionary in a Cantata to be sung at a service in which that passage formed one of the lessons.

APPENDIX A

Chart to accompany note 1, page 36

Bach often borrowed from his own previously-composed music. The accompanying chart indicates the relationship in all cases where the music was used on one occasion for Church purposes and on the other for non-liturgical purposes. Thus wedding Cantatas, although they were performed within the Church, are listed with "secular" compositions, because they do not form part of the usual liturgical use.

The arrangement of the chart is chronological, according to the order of the Church compositions, which are listed in the middle column. Previously-written or performed non-Church music which is either duplicated or adapted in the Church works is indicated in the left-hand column; subsequent instrumental and "secular" music based upon Church music is listed in the right-hand column. A red ═══ indicates a direct copying of previous music, or its use with only very slight changes; a blue ═══→ indicates music which has undergone adaptation or arrangement, but which still clearly indicates its relation to the original.

The fact that so few cases appear in which music once used in the service of worship was later used for other purposes indicates to Schmieder (op. cit., p. 288) that the chronology of these works needs to be revised; he concludes that Bach never used music in "secular" Cantatas after he had used it in the Church. Thus Schmieder holds that the chorus "Lust der Völker" in S.213 must actually have been composed prior to its use in S.184; and the relation of the "Osanna" in the B minor Mass to the opening chorus of S.215 is to Schmieder clear proof that the "Osanna" must be dated later than the 1733 date of the earlier numbers of the Mass.

Abbreviations in the chart are the German abbreviations used by Schmieder:

KK...Kirchenkantate (Church Cantata)
WK...Weltliche Kantate (Secular Cantata)
HK...Hochzeitskantate (Wedding Cantata)
TK...Trauerkantate (Funeral Cantata)
GK...Gratulationskantate (Birthday Cantata)
SK...Schulenkantate (St Thomas School Cantata)

COMMENTS

1...While the subject of this fugue is similar in rhythm to the oboe melody of the Concerto, it is actually a new composition, rather than a development of the Concerto subject.

2...This chorus bears only an opening resemblance to the theme of the Rondeau; beyond this it is an entirely new composition.

3...These movements probably existed in an organ version earlier than the date of the Cantata, which was first performed 6th June 1723. The Cantata's Sinfonia is thus probably a preservation of the earlier version, which was subsequently incorporated into the organ Sonata, S.528.

4...This music was actually composed for the Passion and adapted to be used in the service commemorating the burial of Prince Leopold at Cöthen. The prince died while Bach was at work preparing the Passion, and he used some of its music, adapted to words by Picander, for use as a Trauerkantate at Cöthen on 24th March 1729, the day after Leopold's burial. Three weeks later, on Good Friday (15th April) the Matthew Passion was first performed in Leipzig.

5...The Sarabande from the Suite, S.997, is one of the germinal ideas from which the closing chorus of the Passion was developed.

PREVIOUS CHAMBER OR "SECULAR" WORKS

1721 Overture B minor S.1067
Rondeau

1723/25 Organ Trio G minor S.584

pre-1728 HK Herr Gott, Beherrscher S.120a
#6 Herr, fange an und sprich
#1 Herr Gott, Beherrscher

1720 Sonata G Major S.1019a
Violin & Clavier

1728/29 TK Klagt, Kinder S.244a
#2 Weh und Ach
#10 Hemme dein gequältes Kränken
#8 Geh, Leopold, zu deiner Ruh'
#7 Wird auch gleich
#4 Erhalte mich
#5 Mit Freuden
#6 Lass, Leopold
#9 Bleibet nur in eurer Ruh'
#11 Die Augen sehn . deiner Leiche

1721 Partita C minor S.997
Sarabande

WORKS COMPOSED FOR THE

1715 KK Tritt auf die Glaub
#1 Concerto

1723 St John Passion S.245
#67 Ruht wohl, ihr hei

1723 KK Die Himmel erzählen
#8 Sinfonia

1724(31?) KK Erwünschtes Fr
#6 Guter Hirt, Trost

1725 KK Wo gehest du hin?
#2 Ich will an den Hi

1728 KK Gott, man lobet dic
#1 Gott, man lobet di
(#2 Jauchzet, ihr erfr
(19 Mass B minor S.23
#4 Heil und Segen

1728/29 St Matthew Passion
#10 Buss' und Reu'
#19 Ich will dir mein
#26 Ich will bei meine
#29 Gerne will ich mic
#47 Erbarme dich
#58 Aus Liebe
#66 Komm, süsses Kreuz
#75 Mache dich, mein H
#78 Wir setzen uns mit

WORKS COMPOSED FOR THE CHURCH SERVICE

1715 KK Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn S.152
#1 Concerto

1723 St John Passion S.245
#67 Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine (2)

1723 KK Die Himmel erzählen S.76
#8 Sinfonia

1724(31?) KK Erwünschtes Freudenlicht S.184
#6 Guter Hirt, Trost der Deinen

1725 KK Wo gehest du hin? S.166
#2 Ich will an den Himmel denken

1728 KK Gott, man lobet dich S.120
#1 Gott, man lobet dich
(#2 Jauchzet, ihr erfreuten Stimmen
(19 Mass B minor S.232)
#4 Heil und Segen

1728/29 St Matthew Passion S.244 (4)
#10 Buss' und Reu'
#19 Ich will dir mein Herze schenken
#26 Ich will bei meinem Jesu wachen
#29 Gerne will ich mich bequemen
#47 Erbarme dich
#58 Aus Liebe
#66 Komm, süsses Kreuz
#75 Mache dich, mein Herze, rein
#78 Wir setzen uns mit Thränen nieder (5)

SUBSEQUENT CHAMBER OR "SECULAR" WORKS

1716 Organ Fugue A Major S.536 (1)

1723/27 Organ Sonata E minor S.528 (3)
first and second movements

1733 WK Lasst uns sorgen S.213
#13 Lust der Völker

6...This Concerto is a transcription for Clavier of an earlier Violin Concerto not preserved as such. The original form almost certainly antedates the Sinfonia of S.156, in which the closing cadence seems clearly to have been adapted to prepare for the entrance of the movement which follows.

7...It is more probable that the Concerto movement (whose date has not been ascertained more closely than 'between 1730 and 1733') was composed prior to Cantata 49, and its third movement included in the Cantata as its opening Sinfonia. (cf. also below, p. 302, note #8)

1721 Brandenburg Concerto #3 S.1048
first movement

1721 Brandenburg Concerto #1 S.1046
first movement

1717 WK Durchlaucht'ster Leopold S.173a
#1 Durchlaucht'ster Leopold
#2 Güldner Sonnen frohe Stunden
#3 Leopolds Vortrefflichkeiten
#4 Unter seinem Purpursaum
#5 Durchlauchtigster, den Anhalt
#8 Nimm auch, grosser Fürst

1727 TK Lass, Fürstin (Trauer-Ode) S.198
#1 Lass, Fürstin, lass noch
#5 Wie starb die Heldin so
#3 Verstummt, ihr holden Saiten
#8 Der Ewigkeit saphiren Haus
#10 Doch Königin, du stirbest nicht

1720 Violin Partita E Major S.1006
Preludio

1718/19 GK Mit Gnaden bekröne S.134a
#1 Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre
#4 Es streiten, es prangen
#8 Ergötzet auf Erden

1716 WK Was mir behagt S.208
#15 Ihr lieblichste Blikke

1729 KK Ich liebe den Höc
#1 Sinfonia Concert

1729/30 KK Ich steh' mit
#1 Sinfonia

1730 KK Falsche Welt, dir
#1 Sinfonia

cal730 KK Erhöhtes Fleisc
#1 Erhöhtes Fleisch
#2 Ein geheiligtes
#3 Gott will, o ihr
#4 So hat Gott die
#5 Unendlicher, den
#6 Rühre, Höchster,

1731 St Mark Passion S.2
#1 Geh, Jesu, geh z
#27 Mein Heiland, di
#49 Er kommt, er ist
#59 Mein Tröster ist
#132 Bei deinem Grab-

1731 KK Wir danken dir, G
#1 Sinfonia

1731 KK Ich geh' und suche
#1 Sinfonia

1731 KK Ein Herz, dass sei
#1 Ein Herz, dass se
#4 Wir danken, wir
#6 Erschallet, ihr

1731 KK Man singet mit Fre
#1 Man singet mit Fr

1729 KK Ich liebe den Höchsten S.174
#1 Sinfonia Concerto

1729/30 KK Ich steh' mit einem Fuss S.156
#1 Sinfonia

1730 KK Falsche Welt, dir trau' ich nicht S.52
#1 Sinfonia

cal730 KK Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut S.173
#1 Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut
#2 Ein geheiligtes Gemüte
#3 Gott will, o ihr Menschenkinder
#4 So hat Gott die Welt geliebt
#5 Unendlicher, den man doch Vater nennt
#6 Rühre, Höchster, unsern Geist

1731 St Mark Passion S.247
#1 Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein!
#27 Mein Heiland, dich vergess ich
#49 Er kommt, er ist vorhanden
#59 Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei
#132 Bei deinem Grab- und Leichenstein

1731 KK Wir danken dir, Gott S.29
#1 Sinfonia

1731 KK Ich geh' und suche S.49
#1 Sinfonia

1731 KK Ein Herz, dass seinem Jesum S.134
#1 Ein Herz, dass seinem Jesum
#4 Wir danken, wir preisen
#6 Erschallet, ihr Himmel

1731 KK Man singet mit Freude S.149
#1 Man singet mit Freude vom Sieg

1730/33 Clavier Concerto F minor S.1056 (6)
Largo

1730/33 Clavier Concerto E Major S.1053 (7)
Allegro (third movement)

8...These two movements, like the concluding movement of the same Concerto (cf. above, p. 301, note #7), have not been dated precisely within the early 1730s. It is quite likely that they were written prior to Cantata 169, and its movements chosen to be used in appropriate places in this Cantata, as the closing movement was also used in Cantata 49.

9...Both the 'Et expecto resurrectionem' and the 'Osanna' are later numbers in the B minor Mass, not included with the 'Kyrie' and the 'Gloria', which are the only portions to which we can attach the 1733 date. Of the date of these later numbers we can say only that they were completed by 1735 --- thus leaving the issue entirely open to debate whether the 'Osanna' is original, or derived from 'Preise dein Glücke', which we can date in 1734.

10...Most evidence supports the contention of Spitta and Schweitzer that the Christmas Oratorio was adapted from secular cantatas; but Terry (Biography, pp. 217f.) strongly dissents, insisting that the secular cantata "Lasst uns sorgen" (S.213) shows evidence in its declamation of having been derived from portions of the Christmas Oratorio.

pre-1728 HK Herr Gott, Beherrscher S.120a
#8 Lobe den Herren =

1726 GK Steigt freudig in die Luft S.36a
#1 Steigt freudig in die Luft =
#3 Die Sonne zieht mit sanftem =
#5 Sei uns willkommen, schönster =
#7 Auch mit gedämpften, schwachen =
#9 Grüne, blühe, lebe lange =

pre-1728 HK Herr Gott, Beherrscher S.120a =
#1 Herr Gott, Beherrscher

1727 Overture D Major S.1069 →
first movement

1733 WK Lasst uns sorgen S.213 →
#9 Ich will dich nicht hören →
#3 Schlafe, mein Liebster →
#11 Ich bin deine →
#1 Lasst uns sorgen →
#5 Treues Echo →
#7 Auf meinen Flügeln →

1733 WK Tönet, ihr Pauken S.214 →
#1 Tönet, ihr Pauken! →
#7 Kron' und Preis gekrönter Damen →
#5 Fromme Musen! Meine Glieder →
#9 Blühet, ihr Linden in Sachsen →

1734 WK Preiset dein Glücke S.215 →
#7 Durch die von Eifer entflammten →

1731 GK So kämpfet nun S.Anhang 10 →
#1 So kämpfet nun, ihr muntern Tone →

1731 KK Gott soll allein me
#1 Sinfonia =
#5 Stirb in mir, Welt

1732 KK Lobe den Herren S.
#5 Lobe den Herren

1733 KK Schwingt freudig S
#1 Schwingt freudig e
#3 Die Liebe zieht mi
#5 Willkommen, werter
#7 Auch mit gedämpfte
#8 Lob sei Gott dem V

1733 Mass B minor S.232
#19 Et expecto resurre
#22 Osanna =

1734 KK Unser Mund sei voll
#1 Unser Mund sei vol

1734 Christmas Oratorio S.
#4 Bereite dich Zion
#19 Schlafe, mein Lieb
#29 Herr, dein Mitleid
#36 Fallt mit Danken
#39 Flösst, mein Heila
#41 Ich will nur dir z

#1 Jauchzet, frohlock
#8 Grosser Herr und s
#15 Frohe Hirten, eilt
#24 Herrscher des Himm

#47 Erleucht' auch mei

#54 Herr, wenn die sto

1731 KK Gott soll allein mein Herze S.169
#1 Sinfonia
#5 Stirb in mir, Welt

1732 KK Lobe den Herren S.137
#5 Lobe den Herren

1733 KK Schwingt freudig S.36 (1728/36)
#1 Schwingt freudig euch empor
#3 Die Liebe zieht mit sanftem
#5 Willkommen, werter Schatz
#7 Auch mit gedämpften, schwachen
#8 Lob sei Gott dem Vater g'ton

1733 Mass B minor S.232 (9)
#19 Et expecto resurrectionem
#22 Osanna

1734 KK Unser Mund sei voll Lachens S.110
#1 Unser Mund sei voll Lachens

1734 Christmas Oratorio S.248 (10)
#4 Bereite dich Zion
#19 Schlafe, mein Liebster
#29 Herr, dein Mitleid
#36 Fallt mit Danken
#39 Flösst, mein Heiland
#41 Ich will nur dir zu Ehren leben

#1 Jauchzet, frohlocket!
#8 Grosser Herr und starker König
#15 Frohe Hirten, eilt, ach eilet
#24 Herrscher des Himmels, erhöre

#47 Erleucht' auch meine finstre Sinn

#54 Herr, wenn die stolze Feinde

1730/33 Clavier Concerto E Major S.1053 (8)
first movement
Siciliano (second movement)

1734 WK Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen S.215
#1 Preise dein Glücke

1716 WK Was mir behagt S.208
#13 Weil die wollenreichen Herden → 1735 KK Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt S.68
#2 Mein gläubiges Herze
#7 Ein Fürst ist seines Landes Pan → #4 Du bist geboren mir zu Gute

1717 WK Durchlaucht'ster Leopold S.173a
#7 Dein Name gleich der Sonnen geh' → 1735 KK Er rufet seinen Schafen S.175
#4 Es dünket mich, ich seh' dich komm

1732 SK Froher Tag S.Anhang 18
#1 Froher Tag, verlangte Stunden → 1730/40 Ascension Oratorio S.11
#1 Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen

1734 SK Thomana sass annoch S.Anhang 19
Himmel, und wie lange noch → 1736 KK Bleib bei uns S.6
#2 Hochgelobter Gottessohn

1725 GK Entfliehet . . ihr Sorgen S.249a
1726 GK Verjaget . . ihr Sterne S.249b → 1736 Easter Oratorio S.249

1737 WK Angenehmes Wiederau S.30a
#1 Angenehmes Wiederau = 1738 KK Freue dich, erlöste Schaar S.30
#3 Willkommen im Heil = #1 Freue dich, erlöste Schaar
#5 Was die Seele kann ergötzen = #3 Gelobet sei Gott
#7 Ich will dich halten = #5 Kommt, ihr angefocht'nen Sünder
#9 Eilt, ihr Stunden = #8 Ich will nun hassen
#13 Angenehmes Wiederau = #10 Eilt, ihr Stunden
#12 Freue dich, geheil'gte Schaar

1730/33 Clavier Concerto D minor S.1052
Allegro = ca 1740 KK Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal S.146
Adagio (S.1052a) → #1 Sinfonia
#2 Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal

1730/34 HK O ewiges Feuer S.34a
#1 O ewiges Feuer = 1740/41 KK O ewiges Feuer S.34
#5 Wohl euch, ihr auserwählten Schafe = #1 O ewiges Feuer
#4 Friede über Israel = #3 Wohl euch, ihr auserwählten Seelen
#5 Friede über Israel

APPENDIX B

The Hymns of Luther and the Music of Bach
to accompany note 3, page 57
(See note, p. 299a)

Luther's hymns are listed below in the order of their classification by Wilhelm Stapel in Luthers Lieder und Gedichte.

For each of the hymns there is included the following information:

1) Luther's original title;
2) the place of the hymn's first publication;
3) the first line of the hymn in modern German, which is also the title by which the hymns are known in the works of Bach; and
4) brief notes as to the sources from which Luther took his hymns, the subjects which they cover, and the use which Bach has made of them in his music.

The number prefixed by the letter "W" for each hymn is its number in volume 3 of Wackernagel: Das deutsche Kirchenlied.

* * *

Catechism-hymns

1) Die zehen gebot Gottes (Erfurt Enchiridion 1524)
("Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot")

W.22 A metrical paraphrase of the Decalogue, to be sung, according to Luther's instruction, to the tune "In Gottes Namen fahren wir."

Bach has used this hymn in Cantata #77, in three chorale-preludes for organ, and has also included a setting of it among the 4-voice chorales.

2) Die zehen gebot auffs kürtzte (Wittenberg Gesangbuch 1524)
("Mensch, willt du leben seliglich")

W.26 An abbreviated version, corresponding to the Shorter Catechism; it does not transform the prohibitions into positive commands, as the longer version does.

Bach has made a musical setting of this hymn only among the 4-voice chorales, but he had also planned a prelude upon it for the Orgelbüchlein.

3) Das deudsche Patrem (Wittenberg 1524)
("Wir glauben all' an einen Gott")

W.23 A German version of the Credo, translated from the Latin, but following earlier German translations; Wackernagel, vol. 2, #s 664f., prints 15th- and 16th-century texts which are very similar.

Bach wrote two chorale-preludes for organ on this hymn, and there is a setting also in the 4-voice chorales.

Catechism-hymns (cont.)

4) Das Vater vnser kurtz Ausge-/legt vnd Jnn Gesangweise gebracht (Geistliche Lieder, Val. Schumann, Leipzig 1539)
("Vater unser im Himmelreich")

W.41 A metrical paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, with a separate stanza to each petition of the prayer. Luther's version is much more free than earlier German metrical versions, which had appeared as early as the 9th century.
Bach wrote four chorale-preludes for the organ based on this hymn, and there is also a setting among the 4-voice chorales.

5) Ein Geistlich Lied, Von vnser heiligen Tauffe,/ Darin fein kurtz gefasset, Was sie sey? Wer sie gestifftet habe? Was sie nütze? etc. (Klug's Wittenberg Gesangbuch 1543)
("Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam")

W.43 One of Luther's last hymns; a "teaching-sermon in verse" (so Stapel, p. 124) on the meaning of Baptism. Though not published until 1543, it was probably written in 1540 or 1541 (cf. Wackernagel, vol. 3, p. 26).
Bach has used this hymn as the basis for Cantata #7; also in two chorale-preludes for organ, and among the 4-voice chorales.

6) Das Lied S. Johannis Hus gebessert (Erfurt 1524)
("Jesus Christus, unser Heiland")

W.10 A preparatory hymn for Communion, based upon John Hus's "Ihesus christus, nostra salus" (Wackernagel, vol. 1, #s 367-9).
Bach has used this hymn in four chorale-preludes for organ, and there is a setting of it in the 4-voice chorales.

7) Der gesang Got sey gelobet (Erfurt 1524)
("Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet")

W.11 A hymn of thanksgiving after Communion, based upon a 15th-century vernacular sacramental hymn (cf. Wackernagel, vol. 2/989f.).
Bach has used this hymn only in the 4-voice chorale settings but had also planned a prelude upon it for the Orgelbüchlein.

Festival-hymns

CHRISTMAS

8) Ein kinderlied auff die Weinacht Christi (Wittenberg 1535)
("Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her")

W.39 A hymn based upon the angels' announcement in St Luke 2, and expressing the receptive spirit of the worshippers. Stapel (p. 130) holds that it was written for use in Luther's own home at Christmas 1534, when his children were 8 and 5 years old; and similarly that each of the other Christmas hymns was written for the Christmas preceding the year of its publication.
Bach has used this hymn in the chorale to follow the Magnificat, in the Christmas Oratorio, in five chorale-preludes for organ, and also as the basis of the "Canonic Variations".

Festival-hymns

CHRISTMAS (cont.)

9) Hymnus. Veni redemptor gentium. (Erfurt 1524)
("Nu komm, der Heiden Heiland")

W.16 A translation of the Latin hymn by St Ambrose; probably written, together with the following hymn, for Christmastide of 1523 (Stapel, p. 135).
Bach has used this hymn in three Cantatas and in five chorale-preludes for organ.

10) Der Hymnus. A solis ortus. (Erfurt 1524)
("Christum wir sollen loben schon")

W.17 A translation of the Latin hymn by Caelius Sedulius, ca. A.D. 450; a variant form appeared in a pamphlet published by Jobst Gutknecht, 1527 (Wackernagel vol. 3/18).
Bach has used this hymn in Cantata #121 and in two chorale-preludes for organ.

11) Ein lobgesang von der geburt Christi (Erfurt 1524)
("Gelobet sei'st du, Jesu Christ")

W.9 Six additional stanzas by Luther added to an old Low German stanza, which Stapel (p. 140) has traced to a publication in Copenhagen about 1370. Wackernagel's only evidence for its pre-Lutheran use is a 15th-century form (vol. 2/910).
Bach has used this hymn in two Cantatas, in the Christmas Oratorio, in four chorale-preludes for organ, and in a setting among the 4-voice chorales.

12) Ein ander Christlied, Im vorigen Thon (Wittenberg 1543)
("Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar")

W.49 The last of Luther's Christmas-hymns; an original hymn written, as the title ("Im vorigen Thon") implies, to be sung to the tune of "Vom Himmel hoch".
The hymn soon came to have its own associated tune, which Bach used in one of the chorale-preludes of the Orgelbüchlein.

EPIPHANY

13) Der Hymnus, Hostis Herodes (Wittenberg 1543)
("Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes, sehr")

W.42 From the Latin hymn by Caelius Sedulius; actually written on 12th December 1541 but not published until 1543 (Stapel, p. 145).
Bach has used this hymn only as an alternative title for the other hymn from Caelius Sedulius (#10 above), in a chorale-prelude for organ upon the melody which was used for both hymns. (cf. Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 3, p. 129)

EASTER

14) Der Lobsanck Christ ist erstanden, gebessert (Erfurt 1524)
("Christ lag in Todesbanden")

W.15 Adapted from a vernacular pilgrims' song of the 12th century (Wackernagel, vol. 2/39ff.), which also had appeared in 28 additional versions in the 15th century (vol. 2/935ff.).
Bach has used this hymn in two Cantatas, in three chorale-preludes for organ, and there are three settings of it among the 4-voice chorales.

Festival-hymns

EASTER (cont.)

15) Eyn Lobsang auff dem Osterfest (Erfurt 1524)
("Jesus Christ, unser Heiland")

W.13 A shorter, original hymn, patterned after #6 above; in its original form its first line has 7 syllables only. All later editions, following the example of #6 and of the music to which it was set, add an 8th syllable: "Jesus Christus..." Its usual title in Bach's day, to distinguish it from #6, was "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von". A variant form (Wackernagel, vol. 3/14) was published in Bonn, 1561, as "Regina coeli, gebessert".

Bach has used this hymn in the Orgelbüchlein for one chorale-prelude for organ; there is also a setting in the 4-voice chorales.

PENTECOST

16) Der Hymnus Veni creator (Erfurt 1524)
("Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist")

W.20 A German version of the Latin hymn, attributed to a number of sources, including Gregory the Great (Wackernagel, vol. 1/104).

Bach has used the hymn in Cantata #218, in two chorale-preludes for organ, and in the 4-voice chorales.

17) Der gesang Veni sancte spiritus (Erfurt 1524)
("Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott")

W.19 Two original stanzas added by Luther to a 15th-century German vernacular hymn (Wackernagel, vol. 2/986ff.).

Bach used the hymn in Cantata #59, in the Motett "Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit", in two chorale-preludes for organ, and he planned also to include it in the Orgelbüchlein.

The Church

18) Ein lied von der Heiligen Christlichen Kirchen (Wittenberg 1535)
("Sie ist mir lieb, die werde Magd")

W.40 A hymn based upon the 12th chapter of Revelation; it was written at a time (between 1533 and 1535) when Luther was engaged in the study of Revelation. (Stapel, p. 163)

This is one of three hymns of Luther which was not included in Bach's musical plan.

Hymns (i.e., traditional liturgical hymns)

19) Das deudsch Sanctus (Deutsche Messe 1526)
("Jesaja, dem Propheten, das geschah")

W.30 A metrical version of the vision of Isaiah (6:1-4), as published in the German Mass of 1526; Stapel (p. 168) dates it from 1525.

Like #18, this is one of the hymns not used by Bach.

Hymns (cont.)

20) Te deum laudamus (Wittenberg Geistliche Lieder 1531)
("Herr Gott, dich loben wir")

W.31 A metrical paraphrase of the Te deum, first published in the lost Gesangbuch of Klug in 1529.
Bach has used this hymn in four Cantatas and in one chorale-prelude for the organ.

Psalms (from the Vulgate)

21) Der .xi. Psalm. Salvum me fac (Erfurt 1524)
("Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein")

W.3 A metrical version of the 12th Psalm.
Bach used the hymn as the subject of Cantata #2.

22) Der .xiiii. Psalm. Dixit insipiens in corde suo (Erfurt 1524)
("Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl")

W.4 A metrical version of the 14th Psalm.
Bach has a setting of this hymn in the collected 4-voice chorales, but he did not use it elsewhere. It was one of the proposed numbers of the Orgelbüchlein which was never written.

23) Der .lxvii. Psalm. Deus misereatur (Erfurt 1524)
("Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein")

W.7 A metrical version of the 67th Psalm.
Bach used stanzas from this hymn in two Cantatas, and planned a prelude upon it in the incompleted portion of the Orgelbüchlein.

24) Der .cxxviii. Psalm, Beati omnes qui timent dominum. (Erfurt 1524)
("Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht")

W.8 A metrical version of the 128th Psalm.
Bach has not used the hymn, but planned a prelude upon it in the Orgelbüchlein.

Prayers

25) Der .cxxix. Psalm. De profundis. (Erfurt 1524)
("Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir")

W.5 Based upon the 130th Psalm; a second version, with an additional stanza and titled "Der cxxx. Psalm", was published in the Wittenberg Gesangbuch of 1524 (Wackernagel, vol. 3/6).
Bach has used this hymn in Cantata #38 and in two chorale-preludes for organ. Wilhelm Keller (Zeitschrift für Musik, Jhrg. 111, Heft 2, pp. 71ff.) suggests a connection between this hymn and the theme of "Die Kunst der Fuge".

26) Der Lobgesangk, Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist (Wittenberg 1524)
("Nu bitten wir den Heiligen Geist")

W.28 Additions by Luther to the first stanza, which is a very old German hymn for Pentecost. In Wackernagel, vol. 2/43, it is quoted from a sermon by the 13th-century Franciscan, Berthold of Regensburg.
Bach has used stanzas from this hymn in two Cantatas; there is also a setting for it among the 4-voice chorales, and it was planned to be included in the Orgelbüchlein.

Prayers (cont.)

27) Ein Kinderlied, zu singen, widen die zween Ertzfeinde Christi vnd seiner heiligen Kirchen, den Bapst vn Türcke, etc. (Wittenberg 1543)
("Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort")

W.44 A prayer for aid, as the title suggests, against the arch-enemies of the Church and of Christ, in which category Luther coupled the Pope and the Turk. Wackernagel (vol. 3/45-8) includes four additional variants which had been published by 1566, including one which was probably edited and expanded by Johann Walther.
Bach used the hymn in two Cantatas and planned to include it in the Orgelbüchlein.

28) Da Pacem Domine. Deudsch. (Wittenberg 1531)
("Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich")

W.35 A translation of a 6th-century Latin antiphon for peace, with an added translation of a prose prayer for peace from the Roman Missal; this hymn was almost certainly written in 1529, when Suleiman was besieging Vienna. It was probably included in the lost Klug Gesangbuch of 1529. Wackernagel (vol. 3/36-8) includes three variant forms.
Bach has used this hymn as a concluding chorale to two of his Cantatas.

29) Hymnus, O lux beata, verdeuscht (Wittenberg 1543)
("Der du bist Drei in Einigkeit")

W.50 An "Abendgebet", from the 6th-century Latin vesper-hymn, often attributed to Gregory the Great. This was probably the last of Luther's hymns to be written.
Bach has a setting of this hymn among the 4-voice chorales, and planned a prelude upon it for the Orgelbüchlein.

Ballads

30) Eyn new lied vo de zween Merteren Christi, zu Brussel von de Sophisten zu Louen verbrant. (Erfurt 1524)
("Ein neues Lied wir heben an")

W.1 The earliest of Luther's hymns, in tribute to the Brussels martyrs (p. 56); almost certainly written in 1523, but published in the Erfurt Enchiridion.
This is the third of the three Luther-hymns which Bach did not use.

31) Ein dancklied für die hochsten wolthaten, so vns Gott in Christo erzeigt hat. (Erfurt 1524)
("Nu freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein")

W.2 A "Ballad on Christ's Incarnation", in which Luther sought to present "das wesentliche lutherische Theologie in der Form einer Volksballade" (Stapel, p. 203).
Bach used this hymn in an organ chorale-prelude, in the 4-voice chorales, and planned also to include it in the Orgelbüchlein.

Songs of Defiance

32) Der cxxiiii. Psalm. Nisi quia dominus etc. (Wittenberg 1524)
("Wär' Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit")

W.27 A "song of defiant faith" based upon the 124th Psalm; Stapel entitles it "Strick ist entzwei".

Bach used this hymn in Cantata #14, and planned also to use it in the Orgelbüchlein.

33) Der .xlvi. Psalm. Deus noster refugium et virtus. (Augsburg 1529)
("Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott")

W.32 The best-known of all Luther's hymns; a version of the 46th Psalm. First published in the Augsburg Form und Ordnung Gaystlicher Gesang vnd Psalmen etc. 1529; it probably had appeared also in the lost Klug Gesangbuch of the same year. Stapel concludes (p. 213) that it must have been written in 1528. Two Low German versions were published at Rostock in 1530, and a new form appeared in the Wittenberg Liederbuch of 1531 (Wackernagel, vol. 3/33f.).

Bach used the hymn as the basis for his Reformation Day Cantata, #80; for an organ chorale-prelude; and for two different settingd among the 4-voice chorales.

Songs of Temptation and Death

34) Gott der vater won vns bey. (Wittenberg 1524)
("Gott der Vater wohn uns bei")

W.24 A "petition against the devil", based upon a 15th-century vernacular hymn of petition to St Peter and the Virgin (Wackernagel, vol. 2/684), "Sanctus petrus won vns pey". Luther set it in three stanzas, identical except for the opening lines, each of which is addressed to one of the persons of the Trinity.

Bach has a setting of this hymn in the 4-voice chorales, and planned to include it in the Orgelbüchlein.

35) Der Lobsanck, Mitten wir ym leben synd. (Erfurt 1524)
("Mitten wir im Leben sind")

W.12 A "petition for right faith", Luther's extension of a translation of the mediaeval antiphon, "Media vita in morte sumus", which probably originated in the monastery of St Gall.

Bach included the hymn among the 4-voice chorales, and a prelude upon it was in the plans for the Orgelbüchlein.

36) Der Lobgesang Simeonis. Nunc dimittis. (Wittenberg 1524)
("Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin")

W.25 A metrical version of the Nunc dimittis. By 1530 this hymn had become a stated part of the burial service at Lübeck, and in 1542 Luther included it in a special collection of hymns for the burial-service.

Bach has used this hymn in four of the Cantatas, in the Orgelbüchlein, and among the 4-voice chorales.

APPENDIX C

The Authors of the Hymns in Bach's Music
to accompany note 4, page 60

(See note, p. 299a)

The following list includes all the identifiable writers of the hymns used by Bach in his music, with a reference compilation of the places in which Bach has used each of the hymns. Numerical references are to the Schmieder Verzeichnis; numerals in parentheses refer to compositions planned for the uncompleted portion of the Orgelbüchlein, thus: (OB 141).

* * *

1 AGRICOLA (Sneider) Johannes (1492-1566)
Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ....Cantata 177/1,2,3,4,5
.....Cantata 185/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 639

2 ALBERUS Erasmus (ca1500-1553)
Christ, der du bist der helle Tag.....4-Voice Chorale 273
Organ Partite diverse 766
Gelobet sei der Herr, der Gott Israel.....(OB 55)
Gott hat das Evangelium.....4-Voice Chorale 319
.....(OB 141)
Nun freut euch, Gottes Kinder, all.....4-Voice Chorale 387
.....(OB 41)

3 ALBINUS Johannes Georg (1624-69)
Alle Menschen müssen sterben.....Cantata 162/6
(another melody to the same).....4-Voice Chorale 262
(yet another melody) .....Orgelbüchlein 643
.....(OB 130)
Welt, ade! ich bin dein müde.....Cantata 27/6
.....Cantata 158/2

4 ALTENBURG Johann Michael (1584-1640)
Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein.....Cantata 42/4
Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan, Kein einig.....(OB 111)

5 AVENARIUS Matthäus (1625-92)
O Jesu, meine Lust.....Cantata 128/5

6 BECKER Cornelius (1561-1604)
Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt.....Cantata 85/3
.....Cantata 104/6

7 BEHM Martin (1557-1622)
O Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht.....Cantata 58/5
.....Cantata 118

8 BIENEMANN Caspar (1540-91)
Herr, wie du willt, so schicks mit mir.....Cantata 73/1
.....Cantata 156/6
4-Voice Chorale 339

9 BLAURER Ambrosius (1492-1564)
Wie's Gott gefällt, so gefällt mir auch.....(OB 95)

10 BÖSCHENSTEIN Johann (1472-1539?)
Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund.....Orgelbüchlein 621

11 BÖTTIGER Johann (1613-72)
O Jesu, du edle Gabe.....(OB 82)

12 BONN Hermann (d 1548)
O wir armen Sünder.....4-Voice Chorale 407
.....(OB 31)

13 BRANDENBURG Luise Henriette von (1627-67)
Jesus, meine Zuversicht.....4-Voice Chorale 365
.Organ, Miscellaneous Preludes 728

14 BRANDENBURG-CULMBACH Albrecht Markgraf von (1522-57)
Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh' allzeit.....Cantata 72/5
.....Cantata 111/1,6
.....Cantata 144/6
.....St Matthew Passion 244/31

15 BURMEISTER Franz Joachim (?1633-72)
Es ist genug.....Cantata 60/5

16 CLAUSNITZER Tobias (1618-84)
Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier.....4-Voice Chorale 373
.....Orgelbüchlein 633
.....Orgelbüchlein 634
...Miscellaneous Preludes 706
... " " 730
... " " 731
Wir glauben all' an einen Gott.Miscellaneous Preludes 740
.....(OB 64)

17 CREUTZIGER Elisabeth (d 1535)
Herr Christ, der einig' Gott's Sohn.....Cantata 22/5
.....Cantata 96/1
.....Cantata 132/6
.....Cantata 164/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 601
...Miscellaneous Preludes 698

18 DACHSTEIN Wolfgang (ca1525)
An Wasserflüssen Babylon.....4-Voice Chorale 267
...Organ, 18 Chorale-Preludes 653
... " " 653a
... " " 653b

19 DECIUS Nikolaus (d 1541)
Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'.....Cantata 85/3
.....Cantata 104/6
.....Cantata 112/1,5
(another melody to the same).....Cantata 128/1
(yet another melody, this of.....4-Voice Chorale 260
Decius' own composition) .....18 Chorale-Preludes 662
..... " 663
..... " 663a
..... " 664
..... " 664a
.....Clavierübung III 675
..... " 676
..... " 676a
..... " 677
.....Kirnberger Preludes 711
...Miscellaneous Preludes 715
... " " 716
... " " 717
.....(OB 53)
O Lamm Gottes unschuldig.....St Matthew Passion 244/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 401
.....Orgelbüchlein 618
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 656
..... " 656a

20 DENICKE David (1603-80)
Ich will zu aller Stunde.....Cantata 107/7
Kommt, lasst euch den Herren lehren.....Cantata 39/7
Schau', lieber Gott, wie mein' Feind'.....Cantata 153/1
Wenn einer alle Ding' verstünd.....Cantata 77/6

21 EBER Paul (1511-69)
Helft mir Gott's Güte preisen.....Cantata 16/6
.....Cantata 28/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 613
Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch und Gott...Cantata 127/1,5
(another melody to the same).....4-Voice Chorale 336
.....(OB 128)
Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir.....Cantata 130/1,6
.....4-Voice Chorale 326
.....(OB 57)
Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein.....4-Voice Chorale 431
..... " " 432
.....Orgelbüchlein 641

22 EBERT Jakob (1549-1614)
Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 67/7
.....Cantata 116/1,6
.....Cantata 143/2,7
.....(OB 125)

23 FISCHER Christoph (1520-97) (or VISCHER)
Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ.....Orgelbüchlein 623

24 FLEMMING Paul (1609-40)
In allen meinen Thaten.....Cantata 13/6
.....Cantata 44/7
.....Cantata 97/1,9
(another melody to the same).....4-Voice Chorale 367

25 FLITTNER Johann (1618-78)
Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?.....4-Voice Chorale 259
.....(OB 158)
Jesu, meines Herzens Freud'.....4-Voice Chorale 361
(another melody to the same).....Geistliche Lied 473
.....(OB 157)

26 FRANCK Johann (1618-77)
Du, o schönes Weltgebäude.....Cantata 56/5
.....4-Voice Chorale 301
Ihr Gestirn, ihr hohen Lüfte.....Christmas Oratorio 248/53
(another melody to the same).....4-Voice Chorale 366
.....Geistliche Lied 476
Jesu, meine Freude.....Cantata 64/8
.....Cantata 81/7
.....Motett 227/1,3,5,7,9,11
.....4-Voice Chorale 358
.....Orgelbüchlein 610
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 713
..... " " 713a
Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele.....Cantata 180/1,3,7
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 654
.....(OB 164)

27 FRANCK Melchior (d 1639)
O Jesu, wie ist dein' Gestalt.....(OB 28)

28 FRANCK Michael (1609-67)
Ach wie flüchtig.....Cantata 26/1,6
(Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig).....Orgelbüchlein 644

29 FREYSTEIN Johann Burchard (1671-1718)
Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit.....Cantata 115/1,6

30 FRITSCH Ahasuerus (1629-1701)
Hast du denn, Jesu, dein Angesicht gäntzlich verborgen
.....Cantata 57/8
.....(OB 162)
Liebster Schönster Herr Jesu, Herzog der Frommen
.....Cantata 123/1,6

31 FUGER Caspar the Elder (d ca1592)
Wir Christenleut'.....Cantata 40/3
.....Cantata 110/7
.....Cantata 142/8
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/35*
.....Orgelbüchlein 612
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 710

* cf. also Christoph RUNGE, #84 below; cf. Terry: Bach's Chorals, vol. 1, p. 53.

32 GERHARDT Paul (1607-76)

Barmherziger Vater, höchster Gott.....Cantata 103/6
Befiehl du deine Wege.....Cantata 153/5
.....St Matthew Passion 244/53
.....4-Voice Chorale 270
..... " " 271
(another melody to the same)..... " " 272
.....St Mark Passion 247/67
Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/33
Gott Vater, sende deinen Geist.....Cantata 74/8
.....Cantata 108/6
Ich hab' in Gottes Herz und Sinn.....Cantata 65/7
.....Cantata 92/1,2,4,7,9
Ich steh' an deiner Krippen hier.Christmas Oratorio 248/59
(another melody to the same) .....Geistliche Lied 469
Nun danket all' und bringet Ehr'.....Cantata 195/6
Nun ruhen alle Wälder.....4-Voice Chorale 392
.....(OB 151)
O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.....Cantata 159/2
...St Matthew Passion 244/21,23,63,72
O Welt, sieh' hier dein Leben.St Matthew Passion 244/16,44
(cf. Nun ruhen alle Wälder) .....4-Voice Chorale 393
..... " " 394
..... " " 395
Schaut! schaut!! was ist für Wunder dar
....Christmas Oratorio 248/17
Schwing' dich auf zu deinem Gott.....Cantata 40/6
Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe.....Cantata 194/12
Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen.....Motett 228
.....4-Voice Chorale 422
Was alle Weisheit in der Welt.....Cantata 176/6
Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken.....Cantata 32/6
Wie soll ich dich empfangen.....Christmas Oratorio 248/5
Wir singen dir, Immanuel.....Christmas Oratorio 248/23
Zeuch ein zu deinen Thoren.....Cantata 183/5

33 GESENIUS Justus (1601-73)

O Gott, der du aus Herzensgrund.....Cantata 219/5

34 GIGAS Johannes (1514-81) (or HEUNE)

Ach, lieben Christen, seid getrost.....Cantata 114/1,4,7
.....(OB 107)

35 GRAUMANN Johann (1487-1541)

Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren.....Cantata 17/7
.....Cantata 28/2
.....Cantata 29/8
.....Cantata 51/4
.....Cantata 167/5
.....Motett 225
.....4-Voice Chorale 389
..... " " 390
.....(OB 86)

36 GRÜNENWALD Georg (d 1530)
Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn.....Cantata 86/3
.....(OB 90)

37 HEERMANN Johann (1585-1647)
Herzliebster Jesu.....St Matthew Passion 244/3,25,55
.....St John Passion 245/4,15
.....(OB 32)
O Gott du frommer Gott.....Cantata 24/6
(another melody) .....Cantata 45/7
(melody as 24/6) .....Cantata 71/2
(" " ") .....4-Voice Chorale 399
(melody as 45/7) ..... " " 398
(a third melody) .....Organ Partita diverse 767
Treuer Gott ich muss dir klagen.....Cantata 25/6
.....Cantata 194/6
Was willst du dich betrüben.....Cantata 107/1,2,3,4,5,6
Wo soll ich fliehen hin.....Cantata 5/1,7
.....Cantata 89/6
.....Cantata 136/6
.....Cantata 148/6
(another melody) .....Cantata 163/6
.....Cantata 199/6
(melody as 5/1) ....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 646*
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 694
.....(OB 74)
Zion klagt mit Angst und Schmerzen.....Cantata 13/2

38 HEGENWALT Erhart (ca1524)
Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott.....4-Voice Chorale 305
.Miscellaneous Preludes 721
.....(OB 68)

39 HELDER Bartholomäus (d 1635)
Das Jesulein soll doch mein Trost
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 702

40 HELMBOLD Ludwig (1532-98)
Nun lasst uns Gott dem Herren.....Cantata 79/6
.....Cantata 165/6
Von Gott will ich nicht lassen.....Cantata 73/5
.....Cantata 220/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 417
..... " " 418
..... " " 419
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 658

41 HERBERGER Valerius (1562-1627)
Valet will ich dir geben.....Cantata 95/2
.....St John Passion 245/28
.....4-Voice Chorale 415
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 735
..... " " 736
.....(OB 132)

* cf. also Sigismund WEINGARTNER, #110 below, for whose Auf meinen lieben Gott this prelude is also named.

42 HERMAN Nikolaus (ca1485-1561)
Erschienen ist der herrlich' Tag.....Cantata 67/4
.....Cantata 145/7
.....Orgelbüchlein 629
Gott Vater, der du deine Sohne.....(OB 156)
Lobt Gott, ihr Christen alle gleich.....Cantata 151/5
(allzugleich)...4-Voice Chorale 375
..... " " 376
.....Orgelbüchlein 609
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 732
Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist.....Cantata 15/9
.....Cantata 31/9
.....Cantata 95/6
.....(OB 127)

43 HERMANN Johann (fl 1548-63)
Jesu, nun sei gepreiset.....Cantata 41/1,6
.....Cantata 171/6
.....Cantata 190/7
.....4-Voice Chorale 362

44 HESSE Johann (1490-1547)
O Welt, ich muss dich lassen.....St Matthew Passion 244/16

45 HEYDEN Sebald (1494-1561)
O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross
.....St Matthew Passion 244/35
.....4-Voice Chorale 402
.....Orgelbüchlein 622

46 HODENBERG Bodo von (1604-50)
Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiemit
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 668

47 HOMBURG Ernst Christoph (1605-81)
Ist Gott mein Schild und Helfersmann.....Cantata 85/6

48 HÖRNIGK Ludwig von (d 1667)
Mein' Wallfahrt ich vollendet hab'.....(OB 140)

49 HORN Johann (d 1547) (or ROH)
Danket dem Herrn, denn er ist sehr freundlich
.....4-Voice Chorale 286
.....(OB 152)
Gottes Sohn ist kommen.....4-Voice Chorale 318
.....Orgelbüchlein 600*
.....Kirnberger Preludes 703
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 724

50 JANUS Martin (ca1620-82) (or JAHN)
Jesu, meiner Seelen Wonne.....Cantata 147/6,10
.....Cantata 154/3
.....4-Voice Chorale 359

* cf. also Johann SPANGENBERG, #101 below, for whose Gott durch deine Güte this prelude also is named.

51 JONAS Justus (1493-1555)
Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält..Cantata 178/1,2,4,5,7
....4-Voice Chorale 258
.....(OB 119)

52 KEIMANN Christian (1607-62)
Freuet euch, ihr Christen alle.....Cantata 40/8
Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht.....Cantata 70/11
.....Cantata 124/1,6
.....Cantata 154/8
.....Cantata 157/5
.....4-Voice Chorale 379
..... " " 380
Sei gegrüsset, Jesu gütig.....4-Voice Chorale 410
.....Geistliches Lied 499
.....Organ Partita diverse 768

53 KIEL Tobias (1584-1626)
Herr Gott nun schleuss den Himmel auf....Orgelbüchlein 617

54 KNOLL Christoph (1563-1650)
Herzlich thut mich verlangen.....Cantata 161/6
....Miscellaneous Preludes 727

55 KOLROSS Johann (d 1558?) (or RHODANTHRACIUS)
Ich dank dir, lieber Herre.....Cantata 37/6
.....4-Voice Chorale 347
..... " " 348
Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein' Gunst
.....4-Voice Chorale 438
.....(OB 88)

56 LEON Johann (d 1597)
Ich hab' mein Sach' Gott heimgestellt.....Cantata 106/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 351
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 707
..... " " 708

57 LINDEMANN Johann (ca1550-1634)
In dir ist Freude.....Orgelbüchlein 615

58 LISCOW Salamo (1640-89) (or LISCOVIUS)
Also hat Gott der Welt geliebt.....Cantata 68/1

59 LOBWASSER Ambrosius (1515-85)
Wie nach einer Wasserquelle.....(OB 121)

60 LUTHER Martin (1483-1546)
Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein.....Cantata 2/1,6
.....Cantata 77/6
.....(OB 114)
Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir.....Cantata 38/1,6
....Clavierübung III 686
.... " 687
.....(OB 67)

60 LUTHER Martin (cont.)

Christ lag in Todesbanden.....Cantata 4/2,3,4,5,6,7,8
.....Cantata 158/4
.....4-Voice Chorale 277
..... " " 278
..... " " 279
.....Orgelbüchlein 625
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 695
..... " " 718

Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam.....Cantata 7/1,7
.....4-Voice Chorale 280
....Clavierübung III 684
.... " 685

Christum wir sollen loben schon.....Cantata 121/1,6
.....Orgelbüchlein 611
.Miscellaneous Preludes 696

Der du bist drei in Einigkeit.....4-Voice Chorale 293
.....(OB 54)

Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'.....Cantata 77/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 298
.....Orgelbüchlein 635
....Clavierübung III 678
.... " 679

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.....Cantata 80/1,2,5,8
.....4-Voice Chorale 302
..... " " 303
..Miscellaneous Preludes 720

Erhalt' uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort.....Cantata 6/6
.....Cantata 126/1,3
.....(OB 122)

Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl.....4-Voice Chorale 308
.....(OB 115)

Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein.....Cantata 69/6
.....Cantata 76/7,14
.....(OB 117)

Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ.....Cantata 64/2
.....Cantata 91/1,2,6
..Christmas Oratorio 248/7,28
.....4-Voice Chorale 314
.....Orgelbüchlein 604
...Miscellaneous Preludes 697
... " " 722
... " " 723

Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet.....4-Voice Chorale 322
.....(OB 79)

Gott, der Vater, wohn uns bei.....4-Voice Chorale 317
.....(OB 52)

Herr Gott, dich loben wir.....Cantata 16/1
.....Cantata 119/9
.....Cantata 120/6
.....Cantata 190/2
.....4-Voice Chorale 328
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 725
.....(OB 59)

60 LUTHER Martin (cont.)

Jesus Christ, unser Heiland.....4-Voice Chorale 364
.....Orgelbüchlein 626
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland.....4-Voice Chorale 363
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 665
..... " 666
.....Clavierübung III 688
..... " 689
.....(OB 78)
Komm, Gott, Schöpfer.....Cantata 218/5
.....4-Voice Chorale 370
.....Orgelbüchlein 631
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 667
Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott.....Cantata 59/3
.....Motett 226
...18 Chorale-Preludes 651
... " 652
.....(OB 43)
Mensch, willst du leben seliglich.....(OB 62)
Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin.....Cantata 83/5
.....Cantata 95/1
.....Cantata 106/3
....Cantata 125/1,3,6
..4-Voice Chorale 382
....Orgelbüchlein 616
Mitten wir im Leben sind.....4-Voice Chorale 383
.....(OB 129)
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist.....Cantata 169/7
.....Cantata 197/5
.....4-Voice Chorale 385
.....(OB 45)
Nun freut euch, lieben Christen, g'mein
.....4-Voice Chorale 388
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 734
.....(OB 85)
Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland.....Cantata 36/2,6,8
.....Cantata 61/1
.....Cantata 62/1,6
.....Orgelbüchlein 599
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 659
..... " 660
..... " 661
.....Miscellaneous Prelude 699
Vater unser im Himmelreich.....St John Passion 245/9
.....4-Voice Chorale 416
.....Orgelbüchlein 636
.....Clavierübung III 682
..... " 683
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 737
Verleih' uns Frieden gnädiglich.....Cantata 42/7
.....Cantata 126/6

60 LUTHER Martin (cont.)
Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her.....Magnificat 243A
..Christmas Oratorio 248/9
.....Orgelbüchlein 606
Miscellaneous Preludes 700
" " 701
" " 738
....Canonic Variations 769
Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar.....Orgelbüchlein 607
Wär' Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit.....Cantata 14/1,5
(another melody to the same) .....4-Voice Chorale 257
.....(OB 118)
Was fürcht'st du, Feind Herodes, sehr
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 696
Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, Schöpfer
.....4-Voice Chorale 437
.....Clavierübung III 680
..... " 681
Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht.....(OB 87)

61 MAGDEBURG Joachim (ca1525-83)
Wer Gott vertraut.....4-Voice Chorale 433
.....(OB 94)

62 MAJOR Johann (1564-1654) (or GROSS) (see RUTILIUS)
Ach Gott und Herr (st 7-10).....4-Voice Chorale 255
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 692
..... " " 693
..... " " 714

63 MELANCHTHON Philipp (1497-1560)
Ach bleib' bei uns Herr Jesu Christ (Vespera jam venit
Christe maneto).....Cantata 6/1,3,6
.....4-Voice Chorale 253
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 649
Herr Gott dich loben alle wir (Dicimus grates tibi)
.....Cantata 130/1,6

64 MEUSEL Wolfgang (1497-1563) (or MUSCULUS)
Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht.....4-Voice Chorale 274
.....(OB 149)
Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt.....Cantata 112/1,5
.....(OB 80)

65 MOLLER Martin (1547-1606)
Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid.....Cantata 3/1,2,6
.....Cantata 44/4
.....Cantata 58/1
.....Cantata 153/9
.....(OB 104)
Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott.....Cantata 90/5
.Cantata 101/1,3,4,5,6,7

66 MÜLLER Heinrich (ca1524/7) (Brüder Heinrich von ZÜTPHEN)
Hilf Gott, dass mir's gelinge.....4-Voice Chorale 343
.....Orgelbüchlein 624

67 MÜLLER Heinrich (1631-75)
Selig ist die Seele.....Cantata 87/7

68 MÜNTZER M R (ca1550)
Ach Gott, thu' dich erbarmen.....(OB 142)

69 NACHTENHÖFER Caspar Friedrich (1624-85)
Kommst du, nun, Jesu, vom Himmel herunter
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 650*

70 NEANDER Joachim (1650-80)
Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König.Cantata 137/1,2,3,4,5
.....Cantata 120a/5

71 NEUMANN Caspar (1648-1715)
Auf, mein Herz! des Herren Tag.....Cantata 145/1
Liebster Gott, wann werd' ich sterben.....Cantata 8/1,6
.Geistliches Lied 483

72 NEUMARK Georg (1621-81)
Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten.....Cantata 21/9
.....Cantata 88/7
.....Cantata 93/1,2,4,5,7
.....Cantata 197/10
.....4-Voice Chorale 434
.....Orgelbüchlein 642
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 647
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 690
..... " " 691

73 NICOLAI Philipp (1556-1608)
So wünsch' ich nun ein' gute Nacht.....(OB 106)
Wacht auf! ruft uns die Stimme.....Cantata 140/1,4,7
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 645
Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern.....Cantata 1/1,6
.....Cantata 36/4
.....Cantata 37/3
.....Cantata 49/6
.....Cantata 61/6
.....Cantata 172/6
.....4-Voice Chorale 436
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 739
.....(OB 120)

74 NIEDLING Johann (1602-68)
O Heiliger Geist, o Herre Gott.....(OB 48)

75 OLEARIUS Johannes (1611-84)
Gelobet sei der Herr.....Cantata 129/1,5
Tröstet, tröstet, meine Lieben.....Cantata 30/6

76 PFEFFERKORN Georg Michael (1645-1732)
Was frag' ich nach der Welt?.....Cantata 64/4
.....Cantata 94/1,3,5,8

* This prelude, while named for the Nachtenhöfer hymn, is based upon Cantata 137/2; cf. NEANDER, #70.

77 REISSNER Adam (d ca1575)
In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr.....Cantata 52/8
.....Cantata 106/4
..St Matthew Passion 244/38
.....Orgelbüchlein 640
....Kirnberger Preludes 712
.....(OB 97)

78 RINGWALDT Bartholomäus (1532-ca1600)
Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit.....4-Voice Chorale 307
Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut....Cantata 113/1,2,4,7,8
.....Cantata 131/2,4
.....Cantata 168/6
.....(OB 72)
Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiss gar wohl.....Cantata 168/6
.....(OB 137)

79 RINKART Martin (1586-1649)
Nun danket alle Gott.....Cantata 79/3
.....Cantata 192/1,2,3
.....Wedding Chorale 252
.....4-Voice Chorale 386
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 657

80 RIST Johann (1607-67)
Du Lebensfürst, Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 11/6
.....Cantata 43/11
Ermunt're dich, mein schwacher Geist
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/12
.....Geistliches Lied 454
Hilf, Herr Jesu, lass gelingen...Christmas Oratorio 248/42
.....4-Voice Chorale 344
Jesu, der du meine Seele.....Cantata 78/1,7
.....Cantata 105/6
.....4-Voice Chorale 352
..... " " 353
..... " " 354
.....(OB 69)
Jesu, du mein liebstes Leben..Christmas Oratorio 248/38,40
.....4-Voice Chorale 356
Nun giebt mein Jesus gute Nacht.....(OB 33)
O Ewigkeit! du Donnerwort.....Cantata 20/1,7,11
.....Cantata 60/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 397
....."Anna Magdalena" Aria 513
O Gottes Geist, mein Trost und Rath.....Cantata 175/7
O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid.....4-Voice Chorale 404
.....(OB 29)
Werde munter, mein Gemüthe.....Cantata 55/5
.....Cantata 146/8
.....St Matthew Passion 244/48
.....(OB 150)

81 RODIGAST Samuel (1649-1708)
Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan.....Cantata 12/7
.....Cantata 69a/5
.....Cantata 75/7,14
.....Cantata 98/1
.....Cantata 99/1,6
..Cantata 100/1,2,3,4,5,6
.....Cantata 144/3
.....Wedding Chorale 250
.....(OB 112)

82 ROSENTHAL Johann (1615-90)
Ach was ist unser Leben.....(OB 160)

83 RUBE Johann Christoph (1665-1746)
Wohl dem, der sich auf seinen Gott.....Cantata 139/1,6

84 RUNGE Christoph (1619-81)
Lasst Furcht und Pein fern von euch sein
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/35

85 RUTILIUS Martin (1550-1618) (see MAJOR)
Ach Gott und Herr (st 1-6).....Cantata 48/3
.....4-Voice Chorale 255
.....Kirnberger Preludes 692
..... " " 693
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 714

86 SACER Gottfried Wilhelm (1635-99)
Gott fähret auf gen Himmel.....Cantata 11/11

87 SACHS Hans (1494-1576)
Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz.....Cantata 47/5
.....Cantata 138/1,3,7
.....4-Voice Chorale 420
..... " " 421
.....(OB 102)

88 SAXE-WEIMAR Wilhelm von (1598-1662)
Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend'.....4-Voice Chorale 332
.....Orgelbüchlein 632
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 655
.....Kirnberger Preludes 709
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 726

89 SCHALLING Martin (1532-1608)
Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o Herr.....Cantata 149/7
.....Cantata 174/5
.St John Passion 245/37
....4-Voice Chorale 340
.....(OB 135)

90 SCHECHS Jakob Peter (1607-59)
Ach Gott, erhör' mein Seufzen und Wehklagen
....4-Voice Chorale 254
.....(OB 105)

91 SCHEIN Johann (1586-1630)
Mach's mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt'.....Cantata 156/2
.....St John Passion 245/22
.....(OB 138)

92 SCHNEEGASS Cyriacus (1546-97)
Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder.....Cantata 135/1,6
.....(OB 72)
Das neugebor'ne Kindelein.....Cantata 122/1,3,4,6
Gieb Fried, o frommer Gott.....(OB 124)

93 SCHNEESING Johann (d 1567)
Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 33/1,6
.....(OB 70)

94 SCHNURR Balthasar (1572-1644)
O grosser Gott von Macht.....Cantata 46/6
.....(OB 126)

95 SCHÜTZ Johann Jakob (1640-90)
Sei Lob und Ehr' dem Höchsten gut.....Cantata 117/1,4,9

96 SCHWARZBURG-RUDOLSTADT Emilie Juliane von (1637-1706)
Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende?.....Cantata 27/1
.....Cantata 84/5
.....Cantata 166/6

97 SCHWEDLER Johann Christoph (1672-1730)
Komm, Jesu, komm (conjectured by Terry).....Motett 229

98 SCHWEHER Christof (ca1583)
Lob sei Gott in dem höchsten Thron.....(OB 6)

99 SELNECKER Nikolaus (1532-92)
Ach bleib' bei uns Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 6/3
.....4-Voice Chorale 253
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 649
Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ, verlanget mich...(OB 30)
Lass mich dein sein und bleiben.....(OB 123)
Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ, dass du das Lämmlein
.....(OB 83)

100 SIEBER Justus (1628-95)
Jetzt komm' ich als ein armer Gast.....(OB 81)

101 SPANGENBERG Johann (1484-1550)
Gott durch deine Güte.....Orgelbüchlein 600

102 SPENGLER Lazarus (1479-1534)
Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt.....Cantata 18/5
.....Cantata 109/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 637
.Kirnberger Preludes 705

103 SPERATUS Paul (1484-1551)
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.....Cantata 9/1,7
.....Cantata 86/6
.....Cantata 155/5
.....Cantata 186/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 638

104 STOCKMANN Paul (?1602-36)
Jesu Leiden, Pein und Tod.....Cantata 159/5
.....Cantata 182/7
....St John Passion 245/11,30,32
.....St John Passion 245a

105 STOLBERG Anna Countess of (or Simon Count of) (ca1608)
Christus der ist mein Leben.....Cantata 95/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 281
..... " " 282

106 STOLSHAGIUS Caspar (1591) (or Bartholomäus GESIUS, 1607?)
Heut' triumphieret Gottes Sohn.....4-Voice Chorale 342
.....Orgelbüchlein 630

107 TAPP Jakob (d 1630) (or Johann STEUERLEIN, 1546-1613?)
Das alte Jahr vergangen ist.....4-Voice Chorale 288
..... " " 289
.....Orgelbüchlein 614

108 TIETZE Christoph (1641-1703) (or TITIUS)
Ich armer Mensch, ich armer Sünder.....Cantata 179/6

109 WEGELIN Josua (1604-40)
Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein.....Cantata 128/1

110 WEINGARTNER Sigismund (1607)
Auf meinen lieben Gott.....Cantata 188/5
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 646*
.....(OB 136)

111 WEISSE Michael (ca1480-1534)
Christus, der uns selig macht...St John Passion 245/12,35
.....4-Voice Chorale 283
.....Orgelbüchlein 620
Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott.....Orgelbüchlein 602
.....Kirnberger Preludes 704
Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben.....(OB 133)
Weltlich' Ehr' und zeitlich' Gut.....4-Voice Chorale 426
.....(OB 92)

112 WEISSEL Georg (1590-1635)
Nun liebe Seel', nun ist es Zeit
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/46

113 WERNER Georg (1589-1643)
Ihr Christen auserkoren.....Christmas Oratorio 248/64

* Weingartner's hymn is an alternate title for S.646; more frequently it is referred to as HEERMANN's Wo soll ich fliehen hin (Q.V.).

114 WILDENFELS Anark Herr zu (d 1539)
O Herre Gott dein göttlich Wort.....Cantata 184/5
.....(OB 60)

115 ZIEGLER Caspar (1621-90)
Ich freue mich in dir.....Cantata 133/1,6
.....Geistliches Lied 465

APPENDIX D

The Composers of the Hymn-tunes in Bach's Music
to accompany note 4, page 60

(See note, p. 299a)

The following list includes all the identifiable composers of the hymn-tunes used by Bach in his music, with a reference compilation of the places in which Bach has used each of the tunes. Numerical references are to the Schmieder Verzeichnis; as in the foregoing list of authors of the hymns, numerals in parentheses refer to compositions planned for the Orgelbüchlein but not completed. In some cases it can only be conjectured that a given tune may have been the one which Bach had planned to use.

* * *

1 AHLE Johann Rodolph (1625-73)
- Es ist genug.....Cantata 60/5
- Jesu, meines Herzens Freud'.....4-Voice Chorale 361
- Liebster Immanuel, Herzog der Frommen.....Cantata 123/1,5
- ..Geistliches Lied 485
- Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier.....4-Voice Chorale 373
- .....Orgelbüchlein 633
- ..... " 634
- .....Kirnberger Preludes 706
- .....Miscellaneous Preludes 730
- ..... " " 731

2 ALBERT Heinrich (1604-51)
- Gott des Himmels und der Erden....Christmas Oratorio 248/53
- .....(OB 143)

3 ALTENBURG Johann Michael (1584-1640)
- Herr Gott, nun schleuss den Himmel auf....Orgelbüchlein 617

4 BOURGEOIS Louis (ca1510-1561?)
- Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf
- (to Freu' dich sehr, o meine Seele).....Cantata 13/3
- .....Cantata 19/7
- .....Cantata 70/7
- (to Kommt lasst euch den Herren lehren).....Cantata 39/7
- (to Treuer Gott ich muss dir klagen).....Cantata 25/6
- .....Cantata 194/6
- (to Tröstet, tröstet, meine Lieben).....Cantata 30/6
- (to Weg mein Herz mit den Gedanken).....Cantata 32/6
- Leve le coeur, ouvre l'oreille
- (to Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiermit)
- .....18 Chorale-Preludes 668
- (to Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein)..4-Voice Chorale 431
- .. " " 432
- ....Orgelbüchlein 641

4 BOURGEOIS Louis (cont.)
On a beau son maison bastir
(to Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch und Gott)
.....Cantata 127/1,5
Or sus, serviteurs du Seigneur
(to Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir).....Cantata 130/1,6
....4-Voice Chorale 326
.... " " 327
.....(OB 57)

5 BURCK Joachim von (?1541-1610)
Es stehn vor Gottes Throne.....4-Voice Chorale 309

6 CALVISIUS Seth (1556-1615) (or KALLWITZ)
Ach bleib' bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 6/3
.....4-Voice Chorale 253
....."Schübler" Chorale-Prelude 649
In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr.....Cantata 52/6
.....Cantata 106/4
...St Matthew Passion 244/38
...Christmas Oratorio 248/46
.....Orgelbüchlein 640
.....Kirnberger Preludes 712

7 CRÜGER Johann (1598-1662)
Ach Gott und Herr.....4-Voice Chorale 255
.....Kirnberger Preludes 692
..... " " 693
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 714
Ach wie flüchtig (after M FRANCK).....Cantata 26/1,6
.....Orgelbüchlein 644
Als der gütige Gott vollenden wollt' sein Wort
.....4-Voice Chorale 264
Als Jesus Christus in der Nacht.....4-Voice Chorale 265
Du o schönes Weltgebäude.....Cantata 56/6
.....4-Voice Chorale 301
Gott, du selber bist das Licht.....4-Voice Chorale 316
Herr, ich habe missgehandelt.....4-Voice Chorale 330
..... " " 331
Herr, straf' mich nicht in deinen Zorn..4-Voice Chorale 338
Herzliebster Jesu.....St Matthew Passion 244/3,25,55
.....St John Passion 245/4,15
Jesu, meine Freude.....Cantata 64/8
.....Cantata 81/7
.....Cantata 87/7
.....Motett 227
.....4-Voice Chorale 358
.....Orgelbüchlein 610
.....Kirnberger Preludes 713
..... " " 713a
Jesus, meine Zuversicht.....Cantata 145/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 365
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 728
Keinen hat Gott verlassen.....4-Voice Chorale 369
Komm, Gott Schöpfer.....Cantata 218/5a
.....4-Voice Chorale 370
.....Orgelbüchlein 631
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 667

7 CRÜGER Johann (cont.)
Nun danket alle Gott.....Cantata 79/3*
.....Cantata 192/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 252
..... " " 386
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 657
O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort (from Joh. Schop)
.....Cantata 20/1,7, 11
.....Cantata 60/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 397
....."Anna Magdalena" Aria 513
O wie selig seid ihr doch.....4-Voice Chorale 405
Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele.....Cantata 180/1
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 654

8 DACHSTEIN Wolfgang (ca1525)
An Wasserflüssen Babylon.....4-Voice Chorale 267
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 653
..... " 653a
..... " 653b

9 DECIUS Nikolaus (d 1541)
Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'.....4-Voice Chorale 260
....18 Chorale-Preludes 662
.... " 663
.... " 664
.....Clavierübung III 675
..... " 676
..... " 677
....Kirnberger Preludes 711
.Miscellaneous Preludes 715
. " " 716
. " " 717
.....(OB 53)
(to Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein).....Cantata 128/1
(to Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt).....Cantata 85/3
.....Cantata 104/6
.....Cantata 112/1,5
O Lamm Gottes unschuldig.....St Matthew Passion 244/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 401
.....Orgelbüchlein 618
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 656

10 EBELING Johann Georg (1637-76)
Warum sollt' ich mich denn grämen.....Motett 228
.Christmas Oratorio 248/33
.....4-Voice Chorale 422

11 FIGULUS Wolfgang (ca1520-91)
Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen.....Orgelbüchlein 613

12 FLITTNER Johann (1618-78)
Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?.....4-Voice Chorale 259

*. The tune of Nun danket alle Gott is attributed also to Luca MARENZIO, #31 below, and to the author of the hymn, Martin RINKART, #36 below; but the present form of the tune is almost certainly the work of Crüger.

13 FRANCK Melchior (d 1639)
Gen Himmel aufgefahren ist.....(OB 40)
O grosser Gott von Macht.....Cantata 46/6
.....(OB 126)

14 FRANCK Michael (1609-67)
Ach wie flüchtig (arr. CRÜGER) .....Cantata 26/1,6
.....Orgelbüchlein 644

15 FUGER Caspar the Younger (d 1617)
Wir Christenleut'.....Cantata 40/3
.....Cantata 110/7
.....Cantata 142/8
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/35
.....Orgelbüchlein 612
.....Kirnberger Preludes 710

16 FUNCKE Friedrich (1642-99)
Bleiches Antlitz, sei gegrüsset
(to Schwing' dich auf zu deinem Gott).....Cantata 40/6

17 GASTOLDI Giovanni Giacamo (d 1622)
In dir ist Freude.....Orgelbüchlein 615

18 GESIUS Bartholomäus (ca1555-1614)
Befiehl du deine Wege.....4-Voice Chorale 272
Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 67/7
.....Cantata 116/1,6
.....Cantata 143/2
.....(OB 125)
Gott ist mein Heil, mein' Hülf' und Trost.....(OB 110)
Heut' triumphieret Gottes Sohn.....4-Voice Chorale 342
.....Orgelbüchlein 630

19 GREITTER Matthäus (d ca1550)
Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein.....Cantata 69/6
O Mensch, bewein' dein Sünde gross
.....St Matthew Passion 244/35
.....4-Voice Chorale 402
.....Orgelbüchlein 622

20 GRÜENWALD Georg (d 1530)
Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn.....Cantata 86/3
(to Gott Vater, sende deinen Geist).....Cantata 74/8
.....Cantata 108/6

21 HAMMERSCHMIDT Andreas (1612-75)
Freuet euch, ihr Christen alle.....Cantata 40/8
Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht.....Cantata 70/11
.....Cantata 124/1,6
.....Cantata 154/8
.....Cantata 157/5
.....Cantata 163/5
.....4-Voice Chorale 380

22 HASSLER Hans Leo (1564-1612)
Herzlich thut mich verlangen.....Cantata 135/1,6
.....Cantata 161/6
....Miscellaneous Preludes 727
(to Befiehl du deine Wege).....Cantata 153/5
.....St Matthew Passion 244/53
.....4-Voice Chorale 270
..... " " 271
(to Ihr Christen auserkoren)....Christmas Oratorio 248/64
(to O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden).....Cantata 159/2
.....St Matthew Passion 244/21,23,63,72
(to Wie soll ich dich empfangen)
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/5

23 HELDER Bartholomäus (d 1635)
Das Jesulein soll doch mein Trost..Kirnberger Preludes 702

24 HERMAN Nikolaus (ca1485-1561)
Erschienen ist der herrlich' Tag.....Cantata 67/4
.....Cantata 145/7
.....Orgelbüchlein 629
Gott Vater, der du deine Sohne.....(OB 156)
Lobt Gott, ihr Christen alle gleich.....Cantata 151/5
(allzugleich)...4-Voice Chorale 375
..... " " 376
.....Orgelbüchlein 609
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 732
(to Nun danket all' und bringet Ehr').....Cantata 195/6
Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist.....Cantata 15/9
.....Cantata 31/9
.....Cantata 95/6
.....(OB 127)

25 HINTZE Jakob (1622-1702) (or Johann?)
Alle Menschen müssen sterben.....4-Voice Chorale 262
.....(OB 130)

26 ISAAK Heinrich (b ca1440)
O Welt, ich muss dich lassen
(to In allen meinen Thaten).....Cantata 13/6
.....Cantata 44/7
.....Cantata 97/1,9
(to Nun ruhen alle Wälder).....4-Voice Chorale 392
(to O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben)
...St Matthew Passion 244/16,44
.....St John Passion 245/15
.....4-Voice Chorale 393
..... " " 394
..... " " 395

27 KÖNIG Johann Balthasar (1691-1758)
O stilles Gottes Lamm
(to Ich freue mich in dir).....Cantata 133/1,6

28 KUGELMANN Johann (d ca1556) (or 1542?)

Nun lob, mein' Seele, den Herren.....Cantata 17/7
.....Cantata 28/2
.....Cantata 29/8
.....Cantata 167/5
.....Motett 225
.....4-Voice Chorale 389
..... " " 390
.....(OB 86)

29 LUTHER Martin (1483-1546)

(The following hymn-tunes are ascribed to Luther with varying degrees of probability; cf. p. 58.)

Aus tiefer Noth schrei' ich zu dir.....Cantata 138/1,4,6
.....Clavierübung III 686
..... " 687
.....(OB 67)

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.....Cantata 80/1,2,5,8
.....4-Voice Chorale 302
..... " " 303
..Miscellaneous Preludes 720

Erhalt' uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort.....Cantata 6/6
.....Cantata 126/1
.....(OB 122)

Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl.....4-Voice Chorale 308
.....(OB 115)

Jesus Christus unser Heiland.....4-Voice Chorale 363
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 665
..... " 666
.....Clavierübung III 688
..... " 689
.....(OB 78)

Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott.....Cantata 59/3
.....Cantata 175/7
.....Motett 226
....18 Chorale-Preludes 651
.... " 652
.....(OB 43)

Mit Fried' und Freud' fahr ich dahin.....Cantata 83/5
.....Cantata 95/1
.....Cantata 106/3
.....Cantata 125/1,3,6
...4-Voice Chorale 382
.....Orgelbüchlein 616

Nun freut euch, lieben Christen, g'mein.....Cantata 70/9
.....4-Voice Chorale 388
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 734
(to Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit)....4-Voice Chorale 307
(to Ich steh' an deine Krippen hier)
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/59

Verleih' uns Frieden gnädiglich.....Cantata 42/7
.....Cantata 126/6

29 LUTHER Martin (cont.)
Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her.....Magnificat 243A
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/9,17,23
.....Orgelbüchlein 606
.....Kirnberger Preludes 700
..... " " 701
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 738
.....Canonic Variations 769
Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar.....Orgelbüchlein 607

30 MAGDEBURG Joachim (ca1525-83)
Wer Gott vertraut.....4-Voice Chorale 433
.....(OB 94)

31 MARENZIO Luca (d 1598)
Nun danket alle Gott.....cf. Johann CRÜGER, #7 above

32 MÜNTZER M R (ca1550)
Ach Gott thu' dich erbarmen.....(OB 142)

33 NEUMARK Georg (1621-81)
Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten.....Cantata 21/9
.....Cantata 88/7
.....Cantata 93/1,2,(3),4,5,(6),7
.....Cantata 197/10
.....4-Voice Chorale 434
.....Orgelbüchlein 642
....."Schübler" Chorale-Preludes 647
.....Kirnberger Preludes 690
..... " " 691
(to Ich armer Mensch, ich armer Sünder).....Cantata 179/6
(to Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende).....Cantata 27/1
.....Cantata 84/5
.....Cantata 166/6

34 NICOLAI Philipp (1556-1608)
Wacht auf, ruft uns die Stimme.....Cantata 140/1,4,7
....."Schübler" Chorale-Preludes 645
Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern.....Cantata 1/1,6
.....Cantata 36/4
.....Cantata 37/3
.....Cantata 49/6
.....Cantata 61/6
.....Cantata 172/6
.....4-Voice Chorale 436
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 739
.....(OB 120)

35 PACHELBEL Johann (1653-1706)
Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan.....Cantata 12/7
.....Cantata 69a/6
.....Cantata 75/7,8,14
.....Cantata 98/1
.....Cantata 99/1,6
.....Cantata 100/1,6
.....Wedding Chorale 250

36 RINKART Martin (1586-1649)
Nun danket alle Gott.....cf. Johann CRÜGER, #7 above

37 ROSENMÜLLER Johann (1619-84)
Alle Menschen müssen sterben.....Cantata 162/6
.....4-Voice Chorale 262
.....Orgelbüchlein 643

Welt ade, ich bin dein müde.....Cantata 27/6
.....Cantata 158/2

38 SCHEIN Johann (1586-1630)
Auf meinen lieben Gott....."Schübler" Chorale-Preludes 646
Mach's mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güte.....Cantata 139/1,6
.....Cantata 156/2
.....St John Passion 245/22
.....(OB 138)

39 SCHNEESING Johann (d 1567)
Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ.....Cantata 33/1,6
.....(OB 70)

40 SCHOP Johann (d ca1665)
Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist.....Cantata 11/6
.....Cantata 43/11
.....Christmas Oratorio 248/12
.....Geistliches Lied 454

Wach' auf, mein Geist
(to O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort).....Cantata 20/1,7,11
.....Cantata 60/1
Werde munter, mein Gemüthe.....Cantata 55/5
.....Cantata 146/8
.....St Matthew Passion 244/48
(to Jesu, meiner Seelen Wonne).....Cantata 147/6,10
.....Cantata 154/3

41 STEUERLEIN Johann (1546-1613)
Das alte Jahr vergangen ist.....4-Voice Chorale 288
..... " " 289
.....Orgelbüchlein 614

42 STIELER Caspar (ca1679)
Wo soll ich fliehen hin?.....Cantata 163/6
.....Cantata 199/6
.....(OB 74)

43 TESCHNER Melchior (ca1614)
Valet will ich dir geben.....Cantata 95/2
.....St John Passion 245/28
.....4-Voice Chorale 415
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 735
..... " " 736

44 VETTER Daniel (d 1721)
Liebster Gott, wann werd' ich sterben?.....Cantata 8/1,6
.....Geistliches Lied 499
Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen?.....4-Voice Chorale 422

45 VOPELIUS Gottfried (1645-1715)
Also hat Gott der Welt geliebt.....Cantata 68/1
Sei gegrüsset, Jesu gütig.....4-Voice Chorale 410
.....Geistliches Lied 499
.....Organ Partita diverse 768
.....(OB 163)

46 VULPIUS Melchior (ca1560-1615)
Christus der ist mein Leben.....Cantata 95/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 281
..... " " 282
Das neugebor'ne Kindelein.....Cantata 122/1,4,6
Jesu Kreuz, Leiden und Pein.....Cantata 159/5
.....Cantata 182/7
...St John Passion 245/11,30,32
.....St John Passion 245a
O heiliger Geist, du göttlich Feuer.....(OB 47)

47 WALTHER Johann (1496-1570) (see also Martin LUTHER)
Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein.....Cantata 2/1,6
.....Cantata 77/6
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 741
Christ lag in Todesbanden.....Cantata 4/2,3,4,5,6,7,8
.....Cantata 158/4
.....4-Voice Chorale 277
..... " " 278
..... " " 279
.....Orgelbüchlein 625
.....Kirnberger Preludes 695
.....Miscellaneous Preludes 718
(to Was alle Weisheit in der Welt).....Cantata 176/6
Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam.....Cantata 7/1,7
.....4-Voice Chorale 280
....Clavierübung III 684
.... " 685
Christum wir sollen loben schon.....Cantata 121/1,6
.....Orgelbüchlein 611
....Kirnberger Preludes 696
Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'.....Cantata 77/1
.....4-Voice Chorale 298
.....Orgelbüchlein 635
....Clavierübung III 678
.... " 679
Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt.....Cantata 18/5
.....Cantata 109/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 637
.Kirnberger Preludes 705
Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott.....4-Voice Chorale 305
.Miscellaneous Preludes 721
.....(OB 68)
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl.....4-Voice Chorale 308
.....(OB 115)

47 WALTHER Johann (cont.)

Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ.....Cantata 64/2
.....Cantata 91/1,2,6
..Christmas Oratorio 248/7,28
.....4-Voice Chorale 314
.....Orgelbüchlein 604
.....Kirnberger Preludes 697
...Miscellaneous Preludes 722
... " " 723

Gott der Vater wohn uns bei.....4-Voice Chorale 317
.....(OB 52)

Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet.....4-Voice Chorale 322
.....(OB 79)

Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottessohn.....Cantata 22/5
.....Cantata 96/1,6
.....Cantata 132/6
.....Cantata 164/6
.....Orgelbüchlein 601
.Kirnberger Preludes 698

Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin.....Cantata 83/5
.....Cantata 95/1
.....Cantata 106/3
....Cantata 125/1,3,6
..4-Voice Chorale 382
....Orgelbüchlein 616

Mitten wir im Leben sind.....4-Voice Chorale 383
.....(OB 129)

Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist.....Cantata 169/7
.....Cantata 197/5
.....4-Voice Chorale 385
.....(OB 45)

Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland.....Cantata 36/2,6,8
.....Cantata 61/1
.....Cantata 62/1,6
.....Orgelbüchlein 599
.....18 Chorale-Preludes 659
..... " 660
..... " 661
.....Kirnberger Preludes 699

Wär' Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit.....Cantata 14/1,5
.....(OB 118)

Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, Schöpfer
.....4-Voice Chorale 237
.....Clavierübung III 680
..... " 681

APPENDIX E

The Orgelbüchlein: its Plan and its Completion
to accompany note 2, p. 146 and note 3, p. 253

(See note, p. 299a)

The following list summarises the researches of Terry, who in Bach's Chorals, vol. 3, pp. 18-66, traces the sources of all the preludes which Bach planned to include in the Orgelbüchlein. The list includes all the titles in Bach's complete plan; those which were actually completed are underscored. Opposite each of the completed titles is its number in the Schmieder Verzeichnis.

* * *

ADVENT

S.599	1	Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland
S.600	2	Gott, durch deine Güte or Gottes Sohn ist kommen
S.601	3	Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottes-Sohn or Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset
S.602	4	Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott

CHRISTMAS

S.603	5	Puer natus in Bethlehem
	6	Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron
S.604	7	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ
S.605	8	Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich
S.606	9	Vom Himmel hoch, da komm' ich her
S.607	10	Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar
S.608	11	In dulci jubilo
S.609	12	Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich
S.610	13	Jesu, meine Freude
S.611	14	Christum wir sollen loben schon
S.612	15	Wir Christenleut'

THE OLD YEAR AND NEW YEAR

S.613	16	Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen
S.614	17	Das alte Jahr vergangen ist
S.615	18	In dir ist Freude

NUNC DIMITTIS

S.616	19	Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin
S.617	20	Herr Gott, nun schleuss den Himmel auf

PASSION

S.618	21	O Lamm Gottes unschuldig
S.619	22	Christe, du Lamm Gottes
S.620	23	Christus, der uns selig macht
S.621	24	Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund'
S.622	25	O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross
S.623	26	Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ
S.624	27	Hilf Gott, dass mir's gelinge
	28	O Jesu, wie ist dein Gestalt
	29	O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid
	30	Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ, verlanget mich
	31	O wir armen Sünder
	32	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen
	33	Nun giebt mein Jesus gute Nacht

EASTER

S.625	34	Christ lag in Todesbanden
S.626	35	Jesus Christus, unser Heiland
S.627	36	Christ ist erstanden
S.628	37	Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ
S.629	38	Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag
S.630	39	Heut' triumphieret Gottes Sohn

ASCENSION

	40	Gen Himmel aufgefahren ist
	41	Nun freut euch, Gottes Kinder all'

PENTECOST

	42	Komm Heiliger Geist, erfüll' die Herzen deiner Gläubigen
	43	Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott
S.631	44	Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist
	45	Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist
	46	Spiriti Sancti gratia or Des Heiligen Geistes reiche Gnade
	47	O heil'ger Geist, das göttlich' Feuer
	48	O heil'ger Geist, o heil'ger Gott

WORD OF GOD

S.632	49	Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend'
S.633	50	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier
S.634	51	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier (distinctius)

TRINITY

	52	Gott der Vater wohn uns bei
	53	Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'
	54	Der du bist Drei in Einigkeit

SONGS OF PRAISE

55 Gelobet sei der Herr, der Gott Israel
56 Meine Seel' erhebt den Herrn
57 Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir
58 Es stehn vor Gottes Throne
59 Herr Gott dich loben wir

SONGS OF FAITH

60 O Herre Gott, dein göttlich Wort
S.635 61 Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'
62 Mensch, willt du leben seliglich
63 Herr Gott, erhalt' uns für und für
64 Wir glauben all' an einen Gott
S.636 65 Vater unser im Himmelreich

BAPTISM

66 Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam

CONFESSION

67 Aus tiefer Noth schrei' ich zu dir
68 Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott
69 Jesu, der du meine Seele
70 Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
71 Ach Gott und Herr
72 Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut
73 Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder
74 Wo soll ich fliehen hin
75 Wir haben schwerlich
S.637 76 Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt

SALVATION IN CHRIST

S.638 77 Es ist das Heil uns kommen her

COMMUNION

78 Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns
79 Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet
80 Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt
81 Jetzt komm ich als ein armer Gast
82 O Jesu, du edle Gabe
83 Wir danken dir Herr Jesu Christ, dass du das Lämmlein
84 Ich weiss ein Blümlein hübsch und fein

THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE

85 Nun freut euch, lieben Christen, g'mein
86 Nun lob mein Seel' den Herren

CHRISTIAN LIFE

87 Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht
88 Wo Gott zum Haus nicht giebt sein Gunst
89 Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh' allzeit
90 Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn
S.639 91 Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
92 Weltlich Ehr' und zeitlich Gut
93 Von Gott will ich nicht lassen
94 Wer Gott vertraut
95 Wie's Gott gefällt, so gefällt mir's auch
96 O Gott, du frommer Gott

TRUST

97 In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr
S.640 98 In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr (alio modo)
99 Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstehn
S.641 100 Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein
101 An Wasserflüssen Babylon
102 Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz
103 Frisch' auf, mein' Seel', verzage nicht
104 Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid
105 Ach Gott, erhör' mein Seufzen und Wehklagen
106 So wünsch' ich nun eine gute Nacht
107 Ach lieben Christen seid getrost
108 Wenn dich Unglück thät greiffen an
109 Keinen hat Gott verlassen
110 Gott ist mein Heil, mein Hülf' und Trost
111 Was Gott thut, dass ist wohlgethan, kein einig
112 Was Gott thut, dass ist wohlgethan, es bleibt gerecht
S.642 113 Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten

THE CHURCH

114 Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein
115 Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl
116 Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott
117 Es woll uns Gott genädig sein
118 Wär' Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit
119 Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält
120 Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern
121 Wie nach einer Wasser Quelle
122 Erhalt' uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort
123 Lass mich dein sein und bleiben
124 Gib Fried' du frommer treuer Gott, du
125 Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ
126 O grosser Gott von Macht

FUNERAL

127 Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist
128 Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch und Gott
129 Mitten wir im Leben sind
130 Alle Menschen müssen sterben
S.643 131 Alle Menschen müssen sterben (alio modo)
132 Valet will ich dir geben
133 Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben
134 Christus, der ist mein Leben
135 Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o Herr
136 Auf meinen lieben Gott
137 Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiss gar wohl
138 Mach's mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt'
139 Herr Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht
140 Mein Wallfart ich vollendet hab'
141 Gott hat das Evangelium
142 Ach Gott, thu' dich erbarmen

MORNING

143 Gott des Himmels und der Erden
144 Ich dank' dir, lieber Herr
145 Aus meines Herzens Grunde
146 Ich dank' dir schon
147 Das wallt mein Gott

EVENING

148 Christ', der du bist der helle Tag
149 Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht
150 Werde munter, mein Gemüte
151 Nun ruhen alle Wälder

MISCELLANEOUS

152 Danket dem Herrn, denn er ist
153 Nun lasst uns Gott dem Herren
154 Lobet den Herren, denn er ist sehr freundlich
155 Singen wir aus Herzens Grund
156 Gott Vater, der du deine Sohn
157 Jesu, meines Herzens Freud'
158 Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen
S.644 159 Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig
160 Ach, was ist doch unser Leben
161 Allenthalben, wo ich gehe
162 Hast du denn, Jesu, dein Angesicht or
Soll ich denn, Jesu
163 Sei gegrüsset, Jesu gütig or
O Jesu, du edle Gabe
164 Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele

APPENDIX F

Biblical Passages in the Vocal Works of Bach
to accompany note 1, p. 181
(See note, p. 299a)

The following list includes all the direct quotations from Luther's German version of the Bible which can be traced in the vocal works of Bach. It is not always easy to ascertain whether some phrases of text are purposely quoted from the Bible, because the poetic style of many of the texts is consciously Biblical. In general, however, the list includes every quotation of a full phrase, verse or longer passage from the Luther text. The list does not include passages (e.g., Psalm 12 in Cantata 2; Psalm 23 in Cantata 112) in which the Biblical reference is made indirectly by the use of hymns based on the Bible.

As in the preceding Appendices, Bach's works are referred to by their numbers in the Schmieder Verzeichnis. All verse-numbers in the Psalms follow the German practice, which ordinarily is the same as English but which occasionally varies slightly from the English numeration.

* * *

OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis	21:22	Cantata 71/3
	32:27	157/1
		188/2
Deuteronomy	33:25	Cantata 71/3
2 Samuel	19:36,38	Cantata 71/2
Job	19:25	Cantata 160/1
Psalm	13:2	Cantata 186/2
	16:10	15/1
	19:2,4	76/1
	22:27	75/1
	25:2	150/1
	:5	150/4
	:15	150/6
	26:8	51/2
	29:2	148/1*
	31:6	106/3
	38:4	25/1
	40:8,9	182/3

* Both Terry and Spitta identify the Psalm quotation in Cantata 148/1 as Psalm 96:8,9. The words are indeed to be found in those verses, but disconnected; in Psalm 29:2 they form one continuous verse.

OLD TESTAMENT (cont.)

Psalm 42:2.....Cantata 148/3
43:5..... 21/6
47:6,7..... 43/1
48:11..... 171/1
50:23..... 17/1
65:2..... 120/1
66:1..... 51/1
69:31..... 142/4
74:12..... 71/1
:16,17..... 71/4
:19..... 71/6
75:2..... 29/2
80:2..... 104/1
84:3..... 32/4
:12..... 79/1
85:11..... 119/2
90:12..... 106/2
94:19..... 31/1
96:8..... 148/1
97:11,12..... 195/1
103:2..... 69/1
104:27,28..... 187/1
115:12..... 196/2
:13..... 196/3
:14..... 196/4
:15..... 196/5
116:7..... 21/9
117.....Motett 230
118:15,16.....Cantata 149/1
:24..... 122/5
119:166..... 51/1
121:3,4..... 193/2
126:2..... 110/1
128:6..... 34/5
..... 34a/4
130:1,2..... 131/1
:3,4..... 131/2
:5..... 131/3
:6..... 131/4
:7,8..... 131/5
139:23..... 136/1
143:1,2..... 105/1
145:15..... 23/3
146:1..... 143/1
:5..... 143/3
:10..... 143/5
..... 143/7
147:12-14a..... 119/1
149:1..... 190/1
:1-3.....Motett 225
150:2,6..... 225
:4,6.....Cantata 190/1

OLD TESTAMENT (cont.)

Isaiah 9:5.....Cantata 142/1
38:1..... 106/2
41:10..... 153/3
.....Motett 228
43:1..... 228
54:10.....Cantata 58/2
55:10,11..... 18/2
58:7,8..... 39/1
60:6..... 65/1

Jeremiah 5:3.....Cantata 102/1
10:6..... 110/3
16:16..... 88/1
17:9..... 176/1
32:41..... 28/3

Lamentations 1:12.....Cantata 46/1

Hosea 11:8.....Cantata 89/1

Micah 6:8.....Cantata 45/1

...Apocrypha...

Ecclesiasticus 1:28.....Cantata 179/1
14:17..... 106/2
50:22..... 120a/2

NEW TESTAMENT

St Matthew 2:1.....Christmas Oratorio 44
:2..... 45
:3..... 48
:4-6..... 50
:7,8..... 55
:9-11..... 58
:12..... 60
5:22.....Cantata 170/2
6:31,32..... 187/4
7:12..... 24/3
:22,23..... 45/4
8:26..... 81/4
9:2..... 113/5
11:28..... 113/6
20:14..... 144/1
22:39..... 169/6
23:33..... 20/2
24:23..... 141/3
26:1,2.....St Matthew Passion 2
:3-5..... 4
:6-8a..... 6
:8b,9..... 7
:10-13..... 8
:14-16..... 11
:17a..... 13
:17b..... 14
:18-22..... 15
:23-29..... 17
:30-32..... 20
:33-35..... 22
:36-38..... 24
:39..... 27
:40-42..... 30
:41.....Cantata 70/4
:43-50.....St Matthew Passion 32
:51-56..... 34
:57-60a..... 37
:60b-63a..... 39
:63b-66..... 42
:67,68..... 43
:69-73..... 45
:74,75..... 46
:75a,c.....St John Passion 18
27:1-5a.....St Matthew Passion 49
:5b,6..... 50
:7-14..... 52
:15-22..... 54
:23a..... 56
:23b-26..... 59
:27-30..... 62
:31-32..... 64
:33-43..... 67

NEW TESTAMENT (cont.)

St Matthew 27:44.....St Matthew Passion 68
:45-50..... 71
:51-58..... 73
:51,52.....St John Passion 61
:59-66.....St Matthew Passion 76

St Mark 9:24b.....Cantata 109/1
16:6..... 15/4
:15b..... 7/5
:16a..... 37/1
:19..... 43/4
..... 11/5

St Luke 1:46-55 (Latin).....Magnificat 243
:46-48 (German).....Cantata 10/1
:54..... 10/5
2:1-6.....Christmas Oratorio 2
:7..... 6
:8,9..... 11
:10,11..... 13
:12..... 16
:13..... 20
:14.....Cantata 110/5
..... 197/1
.....B minor Mass 4
.....F Major Mass 2
.....A Major Mass 2
.....G minor Mass 2
.....G Major Mass 2
.....Christmas Oratorio 21
:15a..... 25
:15b..... 26
:16-19..... 30
:20..... 34
:21..... 37
:29-31.....Cantata 83/2
:49..... 32/2
:49b..... 154/5
3:22..... 7/3
5:10b..... 88/4
10:27..... 77/1
14:11..... 47/1
17:15,16..... 17/4
18:31..... 22/1
:31b..... 159/1
:34..... 22/1
23:43..... 106/3
24:29..... 6/1
:36..... 158/1
:50,51..... 11/2
:52..... 11/9

NEW TESTAMENT (cont.)

St John 3:16.....Cantata 17/2
.....68/1
.....174/3
:18.....68/5
10:3.....175/1
:6b.....175/5
* :12.....85/1
14:23.....59/1
.....74/1
.....172/2
:28b.....74/4
16:2a.....44/1
:2b.....44/2
:2.....183/1
:5.....166/1
:7.....108/1
:13.....108/4
:20.....103/1
:23b.....86/1
:24a.....87/1
:33b.....87/5
18:1-4.....St John Passion 2
:5a..... 3
:5b-7a..... 4
:7b..... 5
:8..... 6
:9-11..... 8
:12-14..... 10
:15a..... 12
:15b-23..... 14
:24,25a..... 16
:25b..... 17
:25c-27..... 18
:28-30a..... 22
:30b..... 23
:31a..... 24
:31b..... 25
:32-36..... 26
:37-40a..... 28
:40b..... 29
:40c-19:1..... 30
19:2,3a..... 33
:3b..... 34
:3c-6a..... 35
:6b..... 36
:6c,7a..... 37
:7b..... 38
:8-12a..... 39
:12b..... 41
:12c..... 42
:13-15a..... 43

*. 14:6.....Motett 229

NEW TESTAMENT (cont.)

St John 19:15b.....St John Passion 44
:15c..... 45
:15d-16a..... 46
:16b,17..... 47
:18-21a..... 49
:21b..... 50
:22..... 51
:23,24a..... 53
:24b..... 54
:24c-27a..... 55
:27b-30a..... 57
:30b..... 59
:31-37..... 64
:38-42..... 66
20:19a.....Cantata 42/1
:19b,21b,26b..... 67/6

Acts 1:9.....Cantata 11/5
:10,11..... 11/7
:12..... 11/9
14:22b..... 12/3
..... 146/2
17:28a..... 106/2

Romans 2:4,5.....Cantata 102/4
:4b..... 90/2
7:24..... 48/1
8:1a..... 74/6
:1.....Motett 227/2
:2..... 227/4
:9..... 227/6
:10..... 227/8
:11..... 227/10
:26a..... 226/1
:26b..... 226/2
:27..... 226/3
10:9.....Cantata 145/2

1 Timothy 1:15.....Cantata 141/1

2 Timothy 2:8.....Cantata 67/1

Hebrews 13:5b.....Cantata 56/2
:16..... 39/4

James 1:12.....Cantata 57/1

1 John 3:1.....Cantata 64/1
:8b..... 40/1

NEW TESTAMENT (cont.)

Revelation	2:10	Cantata	49/5
	3:20		49/6
			61/4
	5:5		219/1
	:12		21/11
	7:12		21/11
	12:7		19/1
	:10b		50/1
	14:13b		60/4
	22:20b		106/2

APPENDIX G

Bach's Use of Biblical Passages from or Allusions to The Liturgical Lessons of the Leipzig Lectionary

to accompany note 1, page 181

(See note, p. 299a)

The following list will indicate the extent to which Bach made use in his Cantatas of the liturgical lessons of the Leipzig lectionary. Following the designation of each Sunday or festival the appointed lesson is indicated in parentheses; the portions of those lessons used by Bach in Cantatas for the respective days are listed immediately below each day. Where a Cantata only alludes to a liturgical lesson without quoting it directly, its reference number is indicated in parentheses, thus: (Cantata 125).

THE EPISTLES

Christmas Day (Titus 2:11-14; Isaiah 9:2-7)
Isaiah 9:5.....Cantata 142/1
The Epiphany (Isaiah 60:1-6)
Isaiah 60:6b.....Cantata 65/1
The Ascension (Acts 1:1-11)
Acts 1:9-12.....Cantata 11/5,7,9
St Michael's Day (Revelation 12:7-12)
Revelation 12:7.....Cantata 19/1
:10..... 50/1
(Cantata 68/3, for Whit Monday, introduces an allusion to Acts 10:26, the verse which begins the entire passage from which the actual Epistle for the day, Acts 10:42-48, was chosen.)

THE GOSPELS

Christmas Day (St Luke 2:1-14)
St Luke 2:1-7.....Christmas Oratorio 248/2,6
. . . . . .
The Circumcision (St Luke 2:21)
St Luke 2:21.....Christmas Oratorio 248/37
. . . . . .
The Epiphany (St Matthew 2:1-12)
St Matthew 2:7-12...Christmas Oratorio 248/55,58,60
Epiphany I (St Luke 2:41-52)
St Luke 2:49.....Cantata 32/2
..... 154/5
. . . . . .

THE GOSPELS (cont.)

Epiphany IV (St Matthew 8:23-27)
St Matthew 8:26.....Cantata 81/4
The Purification (St Luke 2:22-32)
St Luke 2:28.....(Cantata 125)
.....(Cantata 82)
:29-31.....Cantata 83/2
Septuagesima (St Matthew 20:1-16)
St Matthew 20:14.....Cantata 144/1
. . . . . .

Quinquagesima (Estomihi) (St Luke 18:31-43)
St Luke 18:31.....Cantata 159/1
:31,34..... 22/1
. . . . . .

Easter Day (St Mark 16:1-8)
St Mark 16:6.....Cantata 15/4
Easter Monday (St Luke 24:13-35)
St Luke 24:29.....Cantata 6/1
. . . . . .

Quasimodogeniti (St John 20:19-31)
St John 20:19.....Cantata 42/1
:19b..... 67/6
Misericordias Domini (St John 10:11-16)
St John 10:12.....Cantata 85/1
Jubilate (St John 16:16-23)
St John 16:20.....Cantata 103/1
Cantate (St John 16:5-15)
St John 16:5b.....Cantata 166/1
:7..... 108/1
:13..... 108/4
Rogate (St John 16:23-30)
St John 16:24.....Cantata 87/1
:25..... 87/3
(St John 16:33 is not included in the Gospel for the day, but Bach uses it in Cantata 87/5 to conclude the thought begun by the passages chosen from the lesson.)
The Ascension (St Mark 16:14-20)
St Mark 16:16.....Cantata 37/1
:19..... 11/5
..... 43/4
Exaudi (St John 15:26-16:4)
St John 16:2.....Cantata 44/1,2
..... 183/1
Pentecost (Whitsunday) (St John 14:23-31)
St John 14:23.....Cantata 59/1
..... 172/2
..... 74/1
:28..... 74/4

THE GOSPELS (cont.)

Pentecost Monday (Whit Monday)(St John 3:16-21)
St John 3:16.....Cantata 68/1
.....173/2
:16a.....174/3
:18.....68/5
Pentecost Tuesday (Whit Tuesday) (St John 10:1-10)
St John 10:3b.....Cantata 175/1
:6b.....175/5
Trinity Sunday (St John 3:1-15)
St John 3:14.....Cantata 165/4
. . . . . .

Trinity IV (St Luke 6:36-42)
St Luke 6:42b.....Cantata 185/4
Trinity V (St Luke 5:1-11)
St Luke 5:10.....Cantata 88/4
Trinity VI (St Matthew 5:20-26)
St Matthew 5:22, the word Racha only..Cantata 170/2
Trinity VII (St Mark 8:1-9)
St Mark 8:1-9.....(Cantata 107)
(The Cantata is written to the verbatim text of Heermann's chorale based upon this passage.)
The Visitation (St Luke 1:39-56)
St Luke 1:46-55.....(Cantata 10)
.....(Cantata 189)
Trinity VIII (St Matthew 7:15-23)
St Matthew 7:22,23.....Cantata 45/4
. . . . . .

Trinity XIII (St Luke 10:23-37)
St Luke 10:27.....Cantata 77/1
Trinity XIV (St Luke 17:11-19)
St Luke 17:15,16.....Cantata 17/4
. . . . . .

Trinity XVII (St Luke 14:1-11)
St Luke 14:11.....Cantata 47/1
Trinity XVIII (St Matthew 22:34-46)
St Matthew 22:39.....Cantata 169/6

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The letters of Bach were first collected into one volume by Müller von Asow in 1938; these letters and most other relevant contemporary documents pertaining to Bach's life are made available in English by David and Mendel.

The remainder of this bibliography is divided into two parts: books and periodical articles on Bach, both biographical and interpretive, are included in the first part. The second part will include all the other books and articles which have proved most helpful in providing musical and theological background for the study of Bach.

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