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1. Bach's Statement of Purpose

On June 25, 1708, the twenty-three year old Johann Sebastian Bach tendered his resignation as organist of St. Blasius Church in the small town of Mühlhausen in Thuringia with the following words:

Wenn auch ich stets den Endzweck, nemlich eine regulirte kirchen music [...] gerne aufführen mögen, [...] so hat sichs doch ohne wiedrigkeit nicht fügen wollen [...]. 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 verdrießligkeit anderer ersehe [...].

Even though I should always have liked to work toward the goal, namely, a well-regulated church music [...] – yet it has not been possible to accomplish all this without hindrance [...]. Now, God has brought it to pass that an unexpected change should offer itself to me, in which I see the possibility of a more adequate living and the achievement of my goal of a well-regulated church music without further vexation [...].

The best exeges of this passage known to me is found in the concluding words of Alfred Dürr's study on Bach's early cantatas from which the following translation is derived:

This oft quoted saying should not be understood as an idle phrase. It signifies no vague, generalized ideal expressed in rather strange words, nor again that Bach wanted "to regulate to the glory of God" the church music in Mühlhausen as was once maintained but it sets forth the wholly concrete plan which Bach at that time wanted to realize. The word "music" in Bach's time meant nothing else than figured music with instruments, that which we are accustomed to call "cantatas".²

By introducing the term "cantatas" at this point Dürr is thinking, not so much of Bach's use of the word "music" in general, as of his use of the compound word "kirchenmusic" (church music) which involves vocal settings of religious texts and therefore concerned both singers and instrumentalists.

But what do we mean today by "cantatas"? In the first place, the texts of Bach's church cantatas, which are what we are here concerned with, are related to the general practice of the Christian Church, stemming from its earliest history, of organizing its services around the church year. On every Sunday and every feast day (such as Christ-

mas) services were held at which two special passages from the Bible were required to be read. There was first the Epistle which in Bach's Leipzig churches might come from any of three Old Testament or seventeen New Testament books (other than the first four), and range in length from three to fifteen verses. Then there was the Gospel, always taken from the first four New Testament books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, ranging in length from one to twenty-four verses. Epistle and Gospel readings were prescribed for every service and remained unchanged year after year. If there was any preaching, the sermon would be concerned with expounding these passages of Scripture. Similarly nearly every Bach church cantata text is related, often very closely and fully, to one or both of the Bible readings for the day written on its title. A Bach church cantata text is thus a short sermon in verse based on Bible passages read at the service for which it was intended.

On the musical side, a Bach cantata introduced indiscriminately into the church service all styles of music known to its composer. For example, *Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe* BWV 22, Bach's audition cantata and apparently the first work he performed in Leipzig,³ is a short work of five movements. In this brief compass Bach compressed one recitative and three arias (both forms from that paragon of musical secularism, Italian opera) one fugal chorus and one chorale. This is completely typical of the composer's thinking. In Bach's development of these four styles and in their interplay lies much of the significance and fascination of his church music. In all this he was following closely in the steps of Erdmann Neumeister, the Lutheran clergyman who did as much as anyone to create the church cantata type current in the seventeen twenties. Neumeister wrote:

Wenn die ordentliche Amts-Arbeit des Sonntags verrichtet, versuchte ich das Vornehmste dessen, was in der Predigt abgehandelt worden, zu meiner Privat-Andacht in eine gebundene Rede zu setzen [...]. Woraus denn bald Oden, bald poetische Oratorien und mit ihnen auch gegenwärtige Cantaten gerathen sind.

When arranging the regular services of the Sunday I endeavoured to render the most important subjects treated in my sermon in a compact and connected form [...]. Whence arose now an ode, now a poetical oration, and with them the present cantatas.

But what did Neumeister conceive these metrical sermons to be?

Soll ichs kürzlich aussprechen, so siehet eine Cantata nicht anders aus, als ein Stück aus einer Opera, von Stylo Recitativo und Arien zusammengesetzt.

To express myself briefly, a cantata seems to be nothing else than a portion of an opera composed in a style of setting recitative and arias together.⁴

Here is perhaps a reason why such a composer as Bach could function without writing a single opera in spite of the fact that

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[T]he music drama impressed itself so firmly on the whole field of musical composition that we can safely say that all important innovations, from the early seventeenth century to our day, can be attributed to operatic influences.⁵

It seems not unreasonable to claim that opera is the musical expression of the mainstream of secularism that has become increasingly predominant in Western culture during the last three or four centuries. In general, religion has retreated before it. Bach's cantatas are a response to this challenge and this is where I incline to think their greatest importance lies.

Dürr continues to comment on Bach's resignation letter:

The explanation of the word "regulirt" can be found in the character of the Mühlhausen cantatas. None of them are designed for ordinary Sundays, all are for special occasions (penetential service, funeral, council inauguration, wedding) or feast days (Easter). Evidently no cantata was performed during the ordinary Sunday services and what Bach saw as his goal was to bring about regular cantata performances within the main service for all Sundays and feast days of the church year.

Recognition of this fact involves no depreciation of Bach's ideal. The cantata was the music form of his time which made possible the most intensive penetration of the service on both the musical and the liturgical levels; and the fact that he saw his life's work in precisely this area proves the certainty of direction and purpose with which the twenty-three year old envisaged the future course of his life which was to lead him through the Weimar "cantata springtime" of 1714–16 finally to Leipzig.⁶

It is not the purpose here to follow Bach's career painstakingly over the next fifteen years but to suggest that the evidence we have indicates that he was pursuing that goal as best he could throughout the period. He clearly thought he was going to realize his objective in Weimar (even though he continued at first to be only an organist) and therefore left Mühlhausen. But hardly any cantatas are extant from the next five years at the end of which Bach almost accepted an organist's position in Halle which would have included cantata performances every three weeks or so. Given what we know of Bach's temperament, we may well wonder if he had not become disappointed and impatient. He stayed in Weimar because among other reasons, the Duke, his patron, made him concertmaster of his orchestra on March 2, 1714, adding that "Er Monatlich neüe Stücke ufführen [...] schuldig u. gehalten seyn sollen" (he be obliged and required to perform new works monthly).

From this point on there is a convincing amount of evidence that Bach composed cantatas usually at four-week intervals for about two years. The death of the old and ailing Capellmeister Drese occurred on December 1, 1716, but Bach was not appointed his successor. At this point his actions indicate awareness of something else: it is not enough merely to have an objective; one must also have the power to attain it. There is involved not only a task but an office; an "Amt" as well as an "Auftrag". In

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this frame of mind he was approached in 1717 by Duke Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen who offered to make him Capellmeister of his court. Since the Duke was not a Lutheran, a regular church music would not be a part of Bach's duties. Nevertheless there would be considerable musical activity, both vocal and instrumental, and the Duke held out an additional attraction which must have weighed heavily with the discontented Bach. He had secured the services of six outstanding instrumentalists as a result of the dissolution of the Royal Capelle in Berlin in 1713. Although Cöthen was a small town, the musical standards at least in chamber or solo performances, could be the equal of any of the great cities of Germany. Here was a third ingredient that inevitably had to be considered: the question of performers, known as "Ausführende". Bach accepted, and for the authority of a Capellmeistership and the musicians formerly with the Royal Capelle of Berlin, turned his back on his announced goal of a regular church music. Perhaps the sudden death of his wife in July, 1720 while he was absent on a journey with his patron pricked his conscience, for in the following November (apparently renouncing court music), he applied for the comparatively menial post of organist in Hamburg but was unsuccessful.8 However, some two years later the negotiations began which led to his election as Thomascantor and Director of Music in Leipzig on April 22, 1723. On May 5 Bach agreed

Die Music in beyden Haupt-Kirchen dieser Stadt, nach meinem besten Vermögen, in gutes Aufnehmen bringen.

to bring the music in both the principal churches of this town into good estate, to the best of my ability.9

In late May, 1723, a Leipzig newspaper reported:

Am vergangenen Sonnabend zu Mittage kamen 4. Wagen mit Haus-Raht beladen von Cöthen allhier an, so dem gewesenen dasigen Fürstl. Capell-Meister, als nach Leipzig vocirten Cantori Figurali, zugehöreten; Um 2. Uhr kam er selbst nebst seiner Familie auf 2 Kutschen an, und bezog die in der Thomas-Schule neu renovirte Wohnung.

This past Saturday at noon, four wagons loaded with household goods arrived here from Cöthen; they belonged to the former Princely Capellmeister there, now called to Leipzig as Cantor Figuralis. He himself arrived with his family on 2 carriages at 2 o'clock and moved into the newly renovated apartment in the St. Thomas School.¹⁰

The "last Saturday" referred to was May 22, 1723. Thus we find Bach, fifteen years after his Mühlhausen declaration, invested with Amt, Auftrag and the Ausführende of one of the main cities of Germany, equipped for the first time for the realization of his goal.

2. Bach's Duties in Leipzig Churches

Our knowledge of the vigor with which Bach embarked on the execution of his long held purpose has been placed in a radically new perspective by the work of Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen.¹¹ They find

- 1) a few scattered works in early 1723,
- 2) an almost unbroken series of "Kirchenstücke" (church pieces), that is, cantatas and other choral works, covering the two years from May 30, 1723, through May 27, 1725,
- 3) a few isolated works scattered from June through November, 1725,
- 4) a largely continuous series running from Christmas 1725 through November 24, 1726, and
- 5) a few separate pieces in early 1727.

It is safe to say that, if their claims are generally accepted, there is no time in Bach's entire life about which we would be so fully informed as in the periods covered by 2) and 4) above.

Any intelligible discussion of Bach's church compositions requires a number of special tools. Perhaps the first need here is a working knowledge of Bach's Leipzig Lutheran church year. Its Sundays and feast days add up to a mixture of

- 1) days dependent on the shifting date of Easter (including "ferial Sundays" such as the Second Sunday after Epiphany, the Fourth Sunday after Easter, the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, etc.), and
- 2) fixed calendar dates (including "feast days" such as Annunciation Day (March 25), Epiphany (January 6), New Year's Day (January 1), etc.).

Since there are eleven of the latter we would expect collisions between the two types. And in fact the Dürr-von Dadelsen chronology contains at least eight instances of this as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Collisions Between Feast Days and Sundays

Date	Feast Day	Sunday	Cantata BWV
10/31/1723	Reformation Day	23rd after Trinity	163
12/26/1723	1st Day after Christmas	2nd after Christmas	40
07/02/1724	Visitation Day	4th after Trinity	10
03/25/1725	Annunciation Day	Palm Sunday	1
01/06/1726	Epiphany	1st after New Year's Day	?
09/29/1726	St. Michael's Day	15th after Trinity	19
02/02/1727	Purification Day	4th after Epiphany	82
12/26/1734	1st Day after Christmas	2nd after Christmas	248 II

No cantata composed especially for January 6, 1726, appears to exist. Of the remaining seven, BWV 163 celebrates the Sunday instead of the feast day. The other six cantatas all celebrate the feast days.

The church year begins with the First Sunday in Advent, but this does not correspond with Bach's cantata sets in 1723–25. We may assume that this is because his election to the post of Thomascantor and Director Musices took place, as already mentioned, on April 22, 1723 (the Thursday after the Third Sunday after Easter). It is accordingly not surprising that five or six weeks elapsed before regular Sunday and feast day cantatas began on May 30 which was the First Sunday after Trinity. It is important to remember that the dates given for the cantatas are the dates of first performance. Often this date also represents the approximate date of completion of composition, indicated by a considerable body of evidence cited in Dürr and von Dadelsen's writings.

The richness of the context provided by Dürr and von Dadelsen suggests fresh consideration of the work of other scholars such as Spitta, Schering and Terry concerning the disposition and assignments of Bach's performing forces as well as the places where they performed. Bach had many assignments and many responsibilities, but the ones with which we are concerned and which he evidently considered extremely important (at least in 1723–25) lay in supplying music to the churches of St. Thomas (adjacent to the school where he lived) and St. Nicholas. For this purpose he had two choirs (including vocal soloists) and one orchestra. Bach himself directed the first choir, presumably composed of the best singers in the school, and the orchestra. A prefect directed the second choir. Every day that music was performed in the Leipzig church year the first choir with orchestra performed in one church and the second choir in the other. In general, they alternated between the churches¹³ on ordinary Sundays and feast days. The main exceptions occurred on the three "high feast" days of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. On those occasions the first chorus and orchestra performed five times as follows:

- 1) first day main service at St. Nicholas,
- 2) first day vesper service at St. Thomas,
- 3) second day main service at St. Thomas,
- 4) second day vesper service at St. Nicholas and
- 5) third day main service at St. Nicholas. There was no vesper service on the third day.

"Ratswechsel", the inauguration of the newly elected Leipzig municipal council, on the Monday following St. Bartholomew's Day (October 31) was also always held at St. Nicholas. This presents another problem concerning the alternation between the churches. Let us suppose that in a given year the first chorus and orchestra happened to be performing in St. Nicholas on the Sunday immediately preceding Ratswechsel. The succession would then evidently be as follows:

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Sunday preceding Ratswechsel St. Nicholas Ratswechsel (Monday following) St. Nicholas Sunday following Ratswechsel St. Thomas

Thus on two successive days the performances would be in the same church. If, on the preceding Sunday, the performance happened to be in St. Thomas, two possibilities would seem to exist as follows:

	(1)	(2)
Sunday preceding Ratswechsel	St. Thomas	St. Thomas
Ratswechsel (Monday following)	St. Nicholas	St. Nicholas
Sunday following Ratswechsel	St. Thomas	St. Nicholas

On a strictly alternating basis possibility (1) would seem more rational. But since two successive days in St. Nicholas seem unavoidable when the church on the preceding Sunday is St. Nicholas it seems more consistent to favor possibility (2) under these circumstances. We will accordingly assume that Ratswechsel customarily stood outside the regular alternation of churches. Thus in several ways St. Nicholas enjoyed precedence over St. Thomas. This is important to remember since, as Bach's title was "Thomascantor", it is easy to assume that St. Thomas was his main church. This was not entirely so.

Bach was supposed to supply the first chorus and orchestra with cantatas for each of the three high feast days. Thus the first cantata would be performed at services 1) and 2), the second at services 3) and 4) and the third at service 5) as defined above.

The second chorus performed at the same number of services as the first, always at the other church. On ordinary Sunday and feast days they sang simple motets and hymns to organ accompaniment. On the high feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost they performed what Schering called "the 'secondary' music, even though it consisted of concert-style cantata pieces as well, but simpler ones." ¹⁵

It does not seem to be wholly clear who performed the Latin Magnificat at the two "high feast" vesper services. Neighter Spitta nor Terry consider the second choir, and include the Magnificat in the vesper service of the first choir thus allotting both a cantata and a Magnificat to the same service. And indeed the character of Bach's own setting BWV 243a surely qualifies it for nothing less than the first choir and orchestra. Schering allots a Magnificat only to the vesper service of the second chorus which, for example, on Christmas Day would have been at St. Nicholas. Yet in his *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* (music history of Leipzig) Schering asserted that Bach's Magnificat was performed at St. Thomas on Christmas Day. Perhaps Schering's allocation of a Magnificat only to the second choir reflects both the usual practice and the reason why only one Bach Magnificat setting is known. This single setting, accordingly, may bear witness to exceptional circumstances. After all, as Schering pointed out: "Christmas that year [1723] was the first 'high' feast which was to be considered by Bach." 19

During this period Bach was also involved with Leipzig University in providing music for St. Paul's Church on Christmas Day, Easter Sunday, Whitsunday and Reformation Day. Judging from his complaint to the King on December 31, 1725,²⁰ all five of these festivals that fell in the period in which we are interested were taken care of by him. In this sense his connection with the University was apparently of more significance than with his second chorus although the latter performed in St. Nicholas and St. Thomas. In neither case, of course, would Bach be able to direct personally.

3. Jahrgang I

Ever since Mizler's 1754 obituary notice on Bach²¹ it has been customary to group his cantata production into annual sets known as "Jahrgänge".²² Now the cantatas from June 11, 1724, through March 25, 1725, are almost exclusively chorale paraphrases, the largest and most homogeneous group of extant works that Bach created. What precedes them runs from May 30, 1723, through June 4, 1724, approximately a calendar year. Both Dürr and von Dadelsen regard the works which they assign to this period as comprising Jahrgang I. This is the period with which we will be concerned. Our purpose, broadly stated, will be to determine as far as possible what Bach as a composer and producer of music was doing during this period and why.

According to Leipzig usage, the first choir and orchestra were relieved of work, aside from hymns and simple responses, from the Second to the Fourth Sunday in Advent and from the First Sunday in Lent through Palm Sunday except for Annunciation Day. Since Jahrgang I started at the First Sunday after Trinity it divides up for our purposes into three sections as follows:

- 1) First Sunday after Trinity through First Sunday in Advent,
- 2) Christmas Day through Quinquagesima Sunday and
- 3) Annunciation Day through Trinity Sunday.

In the principal services of these periods Bach's performers seem to have had three main tasks:

- 1) the Missa or the Kyrie and Gloria of the old Roman Mass,
- 2) the "Hauptmusik" (principal music or cantata) and
- 3) on feast days the Sanctus.

Thus we arrive at a position that permits the construction of Table 2 listing the dates and probable places of performance in Jahrgang I together with the extant works probably intended for performance on those dates according to Dürr and von Dadelsen.²³

Table 2: Jahrgang I According to Dürr and Von Dadelsen

Date	Date Day of Church Year	Church	Church Missa Sanctus Cantata Cantata Per- Per- BWV Title	Sanctus Per-	Cantata B WV	Cantata Title	1723–24 Sources	-24	No 1723–24 Sources	3–24 es
			formed formed	formed			d u	e q	n p e	d t
1723										
03 00		Ē			23	Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn	(S)			
/0/70	Quinquagesima Sunday	41	×		22	Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe	Ь			
05/16	Whitsunday	Ιd			59	Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten	Ь			
05/30	05/30 1st Sunday after Trinity	z	×		75	Die Elenden sollen essen	Ь			
90/90	06/06 2nd Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		92	Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes	P,S			
06/13	3rd Sunday after Trinity	z	×		21	Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis	S			
		Ī			185	Ein ungefärbt Gemüte	S			
06/20	06/20 4th Sunday after 1mity	Ih	×		24	Barmherziges Herze der ewigen Liebe	P,S			
06/24	St. John the Baptist's Day	z	×	×	167	Ihr Menschen, rühmet Gottes Liebe	S			
06/27	5th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×			GAP 1				
07/02	Visitation Day	z	×	×	147	Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben		S		
07/04	6th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×			GAP 2				
07/11	07/11 7th Sunday after Trinity	Z	x		186	Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht		P		
07/18	8th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		136	Erforsche mich, Gott, und erfahre mein Herz	P,S			
07/25	9th Sunday after Trinity	z	×		105	Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht	Ъ			
08/01	10th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		46	Schauet doch und sehet, ob irgendein Schmerz sei	S			
	- C	,			179	Siehe zu, daß deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei P,S	P,S			
80/80	11th Sunday after Irinity	Z	×		199	Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut	S			
08/15	08/15 12th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		69a	Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele	S			
08/22	08/22 13th Sunday after Trinity	z	×		77	Du sollt Gott, deinen Herren, lieben	Ь			
08/29	08/29 14th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		25	Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe	S			
08/30	Ratswechsel	z	۸.	۸.	119	Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn	Ь			
09/02	15th Sunday after Trinity	Z	X		138	Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz	Ь			
09/12	09/12 16th Sunday after Trinity	Th	X		95	Christus, der ist mein Leben	S			
09/19	09/19 17th Sunday after Trinity	z	×		148	Bringet dem Herrn Ehre seines Namens			P	

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Date	Date Day of Church Year	Church	Missa Per-	Sanctus Per-	Church Missa Sanctus Cantata Cantata Per- Per- BWV Title	Cantata Title	172. Sou	1723–24 Sources	Ž	No 1723–24 Sources	3–24 ces	_
			formed	_			n p	e q	п	р	р	ţ
09/26	18th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×			, ,						
09/29	St. Michael's Day	z	×	×		GAP 3						
10/03	10/03 19th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		48	Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen	P,S					
10/10	20th Sunday after Trinity	z	×		162	Ach, ich sehe jetzt	S					
10/17	21st Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		109	Ich glaube, lieber Herr, hilf meinem Unglauben	P,S					
10/24	22nd Sunday after Trinity	z	×		68	Was soll ich aus dir machen, Ephraim	S					
10,01		Th	×		163	Nur jedem das Seine						٦
10/21	Reformation Day	Pl				GAP 4						
11/07	24th Sunday after Trinity	z	×		09	O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort	S					
11/14	25th Sunday after Trinity	Th	×		06	Es reißet euch ein schrecklich Ende	Ь					
11/21	26th Sunday after Trinity	z	×		70	Wachet, betet, betet, wachet		S				
11/28	11/28 1st Sunday in Advent	Th	x		61	Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland				Ь		
30/01		N, Th	×	×	63	Christen, ätzet diesen Tag	S					
12/23	Christmas Day	Pl				GAP 5						
12/26	12/26 1st Day after Christmas	Th, N	×	×	40	Darzu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes	P,S					
12/27	2nd Day after Christmas	z	×		64	Sehet, welch eine Liebe	S					
1724							-					
01/01	New Year's Day	Th	×	×	190	Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied	P,S					
01/02	Sunday after New Year's Day	Z	x		153	Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind	S					
01/06	01/06 Epiphany	Th	x	X	65	Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen	Ь					
01/09	01/09 1st Sunday after Epiphany	Z	x		154	Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren		P,S				
01/16	01/16 2nd Sunday after Epiphany	Th	×		155	Mein Gott, wie lang, ach lange						_
01/23	3rd Sunday after Epiphany	z	×		73	Herr, wie du willt, so schicks mit mir	S					
01/30	01/30 4th Sunday after Epiphany	Th	×		81	Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen	P,S					
02/07	Purification Day	Z	x	x	83	Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde	S					
05/06	Septuagesima Sunday	Th	x		144	Nimm, was dein ist, und gehe hin	Ь					
02/13	03/12 Severageima Sunday	7	;		181	Leichgesinnte Flattergeister		S				
02/13	ocxagesiiia ouituay	<u> </u>	×		118	Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee	S					