

Liturgy and Music in Leipzig's Main Churches

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Translated by Thomas Braatz © 2013

The Church Book and the Agenda²

Anyone asking about the church services in Leipzig during Bach's tenure there will find the answer given in the prevailing, valid *Agenda* that govern the regulation of the services. This is all found in the so-called *Church Book* with the entire title given as follows:

**Complete
Church-Book
Containing
The Gospels and Epistles
For Every Feast-, Sun-, and Apostle-Day
Of the Entire Year /
The Historical Accounts of the Painful Suffering
And the Joyful Resurrection of the Lord Christ /
Including also the Appalling Destruction of the City of Jerusalem,
The Three Main Symbols
And the Augsburg Confession.
And Luther's Small Catechism, the Church Agenda / Rules Governing Marriage
And General Prayers Which are Used in the Countries Belonging to the Electorate of Saxony.
Having been Recently Edited Very Carefully and Published with a Special Preface
And Having been Granted a Special Copyright by His Most Gracious, Royal Polish Eminence and
Elector of Saxony.
Leipzig
Published by Heirs of Friedrich Lanckisch / in the Year 1718.**

¹ Martin Petzoldt: "Liturgy and Music in Leipzig's Main Churches" in *Die Welt der Bach Kantaten*, ed. Christoph Wolff, vol. 3: *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leipziger Kirchenkantaten* (Metzler/Bärenreiter, Stuttgart/Weimar, Kassel, 1999) pp. 68-93.

² **Agenda** = a listing of the sequence of events during a church service.

Opposite this title page is a decorative frontispiece which shows in the upper half the covenant, with Moses at the left holding the Ten Commandments and Christ at the right with the Gospels shown as a book; in the lower half there is a stylized church interior with a nave and two side aisles. The latter may have been an attempt to show the contemporary interior of the *Nikolaikirche* in Leipzig with its choir loft enclosed on all sides except the one looking out to the church interior, the high altar, the rood screens and columns all of which correspond to the view of the *Nikolaikirche* after its renovation in 1789 in the style of Classicism. Rather irritating is the position of the pulpit located at the second column on the left side; previously it had been on the right side while the baptism font right in the middle of the foreground corresponded to its actual original position.

The *Agenda*, an essential part of this *Church Book* is based upon the so-called “Duke Heinrich’s Agenda” which had been proposed by Duke Heinrich of Saxony (1473-1541). As early as 1536, Justus Jonas (1493-1555) had been commissioned to draft a church *Agenda* for Heinrich’s rulership in Freiberg. It was there that the Evangelical movement gradually gained ground. In 1538, Heinrich had this *Agenda* proclaimed publicly by having it read aloud and thereby making it the valid form of church service. A year later it appeared in print in Wittenberg with the coats of arms of Martin Luther, Philipp Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen and Caspar Cruciger. After the death of Georg the Bearded One (1471-1539) (his brother Heinrich became his successor), it was primarily due to the efforts of Jonas and Cruciger that the Reformation took hold in the city of Leipzig. Reprints appeared until 1612. It underwent numerous revisions and was adopted and placed into the *Generalartikel Sachsens* [The General Laws Governing Saxony]. Revised once again it appeared as part of the laws governing churches and schools issued by the Elector August in 1580. In this publication there were also laws for calling and hiring of pastors and teachers,³ marriages, royal (princely) and German schools, scholarships at both universities in Leipzig and Wittenberg, visitations by superintendents along with examination questions, and the regulation of the consistories and the universities. In comparison to his predecessor, the Elector August was less involved with matters concerning the church *Agenda* than with little books on baptism, marriage, confession and communion which eventually were added to the church book. It was the *Agenda* introduced under Elector Heinrich’s rulership that lasted relatively unchanged until the rationalistic, liturgical reforms introduced in Leipzig by the superintendent and professor of theology Johann Georg Rosenmüller (1736-1815) at the end of the 18th century.

³ This contains the theological questions which an applicant must answer. cf. my article: Bach’s Theological Examination before the Elector’s Consistory in Leipzig”, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 1998. Covering this entire aspect is the book by Günther Stiller: *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Leipziger gottesdienstliche Leben seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1970).

Agenda

This Is the Book of Rules [*Kirchen=Ordnung*]

On How Priests and Pastors Are to Act

In Their Appointed Offices and in the Services They Perform.

For Those Who Serve in the Princedom of Archduke Heinrich of Saxony, U. G. H.

In a New and Improved Edition of the *Kirchen-Ordnung* by the Elector August

Also with Numerous Collects Provided by the Superintendents

Leipzig

Published by the Heirs of Friedrich Lanckisch

1712

The *Agenda* demonstrates how consistent the church services during Bach's tenure in Leipzig were with the tradition of the *Ordinarium missae*.⁴ The usual parts are found here such as the sequence of *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo* that appear just as naturally as those parts which demonstrate the basic tenets of the Reformation. To the latter belong above all the upgrading of the *Propers* and the establishment of congregational singing. But even those parts which Luther had already presented as having been overcome, such as the self-evident use of vestments that priests wore or the communion bell, gradually came back into use. Particularly in Leipzig the effects of the *Leipzig Interim* (1548)⁵ were noticeable until into the 19th century and beyond. In the area of ritual and using the term *Adiaphora*,⁶ a rapprochement

⁴ *Ordinarium* = the parts of a church service which remains the same; *Proprium* = the parts that change according to changes in the liturgical year. Generally the Catholic Mass (*Ordinarium missae*) has five unchanging parts: *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* to which the *Propria*, individual, differing texts may be added. In the Evangelical-Lutheran services, the *Ordinarium* takes on properties of the *Proprium*, (*The Propers*) for instance, the *Gloria Patri* ("Ehre sei dem Vater") is dropped during Holy Week, the *Gloria* from 2nd to 4th Sunday in Advent, during Lent, on work days and days of penance, etc.

⁵ The threat of Protestantism at the end of the Schmalkaldic War leads to the **Augsburg Interim** during the Diet at Augsburg in May of 1548. During this Augsburg Interim Protestants were only allowed to allow communion for lay people and marriages for priests/pastors until the next ecclesiastical council convened. Confronted with great political difficulties that made him appear as a traitor, Duke Moritz of Saxony (1521-1553) presented an interim agreement, the so-called *Leipziger Artikel* which maintained the basic tenets of evangelical doctrine in the face of making compromises regarding the questions concerning the form/shape of church services and ecclesiastical practices. The term *Leipziger Interim* for this tension-creating, hotly disputed decision, a term that the population gradually began to accept, came from the camp of the genuine supporters and preservers of Luther's theology and those who criticized the process that led to this decision (these were called the *Gnesiolutheraner*); cf. Günther Wartenberg, "Die Entstehung der sächsischen Landeskirche von 1536 bis 1559" in *Das Jahrhundert der Reformation in Sachsen*, ed. Helmar Junghans (Berlin, 1989), pp. 67-90, the reference here is specifically to p. 84.

⁶ The issue of what constituted *adiaphora* became a major dispute during the **Protestant Reformation**. In 1548, two years after the death of Martin Luther, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V tried to unite Catholics and Protestants in his realm with a law called the **Augsburg Interim**. This law was rejected by Philipp Melanchthon, on the account that it did not ensure justification by faith as a fundamental doctrine. Later he was persuaded to accept a compromise known as the **Leipzig Interim**, deciding that doctrinal differences not related to justification by faith were *adiaphora* or matters of indifference. Melanchthon's compromise was vehemently opposed by Matthias Flacius and his followers in Magdeburg, who went to the opposite extreme by claiming that *adiaphora* cease to be *adiaphora* in a case of scandal and confession. By 1576 both extremes were rejected by the majority of Lutherans led by Martin Chemnitz and the formulators of the **Formula of Concord**.

In 1577, the **Formula of Concord** was crafted to settle the question of the nature of genuine *adiaphora*, which it defined as church rites that are "...neither commanded nor forbidden in the Word of God." However, the Concord added believers should not yield even in matters of *adiaphora* when these are being forced upon them by the "enemies of God's Word".

with the understanding of the *Catholic Mass* came about. What remains of these priests gowns and garments today is the *Alba* [a white gown worn by Catholic priests] which is still in use in the Leipzig inner city churches.

Along with the decisions that have been mentioned, there were also internal consequences that had been developed from Luther's theology and his theological view of music. For him music was an offering of praise which corresponds in a church service to the confession: *Sacrificium laudis* [Sacrifice of Praise] and *confessio peccati* [Confession of Sin] have to go hand in hand.⁷ Connected to this is the unique movement which characterizes the Evangelical church service.⁸ To be sure Luther effectively relates this to the offering function of all church services, particularly that of the biblical service in the temple and he interprets it according to his insight into the theological justification, for an offering of praise to God can only take place when it is simultaneously a self-sacrifice of the old *Adamite* human being. Thus God himself transforms a human being's confession of sins into a praising of God. In his interpretation of the *Magnificat*, Luther writes: "For Maria does not say, 'my soul makes itself great or considers itself to be great. She did not want to place any value on it at all, but rather say that God alone makes her soul great and it is to Him alone that she wants to give it.'" Thoughts such as these which emanate from Luther's basic theological beliefs, determine fundamentally his understanding of what a church service is and should be. His frequently quoted statements from his *Tischreden* [table conversations] about music lack any power of persuasion because they generally arose in the midst of a conversation and lack the steps of theological reasoning to provide a firm foundation. For this reason it is better to turn to his interpretations of the *Magnificat* (1521) and Psalm 101 (1535) as well as the treatise *Von den Konziliis und Kirchen* (1539) [About Councils and Churches].⁹

Further clarification on this matter can be obtained by placing more effort in attempting to understand the church services during Bach's tenure in Leipzig as a mixture of two formularies: 1.) the formulary of the *Ordinarium missae*, and 2.) the formulary of Luther's Catechism with its main constituent parts. This aforementioned tendency will become particularly clear by examining Bach's work *Dritter Theil der Clavier Vbung* [Clavierübung Part 3] (1739). Bach's title gives a complete accounting of the content of this work. One particular accent that deserves to be mentioned first in regard to this work is Bugenhagen's

The Lutheran **Augsburg Confession** states that the true unity of the Church it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, that is, rites or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adiaphora>

⁷ Vilmos Vajta: *Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther* (Berlin/Göttingen, 1958), p. 286.

⁸ The basic formula for the rhythm of the Evangelical church service can be found in Luther's sermon for the dedication of a church, the newly constructed palace chapel in Torgau on October 5, 1544 where he states: "nothing else should take place in it other than our dear Lord will speak to us Himself through His Holy Word and we, in our turn, speak to Him through prayers and songs of praise." *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 49: *Predigten der Jahre 1540-1545* (Weimar, 1913), p. 588ff.

⁹ *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar 1883ff.), vol. 7: *Schriften der Jahre 1520/21* (1897), pp. 544-604; vol. 51: *Predigten, Auslegungen, Schriften der Jahre 1540-1541, Sprichwörterammlung* (1914), pp. 200-264; vol. 50: *Schriften der Jahre 1536-1539* (1914), pp. 509-653.

*Evangelienharmonie*¹⁰ which concludes with a presentation of the destruction of Jerusalem at the very end of which there is a warning issued to Christians. The source of this material is from the books of Josephus and Hegesipp. This event was remembered each year on the 10th Sunday after Trinity where the story about the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70 AD was read to the congregation and followed with a sermon on this theme. The connections to this event are clearly noticeable in Bach's Leipzig cantatas (1723: BWV 46, 1724: BWV 101 and 1726: BWV 102. Likewise the effects of this print version of the *Evangelienharmonie* which presents the synoptic versions of the stories surrounding the Passion, Easter and Ascension can be seen at every turn in Bach's Passions and Oratorios. Always included in the appendix of every hymnal were the *Evangelienharmonie*, Gospel and Epistle readings along with the three creeds (*drey Haupt-Symbola*), the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism. The *Church Book* and the hymnal were also connected with each other in the section containing prayers, the collect but also the general prayers. Formulas from the version of the so-called *Dresden Catechism* from 1683, an edition of *Luther's Small Catechism* enriched with a large amount of biblical supplements and used mainly for instruction in schools, appear, for instance, in the libretto of the *Johanni* cantata BWV 7 (1724). The set of rules governing marriage, a text that over centuries since the Reformation underwent additions and interpretation by numerous mandates and directives, was also read from the pulpit twice annually in both the main church service and the vespers. This took place on the Second Sunday after Epiphany where the Gospel reading was about the "Wedding at Cana" (John 2:1-11) and on the Second Sunday after Trinity with the parable about "The Great Wedding Banquet" (Luke 14:16-24).

A very detailed preface of almost 50 pages written by the long-time Pastor at Probstheida, Friedrich Simon Löffler (1669-1748), a nephew and heir of the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), treats the development of the church book since the 16th century, relates the number of editions it had had, comments on the incorrect versions (based upon a critical examination) of some texts contained in the Gospels and Epistles, clarifies problems with Bugenhagen's *Evangelienharmonie*, and compiles information from other sources about the origins of other text corpora.

The Liturgical Year, Church Services and Propers

The usual course of the liturgical year, beginning with the First Sunday in Advent and concluding with the end of the Sundays after Trinity was at that time more clearly divided than today in feast days, fasting periods and 'feastless' times. These differences were especially apparent in the treatment of music: the feast days of the liturgical year were celebrated with greater richness and length than today; the three high feasts Christmas, Easter and Pentecost each had three days devoted to them and then there were also the single-day feast days:

¹⁰ This is a synoptic view of the Passion based upon the four Gospels and not only Matthew, Mark, and Luke as defined in English as recorded by the OED. See Appendix 1.

January 1st, New Year [Neujahr]

January 6th, Epiphany [Epiphanias]

February 2nd, (40th day after Christmas) The Purification of Mary or Candlemas [Mariæ Reinigung or Mariä Lichtmess] Purificatio Mariæ

March 25th Annunciation of Mary [Mariæ Verkündigung] In Annuntiatione Beatæ Mariæ Virginis

Ascension (40 days after Easter Sunday) [Himmelfahrt]

Trinity Sunday (1st Sunday after Pentecost) [Trinitatis] the beginning of the second half of the liturgical year

June 24th Nativity of St. John the Baptist [Johannistag or Johanni]

July 2nd The Visitation of Our Lady [Mariæ Heimsuchung]

September 29th Michaelmas, St. Michael and All Angels [Michaelis or Michaelistag]

October 31st Reformation Feast Day [Reformationsfest]

On all of these days Bach had to perform his feast-day cantata twice, in one of the main city churches in the morning and in the other in the afternoon. In addition to this there would be the performance of a figural *Magnificat* in some of the vespers. The liturgy itself would take place in its highly expanded form with some of its sections being sung in Latin more than otherwise, in particular the introductory prayer [*Praefationsgebet*] and in the Communion section a figurally/floridly performed *Sanctus* would be added. During the fasting periods there would be no figural music, a situation which applied also for periods of mourning after the death of the elector or an immediate member of the family like his wife. Such periods were called the *tempora clausa*,¹¹ the closed or quiet times. On a regular basis these would be Passiontide, *Invocavit* through the Saturday before Easter and from the afternoon of the First Sunday in Advent until Christmas Eve on December 24th. To be sure there were also exceptions to this general rule: the feast day Maria's Annunciation on March 25th almost always falls in the Passiontide and needed a very special rule when it was during Passion Week.¹² During the 'feastless' periods the performances alternated from Sunday to Sunday between the *Thomaskirche* and the *Nikolaikirche*.

Leipzig has two published works and several archived documents which provide essential help in determining the liturgical conditions and requirements for a church service as it would have taken place at this time:

¹¹ The singular form that is most commonly used is *tempus clausum*.

¹² As it was in 2013 so it had to be celebrated on April 8th after the Easter feast days were over.

Short Church Services for Leipzig
In Two Parts

Part One

Containing the Book of Prayers
The Propers [*Ordnung*] for Public Church Services
Held throughout the Entire Year
Along with Prayers, Intercessions, Collects, Expressions of Gratitude
Announcements, etc. or Anything Else Which Might be Appropriate
On Sundays and Feast Days, Sermons during the Week, Prayer Hours, etc.

Part Two

The Hymnal
In Which All Chorales That are in Use Here, along with an Appendix
Containing Latin Hymns and Collects, etc.
Prepared on Copper Engraving Plates
And Including Also a Preface by Mr. L. Gottlob Friedrich Seligmann,
Archdeacon and Head of the Group of Ministers here
And Printed with the Copyright Granted by the Elector of Saxony
Leipzig
Edited by Caspar Wüldig and Printed by Justus Reinhold
In the Year 1694

The decorative title page presents the Holy Spirit within the heavenly triangle. The Spirit is found in the hearts of believers. In the surrounding halo consisting of rays, the text from Romans 8:26 is quoted, the same text that Bach would set in a funeral motet for the principal of the *Thomasschule*, Johann Heinrich Ernesti, in 1729. Of particular value are the descriptions of certain liturgical sequences and their associated behaviors which are not noted in any other formularies (*Agenda* or orders of worship service). The second part Appendix listing Latin hymns, “Anhang Lateinischer Hymnorum” distributes all the compositions contained in the large version of the *Florilegium Portense* to their locations throughout the entire liturgical year. Like his predecessors, Bach used this collection of motets during church services.¹³

¹³ A research paper containing the results of a musicological-liturgical and theological investigation of this work would be highly desirable.

The second work appeared only 16 years later. As stated in the introduction, it was dedicated to a virtuous and God-fearing woman of the upper class in Leipzig:

The Leipzig Church-State [Polity?]
This is the Clear Instruction
About Church Services in Leipzig
How They Are to Be Held
On High Feast Days and Other Feast Days
But Also on Normal Sundays
As Well As Throughout the Entire Week
In Addition to Devotional Prayers
And German and Latin Hymns
That are Designated for the Above
To Which have finally been added
The Morning and Evening Benedictions
For Every Day of the Week.
Leipzig
Published by Friedrich Groschuff / 1710

The publisher appears also to have been the editor. He provides his signature as “F. G. A. M.” = Friedrich Groschuff Artium Magister [Master of Arts]. He refers to the book that was published in 1694 and promises to improve it. At the very end, after all the Sunday Prayers section, he reproduces/provides a copy of “The History of the Destruction of the City of Jerusalem” This is of special interest because with this he offers the first proof of the reprinting of this article, thus renouncing the appendix of Bugenhagen who had criticized its use in the Christian church and thereby supporting a subliminal form of anti-Semitism. In the 19th century only a shortened form of this article appeared.

A rather important question in regard to music and liturgy is that of the hymnals. Here you will find an extraordinarily rich palette of chorales, for at that time in Germany insofar as it had anything to do with the various protestant church districts, each larger or middle-sized city had its own hymnal. Thus it is no surprise that you have to assume that during Bach's tenure in Leipzig there must have been at least 20 different hymnals in the hands of those attending church services in Leipzig. More information about this variety of hymnals can be found, among other things, in the contemporary estate listings. During Bach's tenure the *Dresden Hymnal* served as a kind of model for others to follow:¹⁴

The Royally Condoned, Copyright-Protected,
Proper and Expanded Dresden Hymnal
To be Used for Public Church Services
And from Which the Chorales are to be sung
In the Elector of Saxony's Royal Palace Chapel
As well as in Other Churches near the Elector's residence
And with Which the Hymn Numbers on the Hymn Boards in Church Must Agree
In This Book are Found the Choicest and Most Spiritual Songs in Great Number,
Upon Royal Command and the Demands Made by Many for an Average Font Size
Given to the Printer
By Jesus' Faithful Servant. [JEsu Getreu Bleibenden Diener]
With Special Permission and Copyright Protection of
His Royal Majesty of Poland and His Eminence as Elector of Saxony
That this Book may not be Reprinted Whether in a Different Format
Or Any Other Manner.
Dresden and Leipzig, 1725
To be Purchased at Friedrich Hekel's Printing Establishment
Who is the Only Legal Publisher of This Book.

The title of this *Dresden Hymnal* contains an acrostic referring to the name of its originator and supporter Johann George Börner, Doctor (1646-1713) who had been a former member of the upper-level

¹⁴ In a document submitted to the Leipzig City Council in regard to the question as to how the chorales are to be selected, Bach wrote on September 20, 1728, that among the "traditions and customary habits...regarding the choice of chorales [spiritual songs] before and after the sermons, a choice which had been left to me and my predecessors as cantors and which is based on the Gospels that are indicated for a specific day and for which the *Dresden Hymnal* was specifically designed...." *BD I*, No. 19.

consistory. This Börner was also the father of an important professor of theology in Leipzig, Christian Friedrich Börner (1683-1753).¹⁵ The decorative title page that was included depicts the Trinity being praised and shows in its early editions until 1734 in the lower quarter page a silhouette of the city of Dresden with the old *Frauenkirche* with its pointed tower. Later editions showed the new *Frauenkirche* with its dome (the dedication of this church took place on February 28, 1734).

Leipzig's own tradition of printing its own hymnals extends back to the beginning of the Reformation when the body of thought centering on the Reformation and promulgated by Duke Georg of Saxony, 'the bearded one' (1471-1539) was still being hotly contested. In 1530 a Leipzig printer Michael Blum published the *Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge und Psalmen für die Leien* [An enchiridion {handbook/collection} of spiritual songs and Psalms for lay people] and with this he established the tradition of printing hymnals for Leipzig. It soon became apparent that this would be one of particularly high quality. Circa 1794 a certain Magister (Master of Arts) Friedrich Gottlob Hofmann created a list of Leipzig hymnals which included ten different titles, some of which went through a considerable number of editions.¹⁶ Usually these are specified by the names of the printers/publishers. Here are some of those worth mentioning: those printed by Valentin Schumann (1539) and Valentin Babst (1545) and the editions produced by Nikolaus Selnecker (1587), Jeremias Weber (1632), Johann Hermann Schein (1627), Gottfried Vopelius (1682), Friedrich Werner (1732), Carl Gottlob Hofmann (1734) and the one brought about through the encouragement of Johann Georg Rosenmüller (1796). Of special interest the *Choralmelodienbücher* [Chorale Melody Books] he mentions:

Spiritual Songs for Church and Other Occasions by Luther and other pious Christians set for four voices with proper counterpoint by Seth Calvisius. (Leipzig, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1612, 1622 {the latter is the 5th edition}). Also published in Erfurt, 1594.

A Book of Songs for 4 Parts (Augsburg Confession) with printed musical notes by Johann Hermann Schein (Leipzig, 1627).

Four-Part Book of Chorales by Johann Kuhnau (Leipzig 17..?).¹⁷

A Musical Hymnal with 954 old as well as new songs with properly set melodies in the soprano voice with bass accompaniment (by Johann Sebastian Bach and others). Editor Georg Christoph Schemelli with a preface by D. Friedrich Schultze (Leipzig, 1736).

¹⁵ Günther Wartenberg: "Christian Friedrich Börner (1683-1753), ein Wegbereiter philologisch-historischer Schriftauslegung an der Leipziger Theologischen Fakultät", in *Bach-Studien*, vol. 10 ed. R. Szeskus (Wiesbaden/Leipzig, 1991), pp. 36-48.

¹⁶ Friedrich Gottlob Hofmann: *Handschriftliches Verzeichnis der Leipziger Gesangbücher bis 1794*, Bibliothek des Museums für Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig, Signatur: F 218.

¹⁷ Here we would like to know what this title means, a title that has not yet been identified.

Among the archival materials found in the *Thomaskirche* archive is the handwritten notebook of Johann Christoph Rost, the custodian of that church. He died in 1739 but his successors continued recording their entries in it until the second decade of the 19th century. This book demands further research:

News
 Regarding How Things Tended to be Carried Out
 In the *Thomaskirche*: More Specifically in Regard to
 The Church Services, the Annual as Well as High Feast Days
 And Other Days.
 Written Down by Johann Christoph Rost, Custodian at the *Thomaskirche*
 In the Year 1716.

This book is a great source for discovering indications of changes in liturgical procedures and events. There are quite a few clues to the chronology of Bach's works in Leipzig even without having his name being mentioned.

Among the archival sources for church services in Leipzig from this era are both of Bach's autograph listing of the order of services for the First Sunday in Advent which he wrote on the cover page for his cantatas BWV 61 and BWV 62.¹⁸ The wording reveals that it was apparently written for a substitute organist. By writing this down, Bach was obviously instructing the organist at which points in the service he was to preludize. In the following overview you can see the schedule for feast days, fasting periods and 'feastless' days or times in order to obtain a better sense of the abundance and richness in content that presents itself:¹⁹

[*Sunday after Christmas; *Sunday after New Year; *1st to 6th Sunday after Epiphany; *1st to 27th Sunday after Trinity]

Feast Days / Times	Fasting Periods	Feastless Days / Periods
1st Sunday in Advent		
	2nd to 4th Sundays in Advent	
1st to 3rd Day of Christmas		
Sunday after Christmas		
Feast Day of Circumcision		
New Year (Jan. 1st)		
Sunday after New Year		
Epiphany (Jan. 6)		

¹⁸ *BD I*, Nos. 178 and 181.

¹⁹ The days noted with an asterisk (*) do not occur every year. The number of Sundays between Epiphany and after Trinity can be diminished or increased depending on the date when Easter falls. If it is early, there will only be one or two.

		1st to 6th Sunday after Epiphany
Mary's Purification (Feb. 2nd)		
		Septuagesimæ Sexagesimæ Estomihi
	Invocavit Reminiscere Oculi Lætare Judica	
Mary's Annunciation (Mar 25th)		
	Palmarum (Palm Sunday) Maundy Thursday Good Friday	
1st to 3rd Day of Easter		Quasimodogeniti Misericordias Domini Jubilate Cantate Rogate
Ascension of Christ		Exaudi
1st to 3rd Day of Pentecost Trinity Sunday		
		1st to 27th Sunday after Trinity
John the Baptist (June 24th) Mary's Visitation (July 2nd) Michaelmas (September 29th) Reformation (October 31st)		

In addition to the above there were also the days devoted to the Apostles or to repentance as well as the election/inauguration day. The latter was more of a community day which was always celebrated with a church service in the *Nikolaikirche* on the Monday after Bartholomew's name-day which occurred on

August 24th. Annually there were three days of repentance²⁰ which began with preparatory prayer hour on the eve of the Day of Repentance that followed the next day with three church services and a final prayer hour. Not all the Apostle Days were brought into the church calendar, but most of them are nevertheless represented: Andrew (November 30th); Thomas (December 21st); Matthias (February 24th); Peter and Paul (June 29th); Jacob the Elder (July 25th); Bartholomew (August 24th); Matthew (September 21st) as well as Simon and Judas (October 28th). These Apostle Days were intended as reminders of their lives devoted to missionary work and had a greater significance when these days were still relatively new. They were celebrated on the dates indicated when they occurred on a weekday, but if they fell on a Sunday, their celebration would be relegated to the Noon-Day Sermon.

For a normal week, the schedule appears as a concentrated series of church services and events. We still do not know the extent to which other public events were probably added to this schedule. The table can only give us a schematic outline of those church services and events which were celebrated on a regular basis. We have not attempted to show how the four pastors of both main churches divided their responsibilities between themselves:

	6:00 AM	7:00 AM	11:30 AM	1:30 PM	2:00 PM
Sunday:		Main Service all churches	Noon sermon alternating weekly between both main churches	Vespers all churches	
Monday:	Early Service <i>Nikolaikirche</i>	Weddings <i>Nikolaikirche</i>	Weddings <i>Nikolaikirche</i>	Little Prayer Hour <i>Thomaskirche</i>	
Tuesday:	Early Service <i>Thomaskirche</i>	Confessions <i>Nikolaikirche</i>	Confessions <i>Nikolaikirche</i>		Large Prayer Hour <i>Nikolaikirche</i>
Wednesday:	Early Mass <i>Nikolaikirche</i>	Confessions <i>Thomaskirche</i>	Confessions <i>Thomaskirche</i>		Little Prayer Hour <i>Thomaskirche</i>
Thursday:	Early Mass <i>Thomaskirche</i>	Weddings <i>Thomaskirche</i>	Weddings <i>Thomaskirche</i>		Little Prayer Hour <i>Nikolaikirche</i>
Friday:	Early Service <i>Nikolaikirche</i>			Large Prayer Hour <i>Thomaskirche</i>	
Saturday:				Vespers Both Main Churches	

²⁰ This changes annually on a Friday of the weeks after *Invocavit* until *Judica* (1st Day of Repentance), after the second to sixth Sunday after Trinity (2nd Day of Repentance) and after the 19th until 24th Sunday after Trinity (3rd Day of Repentance).

This scheme in no way reflects the true traditional richness and depth available to all churchgoers and which had to fulfill their actual demands. During the mornings from Tuesday to Thursday, ordinations regularly took place in the *Nikolaikirche*. The only complaint that had been recorded was regarding the weekly opportunities for confession which were not being sufficiently used as more and more people favored appointments before and after the worship services on Sundays. The elector issued mandates prepared by the upper consistory that warned worshippers not to avoid early Sunday morning confessions but rather to try making use of the times available during the week. But other than these problems, the church services and prayer hours must have been very well attended. A pastor from nearby Lockwitz, Christian Gerber (1660-1731) even waxed poetic when he spoke about the great variety of church services: “People can consider themselves to be lucky/happy to be able to live in a city where public church services are held every day of the week. In this regard the inhabitants of the cities of Dresden and Leipzig are fortunate because in both cities there are sermons and prayer hours every day of the year so that they are enriched with all the teachings of the church and thus obtain knowledge. They will be lacking no gifts at all. We can only wish that Christ’s sermons will take effect in all of them.”²¹

As the biblical foundation of all sermons there was a strict hierarchy of Propers: Every Sunday and feast day the old church [traditional] Gospel was presented and preached during the main church service. This was called *das Amt* or ‘office’ [the official standard]. This led to having a specific Gospel passage presented at least two times, once in the *Evangelienton* [sung as chant or a very special tone of voice?] and then later as the reading out loud of text upon which the sermon would be based. If this happened to be church service where the cantata was performed (in this regard the two main churches alternated weekly during ‘feastless’ periods, but on feast days alternated between morning and afternoon performances), there was yet a third way in which content of the Gospel could be ‘acquired’ by the congregation. On feast days the rule applied that the generally used Propers would be replaced by the feast day Propers. During fasting periods from the afternoon of the First Sunday in Advent until December 24th and from *Invocavit* until Good Friday, there was a special foundation for the sermon during Vespers on Sundays and Saturdays as well as for the prayer hours during the week. Specifically Luther’s *Small Catechism* would be used during Advent and the ‘Passion Harmony’ [a synoptic view of the Passion based upon Matthew, Mark, and Luke?] by Bugenhagen during Lent and Passion-tide.²²

A special rule had to be devised to solve the problem regarding the Annunciation Feast Day because it frequently collided with the Passion-tide or even with the three feast days of Easter: “This feast always occurs on March 25th. If this also happens to be Maundy Thursday or Good Friday or even any of the Easter Feast Days, then, according to General Article Nr. 9 issued by the elector, it will be celebrated on

²¹ Christian Gerber: *Historie Der Kirchen=Ceremonien in Sachsen; Nach ihrer Beschaffenheit in möglichster Kürztze mit Anführung vieler Moralien und specialen Nachrichten* (Dresden/Leipzig, 1732), p. 355.

²² Sometimes a connection can also be noted in the libretti of the cantatas; cf. Bugenhagen’s *Passionsharmonie* and *Evangelienharmonie* with the libretti of the two large, surviving Passions (BWV 244 and BWV 245), but also the libretti of the *Easter and Ascension Oratorios* (BWV 249 and BWV 11), and above all also compare the *Catechism* to BWV 7.

Palm Sunday.”²³ As evident from the Leipzig sources from 1731, this feast day was only celebrated on Palm Sunday in the *Nikolaikirche* while the Propers for Palm Sunday were followed in the *Thomaskirche*.

The Vespers for Good Friday and the Reformation Feast Days clearly show that the liturgy was less fixed than at other times. Bach’s performances of extensive works like the *St. Matthew* and *St. John Passions* obviously point to the greater freedom accorded to composers to include such works, a fairly recent tradition begun by Bach’s predecessor Johann Kuhnau only in the *Thomaskirche* during the last years of his life from 1721 to 1723. In 1724 the Good Friday Vespers in the *Nikolaikirche* included a special Good Friday sermon “which had been paid for by a grant from Mrs. Koppin.”²⁴ This sermon was to be held based upon Jesus’ burial as presented in Bugenhagen’s *Passionsharmonie*.

The Reformation Feast Day was first held in 1617, 100 years after his posting of the 95 Theses. The feast days in 1617 lasted from October 30th to November 2nd.²⁵ After 50 years in 1667, it was decided in Saxony that it should be celebrated with a special sermon church service on October 31st each year. As late as 1715 in Leipzig communion was added and in 1733 this feast day received a special grant from Mentzel, a gold-beater, to establish Vespers on this day as well.²⁶ The *Nikolaikirche* archive has an almost complete handwritten collection about the rules and regulations governing the celebration of this Reformation Feast Day from the final years of the 17th century onwards.²⁷ Here you can easily observe the development of the church services and what type of changes took place in the Propers which include the texts to be used as a basis for the sermons.

A notable aberration can be found in the excursive series of sermons delivered by Friedrich Wilhelm Schütz (1677-1739) on biblical texts beginning with Genesis 1:1 all the way to 1 Kings 5:8-11. He began giving these sermons as an archdeacon in the *Nikolaikirche* in 1721 where he was responsible for the Monday sermons and stayed on course until the Monday after Trinity on June 17, 1737. The custodian of the *Nikolaikirche* noted this in his church service manual as follows: “H. D. Schütz, after having been chosen to assume his role as pastor at the *Thomaskirche*, held his final sermon on a text taken from 1 Kings 5:8-11.”²⁸

²³ *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* (Leipzig, 1710), p. 22.

²⁴ Johann Christoph Rost, *Nachricht* (see above), fol. 24r and v.

²⁵ Cf. Christhard Mahrenholz, “Heinrich Schütz und das erste Reformationsjubiläum 1517,” in *Musicologica et Liturgica, Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Müller (Kassel, 1960), pp. 196-204.

²⁶ Cf. my report: *Gottesdienst und Kantate am Reformationsfest zur Bachzeit in Leipzig*. Given to the participants at the conference of the „Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für theologische Bachforschung” held at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, March 23 to 27, 1990 [a privately printed document], p. 2.

²⁷ Leipzig, *Archiv der Nikolaikirche*, Signatur I R 53.

²⁸ *Manuale der Gottesdienste 1737*, Leipzig, *Archiv der Nikolaikirche*, Signatur: I E 10.

The Orders of Church Services

Only the Main and Vesper Services are treated in greater detail,²⁹ because the other services (the noon service and the early services and prayer hours held every day of the week except Sunday and feast days) have less importance attached to them.

It is necessary to distinguish three different types of the main church service (which is generally divided into the early church service and the official main part of the morning service): 1. the feast days; 2. the special days without a feast; and 3. the services during the time of fasting. As already indicated above, the main church service represents the development of the Roman Mass including changes to it created by the criticisms leveled at it from the Reformation as well as another tendency of the Reformation to extend its pedagogical purpose by means of the Catechism. It would appear as though this main church service was the result of combining the Catholic Ordinary Mass as modified by the Reformation with the Catechism. The following overview/outline allows us to see the stronger dominance of the mass (printed with versals) within which the Catechism (which is underlined) sneaks in with the typical view propounded by the Reformation in emphasizing the Law and the Gospels in this first section. In contrast the second and third parts of the church service demonstrate the dominance of the Catechism while the Mass elements at the same time 'seem to creep away':

Outline Lists with the services for feast days, 'feastless' days and during the time of fasting

Feast Times	Feastless Times	Fasting Times
Choir Hymn		
Organ Prelude		
Organ Prelude	Organ Prelude	
Choir Motet	Choir Motet	<i>Benedictus</i> or <i>Canticum</i> <i>Zachariae</i> or <i>Vivo ego</i> Choir
Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie mainly as figural music	Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie Choir or as German <i>Kyriesong</i>	Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie Choir or as German <i>Kyriesong</i>
Gloria	Gloria	Gloria
Intonation by Choir	Intonation by Choir	Intonation
Continuation as Figural Music	Continuation German <i>Gloriasong</i>	Continuation by Choir
Greeting and Collect Prayer	Greeting and Collect Prayer	Greeting and Collect Prayer
<u>Epistle</u>	<u>Epistle</u>	<u>Epistle</u>
<i>De-tempore</i> Song Congregation	<i>De-tempore</i> Song Congregation	<i>De-tempore</i> Song Congregation

²⁹ Cf. my research articles: „Bachs Passionen als Musik im Gottesdienst,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach, Johannes-Passion BWV 245*, Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Bachakademie Stuttgart, ed. Ulrich Prinz, vol. 5 (Kassel, 1993), pp. 44-61; „Bibel, Gesangbuch und Gottesdienst,” *Die Welt der Bach Kantaten*, ed. Christoph Wolff, vol 1: *Johann Sebastian Bachs Kirchenkantaten: Von Arnstadt bis in die Köthener Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 135-155.

		Litany
<u>Gospel</u>	<u>Gospel</u>	<u>Gospel</u>
	Credo	Credo
	Intonation by Choir	Intonation by Choir
Cantata: Part 1	Cantata: Part 1	Patrem Omnipotentem
		sung by choir
<u>Wir glauben all an einen Gott</u>	<u>Wir glauben all an einen Gott</u>	<u>Wir glauben all an einen Gott</u>
sung by Congregation	sung by Congregation	sung by Congregation
Announcement of Sermon	Announcement of Sermon	Announcement of Sermon
Chorale sung by Congregation	Chorale sung by Congregation	Chorale sung by Congregation
Gospel Text for Sermon	Gospel Text for Sermon	Gospel Text for Sermon
<u>The Lord's Prayer</u>	<u>The Lord's Prayer</u>	<u>The Lord's Prayer</u>
Sermon	Sermon	Sermon
<u>Confession and Absolution</u>	<u>Confession and Absolution</u>	<u>Confession and Absolution</u>
Banns	Banns	
Prayers for Church and State	Prayers for Church and State	Prayers for Church and State
Intercessions	Intercessions	Intercessions
Prayers of Thanksgiving	Prayers of Thanksgiving	Prayers of Thanksgiving
The Lord's Prayer (silent)	The Lord's Prayer (silent)	The Lord's Prayer (silent)
Benediction from Pulpit	Benediction from Pulpit	Benediction from Pulpit
Hymn after Sermon (sung by Congregation)	Hymn after Sermon (sung by Congregation)	Hymn after Sermon (sung by Congregation)
The Preface in Latin	The Lord's Prayer Paraphrase Admonition before Communion	The Lord's Prayer Paraphrase Admonition before Communion
Sanctus as Figural Music w/o <i>Osanna, Benedictus, Agnus Dei</i>		
<u>Verba Institutionis</u> (Communion)	<u>Verba Institutionis</u> (Communion)	<u>Verba Institutionis</u> (Communion)
During Communion:	During Communion:	During Communion:
Cantata: Part 2	Cantata: Part 2	
Communion Hymns (Congregation)	Communion Hymns (Congregation)	Communion Hymns (Congregation)
Versicle	Versicle	Versicle
Final Collect	Final Collect	Final Collect
Benediction/Blessing	Benediction/Blessing	Benediction/Blessing
Congregational Hymn Based on Psalm 67	Congregational Hymn Based on Psalm 67	Congregational Hymn Based on Psalm 67
Hymn sung by Choir		

There is one place in the sequence of events during the church service which stands out rather clearly, specifically in the section devoted to the *Credo*. Here the two main elements mentioned above clash: the *Ordinarium missae* and the *Catechism*. Whereas the *Nicene Creed* appears in its complete form only during the fasting times, during the 'feastless' period it is only hinted at by the intonation of the *Credo*,

and then during feast days it disappears and has lost its place altogether. On the other hand, Luther's reformulation of the *Apostolic Creed*, 'der Glaube deutsch' ['the *Credo* in German'], which also has a function as a Catechism song/chorale, has always been maintained as a congregational hymn from the beginning of the Reformation in the order of church services.

Very revealing and significant, possibly also for the origin of this detail, is in any case the placing of *The Nicene Creed* into the 'feastless' period. Instead of having the liturgist sing the continuation of the *Patrem omnipotentem*, the cantata is presented at this time as the main music of the church service. A suspicion arises here that Luther's development of the idea that there must be in the imagination an offering of praise (this was presented above) should be taken quite literally. The church service agenda for Saxony, still valid until about 1955, had the liturgist, after the cantata had been performed, invite the congregation to pray and speak the creed saying: "Let us step before God offering Him praise and confess the Christian faith." Here we can see how listening to the performance of figural music of high artistic caliber is a transformation of Luther's notion of a sacrificial offering. What a powerful thought that is! On the other hand, the 'der große Glaube' [the great belief/faith] of the congregation has remained unchallenged within the structure of the church service. But now it consists of a part of the Catechism that has its clear continuation in the Our Father, Confession and Absolution (as a remembrance and renewal of Baptism), and Communion, while, in contrast, the connection to the formulas of the Mass disappear more and more. Finally, what remains of these formulas are the musically presented, yet incomplete version of the *Sanctus* (with the abandonment of the *Osanna*, *Benedictus*, *Osanna* and *Agnus dei*) performed on high feast days. Part of the pedagogical purpose behind the church service is also revealed in the part Greek and part Latin version of the liturgy. Very impressive is the clear tripartite division of the entire church serviced: 1. Part one from the beginning up to Luther's version of the creed is sung entirely; 2. Part two is spoken only (from the pulpit with the exception of the congregational hymn that is an answer to the announcement of the sermon); and 3. Part three is sung (although interrupted by an Our Father paraphrase and a Communion warning/reminder during the 'feastless' and fasting periods).

A sub deacon of the church in question delivers the sermon during the afternoon and vesper church services, while whoever hold the first position preaches in the morning services. Year after year since the Reformation the Gospels are preached in the morning on Sundays and feast days while correspondingly the Epistles are treated in the vespers. There are only slight differences between the orders of church services during the three main types of services. What has already been stated earlier about the main church services is repeated as seen in the table on the opposite page.

In all church services the organ served as an instrument for playing preludes and also as a continuo instrument. It did not accompany the congregational hymns. An exception to this was the hymn before the sermon which would change according to the prevailing liturgical portion of the year. During the 'feastless' period the hymn "Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend" was always sung. Sometimes it is expressly stated that "organ will be played at the same time the congregation is singing."

Feast Days	Feastless Periods	Fast Periods
Organ Prelude	Organ Prelude	
Choir sings a Hymn	Choir sings a Motet	Choir sings a Latin Motet
Feast Day Cantata in either the <i>Thomaskirche</i> or <i>Nikolaikirche</i>		
Chorale Prelude on the Organ	Chorale Prelude on the Organ	
<i>De-tempore</i> Hymn Congregation	<i>De-tempore</i> Hymn Congregation	<i>De-tempore</i> Hymn Congregation
Psalm	Psalm	Psalm
The Lord's Prayer	The Lord's Prayer	The Lord's Prayer
	Prayer for the Prayer Hour	Prayer for the Prayer Hour
Chorale Prelude on the Organ	Chorale Prelude on the Organ	
Hymn sung by Congregation	Hymn sung by Congregation	Hymn sung by Congregation
Announcement of Sermon	Announcement of Sermon	Announcement of Sermon
Pulpit Hymn	Pulpit Hymn	Pulpit Hymn
The Lord's Prayer (silent)	The Lord's Prayer (silent)	The Lord's Prayer (silent)
		Sermon Text: Catechism during Advent <i>Passionsharmonie</i> during Lent
Gospel Sermon Text	Gospel Sermon Text	
Prayer for the Church	Prayer for the Church	Prayer for the Church
Intercession	Intercession	Intercession
Prayers of Thanksgiving	Prayers of Thanksgiving	Prayers of Thanksgiving
Benediction from the Pulpit	Benediction from the Pulpit	Benediction from the Pulpit
A Preamble on the Organ	A Preamble on the Organ	
<i>Magnificat</i> in Latin Choir performs Figural Music	<i>Magnificat</i> in German Sung by the Congregation	<i>Magnificat</i> in German Sung by the Congregation
Response	Response	Response
Collect Prayer	Collect Prayer	Collect Prayer
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction
Hymn: Nun danket alle Gott	Hymn: Nun danket alle Gott	Hymn: Nun danket alle Gott
[no Catechism Examinations]	Bell-ringing for Prayer Hour	Bell-ringing for Prayer Hour
	Congregation Hymn	Congregation Hymn
	Reading a Portion of Catechism	Reading a Portion of Catechism
	The Lord's Prayer	The Lord's Prayer
	Announcement	Announcement
	Catechism Examinations	Catechism Examinations
	Final Wish	Final Wish
	One Verse from a Hymn Sung by Congregation	One Verse from a Hymn Sung by Congregation

The Vespers with their examination of the students' knowledge of their Catechism also offers the opportunity to point out the participation of children during the church services. In the main church service the altar boys functioned as a kind of ministrant. They were required to perform duties involving the sing of Gregorian chant as well as providing small, practical services related to the Communion portion of the service.³⁰ For the examination of the Catechism two boys were needed who functioned as the direct recipients of the examination.

Not to be forgotten are the *Choralisten* (choralists= A choir (also known as chorale or chorus) is a musical ensemble of singers. Choral music, in turn, is the music written specifically for such an ensemble to perform), under the direction of the cantor at the *Nikolaikirche*, who only played a subordinate [lesser] role in the musical life of the city. The choralists sang the *Horae canonicae* ('prayer hours') from the special *Chorraum* [choir 'room' or loft] of the *Nikolaikirche*. This was an institution from the Pre-Reformation that continued to function based upon very old charitable foundations in certain German cities. Formally this institution appears to be a type of intermediation for monies derived from grants at the price, to be sure, of making possible the musical support for the regular liturgical services in the *Nikolaikirche*. Some of these *Choralists* also earned a small payment for performing during church services as *Praecentors*.³¹

On the Significance and Meaning of the Church Service

A church service during Bach's tenure in Leipzig should not be simply understood as a weekly but rather a daily center for communication in this city. The main church service even fulfilled the function of a spiritual, communal and cultural center for which there was no other substitute or even partial substitute. As seen from a spiritual standpoint, church services, prayer hours and Catechism examinations were an extension of the texts and values of Christian faith already practiced in public and taught in schools. From the communal point of view, these church services provided an essential source of information in a time when many forms of media were still lacking. In the church services the church not only perceived the functions of the legal civil status of individuals but also had the duty to disseminate communal and public information. This was done in connection with announcements, pleas for intercession and the long church prayer, all of which took up considerable time (up to 45 minutes in each main church service). The civil status functions are related to principal points of an individual's life (birth/death, marriage bans/wedding, death/funeral) as well as the special, fortuitous events that are encountered. Obviously for reasons of practicality, the procedures surrounding the burial of the deceased were partially handed over

³⁰ Cf. my article, „Zur Frage der Funktionen des Kantors Johann Sebastian Bach in Leipzig,“ in *Musik und Kirche*, 53 (1983), pp. 167-173.

³¹*Praecentor*, [German: Präzentor] is a designated singer, usually a member of the choir, with a strong, firm voice who introduces a chorale by beginning to sing it and then continues to sing along with the congregation when it joins him in singing; in contrast, a *Succentor* = an assistant choir director, the substitute for the cantor when he is unavailable.

to private businesses (*Leichenbitter*=the one who went about town knocking on doors of those related or acquainted with the deceased to announce the death and offer an invitation to attend the funeral) and to a special community organization (*Friedhofswesen*=cemetery entity). In any case, these were not controlled by the church authorities. The special matters of happenstance involved substantial parts of the intercessions which fulfilled a spiritual as well as an informative function in the individual and also official areas. A considerable amount of time was also devoted to the reading of the elector's mandates and orders. There were warnings about vagabond groups of thieves, but also about individuals like "Mausedavid" ["Pilfering David"] who was eventually caught and executed in Leipzig's Market Square. In addition to this there was the formal, regular, biannual reading out loud of the rules governing marriage which always took place on the Second Sunday after Epiphany and on the Second Sunday after Trinity.³² From a cultural standpoint, it should not be forgotten that the church was the only place for communal gatherings which served to represent the city and its citizens and even if this was only in the simple form of regular attendance. The main church service could be compared to the opera houses and concert halls of today where people in better and more expensive clothing could be observed and even more so the movement of parishioners to partake of communion to the mingling of concert goers in the foyers or corridors. Filling out the church with separate prayer rooms and flying buttresses accommodated the growing desire for privatizing piety in a public arena, a rather pietistic detail. On the other hand, one must not forget that the church services, with all the restrictions that can be noted, really were about trying to eliminate social inequality; and yet, during the 18th century, there were various increasing limitations placed upon social inequality manifested in church services. There are frequent reports about fringe groups being treated differently in that they received communion alone in the sacristy: an old woman from Tanners' Alley, the house servant from The Black Owl, etc. There is a report from Borna near Leipzig, which most likely pertained to Leipzig as well, that the noon church service (*Mittagspredigt*=the sermon at noon) which alternated between the two main churches on a weekly basis, was being directed at and attended by members of the third [working] class.³³ Two quotations will confirm this. The Deacon Hoffkuntz from Borna wrote: "The Catechism examinations are probably intended more or less as instruction for the commoners who become irritated, annoyed and then neglectful; and for this reason they find it difficult to obtain an understanding of the necessary classification of God's teachings because they forget to follow them from time to time." In contrast to this, Hoffkuntz had, in a passage stated just previously, determined that "the sermons are really much more for those already enlightened so that, when they hear them, will repeat the lessons they have already recognized, listen to them more intently, become firmer in their belief regarding them and then hopefully be awakened to a true blessed state in God. These sermons are not for ignorant who mostly listen to them thoughtlessly and only with the ears of the body."³⁴ This judgment could also apply *mutatis mutandis* to listening to the cantatas and

³² It has been placed here because of the Gospel readings selected by the old church.

³³ *Die Ständeordnung* = "The Order of Social Classes" as explained in the *Pronostacio* by Johannes Lichtenberger (1488). Jesus Christ says to the clergy: *Tu supplex ora* = "You must humbly pray"; to the emperor and the princes: *Tu protege* = "You must protect"; and to the farmers: *Tuque labora* = "You must work".

³⁴ August Theodor Hoffkuntz, *Einige Katechismus-Fragen und Antworten, Anfangs zum Privatunterricht der Jugend nach dem Dresdnischen Catechismo entworfen* (Rochlitz 1728), Preface pp. 44-45.

understanding their texts as well; there the catechistic intent is felt internally as well as externally: internally in view of the relationship between the biblical, madrigalesque texts and the final chorales; externally as seen in connection with the church service as a whole. Regarding the Noonday Sermon/Service and the examination of the Catechism, Johann Friedrich Leibniz noted in his *Kirchen-Andachten* from 1694: “During the Midday Service/Sermon you will see, for the most part, servants and tradesmen assembling here which may occur because seating or standing room during the main church service in the morning or because they had been hindered from attending the very early morning service because of the necessary work in which they had been engaged. And it cannot be denied that there are others who were kept from attending the very early morning service because they were involved in doing unauthorized work or simply were too lazy to get up. And yet there are also devout Christians who come to listen to all three sermons and eagerly await them.”³⁵

³⁵ *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten* (Leipzig, 1694), pp. 42-43.

Appendix 1

The translation of *Evangelienharmonie* or *Passionsharmonie* leads to confusion and misunderstanding when the English term based upon ‘synopsis’ from the Greek σύνοψις is used. Generally it refers to a concise, condensed version of an original; however the ecclesiastical term used either as an adjective or a noun is definitely misleading as an equivalent to the two German terms cited above. Specifically the definition given by the Oxford English Dictionary reads as follows:

OED: Synoptic a. (n.)

2. a.2.a Applied distinctively to the first three Gospels (viz. of Matthew, Mark, and Luke) as giving an account of the events from the same point of view or under the same general aspect. Also transf. pertaining or relating to these Gospels.

b.2.b as n. Any one of the Synoptic Gospels.

The cited quotations in the OED include the very clear distinction between the Gospel of St. John and the “Synoptic Three” and “the three synoptic Gospels”. In 1776, Johann Jakob Griesbach published a book which had three columns on each page, thus making it much easier to ‘view all together’ [= synopsis] the first three Gospels in Greek to see the many similarities between them. The Gospel of St. John stands apart from the others in that the connections are fewer and less apparent.

Although Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558) was also working on a complete [a synopsis including all four Gospels] *Evangelienharmonie* to extend the format of his *Passionsharmonie* [which also included all four Gospels] to cover the entire life of Christ, he did not live long enough to finish this project. The tradition of the *Passionsharmonie* in both written and musical form stems from the Middle Ages; it was, however, during the Reformation with numerous printed editions becoming available for people to read and study that its popularity grew immensely. In its original form, Bugenhagen’s *Passionharmonie* first appeared in Middle Low German as *Historia des lydendes unde upstandige unses Heren Jesu Christi uth den veer Euangelisten* [*The Story about the Suffering and Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ as Taken from the Four Gospels*]. Later it appeared in numerous High German translations. In the *Kirchenordnungen* [Rules Governing Church Services, etc.], Bugenhagen, who was responsible for writing the *Kirchenordnungen*, stipulated that the *Passionsharmonie* was to be read in church on Good Friday.

Here are a few other books, including the above, in Middle Low German by Bugenhagen:

Dat Nye Testame[n]t düdesch: Mit nyen Summarie[n] edder kortem vorstande vp eyn yder Capittel, [*The New Testament in [Middle Low] German: with New Summaries or Short Introductions for Each Chapter*] printed by Peter Quentel, (Köln, 1528).

Biblia: dat ys de gantze Hillige Schrifft, Düdesch: Vpt nye thogerichtet, vnde mit vlite corrigert [*The Bible: This is the Entire Holy Bible, in [Middle Low] German: Newly Prepared and Thoroughly Corrected*], printed by Hans Lufft (Wittenberg, 1541).

Historia des lydendes unde upstandige unses Heren Jesu Christi uth den veer Euangelisten (after 1546 before 1558)= *Niederdeutsche Passionsharmonie* von Johannes Bugenhagen, hrsg. von Norbert Buske, Faksimile-

Druck nach der Barther Ausgabe von 1586. Berlin u. Altenburg 1985. The edition used was printed by Barth in 1586).

The earliest musical setting of a *Passionsharmonie* was by Antoine de Longueval (1498-1525) and was printed by Georg Rhau in Wittenberg in 1538. Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) made use of Bugenhagen's *Passionsharmonie* for his *Historia der fröhlichen und siegreichen Auferstehung unsers einigen Erlösers und Seligmachers Jesu Christi*, composed in 1623. The influence of the structure of Bugenhagen's *Passionsharmonie* is still noticeable in Johann Sebastian Bach's Passions. (Martin Petzoldt). During the Enlightenment in the latter half of the 18th century the *Passionsharmonie* lost its importance as part of the Good Friday church service, but most Evangelical hymnals retained this text even into the 20th century even retaining the "History of the Destruction of the City of Jerusalem". *Christ's Seven Last Words on the Cross* are an excerpt from the *Passionsharmonie*. Here are the key sections of the *Passionsharmonie*:

1. *Christi Verkündigung seines Leidens* [Christ Announcement of His Suffering]
2. *Der Juden Anschlag, Christum zu töten* [The Jews' Plot to Kill Christ]
3. *Christi Salbung* [Christ's Anointment]
4. *Judas' Absprache des Verrats* [Judas' Conspiratorial Collusion]
5. *Die Bereitung des Osterlammes* [The Preparation of the Easter Lamb]
6. *Die Einsetzung des Abendmahls* [The Institution of the Lord's Supper]
7. *Die Fußwaschung* [The Washing of Feet]
8. *Die Entdeckung des Verräters* [The Discovery of the Betrayer]
9. *Die Schlichtung des Zanks unter den Jünger* [Settlement of the Argument between the Apostles]

After this the *Five Acts of Christ's Suffering* are listed:

1. Actus: [Hortus] *Christi Leiden im Garten* [Christ's Suffering in the Garden]
2. Actus: [Pontifices] *Christi Leiden vor den Priestern* [Christ's Suffering before the Priests]
3. Actus: [Pilatus] *Christi Leiden bei der Obrigkeit* [Christ's Suffering before the Authorities]
4. Actus: [Crux] *Christi Kreuzigung* [Christ's Crucifixion]
5. Actus: [Sepulchrum] *Christi Begräbnis* [Christ's Burial]