THE CHRISTMAS CANTATAS OF
CHRISTOPH GRAUPNER
(1683-1760)
VOLUME ONE

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

René R. Schmidt, B.A., M.M.
Denton, Texas
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An assessment of the contributions of Christoph Graupner's 1,418 extant church cantatas is enhanced by a study of his fifty-five surviving Christmas cantatas, written for the feasts of Christmas, St. Stephen's, St. John's, and the Sunday after Christmas. Graupner's training in Kirchberg, Reichenbach and at the Thomas School in Leipzig is recounted as well as his subsequent tenures in Hamburg and Darmstadt. Graupner's decision to seek the position of Kantor at Leipzig in 1722/23 probably was the result of deteriorating economic conditions in Darmstadt as well as tacit encouragement from the Leipzig Council.

Georg Christian Lehms (1684-1717), Graupner's early librettist and the author of four Darmstadt Jahrgänge, annual compilations of cantata texts, uses rhymed recitatives and arias, Biblical quotations, and chorales in his cantata poetry. Lehms' preferred formula for the da capo aria is a five-line stanza with the rhyme scheme AB.CCB, the dot indicating where the "A" sections ends. A da capo aria that had more than five lines, invariably maintains the archetypal rhyme scheme with the formula
A(N)B.CC(N)B where (N) represents a variable number of added lines. Johann Conrad Lichtenberg (1689-1751), Superintendent of Darmstadt, persisted in using the forms and procedures favored by Lehms in Jahrgänge cycles that he supplied Graupner with from 1719-1743. After 1743 Graupner continued to use Lichtenberg's poetry as sources of cantata texts, attempting to complete earlier cycles that were left incomplete when all of vice-Kapellmeister Gottfried Grünwald's music was burned after his death in 1739.

The music of the Christmas cantatas, which may consist of two recitative-aria pairs, an accompanied recitative, a chorale and a movement for chorus, shows a gradual progression from the Baroque to the fashionable galant. The arias, which Graupner typically set for soprano or bass, are a reflection of the dominant singers in the Darmstadt Schloßkirche. (Included are transcriptions of all of the da capo aria texts, as well as transcriptions and translations of twenty-nine of the cantata texts and performing editions of four of the cantatas.)
The task of assessing Christoph Graupner's (1683-1760) contributions to the late Baroque Lutheran cantata threatens to overwhelm the historian. Of his 1,418 extant cantatas, few have ever been published in modern editions and most of his Jahrgänge, annual publications of cantata poetry, were destroyed in the Allied attack on Darmstadt in 1944, leaving Graupner's manuscripts as the only sources for the texts. This investigation of the fifty-five surviving sacred Christmas cantatas, whose manuscripts are all located in the Darmstädter Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, aspires to assess some of Graupner's contributions to the Baroque cantata. The Christmas feast days in Darmstadt (Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day, St. John's Day and the Sunday after Christmas) provide a balanced study because of the

1See Bibliography.

2For a complete citation of manuscripts, see bibliography.

3The 1723 cantata Auf lobet Gottes großen Namen (BRD DS Mus MS 431/29), originally part of this study, was later excluded because the secular text and references to the Landgrave indicate it was written for the Landgrave's birthday.
inclusiveness of penitential as well as joyous themes\textsuperscript{4}.

Unless otherwise noted in the critical notes, musical examples have been taken from Graupner's autograph. Extra performance indications such as slurs and dynamic markings, that were added from the instrumental and vocal parts but not found in the autograph are so indicated in the critical notes. Numerals for the figured bass, absent in the autograph, are taken from the continuo part. The original orthography remains in the textual transcriptions. The translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

I would like to thank Dr. Cecil Adkins of the University of North Texas for his careful reading of the text and helpful suggestions. In addition, I am grateful to Doctors Lester Brothers, Deanna Bush, and Lenora McCroskey, also of North Texas, for their encouragement and thoughtful advice. To Trudy Lewis, for teaching me to read and write German script, and to Luise Mueller, I owe a great deal of thanks for making recommendations in my German translations; I am indebted, as well, to Doctors Robert Mendro, Althea Welch, and Lee Lattimore for their counsel and assistance.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to Dr. Oswald Bill of the Music Division of the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt for supplying me with microfilms of requested manuscripts and documents and answering my numerous questions.
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CHAPTER 1

CHRISTOPH GRAUPNER: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The Early Years, 1683-1696

Christoph Graupner, the son of Christoph Graupner, a master tailor, and Maria Hohmuth was born on January 13, 1683, in Kirchberg, Saxony.\(^1\) How Graupner's parents encouraged the love and appreciation of music in their son is not known, but it is recorded that three of Christoph's maternal uncles, had been pupils at the Thomas School in Leipzig.\(^2\) Graupner's first teachers were Wolfgang Michael

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\(^1\)There are gaps in the church records in Kirchberg and Graupner's birth and christening dates are not recorded. His birthday is calculated from the entry that was made in the Darmstadt Stadtkirchenbuch upon his death. It is recorded there that Graupner died on May 10, 1760 at the age of 77 years, 4 months less 3 days. Between Graupner's birth and death dates, in the year 1700, the majority of the evangelical princes, including the electors of Saxony, adopted the Gregorian calendar—complicating the computation of Graupner's birth date. Using the Gregorian calendar, Graupner's birthday would have been commemorated on January 13, 1683, but under the Old Style calendar, he would have been born on January 3, 1683. See: Alfred Linder, "Christoph Graupners Familie und Vorfahren," Musikgeschichte und Genealogie XV (September 1968), 291, and Willibald Nagel, "Das Leben Christoph Graupners," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik Gesellschaft (hereafter SIMG) X (1909), 569-570.

\(^2\)Ibid., 570.
Mylius, and Nikolaus Küster, cantor and organist in Kirchberg, respectively. In Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* of 1740, Graupner's autobiography relates how his musical training began:³

I began music when I was either seven or eight years old, studied clavier with the organist Küster in Kirchberg, also my place of birth. Because I was already in school and had progressed so far with singing under Wolfgang Michael Mylius, the cantor at that time, I could at least reproduce at sight whatever was put in front of me; therefore, I was able to progress better on the clavier. (One could sense this.) However, when this Küster left Kirchberg and was appointed organist in Reichenbach, I pleaded with my parents for such a long time until they finally sent me to Reichenbach, where I attended school for two years and received my instruction from the aforesaid master.⁴

Nikolaus Küster especially seemed to have been held in high regard by Graupner. Like his pupil, Küster was also

³Graupner's autobiography, although it gives only a minimum of facts about the composer's life and involves extensive use of the narrative technique, is extensively quoted here because of its charm and for the insights it provides into the character of Graupner, who believed that journeys and destinations in life resulted from the intervention of a provident God. See Carl Dalhaus, "Christoph Graupner und das Formprinzip der Autobiographie," *Bachiana et alia Musicologica Festschrift Alfred Durr zum 65. Geburtstag am 3 März 1983*, ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), 58-61.

⁴Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg: Im Verlag des Verfasser, 1740; R/Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 410. The original German prose of this and subsequent translations is given in Appendix A.
the son of a tailor. He was employed as a school master and organist in Kirchberg, but in 1693 he was appointed as organist in neighboring Reichenbach, probably at the smaller of the two churches in the town. The position of organist at the main church was occupied by Georg Martin Nägelein. After Nägelein's death on June 15, 1700, the grander position was bestowed on Küster who himself died a few months later on November 7, 1700, at the age of thirty.\(^5\)

Nagel assumes that while Graupner was a student, he lived with Küster and his wife and three children, in their "unassuming little house."\(^6\)

Around the year 1700, Reichenbach was an agricultural village of about 2,500 inhabitants that also enjoyed a reputation as a center for cloth making. Graupner attended the local school which was affiliated with the town church. Although conditions in Reichenbach were probably not splendid, the town was situated on a heavily traveled road

\(^5\)Nagel, op. cit., 570.

\(^6\)The records of the organists' salary were burned in 1720 so it is not known what Küster's salary was, but it probably was low. On April 8, 1699, Küster received somewhere around 4 guldens as a goodwill honorarium, and in 1700, the year of his death, he was buried without recompense to the pastor because of the poverty of his wife. \textit{Ibid.}, 571.
that connected Leipzig and Nürnberg, allowing the boy to see and hear many foreign things.\textsuperscript{7}

\textbf{The Leipzig Years, 1696–c. 1706}

At the age of 13, in 1696, Graupner went to Leipzig and enrolled at the famous Thomas school:

\begin{quote}
From there [Reichenbach] I ventured to Leipzig and remained for over nine years at the Thomas school. The cantor, Johann Schelle, had much love for me, and because he noticed my natural instinct for music, he personally gave me himself additional, thorough instruction on the clavier and better ways of singing. Meanwhile, I also had begun to compose under the future Kapellmeister in Dresden, Johann David Heinichen, which went well for me because I already had the advantage of previous singing and clavier playing. Since after this, Johann Kuhnau, formerly organist of the Thomas church, was promoted to cantor, Heinichen and I both enjoyed his instruction on the clavier as well as in the art of composition. Because I had offered to serve Kuhnau as copyist and wrote for a good while, it gave me an opportunity that I had wished for: to see many good things. And where perhaps a doubt began, I was able to ask for an oral explanation how to understand this or that. Through daily diligence I thus succeeded little by little, so that I feared neither ecclesiastical nor theatrical writing but eagerly went ahead.\textsuperscript{8}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., 571-572.

\textsuperscript{8}Mattheson, \textit{op. cit.}, 410-411.
In Leipzig, Graupner had the advantage of studying with both Johann Schelle and Johann Kuhnau, two of Germany's finest musicians. Johann Schelle, Leipzig cantor from 1677-1701, was a seminal figure in the development of the Lutheran cantata. At the Thomaskirche following the morning gospel, the traditional Latin compositions, written by Italians, were replaced by Schelle with music sung in the vernacular that frequently was in the form of the cantata with the addition of appropriate lied-like or other rhymed texts. Later, Schelle introduced the chorale into these cantatas.9

Johann Kuhnau was appointed organist at the Thomaskirche in 1684 and succeeded to the post of cantor upon Schelle's death in 1701. In his early years Kuhnau composed in concertato style and later wrote reform cantatas that contained arias and recitatives that were both secco and accompagnato,10 characteristics that Graupner emulated early in his career. Kuhnau had a broad education and was trained in theology, oratory, and poetry, and was an expert


in both Eastern and Western languages. Like Graupner, Kuhnau had studied law at the University, and with the publication of his dissertation, De Juribus circa musicos Ecclesiasticos, he was granted authority to practice it. Being a copyist for Kuhnau had advantages for Graupner—it enabled him to gain valuable insights on the reform cantata and Kuhnau's musical solutions to the challenges posed by the libretti. In the realm of keyboard music, certainly Graupner's programatic 4 Partien auf das Klavier, unter der Benennung der Vier Jahreszeiten Winter, Frühling, Sommer und Herbst was inspired by Kuhnau's Musicalische Vorstellung einiger Biblischer Historien, where was developed "the novel idea of imbuing a keyboard sonata with a program, a purpose well suited to this form, with its many movements of contrasting character." 

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12 Ibid., 74.

13 Christoph Graupner, 4 Partien auf das Klavier, unter der Benennung der Vier Jahreszeiten Winter, Frühling, Sommer und Herbst (Darmstadt, 1733).

Graupner's friend, Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729), the future Kapellmeister at the court in Dresden, enrolled at the Thomasschule on March 30, 1696.\textsuperscript{15} According to Graupner's own account, he was instructed by the teenage Heinichen\textsuperscript{16} before studying with Kuhnau. Heinichen, who later traveled and studied in Italy, was such an enthusiastic advocate of counterpoint that he "hardly ate, drank, or slept"\textsuperscript{17} while learning it. Throughout his life, Graupner must have kept in contact with his former friend and his family, for after Graupner's death the heirs of his estate filed a lawsuit against the Landgrave of Darmstadt requesting a pension and used as an example the children of Kapellmeister Heinichen, who received a yearly pension of 500 Gulden "even though Heinichen had not been as prominent as their deceased father."\textsuperscript{18}

When Graupner arrived in Leipzig in 1696, the city's newly formed opera company, directed by the Dresden Kapellmeister Nikolaus Strunck, was only three years old.


\textsuperscript{16}Mattheson, *op. cit.*, 411.

\textsuperscript{17}George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment*, 5.

The operas in Leipzig, like those staged in Hamburg, were oriented more toward German rather than Italian models.\textsuperscript{19} Prominent roles were given to professionals from Dresden but lesser parts attracted such students as Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Johann David Heinichen, Gottfried Grünwald, and Christoph Graupner.\textsuperscript{20} Telemann managed the opera after Strungk's death in 1700.\textsuperscript{21}

Graupner credited Kuhnau for teaching him both ecclesiastical and theatrical writing. Even though Kuhnau worked in both mediums, his preference was for sacred compositions and he composed only a few works for the stage.\textsuperscript{22} Kuhnau disdained the Leipzig opera for it deprived him of singers for the church; when Telemann was director, the students who "had obediently appeared in the choir-loft every Sunday to play in the services and accompany the occasional cantata"\textsuperscript{23} were absent during the opera season.


\textsuperscript{20}Buelow, \textit{Thorough-Bass Accompaniment}, 6.

\textsuperscript{21}Young, \textit{op. cit.}, 636.

\textsuperscript{22}Kuhnau's lost works for the stage include a Singspiel, music for school plays, an opera (Orpheus), and a dramma per musica. See George Buelow, "Johann Christoph Kuhnau," \textit{New Grove}, X, 301.

Telemann's appeal to the students increased when he founded a collegium musicum which performed at official functions and informal coffee house rehearsals. Kuhnau, however, even though unsuccessful in his attempts to stem Telemann's popularity, still had the pleasure of teaching excellent students such as Graupner and Heinichen.

The Hamburg Years, c. 1706-1709

The school time was now over. Yet I remained still two years in Leipzig at the University, and was willing to study jurisprudence, hold my collegium as much as my finances allowed until finally the Swedes came in 1706 to Saxony and my plans were changed. Because of such confusion, I decided to go to Hamburg; yet I was not intending to remain for such a long time in that place: for that reason I had not given up my room in Leipzig and I left all my books and music there, particularly many beautiful manuscripts of which I was afterwards able to find only a few.

I waited only for money from my parents. My letters, however, may not have been delivered, in that I received no answer. Finally a heavy bundle arrived which I presumed contained money. To my surprise, I found only blotting sand and golden colors, which as I examined it in my hands, should have been delivered to another place.

In spite of all of this, I continued, in God's name, on my resolved journey. When I came to Hamburg, the pockets were empty and about two Reichsthalers remained. Good fortune, or rather God's providence so wonderfully provided that Johann Christian Schieferedecker, who played the clavier in

\[24\text{Ibid.}, 20.\]
the opera, had left for Lübeck to serve in the position of organist only a day before my arrival in Hamburg. I was persuaded to remain in his place in Hamburg and play the clavier in the opera. With such employment, I continued there for three years; and it followed that many opportunities ever occurred for me to practice theatrical writing.25

It is possible that Graupner fled Leipzig to avoid conscription by Sweden's Karl XII but such a statement is based on conjecture only. However, his decision to seek refuge in Hamburg around 1706, is understandable. Hamburg offered many opportunities and stimulating experiences for the twenty-three year old composer. The city, one of the glittering jewels of baroque Germany, was a major point of entry for foreign goods and the personal wealth of the upper classes equaled that of the European courts.26 The intellectual life was invigorating; of Hamburg the eighteenth-century writer Johann Arnold Minder observed the "conversation is quite varied, and often extremely interesting, as you would expect from a society made up mostly of highly educated people..."27 To Johann Peter


Willebrandt, the atmosphere in Hamburg was such "as if this were the first place in Germany in which—with a certain lightness of heart—one may feel and experience the joy of freedom." Mattheson dutifully noted that both Graupner and Grünwald knew how to live the good life while in Hamburg.

On January 2, 1678, the first opera house in Germany opened in the Hamburg Gänsemarkt. As a sop to the local clergy, the early productions dealt exclusively with Biblical subjects. With the arrival of Reinhard Keiser in 1695, who wrote more than 50 operas for the Hamburg stage, the musical standards were raised, and the subject matter became historical and mythological. Handel, who was in Hamburg during the years 1703-1706 as an apprentice to Keiser and Johann Mattheson, may have met Graupner during his last Hamburg year.

Why did Graupner seek employment in the opera rather than in a church? The answer invites speculation. The parish churches in Hamburg (Petrikirche, Nicolaikirche, Nicolaikirche,


29"Graupner und Grünwald wussten sich das damahlige Wolleben gut zu nutz zu machen." Mattheson, op. cit., 128.

Catharinenkirche, Jacobikirche, and Michaeliskirche) were organized under a Stadtkantor or Musikdirektor der Hauptkirchen who was assisted by younger teachers. Under Thomas Selle (d.1663), a Kantorei was established with ten salaried singers, and his successor Christoph Bernhard was installed with great honors in the post by the city council in 1663. While enrolled at Michaelisschule in Lüneburg, 1700-1702, Johann Sebastian Bach went to Hamburg to hear the famous Johann Adam Reinken (1623-1722), organist at the Catharinenkirche and later (1720) applied for the organist's position at the Jacobikirche, which had a large instrument built by Arp Schnitger. Bach's subsequent withdrawal of his candidacy may suggest that the environment may not have been optimal for sacred music. Indeed, during the time of Joachim Gerstenböttel, who was Stadtkantor from 1675-1721, the growing secularization that resulted in the opera on Gänsemarkt, left Gerstenböttel bitter.

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34 Heinz Becker, op. cit., 63.
Graupner's claim that he had the providence to arrive in Hamburg only a day after Schieferdecker's departure to Lübeck\(^{35}\) and then to be offered Schieferdecker's former position as cembalist in the opera, suggests that Graupner may have had previous contacts with people connected with theater in the town. We know, for example, that the famous bass singer, Gottfried Grünwald, whom Graupner had known from his Leipzig days, had made appearances with the Hamburg Opera as early as 1703. Moreover, two of Grünwald's lost operas *Der ungetreue Schäfer Cardillo* (1703) and *Germanicus* (1704), in which he sang the title role, had been first performed in Leipzig and later in 1704, *Germanicus* was staged in Hamburg.\(^{36}\) Grünwald's popularity as a singer was

\(^{35}\)Schieferdecker moved to Lübeck to become Buxtehude's assistant in 1705 and, upon Buxtehude's death, was appointed his successor on June 23, 1707. Kerala Synder, *Dietrich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck* (New York: Schirmer, 1987), 103. Since Graupner's position in Darmstadt began on January 1, 1709 and the appointment was dated January 28 of that year, and Graupner's recollection of "three years" in Hamburg would have put his arrival in 1706. Nagel, op. cit., 579. The disparity between Schieferdecker's date of service in Lübeck and Graupner's claim to have arrived in Hamburg in 1706 could have arisen from the use of a Gregorian calendar by one of them, or from Graupner's faulty memory and later embellishment of the event.

such that Keiser wrote the main roles in *Nebukadnezar* (1704), *Masagniello* (1706), and *Il genio d'Holsatia* (1706) for him.\(^{37}\) Had Grünewald willed to help Graupner, he had a secure position from which to do so.

Graupner, now established, pursued his interest in the "theatrical writing" with five operas for the Hamburg stage: *Dido Königin von Carthago* (1707), *L'Amore ammalato die Krankende Liebe oder Antiochus und Stratonica* (1708), *Il fido amico oder Der getreue Freund, Hercules und Theseus* (1708), *Bellerophon* (1708) and *Der Fall des grossen Richters in Israel, Simson* (1709).\(^{38}\) In addition, he composed arias for several pastiches by Reinhard Keiser, who was the reigning opera composer in Hamburg. These were the *Carneval in Venedig* (1707), *Die lustige Hochzeit* (1708), and *Die blutdürstige Rache oder Heliates und Olympia* (1709).\(^{39}\) The poet for *Dido* was Hinrich Hinsch who was also the librettist for six of Keiser's extant operas.\(^{40}\) *Dido* contains no comic scenes but rather is a tragic rendering of


\(^{38}\) Andrew McCredie, "Christoph Graupner as Opera Composer," *Musicellanea Musicologia; Adelaide Studies in Musicology* I (March 1966), 78-79. Music survives only for the first two operas listed above.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 79.

Virgil's story, with the text "written in a style similar to Zeno's reform operas." Barthold Feind, a proponent of Shakespeare as well as the authenticated librettist of eight of Keiser's operas, wrote the texts for the remaining four of Graupner's Hamburg operas. Events appeared to be going well for Graupner, he not only had collaborated with Keiser on several operas, but also had the opportunity to compose music to five opera librettos written by two of Keiser's favored poets. Graupner's integration into the cosmopolitan musical world of Hamburg in three short years was remarkable for a refugee from Leipzig who had come to town with only two Reichtshalers in his pocket.

The Darmstadt Years, 1709-1760

However, I soon longed to depart from this troublesome occupation: not on account of the work, which I gladly did, but rather because of other occurring annoyances. My longing was shortly silenced. Although I usually did not believe in most of my dreams, I dreamed at this time a very strange sort of dream, when I saw a bright star from above shining on me and was astonished over this

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42 McCredie, op. cit., 80.
strange beauty. There were many other
details of the same dream which also came
true.

Shortly after, the reigning Lord
Landgrave of Darmstadt came to Hamburg. His
princely Serene Highness very graciously
questioned me whether I would be interested
in going to Darmstadt. With great humility,
I said yes, and it was indicated to me to
request my salary myself. I left such a
decision unencumbered to the prince's
graciousness and took the appointment, first
as vice-Kapellmeister, as the old
Kapellmeister Wolfgang Carl Briegel still
lived.

As I caught sight of the coat of arms, I
saw then the same beautiful star that had
appeared to me in my dream, which I could not
interpret differently as being my most
merciful Lord himself, who I had the honor of
serving for 30 years.43

Graupner does not mention what the "continuing
annoyances" were that impelled him to leave Hamburg. He
might have been harried by financial problems, disappointed
in love or simply wary that the Hamburg opera would never be
conquered as long as Reinhard Keiser was present.44 Whatever
the reasons, it was his dreams of a bright star aided by his
discovery of the same star in the coat of arms of the

43 Mattheson, op. cit., 412.

44 Graupner's years in Hamburg coincide with the absence
of Reinhard Keiser. After years of riotous living, towards
the end of 1706 Keiser fled Hamburg in the middle of the
night in order to avoid creditors. He returned to Hamburg
in 1709. Sheila Marie Allen, German Baroque Opera (1678-
1740) with a Practical Edition of Selected Soprano Arias
(Unpublished D.M.A. dissertation, Eastman School of Music,
1974), 43-44.
Landgrave of Darmstadt, that enticed him to leave. The Landgrave of Darmstadt, Ernst Ludwig (1667-1739), had become a ruler of the Hessen government at the age of 11 years, and during his ten year minority his mother, Elisabeth Dorothea, was his regent. Not only a connoisseur of music, he was a composer and lute player as well. He was widely traveled, having visited both Paris and Vienna before his visits to Hamburg in 1706 and 1708. It was possible that the splendor loving Prince conceived an idea while in Hamburg that a permanent opera house in Darmstadt would add richness and fullness to the local court life.45

The circumstances behind the Landgrave's "gracious" invitation for Graupner to come to Darmstadt are not clear. The Landgrave may have been impressed by seeing a Graupner opera, or he may have sought the recommendation of one of the members of the artistic circle in Hamburg, particularly Johann Mattheson, whose Der vollkommene Capellmeister (1739) was dedicated to the Landgrave of Hessen-Darmstadt. In the preface, Mattheson reminded the Prince of the time he had spent accompanying the Landgrave's singing on the clavier almost 30 years earlier.46

45Nagel, op. cit., 577.

46Since Capellmeister was published in 1739, the young Landgrave would have had his singing lessons with Mattheson around 1709, the year Graupner left for Darmstadt. See Johann Mattheson, Der vollkommene Capellmeister (Hamburg:
Graupner's new appointment was January 28, 1709, and read as follows:

. . . that we have determined to name Christoph Graupner to be our vice-Capellmeister . . . that he, Graupner, our vice-Capellmeister, according to him who gives the most gracious commands, is to conduct the music both inside and outside the church, and especially to accompany on the clavier as often as is necessary and also to compose . . .

Graupner's yearly salary was to be 500 florins, sixteen malters of corn, eight malters of barley, six malters of spelt, four malters of wheat, eight cords of wood, and three ohms of table wine; his rank was to be immediately below the Pension Chamber Secretary Sahfelden.

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48 Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt D A 8-15/6, Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken," 108; Nagel, op. cit., 579; Georg Sebastian Thomas, Großherzogliche Hofkapelle (Darmstadt: G. Jonghaus'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1859), 3. Thomas reports that the salary included 500 gulden whereas Nagel lists the amount as 500 florins. A malter equaled 150 liters and an ohm was equal to 35 gallons.
Darmstadt was completely different from cosmopolitan Hamburg. Ernst Ludwig enjoyed the entertainment of the French ballet along with his other amusements, but the destruction and plundering of Darmstadt by the troops of Louis XIV in 1691 and 1693 had strained the royal treasury. Although the Peace of Ryswik (1697) helped stabilize the financial situation, the Landgrave's wishes to have a great Hofkapelle and a glittering capital were always grander than his revenues would allow.\textsuperscript{49} Graupner's decision to allow the Landgrave to determine his wages proved to be ill-advised, as will be shown later.

Graupner's predecessor, the Kapellmeister Carl Briegel, who had begun to develop a court opera in Darmstadt beginning in 1673, had performed seven stage works that culminated in the 1688 production of the ballet opera \textit{L'Enchantement de Medée}. After 1685 French musical theater became prominent in Darmstadt because of the artistic leanings of the Ernst Ludwig, who, after studying with Briegel, went to France where he closely observed Jean Baptiste Lully and witnessed a performance of the composer's \textit{Acis et Galatée} in 1686. For Ernst Ludwig's marriage to

\textsuperscript{49}Nagel, \textit{op. cit.}, 580.
Dorothea-Charlotte of Brandenburg the following year, *Acis et Galatée* was performed as part of the celebrations.\(^{50}\)

The operas Graupner composed for Darmstadt include: *Berenice und Lucilla, oder Das tugendhafter Lieben* (libretto by Osiander after A. Aureli), 1710, *Telemach*, 1711, *La constanza vince l'inganno*, performed in 1715 and revived in 1719, and an unnamed opera from 1709.\(^{51}\) The esteem with which the Landgrave viewed the opera performances was shown when on August 7, 1711, he ordered his Secretary Kametzky to attend the rehearsals and see that everything went smoothly.\(^{52}\)

Singers engaged by the Kapelle on a permanent basis in 1709 included Anna Maria Schober, daughter of the music director of the Katharinenkirche in Frankfurt, and Frau S. Kayser, a dramatic soprano who was the wife of the "Kamermusiker" Jakob Kayser and the daughter of Johann Heinrich Vogel, a Hamburg musician. Schober and Frau Kayser were featured in the unnamed opera of 1709 and again in 1710 in *Berenice und Lucille* with Grünewald, then a guest from Weißenfels but later vice-Kapellmeister in Darmstadt,

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\(^{50}\)McCredie, "Christoph Graupner as Opera Composer", 86.  
\(^{52}\)Nagel, *op. cit.*, 582-583.
singing the bass part of Lucius Verus.\textsuperscript{53} For the
performance of Telemach on Carnival Tuesday, February 11,
1711, and its repeat performances on February 19 and 30, the
court hired some of Germany's best musicians as guest
performers. The famous Johanna Elisabeth Döbricht from
Leipzig, sang the role of Kalypso supported by Frau S.
Vogel-Kayser, and Anne Marie Schober as nymphs. The tenor
Herr Konstantin Knöchel, also from Leipzig, was cast as
Telemach. Instrumentalists from Leipzig included Johann
Georg Pisendel, a well-known violinist who directed
Hoffman's collegium musicum in Leipzig, and Michael Böhm who
played flute and violin.\textsuperscript{54} Graupner taught the parts of
Cupido and Venus to two participants from Frankfurt.\textsuperscript{55}
Cupido was played and danced by one Langsfeld, who boarded
with the dance master Johann Baptiste.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{53}E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 174.

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., 176.

\textsuperscript{55}Graupner was reimbursed 2 Gr. and 28 Alb. for living
expenses he incurred while in Frankfurt to teach the parts
of Cupido and Venus to the participants. He also received 2
Gr. and 6 Alb. for postage to Hannover, Leipzig, Weißenfels,
and Wolfenbüttel, probably to recruit singers. See Nagel,
op. cit., 581 and Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken,"
118-119. The furnishing for Telemach came from Paris.
Nagel, op. cit., 582.

\textsuperscript{56}Baptiste was reimbursed 36 fl. for board and
Langsfeld received the same amount as an honorarium. E.
Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 176.
Telemach, whose audience was composed primarily of courtiers and invited guests, was a huge success. The guest artists, except Herr Langsfeld, were lodged, at cost to the court, in the Darmstädter Hof and received four meals a day. During rehearsal they had refreshments at the home of the Secretary Kametzky. As an indication of the Landgrave's appreciation, both Dörich and Knöchel received a ring worth 45 fl. in addition to their stipends and travel expenses.57

Following Telemach, the Landgrave and Graupner were able to secure the services of most of the visiting artists from Leipzig who had performed in the opera on a permanent basis. Konstantin Knöchel, who had sung mainly comic scenes in the Leipzig opera, had a contract from the Darmstadt Landgrave dated October 30, 1711, Knöchel was also court cantor and was placed in charge of eight choristers, an office he did not take seriously but which nonetheless gave him extra income. His annual salary was 400 florins, ten malters of rye, four malters of barley, three malters of spelt, two cords of wood and two chms of wine. Johanna Döbracht, one of the greatest female singers of her time58,

57E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 176.

58Telemann reports that wedding celebrations in Dresden in the summer of 1719 had as principal singers Lotti, Durastanti, Tesi, and Hesse (née Döbricht), who was appreciated as much as the others even though she was a German. ("Die Hauptsängerinnen und Sänger waren: die Lotti, Durastanti, so man Gräfinn nannte; Thesi, Heßinn, die
was under contract on July 3, 1711 and was allowed sixteen malters rye, eight malters barley, six malters spelt, four malters wheat, eight cords of wood and three ohms of wine. On September 6, 1713, she married one of the Landgrave's Secretaries, the gamba player Ernst Christian Hesse. In 1711 the flutist and oboist Johann Michael Böhm also was taken under contract but the violinist Pisendel, who preferred to remain in Dresden, was replaced by Johann Jakob Kress in 1712. Another well-known singer engaged by the Darmstadt court was the alto-castrati Antonio Campioli, who came to Darmstadt in 1718 after having been employed at the Berlin theater in 1708, and at Braunschweig in 1710. Most of these musicians were employed to perform not only at the opera but also, of particular interest for this study, the cantatas in the Schloßkirche. Unlike Bach, who had to

ob sie zwar eine Deutsche, dennoch jenen fast gleich geschätzt wurde;") Mattheson, Ehrenpforte, 364-365.

59E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 179-180.

60E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 177.


62Campioli left without having gained a release in 1720 and went back to Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Biermann, op. cit., 61; E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 190.
deal with students in the choirs at Leipzig, Graupner had at his disposal some of the finest musicians in Germany.

Graupner was appointed Briegel's successor as Kapellmeister on January 18, 1711.63 Gottfried Grünewald, who had also performed in Telemach, became vice-Kapellmeister the same year, probably on the recommendation of Graupner. Grünewald came from the Court at Weißenfels, where he had been vice-Kapellmeister from 1709-1711, serving under Johann Kreiger and marrying Krieger's daughter, Johanna Rosina; of the ten children from this marriage, half were Graupner's godchildren.64 Grünewald was said to have been a master of the "new Italian manner of singing"65 and could perform the most difficult passages. His range stretched two octaves, from F to f. Grünewald was also a virtuoso on the harpsichord and the pantaleon. Between the years 1719 and 1739 Grünewald alternated composing Jahrgang cycles with Graupner but unfortunately, all of these were

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63Briegel died in November 1712. Nagel writes that this was only a title change since he did not receive a higher salary or a greater assignment of natural goods. See Nagel, op. cit., 580.

64E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 178-179.

65Ibid., 178.
burned after his death in 1739. The only surviving work is a collection of seven partitas for harpsichord.  

On September 7, 1711, Graupner married Sophie Elisabeth Eckard (1693-1742), daughter of Pastor Peter Eckard of Bischofsheim. There were several children born to the marriage: Maria Elisabeth (1713-1791), Christoph (1715-1760), Johann Christoph (1719-1771), Georg Christoph (1722-?), Ludwig Christoph (1725-1792), Heinrich Christoph (1728-?), and Gottlieb Christoph (1732-1806).

In the summer of 1712, the important instrumental composer, Johann Friedrich Fasch, came to Darmstadt to acquire a foundation in composition with Graupner, who formerly had been his prefect at the Thomasschule. After spending fourteen weeks in Darmstadt studying with Graupner, Fasch left to play the violin at the carnival in Bayreuth. Fasch must have continued to send Graupner samples of his music for many of the Fasch overtures in the Darmstadt library still possess their postmarks. Also preserved in


the library are copies in Graupner's hand of concertos, symphonies and a sonata by Fasch.\textsuperscript{68}

With the arrival of Telemann in Frankfurt in 1712, the relation between Graupner and his former comrade became mutually beneficial. At Telemann's Barfüßerkirche (Church of the Barefoot Friars), there were twenty-three mediocre musicians whereas of the thirty-four musicians at the Darmstadt Kapelle in 1718, a considerable number were outstanding singers and players. When Telemann inaugurated weekly concerts for the citizens of Frankfurt with the Frauenstein collegium musicium in 1713, he borrowed the Darmstadt orchestra.\textsuperscript{69} The fame of the Darmstadt Kapelle under Graupner continued to grow so that it was later reported:

To the delight of his Prince, who was a friend and connoisseur of music, Graupner quickly brought recognition to the music of the local church and theater through his compositions and by attracting many virtuosi [to the court]. The music was thought to be some of the best at that time in Germany. Even the famous Telemann remarked in the introduction to one of his Serenades, that before it was published, it was honored by

\textsuperscript{68}David A. Sheldon, "Johann Friedrich Fasch: Problems in Style Classification," \textit{Musical Quarterly} LVIII (1972), 93-94.

\textsuperscript{69}E. Noack, \textit{Musikgeschichte Darmstadt}, 190-191.
the incomparable execution of the Darmstadt orchestra.\textsuperscript{70}

When Telemann's setting of Barthold Heinrich Brockes' Passion was performed at the Barfüsserkirche on April 2 and April 3, 1716 under the direction of H. R. Bartels, the Frankfurt Bürgermeisterbuch recorded on March 31 the arrival of famous musicians in preparation for the event. The contingency included the entire Darmstadt Kapelle, with Graupner and Grünewald probably also utilized as performers. Among those attending was the Landgrave of Darmstadt, for whom a black velvet chair had been prepared.\textsuperscript{71}

Based on the evidence provided by Darmstadt copies from the hands of Graupner, Grünewald, and Johann Samuel Endler, as well as others, it can be safely concluded that the Darmstadt Kapelle gave performances of Telemann's works in Darmstadt. Among Telemann's works preserved in the

\textsuperscript{70}Hochfürstlich Hessen-Darmstädtische Staats- und Adreß-Kalender auf das Jahr 1781 (Darmstadt: Im Verlag der Invaliden Andstalt, 1781), 20. The serenade that the Adreß-Kalender refers to may be the one the Telemann wrote for the festivities that celebrated the birth of the son of Charles VI, the Archduke of Austria and Prince of the Asturias. It was performed by more than fifty imported musicians on a concert on a stage in the open air. See Richard Petzoldt, Georg Philipp Telemann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967), translated by Horace Fitzpatrick (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1974), 33.

\textsuperscript{71}E. Noack writes that this performance of the Brockes' Passion, probably was the catalyst for the previously cited remarks in the Adreß-Kalender. See E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 191.
Darmstädter Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek are the cantatas Pastorella venga Bella (Mus 1046), Bin ich denn so gar verlassen (Mus 1046/14), and a fragment of the cantata La tempesta (Mus 1047). In addition, an eighteenth-century inventory\textsuperscript{72} lists Telemann's pastoral Le Sot francois, Parbleu Ms. parbleu, the opera Pimpinone (1725) and the cantatas Die Liebe, and Das Landleben.\textsuperscript{73} Instrumental works in the library include 125 chamber sonatas written by Telemann.\textsuperscript{74} Concurrent with Graupner's arrival in 1709, was the installation of a new Schloßkirche organ, which was purchased from the Hannover organ builder, Christian Vater,\textsuperscript{75} a former apprentice of Arp Schnitger. The 1709 Vater organ replaced a six stop postive instrument that had been built by Bamberg organ maker, Adam Knaudt in 1623.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{72}Handschriften Nr. 2591. Cited in E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 193.

\textsuperscript{73}E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstädts, 192-193.

\textsuperscript{74}Georg Philipp Telemann, "Darmstädter Trio," ed. by H.J. Therstappen (Kassel: Nagels Verlag 151, 1940), preface.

\textsuperscript{75}Reinhard Skupnik, Der hannoversche Orgelbauer Christian Vater 1679-1756 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 42-44.

\textsuperscript{76}The Knaudt organ had the specifications of Prinzipal gedackt 8, Prinzipal 4, Oktave 2, Spitzflöte 4, Quinte 1 1/3, 1-1/3 Mixtur II. After the new instrument was installed in the Schloßkirche, this organ was sent by the Landgrave to Zwingenberg, whose church organ had been destroyed by enemy troops. When the Zwingenberg church purchased a new organ in 1830, the organ was purchased by
It is interesting that the new organ did not inspire Graupner to compose for this medium for there are no known organ works among his compositions. His extant keyboard works were all written for harpsichord. As a result, it can only be assumed that in addition to being used as a continuo and service instrument, Graupner or his assistant must have done a considerable amount of improvising.

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the parish church in Worfelden where the instrument can be viewed today. The Worfelden church, built in 1696, is the oldest Fachwerk (half-timbered) church in South Hesse and the organ is the second oldest existing in the Evangelical church's district of Hesse and Nassau. H. Büldt, H. Sander, V. Freyer. "Zur Geschichte der ehrwürdigen Kirche und ihrer bemerkenswerten Orgel" (Mörfelden: Scholl und Klug Druckerei).

The new Christian Vater organ, had twenty five stops and cost 1200 fl. It was replaced in 1878 by Opus 350 of the firm of Walcker. See Reinhard Skupnik, op. cit., 42-44. Although the disposition of the Vater organ is no longer known, Uwe Pape has proposed a specification based on the Christian Vater organ at Wildeshausen. See Vernon Wicker, Solo Cantatas for Bass by Christoph Graupner (Unpublished DMA dissertation, University of Oregon, 1979), 72-74.

77[8] Partien auf das Clavier, 1718; Monatliche Clavier 1722; Vier Partien auf das Clavier, unter der Bennennung der Vier Jahreszeiten, 1733 (only Winter extant); 2 Preludien und Fugen, c. 1716; Aria für Clavier, Eb c. 1722; Partita, C c. 1730; Leichte Clavier-Übungen, c. 1730; Partita, C c. 1730; 13 individual movements c. 1730; 4 Partien, c. 1735; 4 Partien, c. 1738; Gigue per Cembalo, c. 1739; 3 Partien, c. 1740. Andrew McCredie, New Grove, VII, 648.

78E. Noack lists the following people who served as court organists during Graupner's tenure: Johann Nikolas Asmus 1706-1712 (possibly as a substitute), Johann Philipp Jung, 1710-1751 (first as a music helper, later as an organist), and Jakob Friedrich Greiß (1751-1769). E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 300. The surviving continuo parts of the cantatas usually include a figured bass part,
Regarding the realization of the continuo, there is a curious comment in the score of *Freuet euch mit den Fröhlichen* (1712) that the Vox humana stop should be as a melody voice in a duet with the soprano.79

**The Economic Situation of the Court Musicians**

On the occasion of the visit of the Elector of Trier in 1719, a revision of Graupner's opera *La costanza vince l'anganno* from 1715 was staged,80 the last known performance of an opera in Darmstadt during Graupner's life. The clerical community in Darmstadt had voiced objections to the Landgrave about his importing of theatrical people and productions but the hedonistic Landgrave showed no inclination to modify his behavior although he was frequently attacked for his worldly ways. In a letter dated April 20, 1715, Pastor Philip Bindewald attacked the Prince

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80The overture was written by the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig. Hermann Kaiser, *Barocktheater in Darmstadt* (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1951), 112.
shrilly for his love of beautiful women, hunting, and the opera.\textsuperscript{81} The harangue raged on as the French actors, who remained after the Landgrave had enticed them to come to Darmstadt for the carnival of 1712, were accused of attending Mass celebrated in the "controller Richard's house, in the lodgings of Pinar, and now in the dressing room of the Comedy House."\textsuperscript{82} The Landgrave did not yield to their complaints and allowed the French priest to remain and conduct services.\textsuperscript{83} The eventual cessation of theatrical productions in Darmstadt resulted more from the economic difficulties the land was experiencing than from the raging of the clergy. The small Landgraviate of Hesse-Darmstadt could not support the grandiose expenditures of Ernst Ludwig and within ten years of Graupner's arrival, the strains were showing. Already on Feb. 22, 1713 the Minister Kameztky wrote "again no money thus I have given myself."\textsuperscript{84} Undeniably, the Landgrave sincerely wished to satisfy the

\textsuperscript{81} Nagel, \textit{op. cit.}, 584.

\textsuperscript{82} "bald in des controlleurs Richards haus, bald in des Pinars logement und nunmehro in der ankleidstube bey dem comoedienhause ein publicum exercitium religionis pontificae verschiedene malen gehalten worden. . ." Kaiser, \textit{op. cit.}, 120.

\textsuperscript{83}\textit{Ibid.}, 120.

\textsuperscript{84} "Wieder kein gelt vorretig, so habe von eignem geben." Kaiser, \textit{op. cit.}, 120.
claims of his employees, for he wrote to Kametzky on September 19, 1715, we "once again must reach a settlement, for the people are always on my back, and the complaints have no end." Because of the economic conditions, and on Kametzky's recommendation, the French players were discharged around 1718, but they continued to remain in Darmstadt because their salaries had not been paid. To get rid of his troublesome guests, the Landgrave was obliged to pay their salaries and assume the debts they had incurred, and by 1719 all of the French actors had left the city. With the demise of the opera in 1719, a few of the personnel were retained for employment in the church but the rest were released.

The royal coffers were depleted by 1719 and the Kapelle was in deplorable condition. When salaries were paid at all, it was only in installments. The allowance from the cabinet treasury was only about 610 fl., so that Graupner, Grünwald, and the Hesse couple, Ernst Christian and Johanna Döbricht, received scarcely more than their allotment of natural produce. Antonio Campioli, the famous alto

85"wieder auf einen gewissen und fernen Fuß zu bringen, denn die Leuthe liegen mir sonst auf dem Halss und ist des anlauffens kein ende." Nagel, op. cit., 587-588.

86Nagel, op. cit. 588.

87Kaiser, op. cit., 121.
castrato, left around this time, in 1720.\textsuperscript{88} The chamber musician Jacob Kreß was forced to demand the salary of 400 fl. that was owed to him so that he could pay off his debts to four other people. Another chamber musician, Peter Ludwig Rosetter, complained about "unchristian rates of interest."\textsuperscript{89} Local interest rates were 12 per cent and higher, while the musicians' unpaid salaries garnered no interest. Rossetter was forced into debt and left in 1722 and the royal treasury paid 175 fl. to the chamber musician Ferdinand Werner on December 20, 1723 because Rosetter had signed the money over to him.\textsuperscript{90} The situation continued to disintegrate to the point that Kametsky offered to resign on July 21, 1722. Kametzky complained that the Landgrave treated his advisors like lackeys and slaves and had refused his suggestions to improve the financial situation by abolishing both the horseback hunts, to which numerous princely visitors came, and the French comedies.\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{88}Biermann, op. cit., 61.

\textsuperscript{89}E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 207.

\textsuperscript{90}Ibid., 206-207.

\textsuperscript{91}Nagel, op. cit., 589-590. Even though Hermann Kaiser (above) reported that the French actors had left in 1718, Nagel suspected that there were subsequent performances by them at later carnivals because of preserved parts. Nagel, op. cit., 588.

Even though the Landgraviate was having financial difficulties at this time, Ernst Ludwig hired the violin virtuoso Alesandro Toeschi and possibly his wife as a singer
Graupner's Candidacy for the Post of Kantor at Leipzig

Considering the financial state of the Kapelle, the frequent resignations of his musicians, and his large family, Graupner must have viewed the future with anxiety and by late 1722, at least, he began to seek ways to leave Darmstadt. Further, Telemann had left neighboring Frankfurt in 1721 for Hamburg and their artistic and personal exchange was no longer possible.92

On June 25, 1722, Johann Kuhnau, the Kantor of Leipzig, died, and in the middle of July, the Leipzig Council began its deliberations to find a successor. Donald Grout perceived that the Council initially wanted a "modern" composer,93 hence their selection first of Telemann and later Graupner as their preferred choices. The council's first slate of applicants consisted of Johann Friedrich Fasch, Kapellmeister in Zerbst,94 Georg Balthasar Schott,

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92 E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 207


94 Bukofzer claims that Fasch did not apply for the position even though it was requested of him. Bukofzer, Music of the Baroque Era (New York: Norton and Company, 1947), 291. This conflicts with other sources (Richter, Schering, Nagel, Küntzel,) that claim Fasch initially was a viable candidate. Fasch's declaration that he could not teach was a handicap in the eyes of the Leipzig Council.
Music Director in the Leipzig Neukirche, Georg Lembke, Kantor from Taucha, Johann Martin Steindorf, Kantor from Zwickau, Christian Friedrich Rolle⁹⁵, Kantor from Magdeburg, and Georg Philipp Telemann from Hamburg.⁹⁶

The Council's first choice was Georg Philipp Telemann, who had only recently had been installed in Hamburg (October 17, 1721) as Kantor of the Johanneum, the grammar school, and director of the music in Hamburg's five main churches.⁹⁷ During an earlier tenure in Leipzig (1701-1705), Telemann had undermined Kuhnau's authority both by obtaining permission from the mayor to write music for the Thomaskirche and by establishing a collegium musicum that attracted some of Kuhnau's students. Kuhnau's annoyance with Telemann had been aggravated in 1703 when, during one of his frequent bouts of illness, the City Council asked


⁹⁵Johann Christian Rolle was erroneously identified as Johann Christian Keller in the minutes of July 14, 1722. Charles Sanford Terry, Bach, A Biography, 2nd edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 141.


Telemann to succeed Kuhnau should he die. \(^{98}\) Telemann was eager to leave Hamburg in 1722 after only a year. His petitions to have the council reimburse him for moving expenses from Frankfurt to Hamburg and to have a fixed housing allowance that would allow him to leave the cramped house of his predecessor Joachim Gerstenbütte were granted but did not meet Telemann's financial expectations.\(^{99}\) In addition, his participation in public concerts and in operatic productions, must have met with strong opposition from certain quarters for by July 1722 the City Council had discussed and tabled a motion that would have forbidden Telemann's participation in these performances.\(^{100}\)

After Telemann passed the perfunctory examinations, the Leipzig Council appointed him Kantor on August 13\(^1^{101}\) and exempted him from teaching Latin as well.\(^{102}\) Telemann's petition for a release from his duties in Hamburg was dated September 3:

> I shall not dissemble in laying my case before your magnificent and well-born

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\(^{98}\) George Buelow, "Kuhnau, Johann" New Grove X, 299.

\(^{99}\) Petzoldt, op. cit, 45.

\(^{100}\) Martin Ruhnke, op. cit., 650.


\(^{102}\) Petzoldt, op. cit., 46.
Lordships; whereas since the city of Leipzig has seen fit to entrust the post of Director of Music to my humble person, in respect both to the favorable conditions there offered unto me and the absence of good prospects here, not least considering my obligations to my family, I see no hindrance to accepting that post in good conscience; wherefore I submit unto your Lordships my humble petition that they should be graciously minded to absolve me from my duties...103

The Hamburg Council, however, refused to release Telemann and the resultant negotiations granted him an increase in his stipend by 400 gulden104 and a cessation of the complaints about his involvement in public concerts and operas.105

On November 22, Telemann officially declined the Leipzig position, apparently not to the total dismay of the Leipzig counselors for one of them, Councillor Platz, felt it was no loss since the Kantor should be someone who could teach something besides music.106 By December 21 Kapellmeisters Graupner and J. S. Bach had applied and the second slate of candidates included along with them, Georg Balthasar Schott and Johann Christian Rolle, who were retained from the first slate, and Georg Friedrich Kaufmann,

103Ibid., 46.
104Petzoldt, op. cit., 47.
105Martin Ruhnke, op. cit., 650.
106Walter Emery, op. cit., 79.
Kapellmeister of Merseburg, and Andreas Christoph Tufen of Brunswick.107

Elizabeth Noack's claim that Graupner's application was connected with a personal trip to Leipzig at the time of the New Year's fair in 1722108 to settle estate matters in Kirchberg and to move his mother to Darmstadt,109 has been refuted by Oswald Bill.110 Graupner's father, also named Christoph, died in October 1721, and the weaver Adam Schumann bought the Graupner house on March 28, 1722, for 95 fl. with 50 fl. down payment, with the curious condition that "the widow has the right to live in the residence the

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107Richter, op. cit., 52-53; Fasch withdrew on December 21 and Andreas Christoph Tufen of Brunswick and Georg Friedrich Kaufmann, who both were forced to share an audition on the first Sunday in Advent 1722, apparently were not considered viable candidates. Terry, op. cit., 143; Christoph Wolff, "Bachs Leipziger Kantoratsprobe und die Aufführungsgeschichte der Kantate 'Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn' BWV 23," Bach-Jahrbuch, 64 (1978), 81; translated in Wolff, Bach (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1991), 130.

108E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 591.

109Nagel incorrectly records that Graupner's mother died in 1713. Nagel, op. cit., 587. In her latter years she lived with her son in Darmstadt and died on May 5, 1731. Alfred Lindner, op. cit., 293.

110Oswald Bill, op. cit., 122-125.
rest of her life even though she moves in with her son."\(^{111}\) This sale and settlement were done without the presence of Graupner. It seems unlikely that his trip was motivated by the need to move his mother to Darmstadt, for he would have had to travel to Kirchberg while simultaneously applying for the position at Leipzig. The resale of the house in Kirchberg to the cloth maker Heinrich Hellmerich on October 6, 1723 would have provided a more plausible reason for this move; Marie Graupner was in Darmstadt at the latest by October 1723, for the documents state "...in any case if she should return from Darmstadt."\(^ {112}\) She remained in Darmstadt until her death on May 15, 1731.

In December 1722, Graupner's cantatas were performed in Darmstadt. These were works for the first three days of Christmas, the Sunday after Christmas and the Landgrave's birthday on December 26, an event a Kapellmeister would not be likely to miss. Tradition holds that Graupner's Magnificat was one of his audition pieces in Leipzig and it

\(^{111}\) "...der Witze Zeit ihres Leben freie Wohnung und wenn sie auch weg zu ihrem Sohnne zöge" zu gewähren. E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 208.

was performed there on Christmas Day; Elizabeth Noack, Robert Cammorata and Friedrich Noack concur. If it was performed, Graupner was not likely not present.

At the top of first page of the folio of the Magnificat is written "I[n] N[omine] I[esu] M[onat] D[ezember] 1722. The choice of text and the style make it unlikely that the Magnificat was intended for Darmstadt. Works with Latin texts were rare in the worship services in Darmstadt, and the only demonstrable performance of a Latin composition between 1709-1760 is that of a four voiced Miserere by Grua which is preserved in Graupner's hand.

113E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 208.


116BRD DS Mus MS 430/29.

117This Miserere is by either Carlo Luigi Pietro Grua (b. c 1665) a resident Italian composer, alto singer (1691), vice-Kapellmeister (1693) in the Hofkapelle of the Elector of Saxony in Dresden and later vice-Kapellmeister for the Hofkapelle of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm from 1694 through at least 1713 or by Carlo (Alisio) Pietro Grua (c1700-1773), who was Kapellmeister of the Elector Palatine's court from 1734. Roland Wurtz, "Grua: No. 2 Carlo Luigi Pietro Grua," and "Grua: No. 3 Carlo (Alisio) Pietro Grua," New Grove, VII (756-757).
with the date "Die septima Decembris 1735."\textsuperscript{118} By contrast, in Leipzig, Latin was still used throughout the eighteenth-century for Matins and Vespers and on Sunday mornings.\textsuperscript{119} In addition, in the \textit{Magnificat} and the two known competition pieces of Graupner, the cantatas \textit{Aus der Tiefen rufen wir} (DM Mus MS 431/1) and \textit{Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden} (DM Mus MS 431/2) which were both written and performed for the Second Sunday of Epiphany, January 17, 1723, contrasts of tutti and solo were employed, a pattern usually not used in Darmstadt where the performing group was smaller. Frederick Noack conjectures that Graupner intentionally recalled the late Kuhnau in the \textit{Magnificat}; both compositions are in C Major, and Graupner wrote his in a style that was not far from the model of his former teacher.\textsuperscript{120}

However, the \textit{Magnificat}, whose autograph score survives without individual parts, was written on paper associated with Darmstadt\textsuperscript{121} while the parts to the two cantatas were

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{118}Friedrich Noack, "Johann Seb. Bachs und Christoph Graupners Komposition," \textit{Bach Jahrbuch} (1913), 146.
    \item \textsuperscript{119}The practice of using both Latin and German in Leipzig persisted until the liturgy was reformed under Superintendent Johann Georg Rosenmüller's term (1785-1815). Günther Stiller, \textit{op. cit.}, 112, 119, 158-159.
    \item \textsuperscript{120}F. Noack, "Johann Seb. Bach und Christoph Graupner," \textit{op. cit.}, 147.
    \item \textsuperscript{121}Cammarota, \textit{op. cit.}, 223.
\end{itemize}
copied by Johann Andreas Kuhnau and Christoph Gottlob Meissner in Leipzig. It is conceivable that after receiving some communication from the Leipzig Council, Graupner wrote the *Magnificat* as an intended audition piece while still in Darmstadt and carried the autograph to Leipzig to be copied. Along with Christmas, Figuralmusik and concerted settings of the *Magnificat* were performed in Leipzig on the major feasts of New Years, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, St. John the Baptist, Visitation of the Virgin Mary, St. Michael and Reformation Day in addition to the Saturday services at the Thomas church.\(^{123}\) Since the January 20, 1723, letter of the Leipzig Council to the Landgrave (discussed below) explicitly states that Graupner was in Leipzig at the time of the New Year's Fair, it provides a verifiable date for Graupner's presence in Leipzig and suggests that Graupner's *Magnificat* may have been performed either on New Year's Day, the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6), or at the Thomas church during a Saturday service.


\(^{123}\)Cammarota, op. cit., 29-31.
The Council Session minutes from January 19 reported that:

Bürgermeister Lange noted . . . that Graupner who announced himself and would come on Sunday to perform the audition, had a good reputation everywhere as letters proved, but to take the precaution to find out if he could be released from his court. He [Graupner] nevertheless explained what had motivated him to move. It depends on this: if the audition went well the position of Kantor would be offered to him and also whether the Landgrave should be contacted first.124

Johann David Heinichen, Kapellmeister in Dresden, gave a positive account of Graupner's abilities, and Bürgermeister Platz said that although he did not specifically know Graupner, "he had a good character and appeared to be a gentleman."125

After Graupner successfully passed the written audition and had pleased the council with his compositions, the Leipzig Council wrote to the Landgrave on January 20, 1723:

To the most illustrious Prince, gracious Lord, Your Most Serene Highness:126 With

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125 "jedoch mache er eine gute Gestalt und schien ein feiner Mann zu seyn." Nagel, op. cit., 591.

126 The titles and their abbreviations that are used in this and following letters are as follows: E.H.D. = Euer Hochfürstlich Durchlaucht (Your Most Serene Highness); Sr. H.D. = Seine Hochfürstlich Durchlaucht (His Most Serene
humbleness permit us to express that we have turned our attention to Christoph Graupner, who enjoys the grace and favor to serve Your High Princely Serene Highness as Kapellmeister, for appointment to the vacant position of Directoris Musices. Previously, he had been educated, supported and instructed at St. Thomas here in the city and is also an alumnus of that school. Since he had come here at the time of the last New Year's Fair in order to visit his family, we also made known our intention. Because of our wishes, he performed his composition, which had been previously prepared, in the church. We have taken notice of him if Your Most Serene Highness would be moved to most graciously agree to such. He should not have any hesitation to accept the direction of the music and all that it entails. He is grateful for the support that he received in his youth. It is known to all the world that you, Your Most Serene Highness, not only have an abundance of virtuosos but also have new arrivals seeking positions daily. We are deficient in this matter. As we live with a most humble trust . . ., we would like the afore-mentioned Herr Graupner to be granted a gracious release from his present service so that he may accept the qualified position from us . . . Leipzig, Jan. 20, 1723.

Most humbly,
Most respectfully,
The Council in Leipzig

127Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt D-8-15/6; the letter is also reproduced in Ernst Pasqué, "Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Darmstadt," Die Muse II (Darmstadt, 1854), 683-684; Nagel, op. cit., 591-592; Oswald Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken Christoph Graupners in Darmstadt," Christoph Graupner Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt 1709-1760 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 128-129.
The letter that the Leipzig Council sent to Darmstadt presumably was invented to hide the true circumstances of Graupner's visit because it mentions that he went to Leipzig to "visit his relatives" and took the examination because of "our wishes." As Oswald Bill has noted, both assertions look curious in the pertinent context and appear to have served the purpose of exonerating Graupner.\textsuperscript{128} Graupner may have made the journey to Leipzig under the pretense of another destination and his Leipzig application happened without the previous knowledge of his Landgrave. Some years later the departure of the flutist Johann Michael Böhm, who left Darmstadt in 1729 without the permission of the Landgrave, was resented. Böhm had to defend himself against the Landgrave's unjustified accusations and attempted to excuse his behavior by referring to similar earlier situations that had occurred without repercussions. From Ludwigsburg, Böhm wrote on May 30, 1729:

Because it was impossible for me any longer to subsist and to obtain permission to travel to Ludwigsburg, which was done to obtain an engagement which I had sought, I was astonished and my heart was troubled that the intent of the Frankfurt trip was so unmercifully perceived, since Your Most Serene Highness will remember that in [the granting of] their permission, M. Graupner mentioned going to Mayntz, and M. Korzineck towards Mannheim; however, the former went to

\textsuperscript{128}Bill, op. cit., 122.
Leipzig, the latter likewise traveled here towards Ludwigsburg and was engaged, without one of them given the slightest reproach . . . 129

Although Graupner may predicated his trip to Mainz on a visit with relatives since his wife had come from Bischofsheim near Mainz, his wife's mother had died in 1699 and her father in 1702, and his wife's sister had married Pastor Johann Conrad Lichtenberg of Darmstadt. He had no close relatives left in Bischofsheim. Graupner, however, had many relatives in Leipzig and it is known that his brother Johann Michael was a tailor in that city around this time. 130 If in fact Graupner had secured permission from the Landgrave to go to Mainz but instead traveled to Leipzig, as Johann Michael Böhm's document seems to suggest, he must have feared recriminations from the Landgrave since Mainz and Leipzig are located in different parts of Germany and his petition to leave had been made under false pretense. It is therefore understandable the Leipzig Council, who apparently thought highly of this former resident, would attempt to vindicate Graupner's actions by insisting that the audition was made at their request.

129StA D 4 - 356/24. Printed in Bill, op. cit., 123.
130Bill, op. cit., 123-124.
Upon Graupner's return, he informed Bürgemeister Lang in Leipzig that although his requested departure to Leipzig was not being viewed favorably, nonetheless he was not bound for life but had complete freedom to leave. He also asked that the diplomatic representative, be sent as soon as possible, preferably at Eastertide, so that the affair could be concluded smoothly. Graupner's request for a salary from the time of his audition in Leipzig is curious. It could indicate an attempt to be a stronger negotiator than he had been in Darmstadt, or, more likely, it could have come from the sheer neediness that was the legacy of his Darmstadt experience.

To the Most Noble Born Lord Patron

Your Excellency, be most obligingly informed by this that, God be praised, I am fortunately back from the journey. Eight days ago I delivered a letter from the Noble, Most Wise Council of Leipzig and a report of my release on behalf of Your Most Princely Serene Highness to my most gracious Lord. I have waited every day for a decision; such has not quickly happened and thus a further reminder is being sent. Indeed, my move from here is not being looked upon with favor by my most merciful Sovereign. I have yet hope that I may be able to leave with all honor and goodness, in as much as the move is not ungraciously perceived. Indeed, Your Excellency knows about my decrees, which several have inquired into and even though I was thought to be bound for life they found, on the contrary, I have complete freedom. I in no way doubt that I will receive the desired release. I would be pleased if by this coming Easter, God willing, the diplomatic representative could be here to bring this affair entirely to a complete
conclusion. Should however, a later decision from my most gracious Lord prevent this, which I do not hope, it should not matter for several more weeks. If this does quickly ensue, then I will immediately notify Your Excellency. My house is also on the market which because of my leaving, some people have expressed an interest in the house. I may, as it appears now, have to take a great loss because they will take advantage of my situation. If I am not agreeable to a simple lease, then perhaps I will lose everything. After I receive the release thereupon my local salary stops. Could it happen through Your Excellency's mediation that a portion of my salary be calculated from the time of my audition? Thus I might be compensated for my great loss from my house, household goods, etc. I feel from Your Excellency much love, which I have yet to earn. In the future, I will try with diligence and kindness to make myself more worthy. Should Your Excellency have instructions for me, Herr Protonotarius Petermann would make me aware of everything.

To whom moreover, with great respect and esteem I remain, Your Excellency my High Patron,

Your completely obedient and humble, faithful servant,

Christoph Graupner

Darmstadt. Feb. 7, 1723

Graupner's entreaties were for nothing; the Landgrave refused him the discharge. Kametzky, in the following undated document reproduced below, wrote to the Landgrave.

131 Daniel Petermann, member of the Leipzig Consistory. Bill, op. cit., 135. A Prothonotary is a principal clerk or notary.

discussing Graupner's demands and suggestions on how to the end the crisis.

I have spoken with the Kapellmeister Graupner and said to him that Your Most Serene Highness would write to the Leipzig City Council and demand that they ought to search for somebody else. I perceived that he would accept the proposed conditions with 200 to 300 Gulden additional and payment of the indebtedness. However, the people do not trust us anymore. He answered me that the same had already been frequently promised, but at no time had the promise been kept. It was heard how it had gone for others, how everybody had complained. He had also seen how the salary was taken from the elderly Brügel when he was old and, unfortunately, allowed to go hungry. If Your Most Serene Highness should meet with death, or become insolvent, or if something new should better please him, the money would be taken away again. He alleged also, as you must have often heard, that the government and chamber would reproach him about his salary. If he now received more, would not the jealousy become greater? Now one sees that because the reward for the appointment is not given in time, indebtedness always remains. He claims that if Your Most Serene Highness were to write to the city of Leipzig, they would not approve it. Instead of seeing himself happy, he must sigh to God because he would fall into misery here with a wife and children. Such words go to my heart, and although I can not speak of future things, before me I see greater disorder, want, and unhappiness, and thus do not wish to say more. In case Your Most Serene Highness intends to write to the city of Leipzig, Your Most Serene Highness should seriously consider these things: whether Graupner should be paid immediately and whether from now on a salary is made from a secured fund, because no one trusts anymore in mere promises. It has already lasted too long and is becoming worse. I would like also to advise that Your Most Serene Highness settle
this matter quickly with him, perhaps through Herr von Miltiz, who is very embarrassed anyway, and when he hears this same affair was construed though me, it may still lead to further discussion.

In the margin:
(Graupner remains and the matter with him has been finally settled. Hence the letter to the Magistrates in Leipzig should be dispatched.)133

From Kametzy's hand on March 23, 1723, a letter from the Landgrave was sent to the Council of Leipzig stating that Graupner could not be released, for Darmstadt would lose not only a Directorem Musices but also municipal musician, and the Kapelle would suffer.134 The day before Kametzky's letter was sent, Graupner wrote to Bürgermeister Lang in Leipzig and attempted to summarize the conclusion of the affair. He claimed his attempt to leave Darmstadt was sincere, but he was powerless to prevent mitigating circumstances. He mentioned in a personal audience with the Landgrave that he had been given an offer which he could not refuse. Furthermore, his house, which had been for sale and for which he would have had to suffer a great loss, had been returned by the buyers.

133 Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt STA D 4-359/1. Reproduced in Nagel, op. cit., 593; Bill, op. cit., 136-140.

Most Noble Born, High Lord Patron

Your Excellency, that which on the 12th was written to me, I have received. Likewise the enclosure to Your Excellency Lord Privy von Kametzky, the same sent to Your Most Princely Serene Highness my most gracious Lord, was delivered so that a decision may finally ensue. However, all of my current efforts regarding my dismissal have been in vain, and in spite of all my interviews, I must remain here. The increase in my salary by Your Excellency has finally been considered. Although my resolve had not changed, subsequent events indicated that I had either better take it or quickly leave it. Thus Your Most Princely Serene Highness is being informed that I must here remain, and when my decision was not changed, I desired to write to the Magistrate in Leipzig and Your [i.e. my] Majesty the King. I delivered nevertheless, last Saturday, a report concerning these things and there, as in all the proceeding claims, the decision was immaterial in that I cannot be spared. I was afterwards called to come in the evening at 9:00 to Your [i.e. my] High Princely Serene Highness, and then at that time he gave me a favorable offer which I could not refuse. I was in constant fear that if Your [i.e. my] Most Princely Serene Highness should have written to Your High Excellency, the Magistrate Council would not have been in opposition to Your [i.e. my] Most Princely Serene Highness. Otherwise I would have started the whole process differently. I was assured by word of mouth as well as in writing by Your Excellency, but without the consent of my gracious Lord, I was scarcely able to do anything. So to avoid the danger of being caught in the middle, I had to change my resolve. Your Excellency will sufficiently recognize from this, that I did my best and I was serious about obtaining my release but the aforesaid circumstances were not in my power to change. Had I wished to remain opposed to all these things with my
resolve, I would have fallen into disgrace and afterwards the great peril and question was whether I would have been accepted by Your Noble and Most Wise Council. My buyers for the house went back on their word of our fear when they saw such seriousness. The Lord Most Merciful Counselor von Kametzky will answer Your Excellency. I have at the same time perceived that Your Most Princely Serene Highness would soon also write to the Magistrate. In the meantime, I thank Your Excellency for all the perceived love and affection towards me. I wanted to wish that my purpose could have been achieved. I remain moreover, with the greatest respect and veneration,

Your Excellency, My Favorable Patron
Completely Obedient, Most Devoted Servant,

Christoph Graupner,
Darmstadt 22. March 1723.135

With Graupner's withdrawal of his candidacy, the Leipzig council voted on April 22, 1723 to extend the offer to J. S. Bach136 though Dr. Steger of the council was of the opinion that "he should make compositions that were not theatrical."137 On May 4, Graupner, unknowing of the


council's actions, recommended Bach who was "a musician just as strong on the organ as he is expert in church works and Capelle pieces," and who "will honestly and properly perform the functions entrusted to him". 138 Graupner's new appointment started on June 1, 1723. He received the promise of 3,100 G. for the payment of debts, the repeated pledge of natural goods, and a yearly fixed salary of 900 G. 139 In addition, Graupner's wife was promised "something" in the event of her husband's death. The Landgrave also pledged to take care of his sons, and in the event of the reduction of the Kapelle under the Landgrave's successor, Graupner's position would not be eliminated. Finally, if Graupner became sick, incapacitated, or otherwise incapable of performing his duties, his salary would be paid up to his life's end, and he could be removed from service only by his own resignation. The new decree was signed by both the Landgrave and the crown prince on May 3, 1723. 140 In later years, in Mattheson's Ehrenpforte, Graupner laconically

138 Ibid., 90.

139 By contrast, Bach's salary in Leipzig was no more than 100 fl. a year but with the addition of fees from weddings, funerals, and other projects, the income might grow in a good year to 700 thalers (over 1,000 florins). Karl Geiringer, Johann Sebastian Bach, The Culmination of an Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 54.

140 Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt StA D 8-15/6; reproduced in Bill, op. cit., 145-147.
summarized his adventure by writing "in the year 1723, I should have arrived at Leipzig as Kantor; everything there was already in place, but so many things happened in the meantime that it was not possible."\textsuperscript{141}

Even though Graupner's visit to Leipzig did not result in his taking up a permanent residence there, and in spite of the Landgraviate's financial problems, he may have made some contacts who were then hired to augment the Kapelle. Johann Samuel Endler was listed under contract on Jan. 1, 1723, in Darmstadt as a vocalist, but he may have also been used as a violinist since he played quite well.\textsuperscript{142} Endler had received his Baccalaureate from Leipzig in 1716 and became the director of the "II. ordinaire collegium musicum," formerly directed by Fasch, in 1721. After the death of Grünwald in 1739, he took over some of his duties and was listed in 1740 as Concertmaster and Secretary with a salary of 500 fl.\textsuperscript{143}

The last known person from Leipzig to be given an appointment was the violinist Johann Gottfried Vogler, who

\textsuperscript{141} Im Jahre 1723 sollte ich nach Leipzig, als Cantor, hinkommen: alles war auch in so weit schon richtig; es kam aber so viel dazwischen, daß es nicht angehen konnte." Mattheson, Ehrenpforte, 412.

\textsuperscript{142} E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 209.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 210.
arrived in Darmstadt on April 18, 1725. He had played first violin with Pisendel in the Telemann collegium under the direction of Melchior Hoffmann and with Hoffman's death in 1716, he became director of the collegium musicum and organist of the Neukirche but was fired in June of 1720 because of his indebtedness and carelessness in managing instruments. He remained in Darmstadt until 1733 when the records shown his release.\textsuperscript{144}

The new conditions of the contract bound Graupner for the rest of his life to the narrow but supposedly peaceful confines of Darmstadt. However, petty quarrels occupied the attention of the singers, particularly those between Frau Johanna Elisbaeth Döbricht-Hesse, and Kapellmeister Graupner. On May 28, 1714, the husband of Frau Hesse had to ask forgiveness from the Landgrave because of her behavior, but Hesse also requested that Graupner abstain from showing preference between the women when composing future works.\textsuperscript{145} Around 1730, the same woman, who was legitimately owed 4,000 G. from the royal treasury for three and a half years of work, complained about Graupner's "selfish" behavior in the contract of 1723.

\textsuperscript{144}Ibid., 211.

\textsuperscript{145}Nagel does not mention what provoked the quarrel. Nagel, op. cit., 596.
It is not nice that the Kapellmeister Graupner went secretly behind the backs of others only for himself and some of his favorites . . . An upright Kapellmeister would solicit for the whole Kapelle and not just for a few select. He should remember that through the gracious gift of 3150 Gulden and his additional 900 Gulden for his little work, he has a great advantage compared with me and the others. There is no court where a Kapellmeister has more than one suitable cantatrice, but generally, they are of a lower quality . . . She also mentioned that she had advanced to Graupner, Grünewald, Böhm[en], and Kuhfuess[en] "in their need" 500 gulden worth of money and wine.146

Graupner's Last Years

Now I have the fortune and grace, as long as it pleases God, to serve the present ruling Most Serene Landgrave as Kapellmeister,147 during which time the entire work load was pushed to me after the good Grünewald had been dead for half a year. He asked me on his death bed, when I wrote, to extend his farewell greetings to Your High Excellency [i.e. Mattheson]. [With Grünewald's death,] I am consequently much overwhelmed with the work to be done that I practically accomplish nothing else. I always have anxiety whether my compositions for a Sunday or a Feast day will be finished since the Sundays and Feast days seem to follow too closely, in addition to the other things that happen around here.148

The year 1739 brought two losses for Graupner--the deaths of both vice-Kapellmeister Gottfried Grünewald and

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146Nagel, op. cit., 596.

147Landgrave Ludwig VIII.

148Mattheson, Ehrenpforte, 412-413.
his long time patron, the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig. With Grünwald's death on December 19, 1739, Graupner lost not only a friend he had known since his Leipzig student days, but also a vice-Kapellmeister. Graupner's work load now doubled, because before Grünwald's death, the Kapellmeister and vice-Kapellmeister had alternated composing cantata cycles for the years 1719-1739. The task now fell on Graupner to compose all of the cantatas for performance in the Schloßkirche.  

Landgrave Ernst Ludwig died on September 12, 1739, and Graupner composed two cantatas, *Lasset uns unser Herz* and *Wir wissen, daß unser irdisch Haus* for the funeral. The cantata *Gott, deine Gerechtigkeit ist hoch*, was written for the ascension of his son, Ludwig VIII as the reigning monach. Like his father, Ludwig VIII, Landgrave from 1739-1768, was also a lover of music and the theater. After his wife had died on July 1, 1726, Ludwig went to Vienna as an officer, where he knew both Maria Theresa and

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150 Frederick Noack, *Christoph Graupner als Kirchenkomponist*, 56.

151 Ludwig VIII died on October 17, 1768 during a performance of "Barnwell, der Londoner Kaumann" by one Lillo. As Barnswell spoke the closing words at the end of the 8th scene of the fifth act, "I trust in the mercy of God," the Landgrave said, "I also," and died of a stroke. Georg Sebastian Thomas, *op. cit*, 6.
Emperor Franz I and attended concerts at the Emperor's court. Ludwig was determined to maintain the standards of the Kapelle but, like his predecessor, he had little talent for the financial management of the Landgraviate. His Sybaritic life style was exemplified by his carriage drawn by white stags on his progress from Kranichstein, his hunting lodge, to hear a cantata or other work. His passions, women and the hunt (the records mention "Maitressen" [mistresses]), strained the resources and wreaked hardships on the population with sumptuary laws forbidding all luxury, including coffee. In a vain and cruel economy, the Landgrave lowered court salaries, thus reducing further the musicians' standard of living. When the notice was posted in a rehearsal room of the Schloß, Ludwig Hesse, gambist and son of the previous gambist, was informed that his 400 fl. would be given to him on the condition that he perform for both court and church when so ordered. Georg Balthasar Hertzberger, the music director, upon his receipt of 400 fl. was no longer allowed to board at the court, and the brothers Johann Adam and Johann Karl

152 E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 217.
Ostheim were simply discharged from the Kapelle.\textsuperscript{153} The yearly bonus of 50 fl. was stopped for the kettle drum player Johann Schüler and the remainder of the trumpet players, but they still were expected to perform their duties as before. Frau Maria Ludmilla Schetky lost 50 fl. because of the new regulation, but it was added to her son's salary. Because of the prior agreement of 1723, Graupner's salary remained the same and was listed as being 900 fl. in 1740.\textsuperscript{154}

Graupner's Death and Posthumous Reputation

Graupner died on May 10, 1760, and two days later was "publicly buried with the Christian custom of a sober funeral sermon"\textsuperscript{155} in the cemetery by the Stadkapelle\textsuperscript{156}. In Johann Scheibe's \textit{Critica Musicus}, when deserving musicians are escorted before the judgement seat, Virtue, Truth, and Reason record their names: Bach, Bokemeyer, Fux, the Graun brothers, Hasse, Händel, Heinichen, Kaiser, Schmidt,

\textsuperscript{153}Johann Adam and Johann Karl were both employed as an accessories ("Akezessist") and copyists. After 1740, Johann Adam was listed only as chamber secretary. E. Noack., \textit{Musikgeschichte Darmstadt}, 172, 187, 189.

\textsuperscript{154}Ibid., 218-219.

\textsuperscript{155}"mit Christlichen Gebräuchen bey gehaltener Leichenpredigt öffentlich begraben." Nagel, \textit{op. cit.}, 607.

\textsuperscript{156}E. Noack, \textit{Musikgeschichte Darmstadt}, 249.
Stölzel, Telemann, and Graupner. In 1781, the Darmstadt Kalender described Graupner as:

... a man of irreproachable character. His outward appearance was indeed a little morose, yet one ought not be frightened for this reason, for he possessed an amicable heart. Through his diligence he was distinguished perhaps among all musicians of his time, and, according to them, the quantity of his musical compositions would certainly have been larger if he had worked less substantially and not as carefully. Occasionally, he stayed the entire day and night at his desk, and his unprecedented diligence probably contributed much to the loss of his eyesight. With the same persistence, he not only made his compositions into scores, but also copied many parts with his own hand and various of his works he himself etched into copper, as for example, his Chorale Book. During his blindness, he showed an admirable patience and only occasionally uttered some anxiety over it, in that he could not put on paper the compositions that were in his head and wished that it would be possible to dictate them to somebody. But he also had his


158A document dated January 17, 1755, signed by Christoph Graupner with uneven handwriting but written in another hand attests to his growing blindness. Bill, op. cit., 166-167.
oddities, as one tends to presume in the case of great men; he absolutely would not permit a portrait to be painted of him; one attempted to do this once during his blindness without his previous knowledge, but he was unwilling to allow it to continue once he discovered it. Before his death, he also demanded that all his music be burned. This command remains unfulfilled, for the betterment of the musical world. Perhaps he would have also refused his present biography if he had suspected we were writing it. However, we do not feel obligated to follow the wishes of someone who was such a deserving man but who also displayed such exaggerated modesty.159

Johann Mattheson also praised Graupner. In Der Vollkommenen Capellmeister, Mattheson advised one to study the runs and passages of the "three-tailed notes,"160 particularly from Kapellmeister Graupner's clavier pieces and partitas, which contained much beauty."161 He further stated:

I must rightly praise here the Herr Kapellmeister Christoph Graupner of Darmstadt, whose scores are so neatly written that they could compete with a copperplate engraving. He has recently sent several of these to me, where much significant beauty is found, and wrote at the same time the following sensible words: I have gradually


161Ibid., 481.
become accustomed to write my scores as clearly as possible so that I do not have to correct them, in order to be helpful for the copyist in case he is not musical and to be above the irksome daily corrections. It is indeed somewhat more trouble but I seldom write until my thoughts are complete.¹⁶²

Immediately after Graupner's death, the Court Lord Marshall (Oberhofmarschall) von Wallbrunn sought to take possession of the late Kapellmeister's music for the court, but Graupner's son-in-law, Georg Wachter, and his oldest son, the lawyer Christoph Graupner, were prepared to relinquish the right to the music only for a monetary settlement. Von Wallbrunn proposed that a portion of the money that had been budgeted from Graupner's salary be given to the heirs and used to settle the claim. However, Ludwig VIII determined that he would be the lawful heir, and ordered that nothing from the estate could be taken. An inventory was made and the music was placed under lock and key. On May 28, 1760, Ludwig decreed that the printed music belonged to the Graupner family but the manuscript copies were the property of the court since they had been written while Graupner was a salaried court employee. The heirs, however, firmly believed that they were entitled to their father's music because:

There are several among us, namely children, who are still dependent, and some of us who

¹⁶²Ibid., 481.
are sick, and because of that sickness are not able to work. Unfortunately, except for his well deserved world-wide fame, the musical abundance that survives from our deceased father is the only piece of inheritance that remains for us from fifty-one years of extraordinary diligence, zeal, and devotion, performed obediently in service.\textsuperscript{163}

Since there was no reply ensuing from the Landgrave, the heirs renewed their petition on November 19, 1760, and again in January of 1761.\textsuperscript{164} The Geheimen Rate (Privy Council) was divided but on February 12 it gave its opinion to the Landgrave: Graupner's musical compositions and especially the scores, could not be withheld from the heirs and the Landgrave should pay compensation fixed at 400 G. The Landgrave, however, responded on March 28 by ordering the Oberhofmarschall to negotiate the best settlement possible. The heirs, claiming that not all of the music was created exclusively for the court, also reminded the Landgrave of the contract that was signed in 1723 in which Ludwig VIII and his father promised to care for Graupner's family. It was hoped that:

\begin{quote}
... one may say without being boastful that Graupner's composition were of a higher standard than other music in the musical kingdom. The music found a special recognition everywhere, particularity the Tafel and the other music which was created
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{163}Nagel, \textit{op. cit.}, 609.

\textsuperscript{164}\textit{Ibid.}, 609.
outside of Graupner's obligation, with his own money at a very difficult and great cost from all places of the world. I have four living children and as long as they are alive, the quarterly death and gratuity payments have expired without them enjoying it. I humbly request a yearly pension of 450 G., with 350 G. in cash from the vacant salary of their father and 100 G. of good natural produce.\footnote{Ibid., 609-610.}

Once again, the Landgrave refused the heirs' petition and did not allow them to sell anything from the late Kapellmeister's estate. In 1765, the family pleaded that, unlike other Kapellmeisters, their father had not been allowed to sell his compositions to "foreigners" for extra money but rather solely dedicated the works to his sovereign. A sufficient compensation was again requested since they had a brother to care for who was ill.\footnote{Ibid., 610.} The heirs, referring to the custom of another court where the Kapellmeister owned what he wrote, produced a letter from Georg Benda (1722-1795), Kapellmeister for Frederick III of Saxe-Gotha.

I have been asked . . . to reply to the following question that was submitted to me by the heirs of Kapellmeister Christoph Graupner: whether the Landgrave Most Noble Serene Highness can retain without compensation the deceased Herr Kapellmeister's composed church pieces or whether these pieces may be regarded by the heirs as things that belong exclusively to

\footnote{Ibid., 609-610.}
\footnote{Ibid., 610.}
them and thus could be used for their own advantage.

To address this question correctly is to consider the following three points. First, when Herr Kapellmeister assumed the position, this matter was not at all considered.

Second, not a single work had been copied by him for foreigners.

Thirdly, a copyist would have been retained for the Herr Kapellmeister by His High Princely Serene Highness of the Lord Landgrave and the necessary paper would have been supplied.

What the first point refers to is thus clearly manifest: one should not allow such an assumption, that the court has claim to the composed music, to come at all into one's mind. This is judged an exception since at other courts there is not the slightest doubt that concerns over this point would have been intentionally mentioned and settled.

The second point, which can not contribute to the decision, shows on the contrary, the great complacency of the deceased Herr Kapellmeister, in that he had the liberty to exclusively send his music to a foreign connoisseur.

Finally, concerning the third point: here I have the same benefit from His Ducal Serene Highness [i.e., Duke Friedrich III of Saxe-Gotha] with the difference that instead of one copyist, two were retained for me. Without regard for this, all of the music that was composed in service in this place remains mine, and after my death, it belongs completely to my heirs and they are free to do what they deem best. Also, the heirs of my predecessor, Herr Kapellmeister Stölzel, sold his composed Jahrgänge to His Ducal Serene Highness [i.e. Duke Friedrich] for a considerable sum. This is not a unique case because to the best of my knowledge, this procedure is followed in other courts.

Thus, I am of the opinion that the heirs of Graupner can not be restricted at all in their freedom to take action to find a use for this existing music for their benefit.
This is the procedure in this court, and, additionally, everything can be confirmed upon request. I testify through my own handwriting and with my affixed seal.

Gotha, the 27th of August 1765

Georg Benda
Royal Saxon Kapellmeister

On October 29, 1766, the Landgrave again denied their request. According to Ernst Pasqué, the proceedings were drawn out through the reign of Ludwig IX, Ludwig VIII's successor, but Nagel reports that some sort of agreement may have been reached earlier, for according to the Hochfürstlich Hessen-Darmstädtischer Staats- und Adreß-Kalender of 1781, the heirs had intentions of selling the music. In 1819 the music was in possession of the Gr. Hauses; from there it went to the Bibliothek der Hofmusik and later to the Gr. Hofbibliothek in Darmstadt.

After Graupner's death, the Kapelle went into a decline. Graupner's music was still being performed but the bass singer Georg Balthasar Hertzberger, who at that time was music director, complained in 1766 that not only was he obligated to sing the soprano or tenor parts, but that the

167 Nagel, op. cit., 610-611.


169 Nagel, op. cit., 612; Adreß-Kalender, op. cit., 23.

170 Nagel, op. cit., 612.
"female singer is in decline and the other will not come to terms with the German language." 171

Just as the macrocosm, the Lutheran church, suffered a diminution in the number of new cantatas after the deaths of Telemann and Bach, so the microcosmic Darmstadt Kapelle experienced a similar loss with Graupner's death. When Charles Burney stopped in Darmstadt on his way to Mannheim from Frankfurt in 1772, the "famous" Graupner and his Kapelle must have already been a distant memory, for Burney saw fit to only note a fine military band that gave him much pleasure. 172

171 "Die eine Sängerin stehe in der Abnahme, die andere wolle sich mit der deutschen Sprache nicht befreunden."
Nagel was of the opinion that Schetky was the former and Lepri the latter. Nagel, op. cit., 612. Three generations of Schetkys furnished the Kapelle in Darmstadt with singers and instrumentalists. The Schetky probably referred to is the soprano, Maria Elisabeth Eberhard-Schetky (1714-1769). The Italian soprano Maria Dionisia Lepri arrived in Darmstadt in 1765. E. Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadt, 240, 261.

CHAPTER II

GEORG CHRISTIAN LEHMS AND JOHANN CONRAD LICHTENBERG,
POETS IN DARMSTADT

Pietism in Germany

Solt ich dich nicht geliebter Jesus lieben,
Da doch dein Hertz, an meinem Hertzen klebt?
Ach! Todt und Grufft soll mich nicht von dir reissen.
Du solst mein Trost, mein Gott, mein Jesus heissen.
Mein Jesus, der mir stets im Hertzen lebt.

Ought I not love you beloved Jesus,
Since your heart adheres to my heart?
Oh, death and tomb shall not tear me from you.
You shall be called my comfort, my God, my Jesus.
My Jesus who lives always in my heart.¹

Any appreciation of eighteenth-century sacred music in Germany must take into account the cultural surroundings that nourished its development. In the case of Christoph Graupner, one also has to consider the intriguing and thorny issue of Pietism. Without question, the emergence of Pietism as a dominating theological movement affected the poets and composers of the middle and late Baroque. Introspection, subjectivity, opposition to hedonism, and a general distaste for theatrical and figured music within the church service are general attributes associated with

Pietism. The two main Darmstadt poets, Georg Christian Lehms (1684-1717) and Johann Conrad Lichtenberg (1689-1751), who wrote cycles of *Jahrgänge*, annual compilations of cantata texts, composed poetry that embraced many of the characteristics of Pietist thought. Unlike Bach, who fled to Weimar after only a short stay in Mühlhausen because of Pietist hostility, Graupner maintained a friendly relationship with the Hessian clergymen, particularly Pastor Conrad Lichtenberg, a librettist of Lutheran Pietistic persuasion. Not only was Lichtenberg a powerful theological force in Hesse (he eventually became position of Superintendent of Darmstadt, the highest ecclesiastical position in Darmstadt), he was a personal friend of Graupner's and probably even a godfather to one of Graupner's children. Their compatibility resulted in the creation of over one thousand cantatas for the Lutheran church.

When Christoph Graupner was persuaded by the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig to come to Darmstadt in 1709, part of his job was to compose for the permanent opera company. The beginnings of regular opera performances in Darmstadt,

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2Graupner also was a godfather to a son of Johann Albert Dippel in Nieder-Rammstatt, a member of a family that was strongly behind the Pietistic movement in Hesse. Wilibald Nagel, "Das Leben Christoph Graupners," *SIMG*, X (1909), 587.

however, were greeted with a storm of criticism by the local Pietist clergy, especially the Pastors Johann Christoph Bielefeld and Philip Bindewald, who were undoubtedly delighted when the opera closed in 1719 because of financial difficulties.

Graupner's difficulty with the Pietists at the beginning of his career in Darmstadt was in itself not unusual. The flourishing movement was a menace to all German musicians and the Lutheran German Orthodox clergy. Pietism had been banned in Leipzig in 1690 and in the same year, August Hermann Francke was denounced as a Pietistic heretic in Lübeck. His subsequent move to Erfurt only resulted in further disgrace as he was removed from the office of Assistant Minister by his opponents after serving only fifteen months. In 1694 public warnings, read from the pulpits in Arnstadt, accused the Pietists of "erroneous

4Ibid., 583-584.


7Dale Brown, Understanding Pietism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Co., 1978), 33.
doctrines" and J.S. Bach's stay in Mühlhausen in 1707 and 1708 was limited to a mere ten months because the infiltration of Reformed and Pietist thought into the Lutheran church posed disastrous consequences for church music.¹

The Pietist movement in Germany was a revolt against Orthodoxy in the Lutheran church. Both groups saw themselves as heirs to Luther's reforms, and the Pietists, interested in resurrecting the missionary fervor that had characterized the early Christian church, accused Orthodoxy of irrelevant scholasticism and dogmatic disputation that had little to do with the lives of the ordinary people. The movement had its roots in the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648, which had laid waste to Germany. At the end of the war, Germany was divided into a patchwork of independent principalities whose ruler determined the denominational allegiance of his subjects. During the remainder of the century, the chaos continued unabated as the advancing and retreating armies of France and the House of Hapsburg marched across German soil. The numerous wars left the people morally exhausted and filled with dismay "over the


²Günther Stiller, op. cit., 144.
decline in catechetical instruction, the de-emphasis of prayer, and the priority which the study of theology assumed over exegesis in the universities." As a result, religious life was at a low ebb, and progressives saw the need to awaken the people into a vibrant, living Christian faith.

Jakob Spener (1635-1705), an influential writer and pastor in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, was one of the first to articulate these concerns into a systematic theology. From his youth, he appears to have been immersed in piety. His godmother, the Countess Agathe of Rappoltstein, encouraged him to read "popular Puritan and German devotional literature." His guilt and fear of God's punishment motivated him at the age of twelve to run from a dance, never to submit to that temptation again. Spener was educated at the Lutheran University of Strasbourg which was then heavily influenced by both Calvinist and Pietist thought. While at the University, he wrote an exegesis of the book of Revelation for his dissertation. After Strasbourg he went to Frankfurt am Main where he was a pastor from 1666-1686, then to Dresden where he was the Court Chaplain during the period 1686-1691, and finally

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10}}\text{Dale Brown, op. cit., 24-25.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\text{Ibid., 30.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{Ibid., 31.}\]
finished his career in Berlin as Provost of the St. Nicholas Church and official inspector for the churches in Prussia.

The 1675 publication of Spener's *Pia Desideria* became "the clearest and most influential document in the Lutheran Pietiest movement." In this book, he attacked the political estate for living in debauchery, the clerics for their lack of self denial and the common people for such heterogeneous faults as drunkenness and perpetuating lawsuits. To correct the deficiencies in the church, Spener proposed diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, both corporately and privately, meditating upon them, and reintroducing the early Church assemblies, where pious speakers would gather together and present their opinions on Biblical interpretation. The book may also have given the movement a name, for detractors called Spener's followers

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15 "their lives reflect. . . a worldly spirit, marked by carnal pleasure, lust of the eye, and arrogant behavior, and so it is evident that they have never taken even the first practical principle of Christianity seriously, namely, denial of self." Ibid., 45.

16 In Spener's thinking, because a Christian was charged with helping his neighbors, a lawsuit was outside the bounds of Christian love. Ibid., 59-60.

17 Ibid., 88-89.
Pietismus, a derogatory label.\textsuperscript{18} Luther’s intention to have the Protestant church retain much of the music of the Catholic church was realized mainly in the Saxon-Thuringian states. In the landgraviate of Darmstadt-Hesse, \textit{Figuralmusik} (music where Arabic numbers are added over the bass line as an aid to realizing the accompanying harmonies) in the worship services was not heard in the seventeenth century except in the chief city of Darmstadt.\textsuperscript{19} The fact that Darmstadt-Hesse was reluctant to embrace the \textit{Figuralmusik} of the orthodox Lutheran church as well as its close proximity to Calvinist spheres of thought suggests that the area may have been fertile breeding ground for Pietism.

Lutheran scholasticism, with its mazes of infallible dogmas and creeds, parted company with Spener’s followers who believed that the evangelical church was fallible, that personal religious conversion could transcend the will of obligatory doctrine, and that the church needed reform. Justification by faith, the critics charged, had become “one of the dogmas instead of the source of dogma.”\textsuperscript{20} According to Spener, all that was necessary to be saved was the

\textsuperscript{18}The earliest use of the term "Pietists" appears to have been in Darmstadt in 1677. Brown, op. cit., 12.


\textsuperscript{20}Brown, op. cit., 24.
acknowledgement of man’s depravity and unrighteousness, and a belief that salvation was through Jesus Christ who became true man, gained forgiveness and reconciliation for mankind, and created a new life for the fallen. Or more simply, the ground of the entire faith was Jesus Christ. If the Holy Scriptures were consulted, the church on earth would be blessed, the Jews converted, and papal Rome would fall.

Spener’s influence was enormous. He published over 1,000 works and maintained an extensive correspondence with his colleagues in Germany. His support of conventicles, one of which he supervised in Frankfurt am Main from 1670, became a model for similar groups in Germany. These small groups within the institutionalized church met regularly for prayer, Biblical exegesis, and discussion. This emphasis on small-group endeavors together with his exhortations to live all aspects of daily life piously were cornerstones of Spener’s pietism.

Spener’s most influential pupil was the volatile and controversial August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Francke was born in Lübeck and raised by a devout mother in Gotha in

\[21\] Ibid., 42.
\[22\] Spener, op. cit., 76-77.
\[23\] Meetings where the faithful would gather together to discuss Scripture.
an environment steeped in the reform school of thought.\textsuperscript{25} Francke had a conversion experience in Lüneburg in 1687 which caused him to see himself as a tool through which God would work changes in the world. He subsequently created for Pietism a much more aggressive role than had the cautious Spener by founding institutions whose functions ranged from Biblical translations to worldwide missionary endeavors.

Francke earned a Master of Arts degree at the University of Leipzig and his collegium philobiblicum, "a conventicle formed for the purpose of entering more deeply into edifying exegesis,"\textsuperscript{26} was banned by the authorities on March 10, 1690. The argument seemed to divide itself into the objective versus the subjective, for a faculty opponent of Francke's, Johann Carpzov, grumbled that "our mission as professors is to make students more learned and not more pious."\textsuperscript{27} After his dismissal in Leipzig, Francke received a calling as an assistant minister in Erfurt, but lost the post in 1690 because of the storm of protest that his opponents generated. Spener came to Francke's rescue and that same year helped him secure the appointment of pastor in the church in the suburb of Glaucha, near Halle. Two

\textsuperscript{25}Brown, op. cit., 32.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 13.

years later, the University of Halle, packed with Spener appointees, was granted its charter by Leopold I. Led by Francke, who was appointed as professor of Greek and Oriental languages, the University became a hotbed of Lutheran Pietist thought and action. It is significant that Johann Conrad Lichtenberg, Graupner’s principal lyricist, studied at the University of Halle in 1711.

The encouragement of worship in smaller conventicles, and the shift in emphasis from the head of the church to the individual members, weakened the authority of the Orthodox church. The church remained grounded in the scriptures, yet spiritual inspiration often times put personal interpretation at odds with church dogma. Attendance at public worship services was not viewed as being necessary for salvation, and church music was consequently downgraded. For the radical Pietist, Lutheran church music was superfluous and a hindrance. As much as a half century before Graupner, Theophil Großgebauer (1627-1661), a professor of Philosophy and Theology at the University in Rostock, denounced current orthodox musical practices in his strongly Calvinist Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion (1661):

. . . But because at one time the Pope gave only the clerics the power to sing and make music it seems to us difficult to throw out such a human trinket through the command of God. Therefore unfortunately organists, cantors, town pipers, and musicians— for the most part unspiritual people— have control in the city churches. They play,
sing, bow and ring according to their pleasure. One chases after the other in concertizing and some contend with one another over which can do it most skillfully or which can most subtly imitate a nightingale.

And just as the world now is not serious but frivolous and has lost the old quiet devotion, so songs have been sent to us in Germany from Italy in which the biblical texts are torn apart and chopped up into little pieces through swift runs of the throat; those are the warblers (Amos 6:5) who can stretch and break the voice like singing birds. Then it becomes an ambitious collective screaming to see who sings most like the birds. Now it’s Latin, now German only a few can understand the words; and even if they are understood they go in one ear and out the other. There the organist sits, plays, and shows his art; in order that the art of one person be shown, the whole congregation of Jesus Christ is supposed to sit and hear the sound of pipes. This makes the congregation sleepy and lazy: some sleep, some gossip; some look where it isn’t fitting; some would like to read but can’t because they haven’t learned how. But they could be well instructed by the spiritual songs of the congregation, which Paul exhorts.²⁶

Großgebauer was not alone in his accusations. Johann Muscovius, Gottfried Arnold, Andreas Werckmeister, and Gottfried Vockerodt, all Pietists, criticized church music in the last years of the seventeenth-century.²⁷ These condemnations did not stop with the birth of the next century but continued well into Bach’s and Graupner’s lifetimes. Christian Gerber’s Historie der Kirchen-


²⁷Irwin, op. cit., 34-37.
Ceremonien in Sachsen (1732) claimed that since the early church was persecuted and in constant danger, Paul and other founders had no choice but to conduct services in secret. The use of Figuralmusik and instruments would have betrayed their location and Paul certainly would have banned their use.  

After the bankruptcy of the opera in Darmstadt, the Pietists voiced no serious objections to the Landgrave about Figuralmusik, instruments, and the theatrical style in the Schloßkirche. Unlike Großgebauer and his followers, the Pietists in Darmstadt seem to have concerned themselves exclusively with the moral threat of secular entertainment. The senior court preacher, Pastor Johann Christoph Bielefeld, was one of the most outspoken critics of the Darmstadt sovereign. In 1698 he reproached the prince for allowing his children to go to a dance on a Sunday and charged that the wicked and vain secular spirit had defiled the community through operas and scandalous wastefulness; he demanded that the theatrical productions be stopped by Christmas.  

The relation of Pietism to church music in Darmstadt can be found by divorcing devotional piety from the Pietist movement. There is a genuine Lutheran piety that may be

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30 Stiller, op. cit., p. 145-146.
31 Nagel, op. cit., 584.
considered both part of Pietism and Orthodoxy. Heinrich Müller, a contemporary theologian of Großgebauer in Rostock, has been described as "combining doctrinal orthodoxy with a new subjectivism" and whose "mystical piety" does not connect to the "ecclesiastical reforms advocated by Großgebauer." A poet such as Müller, who wrote with religious devotion and piety, must have been favored by Bach, for when Bach died he was found to have owned three of Müller's books: Gottliche Liebes-Flamme, Geistliche Erquickstunden, and Schlußkette und Kraft-Kern. Graupner, like Bach, undoubtedly was attracted to the devotional qualities of the movement.

Except for Leipzig and Lübeck, where Pietism was banned, the movement was widely accepted by the authorities in the other regions of Germany. In Prussia, Pietism was encouraged and the organizational ability and activism of the movement rapidly became transformed into a vehicle for the support of the Prussian state. In Württemberg, Pietist attitudes initially were a reaction to both natural and economic disasters and a hedonistic estate that aspired to emulate Versailles. However, the Pietists in

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32 Irwin, op. cit., 38.
33 Ibid., 39.
34 Fulbrook, op. cit., 9.
Württemberg eventually cooperated with the ruler and after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, their concerns were incorporated into the state church. The two situations show clearly that the Pietists and the political establishment could be mutually inclusive.

Like Württemberg, neighboring Darmstadt had a pleasure loving Landgrave who was an object of Pietist scorn and like Württemberg, some of the Pietistic concerns must have eventually been incorporated into the political system for one of the leading theologians in the land, Georg Conrad Lichtenberg, was also Graupner's chief librettist. It was possible then, for a poet of Pietist persuasion to work in Darmstadt without the kind of fear that he would have found in Leipzig and Lübeck.

Georg Christian Lehms

Georg Christian Lehms (facsimile 1), Graupner's first known librettist, was born in Liegnitz in 1684. Almost nothing is known of his early childhood. He attended the Gymnasium Augustum zu Görlitz, which at that time was under the chancellorship of the prominent teacher, Samuel Grosser,
himself a pupil of the poet Christian Weise. In the summer semester of 1706, Graupner’s last year in Leipzig, Lehms matriculated at the University. It is not known, however, whether or not he met Graupner during this time. What is known, however, is that Lehms first published book, *Die unglückselige Príincessin Michal und der verfolgte David* (1707) contained secular cantatas that were later set to music by Graupner. These cantatas have not been preserved. Graupner and may have established the beginnings of a friendship and a professional working relation in Leipzig that matured when they later found themselves in Darmstadt.

Like many of his contemporaries, Lehms wrote and dedicated works to influential persons with the hope of patronage, a stipend, or an appointment. One of Lehms’ most prominent patrons was the former mistress of Augusts des Starken (August the Strong), Maria Aurora, Countess Königsmarck, prioress of the secular convent of Quendlinburg. It was to her that he dedicated *Die unglückselige Príincessin Michal* (1707) as well as his most important book, *Teutschlands galante Poetinnen* (1715). A

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later book, Der weise König Salomo (1712) was dedicated to Duke Anton Ulrich, the poet prince on the throne of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Except for the Jahrgänge, annual or periodic compilations of cantata texts, his other works—often written under the pseudonym "Pallidor"—showed an interest in history, a fondness for popular novels, a scholarly approach to the Bible, and an anachronistic curiosity about the concerns of women.


40 Unglückseeliger Michael und verfolgter David (under the name Pallidor, 1707); Raub des Sabinischen Frauenzimmers 1709); Beschreibung der Universität Leipzig, nebst einer Nachricht von dem 1709 celebrierten Jubelfeste (1710); Staats= Lebens= u. Heldengeschichte Absolons und seiner Schwester Thamar (under the name Pallidor, 1710); Zu Heinr. Ansh. v. Ziegler und Kliphausen Heldenliebe der H. Schrift: der andere Theil (1711); Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft der Todten, oder Betrachtungen über die mekwürdigsten Todesfälle, welcher in der Heil. Schrift gedacht wird, 2 Theile (1711, 1713); Staats= und Heldengeschichte des weisen Königs Salomonis (Under the name Pallidor, 1712); Der schönen Esther Liebesgeschichte (1713); Der leidende und sterbende Jesus (1714); Deutschlands galante Poetinnen mit ihren sinnreichen und netten Proben: nebst einem Anhang ausländischer Dames (1715); Beantwortung der Censur über die galanten Poetinnen (1715); Historie des heutigen Seculi 4 Perioden (1716); Angenehmer Zeitvertreib bey langen Nächten oder sonst müßigen Stunden. He was also working on a chronicle of Hesse that was left unfinished at his death. Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte (Cassel: Cramerischen Buchladen, 1787 VII; R/Göttingen: Blitzdruck, 1986, 470-472. See also: Winfried von Borell, "Georg Christian Lehms, Ein vergessener Barockdichter und Vorkämpfer des Frauenstudiums," Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Breslau IX (1964), 101-105.
Lehms received the *Baccalarius artium* degree December 10, 1707, and the *Magister philosophiae* on February 9, 1708, both from the University of Leipzig. In September of 1710 he was in Weißenfels, the same year in which he later took up residence in the Darmstadt court. Winfried Borell speculates that in 1710 Lehms traveled first to Wolfenbüttel and later to Weißenfels with the hope of securing a permanent position. In early 1710, he wrote a *Zuneigungs-Sonnet* for the Countess Friederike Elisabeth von Sachsen-Weißenfels. At that time, Gottfried Grünwald (1675-1739), a well-known composer and operatic bass, was Countess Elisabeth's vice-Kapellmeister. Grünwald, who had visited Graupner in March 1710, would have known that Darmstadt had an opening and could have advised Lehms to apply. Toward the end of 1710, both Grünwald and Lehms went to Darmstadt to take up what were to be life-long appointments, the former as vice-Kapellmeister, and the latter as court librarian and poet.

Lehms' annual wage as poet was 200 gulden, and he received an additional 100 gulden as librarian. On Oct. 18, 1713, he married Dorothea Elisabetha Gödtke of Adlersberg in

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Frankfurt am Main. It is reported that it was a "very happy marriage" even though the couple remained childless.\textsuperscript{43} For the wedding, Lehms’ friend, Franz Heinrich Reimers of Lüneburg, composed an amusing wedding piece entitled: 

\textit{Relationes auß dem Parnasso, über die Frage: Ob Schönheit oder Gelehrsamkeit bey einem Frauenzimmer höher zu schätzen.}\textsuperscript{44} Later on, this comic history was incorporated into Lehms’ most important secular work, \textit{Teutschlands galante Poetinnen}.\textsuperscript{45} The \textit{Galanten Poetinnen} is a biographical lexicon of the German literati and includes, in addition to the 111 German and 166 foreign female "poets" or "makers," numerous examples of their works in alphabetical order. The collection includes women who excelled in the arts and in the scientific disciplines. Lehms was not

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Ibid.}, 31.

\textsuperscript{44}The text sets out to resolve the question asked in the title: whether beauty or learning is valued more highly in the case of women. At the urging of the muses, Apollo bestows on Pallidor (Lehms) a commission for the composition of \textit{Teutschlands galante Poetinnen}. For this purpose, he sends Mercury from Helicon over the Adriatic Sea toward Germany to visit Lehms in the Darmstadt Court Library. Lehms accepts the commission and goes to work with his patroness Pallas at his side. When Aphrodite, who has no interest in learned women, discovers the work, she sends Cupid to shoot Pallidor (Lehms) with an arrow. After being struck by Cupid’s arrow, Pallidor travels toward Frankfurt where he meets the lady Aëtine (a name derived from Adlersberg, the name of Dorothea Elisabetha’s home), also Cupid’s target. Both fall into blissful love and Pallidor confesses "learning adorns a woman, as gold adorns a diamond." See Borell, "Georg Christian Lehms, Ein Zeitgenosse Graupners am Darmstadter Hof," p. 31.

\textsuperscript{45}Frankfurt am Main: Samuel Tobias Hocker, 1715.
content to work only with accessible printed sources. Through an extensive correspondence with both native and foreign female poets, he collected hand-written sources in German, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, English, and Dutch. The quality of the works in the collection is uneven, but German language scholar Curt von Faber du Faur designates the collection as a landmark on the path of the rights of women in Germany and the world.

The Landgrave, with his cosmopolitan interests, must have allowed and perhaps even encouraged Lehms, because while Lehms was working on his Teutschlands galante Poetinne his production of Jahrgänge stopped. For the Darmstadt Jährgange, Lehms composed four annuals: Gottgefälliges Kirchen Opffer (1st Sunday in Advent, 1711, to 26th Sunday after Trinity, 1712), Das singende Lob Gottes (1st Sunday in Advent, 1712, to 26th Sunday after Trinity, 1713), David Heiligtum in Zion (1st Sunday in Advent 1714, to 23rd Sunday after Trinity, 1715), and Ein neues Lied (1st Sunday in Advent, 1715, to 24th Sunday after Trinity, 1716). Gottgefälliges Kirchen Opffer (1711 [facsimile 2]) contains

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46Ibid., 31.
Gottgefälliges
Kirchen-
Opfer /
In einem ganzen
Jahr - Bände
Andächtiger Betrachtungen /
über
die gewöhnlichen
Sonn- und Festtags-Texte /
Gott zu Ehren und der Darmstäd-
tischen Schloß-Capelle / an seiner Frühe
und Mittags-Erbauung
angezähneter
Von
M. Georg Christian Lehms /
Hochfürstl. Hessin-Darmstädtschen
Bibliothecario.

Darmstadt /
Drucke Johann Levin Baimann /
Hochfürstl. Hof-Buchdruck.
texts for both the morning and afternoon *Gottesdienst*. The texts are laid out so that the morning cantatas contain Biblical words, madrigal-like arias, and occasional chorales, while the afternoon cantatas have, in addition, rhymed recitatives. The Biblical verses and recitatives are in small type with the arias placed in bold face, essentially the same format as found in Baroque opera libretti. In the preface to the *Gottgefalliges Kirchen Opffer* (1711/1712) Lehms calls music "the most noble among all the arts," for it strengthens "the movement to repentance through a sacred text that moves and affects what the music vividly presents" and thus the Jahrgang is printed so that "each has the text, which is musically set, in front of the eyes, and can properly grasp it in his soul. Otherwise the harmony would belong to the instruments alone, the heart would not be refreshed through the power of the sung words, nor could it employ such to its benefit." 49

In Lehms' next Jahrgang, *Das singende Lob Gottes* (1712/1713), the double format was abandoned and a single text appears for each appointed day. There is no indication that these were to be sung for either the morning or the

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49. . . "damit ein jedes den Text, welcher musiciret wird, vor Augen habe, und sich denselben recht in seine Seele fassen könne; da sonst allein die Harmonie der Instrumenten gehört, das Hertz aber nicht durch die Krafft der gesungenen Worte ergüicket wird, oder sich solche zu seinem Nutzen anwenden kan." Georg Christian Lehms, *Gottgefalliges Kirchen Opffer* (Darmstadt: Johann Levin Bachmann, 1711), preface, last page.
afternoon Gottesdienst. Except where the recitatives quote scriptures, they are rhymed. He also included chorales: "because it was graciously approved from high places and also from other Christian souls very agreeably considered, that if now and then a versicle from the well-known and old devotional church songs were added, they would not be so neglected."50 In Lehms' following Jahrgang, Davids Heiligtum in Zion (1715/1716), the preface states that previous cantata texts had met with a "gracious" approval not only in Darmstadt but also in other lands.51 As E. Noack has noted,52 Bach was one of those foreigners who must have been pleased with Lehms' works because he set two of the cantata lyrics from Gottesgefallig Kirchen Offer


(1711/1712) while in Wiemar, and eight more when he was in
Leipzig.\textsuperscript{53} Bach

apparently preferred the afternoon versions because, unlike
the morning cantatas which had no recitatives, the afternoon
settings had rhymed recitatives. F. Noack claims that
Lehms' poetic style appears to be patterned on Hamburg
models but without their pomposity and exaggeration.\textsuperscript{54}

Only two of Lehms' texts set appear in this study of
Graupner's Christmas cantatas. The first, \textit{Uns ist ein Kind
geboren},\textsuperscript{55} is a setting for Christmas Day 1712. The text is
based on scriptural passages (Isaiah 9:5,6; Luke 1:47; Luke
2:10,11) with free poetic interpretations and a verse from
the chorale "Von Himmel hoch." The two rhymed arias, set in
bold face in \textit{Das singende Lob Gottes}\textsuperscript{56} express the joy the
Christian feels at the arrival of the Saviour. The other

\textsuperscript{53}Weimar Solo Cantatas (1714): \textit{Widerstehe doch der
Sünde} BWV 54, \textit{Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut} BWV 199; Leipzig
Cantatas (1725-1726): \textit{Unser Mund sie voll Lachens} BWV 110,
\textit{Selig ist der Mann} BWV 57, \textit{Süßer Trost, mein Jesus kommt} BWV
151, \textit{Herr Gott, dich loben wir} BWV 16, \textit{Liebster Jesu, mein
Verlangen} BWV 32, \textit{Meine Seufzer, meine Tränen} BWV 13,
\textit{Vergnügte Ruh' beliebte Seelenlust} BWV 170, \textit{Geist und Seele
wird verwirret} BWV 35. See: E. Noack, "Georg Christian
Lehms, ein Textdichter Johann Sebastian Bachs," \textit{op. cit.},
13-18.

\textsuperscript{54}Friedrich Noack, \textit{Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken
(Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1916), 14.}

\textsuperscript{55}Manuscript numbers for this and subsequent cantatas
appear in the bibliography.

\textsuperscript{56}Georg Christian Lehms, \textit{Das Singende Lob Gottes
(Darmstadt: Johann Levin Bachmann, 1712), 21-22.}
Christmas cantata by Lehms that is included in this study, *Jesus ist und bleibt mein Leben*, was written for St. John’s Day 1712 and is in the format of the older dialogue duet. Jesus examines the soul, the soul declares undying love for Jesus, and they conclude together, "Oh how I want to embrace you, when God passes the crown to you/me." Lehms does not make use of any chorale tune in this setting.

In *Jesus ist und bleibt*, when Jesus asks the soul if it will remain true when the cross, suffering, and death send it to the grave for peace, the soul replies with "an innermost delight" that it will place on its tombstone:

"Jesus is and remains my life."

Example 2.1 *Jesus ist und bleibt mein Leben* (1712), No.5.

(Soprano and Bass Dialogue)

Jesus:
Wie aber, Wenn dich Creutz und Leiden drückte
Ja selbst der Tod
Bey dieser höchsten Noth
Dich in das Grab zur Ruhe schickte?

Seele:
So ließ ich mir mit innigstem Ergötzen
Diß auf mein Grabmahl setzen.

Jesus ist und bleibt mein Leben,
Dem ich mich allein ergeben.

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Jesus:
Even though the burden and suffering weigh heavily on you,
Yea, even death, this greatest misery,
Sends you to the grave for peace?

Soul:
With innermost delight,
I had this placed on my tombstone:

Jesus is and remains my life.
To him alone I surrender.

However, when Lehms died five years later (May 15, 1717) from a "wasting disease," he wrote a far different epitaph for himself, one that gave an account of his worldly achievements. Heaven is mentioned only sentimentally and Jesus not at all:

Lignitz, das geliebte Lignitz, hat mich auff die Welt gebracht,
Görlitz und sein groser Grosser einen Mensch aus mir gemacht.
Leipzig und sein Musen-Sitz hat mir ein vernünftig Leben,
Darmstadt und sein groser Fürst Ehr und Würde drauff gegeben.
Franckfurth und zugleich der Himmel hat mir ein Gemahl geschenckt:
Nun fällt nichts mehr als das Plätzgen, wo man mich ins Grab versenckt.  

Legnitz, beloved Legnitz, has brought me into the world.
Görlitz and its greater largeness made a man out of me.
Leipzig and its center for the muses gave me a rational life.

60 Strieder, VII, op. cit., 469-470.
Darmstadt and its great prince gave me glory and honor. Frankfurt and Heaven together sent me a consort. Nothing is missing except the place, where one lowers me into grave.

He was buried by torchlight, a particular honor, on May 17, 1717.

Lehms may have been much better known to his contemporaries as a writer of popular works, anthologies and histories than of Jahrgänge. With his cosmopolitan interests, he was perhaps more a product of the Enlightenment than of Pietism. Friedrich Strieder, in his 1788 biographical collection of scholars and writers of Hesse 61 devotes only four pages to Lehms and makes no mention of the Jahrgänge. By contrast, Strieder gives Johann Conrad Lichtenberg, Graupner’s brother-in-law, friend, and principal librettist, eleven pages and lists twenty-five Jahrgänge that were published from the years 1719-1743. 62 The pleasure-loving Landgrave Ernst Ludwig may

61 Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte, (Cassel: Crammerischen Buchlaben, 1788).

62 Texte zur Kirchenmusik (1719), Texte zur Kirchenmusik, über die Epistolischen Texte (1720), Geistliche Betrachtungen über gewisse in den Evangeliiis enthaltene Materien (1721), Ermunternde Stimmen aus Zion (1722), Gottgeheiligte Andachten über die Episteln (1723), Heilige Sabbathlust zur erbaulichen Ermunterung, aus dem Evangelien, (1724), Gebundene Opferfrüchte, welche in den Seegensvollen Auen der Evangel. Texte gesammlet worden (1725), Gottgeheiligte Kirchenarbeit (1726), Erbaulicher Gottesdienst in andächtiger Kirchenmusik (1727), Heilige Freude im Hause des Herrn (1728), Evangelische Andachten
have especially enjoyed having at his court a young writer of such catholic taste, a collector and writer of various literary genres who was also proficient at good-quality devotional verse for use in the SchloßKirche.

Johann Conrad Lichtenberg

Johann Conrad Lichtenberg was responsible for all of the texts used by Graupner between 1719 and 1743. After this time Graupner continued to use his poetry but only in the form of existing examples. Lichtenberg was born of a bourgeois family, December 9, 1689, in Darmstadt. His father, Johann Philipp Lichtenberg, who was a resident of Worms at the time the French troops burned the city on the third day of Pentecost in 1688, fled to Darmstadt, and soon

(1729), Gottgeheiligtes Lippenopfer (1730), Andächtige Psalterlust (1731), Heiliger Dienst des Herrn (1732), Edler Kern der Weisheit, aus den Schriften Salomonis und dererselben mit den Evangelis einstimmigen Sprüche gesammlet (1733), Andächtige Erweckungen zur Gottseeligkeit (1734), Die seegensvollen und erfreulichen Erweisungen göttlicher Güte im Reiche der Gnaden und Natur (1735), Paradoxa orthodoxa, oder seltsame Aussprüche göttlicher Wahrheiten (1736), Zufällige Andachten (1737), Heiliger Schmuck der Kinder Gottes in dein Wandel im Licht (1738), Zur Kirchenmusik gewidmete Texte (1739), Erweckende Zeugnisse der Wahrheit zur Gottseeligkeit (1740), Worte zur Erbauung (1741), Heilsame Worte der Wahrheit (1742), Gute Gedanken (1743). Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, "Johann Conrad Lichtenberg," Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte (Cassel: Cramerischen Buchladen, 1788), VIII (R/Göttingen: Blitzdruck, 1986), 11-21. See also Friedrich Noack, Christoph Graupner als Kirchenkomponist (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1926), 10-13. All of these Jahrgänge were destroyed in World War II.
found employment. In 1697 he became an Amstverwerser (office administrator) in Jägersburg. Johann’s mother, Sophie Eleanore, also had humble origins; her father, Conrad Rittberg, was a chef. In the beginning of 1704, Johann Conrad was sent to the Pädagogium, where he began to overcome his natural shyness, a boon for him since his parents had recognized his talent early and had dedicated him to theology in a denomination that placed special emphasis on preaching.  

Lichtenberg’s education was extensive. He entered the University of Geissen in 1707 and studied Hebrew and Greek, theology, philosophy, and mathematics. In 1710 he matriculated at the University of Jena and a year later he was at the University of Leipzig. The same year, 1711, saw him at the University of Halle, a citadel of Pietism, and Lichtenberg certainly would have heard August Hermann Francke or one of this pupils. Indeed, Streider mentions a “Franken” that Lichtenberg studied with at Halle.  

Lichtenberg returned home to Jägersburg intending to proceed to the University of Strassburg. This was Spener’s alma mater, a place where Pietism and Calvinism mingled in a nominally Lutheran institution, but he was thwarted by the outbreak of war in the upper Rhine. As a result, he

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63 Strieder, op. cit., VIII, 12.
64 Ibid., 12-13.
remained at home, taught his siblings, practiced preaching, and eventually served as chaplain for a Darmstadt calvary unit. After the war and with the death in 1715 of Johann Carl Schäfer, the assistant Pastor in Neunkirchen, a parish consisting of nine little villages, Lichtenberg was offered the position without having made a formal application. He was installed in 1716, and assumed full pastoral duties later that year when the chief pastor Johann Zimmermann unexpectedly died. Lichtenberg remained at the post until 1729, having held it for thirteen years. In 1729 he was offered the pastorate of Ober-Ramstadt, again without submitting an application. Four years later, in December of 1733, he was entrusted with the Metropolitan bishopric of the Darmstädter Diocese of Oberamts. In 1745, he became the First City Pastor and Definitor of Darmstadt. Finally after the death of Panzerbieters in 1749, Lichtenberg became Superintendent, the highest ecclesiastical position in the principality. In the late seventeenth-century, Johann Burghenhagen defined a Superintendent as "a scholarly man,

65The treaty of Utrecht (April 11, 1713) ended the war of Spanish succession and the fighting in the upper Rhine.

66A Definitor in the Lutheran church probably interpreted canonical law. In monastic orders, the Definitor was "charged with the definition or decision of points of discipline." New Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), IV, 386.

67Strieder, op. cit., VIII, 11-16.
learned in the holy scriptures, to whom the entire city could turn in questions of conscience, if the other pastors and preachers are not able to instruct their parish members sufficiently."  

On April 17, 1717, Lichtenberg married Henrike Catharine Eckhard, the youngest daughter of Pastor J. P. Eckhard from Bischofsheim bei Mainz, a woman who "took a peculiar delight in the contemplation of nature: and in conversations of the greatness and ordering of the universe and silent glances at the starry heavens were for her an adoration of God." Their marriage produced seventeen children, of whom eight were stillborn and four died young. The oldest surviving son, Gottlieb Christoph, who was born in 1724, studied in Darmstadt and at the University of Halle, but eventually went to the University of Jena to pursue a law degree. The youngest son, Georg Christoph, infirm from birth, became famous as a writer and philosopher.

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68 Kerala Synder, Dieterich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck (New York: Schirmer Books, 1987), 44. Burgenhagen's definition was written for Lübeck.

69 Margaret Mare and W. H. Quarrell, Lichtenberg's Visits to England (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1969), ix-x.

70 Strieder, op. cit., 14.
of the Enlightenment.\textsuperscript{71} Pastor Johann Conrad Lichtenberg died in Darmstadt on July 17th, 1751, of a "high fever."\textsuperscript{72}

Lichtenberg’s ability to compose poetry showed itself early. As Friedrich Neubauer reports:

He attempted several small examples but lacked a clear direction in how to apply his gifts. In school he only had access to several old writers who were in the \textit{Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft}, but were not earnestly read. In Geißen [however] he could put his hands on the writings of the best poets of that time and their latest instructions. Since he had noticed the misuse of such a noble gift in so many examples, he got rid of almost all poetic and similar exercise books. Because he had noticed this defective poetry, he always refused requests to print several Jahrgänge (even though he eventually published prolifically). Furthermore, he let it be known that he believed his poetry was not in keeping with the taste of the galant and the poets who had been trained from their youth. His work, though, was respected by connoisseurs as being pure and not empty of edifying truths.\textsuperscript{73}

From Neubauer’s account, Lichtenberg was self taught but he had access to contemporary models while he was in Geißen. Presumably these examples included settings by Erdmann Neumeister, for, as will be shown later, Lichtenberg’s style is similar. In addition, Lichtenberg’s training in both vocal and instrumental music as a youth

\textsuperscript{71}Mare and Quarell, \textit{op. cit.}, ix-xxiv.

\textsuperscript{72}Strieder, \textit{op. cit.}, VIII, 16.

\textsuperscript{73}Ernst Friedrich Neubauer, \textit{Nachricht von den itztlebenden Evangelisch-Lutherischen und Reformirten Theologen in und um Deutschland} (Züllichau: Waisenhauses, 1743), 232.
must have been sensitized him to the musical demands of a
text. His greatest interest, however, was in writing
cantata texts:

In the Darmstadt Pädagogio, he had to practice
vocal and instrumental music according to the will
of his father, but he found his greatest pleasure
in the cantatas which he wrote at that time on the
seven penitential psalms. Through a special and
unexpected occasion, these were entered into the
church Jahrgang by D. Gerdes, who was the
librarian in Darmstadt at that time and later a
preacher in London. These pieces were set to
music for the Sunday fast days. Through the
encouragement of several patrons and friends, he
worked out a complete cycle for 1719, that had
great approval and was made available through the
press. As was reported at this time, Gerdes went
to England and nobody could be found to do the
same work. Lichtenberg had the influential
support of the sovereign's decree, was given some
salary, and prepared all the texts for the church
music in the ducal castle church, since something
new was usually performed each Sunday.\textsuperscript{74}

From 1719 until 1743, Lichtenberg wrote all of the
texts for Sundays and special feast days in the church year
for the Schloßkirche in Darmstadt. Altogether, he composed
over 1,500 cantata texts. By 1742, however, he was forced
to tell Ernst Friedrich Neubauer that with the passing of
time, his poetic fire was diminishing and whereas he once
could write up to twelve cantatas a day, "it now seldom
comes to four."\textsuperscript{75} After 1743, Graupner continued to use
Lichtenberg's texts but he did so by using earlier
Jahrgänge, probably with the intention of completing

\textsuperscript{74}Strieder, op. cit., VIII, 17.

\textsuperscript{75}Neubauer, op. cit., 235.
incomplete cycles. The texts were printed in editions of 130 copies by the court in Darmstadt.\footnote{Ibid., 233.}

In the middle of Lichtenberg’s prolific period, he had an experience that reveals a belief in himself as a conduit for the muse that helped him surpass his best conscious efforts.

Something never fully explained and still inconceivable to him, occurred on Dec. 8, 1730, in the afternoon. He was working on some \textit{Tafelmusik} for the birthday of the prince. He had neatly written almost three octavo pages of it and laid this paper on the table beside something, so that he could write some more. At once the paper began to crumple in the air, as if propelled from heat. He pressed it down with his hand and saw at the same time that what he had written on the last lines was still damp. He reread it and discerned that it was completely different from what he had just written. He took the paper in his hand and began to examine everything. He found with outward fright, that everything was set differently and incomparably better than his work. Although most of the rhyming words were retained, sections had been changed. He trembled violently and grew pale with astonishment. His wife, who was sitting at his side, saw this, and she imagined with considerable concern that her husband had become abruptly sick. He explained to her what had happened to him. She advised him earnestly to recollect his thoughts. He read everything once more—even checking to see if it was his paper and his handwriting. However, as far as the eye could see, no line was his work. He laid his paper down, stood up and prayed with anguished trembling for God to tell him what this meant. Again he took the paper in his hand and intended to reread it, but found with new alarm and astonishment, that everything had been changed back to his original work. Exhausting all explanations, the great shock was that he could not find an explanation for this phenomenon that had changed the text twice. It pained him very
much and he spent the entire night without sleep. However, without further detriment he was able to complete his work other days. He related this incident immediately to several spiritual friends and also later to a famous theologian doctor but they have been able to learn, as he himself, little.77

The story must have been well known because Strieder also mentions it.78 However, the physicist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, the composer's son and a child of the Enlightenment, was an expert in matters of sleep and dreams and scoffed at his father's credulity. He wrote on January 1, 1787:

The story with the paper is known to me and has often been related. Your Esquires would do well to suppress the matter ... I am inclined to believe that perhaps he was unaware of a touch of slumber. Were all people, however, so attentive as he, we would have distinct conceptions about the innumerable gradations from clear awakenings to recognized dreams. Undoubtedly, the concerns are strange. But considered from this point of view, it sinks straight down to the level of the unimportant, which one can not spend one's time on in a biographical dictionary.79

Even though Lichtenberg was known then primarily as a theologian, pastor, and writer, his curiosities were varied. He was proficient in philosophy and mathematics and was especially keen on astronomy. He gave his children daily

77Ibid., 231-232.
instruction in mathematics, physics, and the arrangement of the universe. Together they viewed the great comet of 1744, and in 1749 his children were provided with "an important instrument of physics for the time." Lichtenberg's enthusiasm for astronomy extended not only to his children, but also to his congregation.

... and he cultivated and taught the arrangement of the universe to his children early in their lives. He also brought astronomy to the pulpit so that the parishioners could understand it. The first time he did this, there had never been a greater silence in the congregation and the peasants sent several to him to implore him to again preach about the stars.

Lichtenberg was also an architect. Because of the building fervor of the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig, he oversaw the construction of ecclesiastical and school buildings and numerous churches. During the years 1745-1750, he erected the impressive orphanage in Darmstadt. Lichtenberg died in Darmstadt on July 17, 1751.

All of his Jahrgänge were destroyed in the Allied bombing of 1944. The only sources remaining for Lichtenberg's poetry are the texts preserved in manuscripts in the cantatas of Graupner in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt.

80 The instrument is not named. Wolfgang Promies, op. cit., 34.

81 Strieder, op. cit., VIII, 16.

82 Wolfgang Promies, op. cit., 34.
The Structure and Content of Lichtenberg's Christmas Cantatas

With the publication in 1704 of Pastor Neumeister's *Geistliche Cantata statt einer Kirchen-Music*, madrigal verses were introduced into the German Lutheran cantata. The recitatives were a dramatic narration that had no rhyme scheme or set length and were in contrast with the arias which displayed a rhyme scheme and a content that revolved around a central idea.\(^3\) With his second Jahrgang (1708), "poetic verses for the choir"\(^4\) were added to the recitatives and arias. Neumeister's final two Jahrgange (1711 and 1714) contain, in addition to the series of arias and recitatives, verses from the Bible and the chorale, a characteristic of the older German cantata. The resulting form, the "mixed madrigal cantata,"\(^5\) was frequently imitated and set to music by composers of the late German baroque.

Even though Neubauer insinuates that Lichtenberg was self-taught, it is obvious that he was heavily influenced by Neumeister. Practically all of Lichtenberg's cantatas are

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\(^3\)Bukofzer uses the term "madgrigalian" to refer to free sections inserted into the text. These verses, however, do not have the customary seven or eleven line structure of the Italian madrigal. See Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1947), 268.


\(^5\)Ibid., 108.
similar in style to Neumeister's final form and usually contain an introductory Biblical passage, two arias in da capo format, a chorale and the appropriate recitatives. The resulting cantata frequently has six or seven set numbers. Each Jahrgänge had its own title and many times was constructed around a certain theme. For example, in the collection *Paradoxa orthodoxa* from 1736, the title of each cantata cited a specific paradox.\(^6\) The opening statement, or the theme of the cantata, which Graupner many times labeled a dictum in later manuscript sources, could be the Sunday gospel or the epistle,\(^7\) and like an ancient Greek chorus, offered eternal truths. The chorales were specifically chosen for their ability to relate to the theme of the cantata. They may appear at the beginning, end, or middle of the cantata, but their usual appearance is at the conclusion. When they appear at the beginning, like the dictum, they state the central thrust of the argument. If there were two stanzas of a chorale, they were frequently placed at the middle and the end, separated by the arias and recitatives. The recitatives commonly were narrative exegeses of Biblical passages with the dramatic element either allegorized or containing didactic warnings. Arias were favored for personal reactions to the truths that were

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\(^6\) F. Noack., *Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusik*, 15.

\(^7\) Ibid., 15.
expounded in the recitatives. Thus, with the pairing of the recitatives and arias, the same singer had the roles of both proclaiming the lesson and then providing a moral reaction to it.

A survey of Die Gerechte muß viel leiden (Sunday after Christmas 1720)\textsuperscript{88} shows how carefully the elements in a Lichtenberg libretto are balanced. The theme of the suffering of the just is stated in the opening movement (Ex. 2.2), a paraphrase of Acts 9:16 ("I myself shall indicate to him how much he will have to suffer for my name.")

Example 2.2. Die Gerechte muß viel leiden (1720)
No. 1. Chorus.

Der Gerechte muß viel leiden.

The righteous must suffer greatly.

The didactic sermonizing on the subject (Ex. 2.3) begins with a scriptural exegesis of Matthew 5:11 ("Blest are you when they insult you and persecute you and utter every kind of slander against you because of me.") and Matthew 10:22 ("You will be hated by all on account of me. But whoever holds out till the end will escape death.")

\textsuperscript{88}Even though the autograph of Die Gerechte is dated December 1720, because the Jahrgänge cycles began with the first Sunday in Advent, Lichtenberg's text appeared in the Jahrgang of 1721. The dates of subsequent cantata texts in this chapter refer to Graupner's autographs.
Example 2.3. *Die Gerechte muß viel leiden* (1720), No. 2, Soprano recitative.

So gehts: wo man in reiner Unschuld wandelt,
Da trutzt die Welt durch Wiederspruch.
Ja wer durchgehendt redlich handelt
Ist ihr ein Spott, ein Greul, ein Fluch.

Thus it is: where one walks in purer innocence
There the world defies through opposition.
Indeed, whoever continuously acts upright,
Is to the world is a derision, an abomination, a curse.

In the third number (Ex. 2.4), the statement from 1 Peter 5:10 ("The God of all grace . . . will himself restore, confirm, strengthen, and establish those who have suffered a little while.") serves as a counterargument to the opening theme. Even though suffering is inevitable for the morally just, it is only an illusion, for God eventually comes to the rescue.

Example 2.4. *Die Gerechte muß viel leiden* (1720), No. 3, Chorus.

Aber der Herr hilft ihm aus dem allen.
But the Lord helps him out of all this.

Verse one of the chorale "Gottes Kinder" (Ex. 2.5), summarizes the thesis and the antithesis of the preceding argument: God’s children may have tears in their eyes but when the day of judgement arrives, longing and suffering is transformed into joy and laughter.
Example 2.5. Die Gerechte muß viel leiden (1720), No. 4, Chorale.

Gottes Kinder säyn zwar traurig und mit thranen.
Aber endlich bringt das Jahr wonach sie sich sehnen,
Den es komt die Ernde Zeit, daß sie Garben machen,
Da wird all ihr Gram und Leyd, lauter Freud und Lachen.

God's children are indeed sorrowful and with tears.
But, at last, the year brings that for which they are longing:
Then the harvest time comes when they make sheaves:
All sorrow and suffering then becomes pure joy and laughter.

In the following aria (Ex. 2.6), the action shifts from the corporate level to the personal testament of a believer who remains steadfast while the world rages. The singer becomes a personal witness or expresses an individual reaction to the interpretation. This is a favorite device in the quasi-dramatic structure of Lichtenberg's cantatas: after the statement in a recitative or chorale of an eternal or Biblical truth in the third person, the pronouns in the ensuing aria become stated in the first person singular: "my Jesus," "my faith." Here the singer professes his own steadfastness while the world rages:

Example 2.6. Die Gerechte muß viel leiden (1720), No. 5. Soprano Aria.

Tobe Welt und wiederspreche!
Gott und Christus bleibt mir stehn. (Fine)
Ja der Grund bleibt unverletzet.
Wer an seinem Felsen setzet,
Muß mit Spott zu rücke gehn. (D.C.)
Rage world and oppose!
God and Christ stay with me. (Fine)
Yes, the foundation remains undamaged.
Who builds on his rock,
Must receive in turn the world's mockery. (D.C.)

In the ensuing recitative (Ex.2.7), the pronouns return to the third person singular as the explanation continues from 2nd Timothy 2:19 ("But the foundation God has laid stands firm. It bears the inscription: 'The Lord knows those who are his;' and 'Let everyone who professes the name of the Lord abandon evil.'") and 1 Corinthians 3:17 ("If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy him. For the temple of God is holy, and you are that temple."). The formula of navigatio vitae (the soul alone in the perilous sea of life), was a favorite fabrication of the Baroque mind that Lichtenberg returned to time after time: the illusion of a rock that sheltered the pious during the dangers of their wanderings.

Example 2.7. *Die Gerechte muß viel leiden* (1720), No. 6, Soprano recitative.

Doch geht es fromen Seelen nah,
Wenn die verruchte Welt selbst Christus wiederbelt,
Wenn sie nur mit anathema auf Gottes Knechte blitzen.
Jedoch der starke Felsengrund macht manches denken kund:
Wer auf ihn fällt zerschellt,
Wer auf ihn baut wird wohl geschützt.

However, it grieves a pious soul,
when the atrocious world goes against Christ.
when it strikes God's servant with the curse.
However, the strong rock foundation reveals many a thought:
who falls on it is dashed to pieces,  
whoever builds on it is well protected.

The next aria (Ex. 2.8) expresses the personal confidence of  
the singer, regardless of the world’s wrath. Once again the  
pronoun usage shifts from the third to the first person singular.

Example 2.8. *Die Gerechte muß viel leiden* (1720),  
No. 7 Bass aria.

Getrosth mein Geist ob Sturm und Wetter toben.  
Dein Hoffnungsgrund strahlt auch bey finstrer Nacht.  
(Fine).

Ach, ja wer wolte doch versagen,  
Da nach vollbrachten Leidenstagen,  
Gewiß, ein Tag der Freude lacht. (D.C.)

My spirit is confident, whether storm and weather rage. Your hope’s foundation shines and radiates also in the dark night. (Fine).

Oh yes! Who will yet lose courage when,  
After the fulfilled days of sorrow,  
Surely breaks forth a day of joy. (D.C.)

The enumeration, based on Psalm 119:174 ("I long for your salvation, O Lord, and your law is my delight") continues in the recitative (Ex. 2.9) with an allegory of a Christian living in widowhood and suffering for the homeland.

Example 2.9. *Die Gerechte muß viel leiden* (1720),  
No. 8, Bass Recitative.

Ein Christ lebt hier in Wittwenstand,  
Da oftmals Trost und truer Beystand fehlet.  
Doch da er Marter Stunden zahlt,  
Sehnt sich der Christ so mehr nach jenem Vaterland.

Und ach will Hertz und Sinn dahin recht ernstlich denken,  
Wie mancher Gnadenblick wird ihm mein Heyland schenken.
A Christian lives here in widowhood
where often times comfort and sincere aid
are absent.
Yet since he suffers the hour of anguish,
the Christian yearns more for that homeland.
And oh, will heart and mind earnestly reflect on this:
How my Saviour will bestow many a gracious look upon him.

The second stanza of the chorale (Ex. 2.10) ends the
cantata. Like many of the Neumeister libretti, it concludes
on an optimistic note by emphasizing the joys to come. The
chorale provides an answer to the predicament posed in the
opening statement: the righteous must suffer. This
favorite trick of Lutheran Baroque literature, that of
hiding the truth behind the veil of the world, is revealed
here in the suggestions that life’s sorrows are transitory
for one day God will come, and the suffering of the
righteous will succeed to God’s great glory.

Example 2.10. Die Grechte muß viel leiden (1720),
No. 9, Chorale.

Ey, so, laß O Christenheit, alle deine Schmertzen
Wirf sie fröhlich hinterwerts.
Laß des Trostes Kerzen! Dich entzünden mehr und mehr.
Gibt dem großen Nahmen deines Gottes Preis und Ehr.
Er wird helfen. Amen.

Indeed, thus, all Christendom, leave all you sorrows,
Throw them joyfully behind you.
Allow the candles of comfort to enflame you more and
more.
Give to the great name of your God, praise and
honor.
He will help. Amen.
Even though the recitative was usually unrhymed, occasionally Lichtenberg adopted a rigid rhyme pattern, a characteristic already noted by Wicker. In the cantata *Jerusalem wie oft*, both of the recitatives are rhymed (Ex. 2.11):

Example 2.11. *Jerusalem wie oft* (1745), No. 2, Bass Recitative.
Rhyme Scheme: AABBCDEECD

Ein Tier ernahrt und schützet seine Brut
Und weil ihr dieses gütlich thut,
So macht dein kleiner Bock sie auch zur
Folge willig.
Ach Sünder ists nicht billig,
Dass du der stimme Jesus hörst was thut er nicht an
Dir.
Er will dich noch mit Gnadenflügeln decken,
Und ach, du kehrst Ihm immerfort den
Rücken zu.
O Mensch, wie schändlich handelst du!
Ach lass dich doch ein unvernünftig Tier
Zu einem anderen Sinn erwecken.

No. 4 Soprano Recitative.
Rhyme Scheme: ABCBDDCDEEFF

Bespiegle dich O Sünder,
An die Arth der Tiere!
Entziehen sie sich, wenn sie ein Führer
wartet und lockt,
Damit sie deren keins verlieren?
Gewisslich nein!
Sie stellen sich gehorsam ein.
Ach bist du denn sogar verstockt.
Dein Hertz hat sich von Jesu abgewendet,
Er aber nimmt sich deiner an.
Da Er dir ruft, da Er die Bothen sendet,
Noch kehrst du dich nicht dran.
Versaume nicht so die Gnadenzeit
Und schame dich der Widerspenstigkeit.

The rhymed recitatives found in Lichtenberg's cantata texts are not an isolated phenomenon; recitatives were usually rhymed in German Baroque opera. For example, in two operas written for the Hamburg stage, both Nebucadnezar's opening recitative in Act I of Friedrich Hunold and Reinhard Keiser's *Nebucadnezar* (1704) and Dido's and Iras's recitative from the second scene of Act I in Hinrich Hinsch and Christoph Graupner's *Dido* (1707), have rhymed recitatives (Ex. 2.12 and 2.13).

Example 2.12. *Nebucadnezar* (Hamburg, 1704)

*Nebucadnezar's* recitative, Act I, Scene I

Rhyme Scheme: ABABCDDC

Erzittre gantzes Rund der Erden,
Ich lege dir die Feffeln an.
Wo wird ein Furst noch wohl gefiirchtet

erneben,
Den ich nicht auch zur Ehrfurcht bringen kan?
Gantz Süden, Welt und Norden
Hat keine Ruhe nicht,
Als biß mein Glantz durch ihre Gräntzen
bracht,
Und sie von mir gebunden worden.

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Example 2.13. *Dido, Königin von Carthago* (Hamburg, 1707)\(^9\)
Dido’s and Iras’s recitative, Act I, Scene II  
Rhyme Scheme: AABBCCD

Durchlauchtge Königin! Was ists daß Sie erschrecket?  
Ein grausames Gesicht hat mich vom Schlaff erwecket:  
Betreute Iras, geh; und gib sorgfältig acht,  
Was der Trojaner Fürst mit seinen Leuten macht;  
Gib acht, ob nicht sein Heer sich auf die Flott begeben,  
Die Seegel aufgespannt, die Ancker denckt zu heben?  
Weck meine Schwester auf, und daß sie zu mir kommen.

All of Lichtenberg’s writings are theological in nature and the texts of his cantatas show he was heavily influenced by Pietism. In his poetry, he frequently stressed the depravity of man at the expense of salvation in Jesus Christ and the plight of the soul on earth with all of its temptations, toils, and afflictions concerned him more than the eternal bliss that the soul might attain. One might expect that the Christmastide cantatas (Christmas Day, St. Stephen’s Day, St. John’s Day, and the Sunday after Christmas) would contain texts of jubilation, but except for those relating to the Nativity itself, this is frequently not the case. Rather, the emphasis is on the world as a place that tests the faith of the soul. The deaths of so many of Lichtenberg’s children, the memory of his father’s

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escape from the invading French in Worms, and the wars in
the Upper Rhine must all have tempered his vision of life.
Lichtenberg, however, was not the only Darmstadt Kantaten
poet to stress the pious soul adrift in the world. In the
anonymous Hosianna sey willkommen written for both St.
Stephen’s Day and the birthday of the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig
in 1709, the bass aria paradoxically promises that the
sinful children of men are yet worthy of salvation. The
verse, an exegesis from one of the Gospel texts for St.
Stephen’s Day, Matthew 23: 34-39\textsuperscript{92}, is a rather curious and
strange theme also to be used for a Landgrave’s birthday
celebrations (Ex. 2.14).\textsuperscript{93}

Example 2.14. Hosianna sey willkommen! (1709),
No. 5.

Blut und Tod der Gottes Knechte
Ruffet über dieß Geschlechte:
Rache, Garaus, Blut, und Schwert. (Fine)
Was von Abel an vergossen,

\textsuperscript{92}For this reason I shall send you prophets and wise
men and scribes. Some you will kill and crucify, others you
will flog in your synagogues and hunt down from city to
city; until retribution overtakes you for all the blood of
the just ones shed on earth, from the blood of holy Abel to
the blood of Zechariah son of Barachiah, whom you murdered
between the temple building and the altar. All this, I
assure you, will be the fate of the present generation. O
Jerusalem, Jerusalem, murderess of prophets and stoner of
those who were sent to you! How often have I yearned to
gather your children, as a mother bird gathers her young
under her wings, but you refused me." The New American Bible

\textsuperscript{93}The entire text and translation is in Appendix D.
Was der Letzte had beschloßen:
Sind die bösen Kinder werth. (D.C.)

The blood and death of God’s servants
Calls over this generation:
Vengeance, murder, blood, and sword. (Fine)
What since from the time of Abel has been shed,
What the last one has concluded:
The evil children are worthy. (D.C.)

The bass recitative that follows warns of the "evil children’s" destruction unless their ways are changed (Ex. 2.15):

Example 2.15. Hosianna sey willkommen (1709), No. 6.

Der Heyland ist nicht Ursach am Verderben.
Er weist durch seine Lehr und seine
Wunderhand
Daß er als Gottes Sohn vom Himmel sey
gesandt.
Er ruffet warum wollt ihr sterben?
Bedenkt was euren Frieden und Heyl befördern
kann.
Verstockte Juden nehmt Gottes Rath und Warnung an.

The Saviour is not the cause of the destruction.
He shows through his teaching and his wondrous hand,
that he, as God’s son from heaven was sent.
He calls,"Why do you want to die?"
Consider what can promote your peace and salvation.
Obdurate Jews! Take God’s counsel and warning!

With the Pietists’ vision of the priesthood of all believers and an emphasis on subjective revelation as opposed to corporate dogma, there came a new stress on reformation of the life of the believer, one of the themes frequently found in Lichtenberg’s Kantaten (Ex. 2.16).
Example 2.16. Frolocke Zions Fromm Schaar (1719), No. 3.

Daß wir den Kinder Nahmen tragen
Das kostet Christi theures Blut. (Fine)
Ach Sünder laßt euch doch bewegen!
Euch Gott gehorsam darzulegen
Wie Jesus selbst zum Vorbild thut. (D.C.)

Thus we wear the child’s name
That cost Christ’s precious blood. (Fine)
Oh sinners, let yourselves yet be moved!
Your obedience demonstrate to God
As Jesus himself does as an example. (D.C.)

The Pietists saw their existence threatened by degenerate currents in the world. Only God would be able to transform the world by changing men’s lives. Francke expressed his joy at his conversion by declaring "for the streams of living water had come to me so much that I could easily forget the stinking mist pools of the world." Life in the world’s "stinking mist pools" conversely meant that the just must suffer, a theme that has already been seen in Die Gerechte muß viel leiden (1720), that Lichtenberg returns to several times (Ex. 2.17, 2.18):

Example 2.17. Ich bleibe Gott getreu (1719), No. 2.

Es geht so in der Welt,
So bald wird Satans Schul bewegt,
Wo sich des Glaubens Ehre regert
Daß sie ihm Garn und Netze stelt.
Und wann Betrug und List vergebens ist
Muß Macht und Wüter ihn bestürmen.
Allein getrost ob Satan schnaubt,
Ob sich die Welt erboßt,
Wer uns den Glauben gibt,
Der kann ihn auch beschirmen.

So it goes in the world.
Where the glory of the faith stirs,
Then soon Satan's school will agitate
So that it places snares and nets for the faith.
And when deception and cunning vanish,
Might and tyranny must besiege him.
But confidently, whether Satan snorts,
Whether the world gets angry,
Who gives us the faith, can also protect it.

Example 2.18. Sehet d'rauf (1748), No. 5.

Ach! nicht so frech ihr Widersprecher!
Glaubts! Abels Blut hat alzeit seinen Rächer.
Muß gleich ein treuer Zeuge schweigen
Wenn Cains Rotte auf ihn schlägt.
Sein Blut wird desto besser reden.
Die Wahrheit frommer Zeugen läßt
Sich mit Schwerttern nicht ertödtten.
Und wer die Marter Crone trägt,
Dem bringt sie keinen Schaden;
Doch, wehe dem der Blut auf sich geladen!

Oh, be not so insolent you contradictors!
Believe! Abel's blood has always its avenger.
A true witness must be silent when Cain's gang strikes
him.
His blood will speak so much the better.
The truth of the righteous witnesses can not be killed
with swords.
And he who wears the martyr's crown comes to no harm.
Yet, Woe to him who is marked by blood!

As mentioned above, one of Lichtenberg's favorite
literary allusions is the image of faith as an unmovable
rock that stands firm when Satan and his legions besiege
it (Ex. 2.19, 2.20).

Example 2.19. Wandelt wie die Kinder (1748), No. 5.

Ich glaube fest an Jesus Nahmen.
In Ihm ist selbst der Himmel mein. (Fine)
Er ist mein Fels, mein Auferstehen.
Wenn gleich verfolgungswinde wehen,
Mein Glaubens Grund fällt doch nicht. (D.C.)

I believe solidly upon Jesus' name.
In him is heaven mine. (Fine)
He is my rock, my resurrection.
Even if persecuting winds blow,
My faith's foundation is not cut down. (D.C.)

Example 2.20. Gedenket an den (1727), No. 4.

Es schmerzt zwar freylich sehr,
Wenn Satan Fleisch und Welt
Den Fels des Heyls in voller Wuth bestürmen.
Jedoch nur still. Gott wird ihr wohl beschirmen.
Der Sieg erfreut viel mehr den man nach schwehrem kampfe hält.
Drum nur auf Gott gebaut.
Es müßen alle Wellen wenn Welt und Satan schäumt
An diesem Stein zerschellen.

It hurts indeed very much,
when in complete rage, Satan's flesh and the world storm the rock of the Saviour.
Yet, be still. God will well protect him.
The victory is made sweeter after the difficult struggle is over.
Therefore, rely only on God.
All waves must be dashed to pieces on this rock when the world and Satan foam with rage.

As can be expected in this survey of Christmastide texts, many relate the Christian's joy at the arrival of the Saviour (Ex. 2.21, 2.22).

Example 2.21. Nun freut euch (1750), No. 3

Großes Licht du Wort des Lebens
Sey willkomm, Immanuel. (Fine)
Dir ergeb ich, Leib und Seel.
Komm, mein Bitten zu erfüllen.
Schaff er mich zu Gottes Kind
Beuge, brich des Fleisches Willen,
Bis mein Hertz dich lieb gewinnt. (D.C.)
Great light, you word of life
Be welcome, Emmanuel! (Fine)
I devote to you, body and soul.
Come to fulfill my request,
Make me God's child.
Break the will of the flesh
Until my heart grows fond of you. (D.C.)

Example 2.22. Siehe da (1727), No. 2.

Gott wohnt unter Menschen Kindern
Ja deren Hertz ist sein Pallast.
Ein solcher hoher Gast thut sich
So nah zu Menshen Kindern.
O seltne Gnadenhat der Mensch.
Die arme Erd war lauter zorn und Strafe wohnt.
Doch hat das ewge Wort des Vaters
Einzger Sohn im Fleisch ein ewig Heil gefunden.
Er kommt vom Himels Thron und wird im Fleisch uns
gleich.
Ihr Menschen freut Euch!
Gott ist mit Euch und ihr mit Gott verbunden.

God dwells among people;
their heart is his palace.
Such a high guest puts himself so close to humanity.
O rare grace for mankind.
Anger and punishment were living on the
poor earth.
Yet the everlasting word of the Father's only Son in
flesh, found an eternal salvation.
He comes from heaven's throne and becomes like
us in flesh.
Mankind rejoice!
God is with you and you with God united.

In Lutheran thought, the Reformation was the final
revelation of divine truth. The Anti-Christ, the Pope, was
found to be on the throne in Rome, pretending to be leader
of all Christendom. The way to salvation had been revealed
to Martin Luther, the true Gospel was again being preached
all over the land, and "the light of truth was flashing over
the world to prepare the way for the Judge."  Luther and his followers expected the final judgement to be imminent. The disaster that the Thirty Years war became was viewed as part of the apocalyptic fulfillment of the book of Revelation and a sign of Germany's failure to receive God's blessings, so that its "attention turned to the terrible punishments that were coming, so much so that the joyous message of the Gospel was often obscured. This world no longer held out any hope, only the threat of God's wrath."  Barnes contends that this expectation of imminent wrath was at its zenith in the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century but began to wane after 1630. After 1630, German piety became less apocalyptic and more melioristic, personal, and mystical.

Apocalyptic thinking and eschatological beliefs, however, continued in Lutheran circles into the next century. John Andrew Quenstedt (1617-1688), an orthodox theologian and professor at Wittenberg, published an exhaustive collection of dogmas of the Lutheran church entitled Theologia Didactico-Polemica (1685). He concluded that "these marks of Antichrist are to be taken here not apart and separately, but unitedly and together, and thus

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96 Ibid., 262.

97 Ibid., 265.
taken they exactly coincide with the Pope of Rome, whence
the conclusion emerges, that the Pope of Rome is the great
Anti-Christ, predicted by the Holy Ghost." The end was
not to be meliorist but would consist "not in the mere
change, alteration, or renewing of qualities, but in the
total abolition and reduction of the world's substance
itself to nothing." David Hollaz (1648-1713) in Examen
Theologicum Acroamaticum (1707) predicted, "God will destroy
the world by means of true and proper fire; but its power
and nature no mortal is able to investigate."

Lichtenberg's constant warnings in the Christmas texts
to sinners of the vengeance of the Lord can be seen as
consistent with the background of apocalyptic expectation
and the eschatological writings of Hollaz and Quenstedt (Ex.
2.23-2.25).

Example 2.23. Mache dich auf (1740), No. 5 and No. 6.

Erscheine Herr zur Rache
Und rette Deine Sache.
Steh deinem Zegen bey. (Fine)
Laß alle Welt ersehen,
Was denen die schmähen
Von dir zum Lohn bereitet sey. (D.C.)

58 Theologia Didactico-Polemica (1685) IV, 526. Cited in
Heinrich Schmid, The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical
Lutheran Church, 5th ed. (Philadelphia: Lutheran
Bookstore, 1876), 659.

59 Ibid., 664.

100 David Hollaz, Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum
(1707), 1275; cited in Schmid, op. cit., 664.
Ihr Sünder\textsuperscript{101} wißt, daß der Herr läßt sich nicht
spotten.
Sein drauungs Wort trifft ganz gewiß zu eurem Schrecken
ein.
Besinnt euch ihr freche Ratten.
Wer Gottes Wort verschmächt der fällt in Höllen Pein.

Appear, Lord, to revenge,
And save your cause.
Stand by your witnesses. (Fine)
Let all the world see,
What wages you are preparing
For those who revile you. (D.C.)

You sinners know that the Lord does not allow
himself to be mocked.
His threatening word comes true, it is certain,
to your horror.
Take heed you insolent gangs!
Whoever scorns God’s word, shall fall into Hell’s
 torment.


Es streiten Finsternis und Licht
Der Satan will durch Widerspruch
Sein Reich fürm Glantz des Lichtes retten.
Doch sein Gesuch schreckt gute Seelen nicht,
Denn Jesus bricht die Macht der Ketten
Darin der Feind die Welt geseßelt hat.
So kommt denn ihr erlöste Sklaven, der Tag ist da!
Verlaßt der Höllen pfad!
Steht eilends auf!
Was wolt ihr schlafen?

Darkness and light quarrel.
Satan intends, through opposition, to rescue his realm
from the brightness of the light.
Yet his petition does not terrify good souls,
for Jesus breaks the might of chains, whereas the
enemy of the world has been shackled.
Come you rescued slaves, the day is here!
Leave the path to hell!
Arise quickly!
Why do you want to sleep?

\textsuperscript{101} In both the autograph and the tenor part, the word
preceeding Sünder (suße?) is crossed out. The musical notes
above are also illegible.
Example 2.25.  *Ach Gott vom Himmel* (1742), No. 4

O Volk von grosser Mißbethat!
Du lachst zum Zeugnis frommer weissen.
Ihr Wort muß Thorheit heissen.
Was dein verschlagner Witz erdacht
Uns ausgegrübelt hat
Daß soll als von dem Richter Sitz
Der Weißheit ausgesprochen sein.
Wer widerspricht der heißt
Bei dir dumm und verblendet.
Ach Gott! Sieh drein dein Wort,
Wird sehr verdreht und geschändet.
Wie lange wilst du nicht dergleichen Boßheit rächen?
Ach, steure doch dem wiederspreche.

Oh people of great evil!
You laugh at the manifestations of pious ways.
Your word must be called folly,
What your sly wit devises, that which we have been
brooding over, shall be delivered from the
judgement seat of wisdom.
He who speaks against that one is called by you
ignorant and deluded.
O God, therein your word is being very distorted and
desecrated.
How long will you not avenge such evil?
Oh, control those who speak against you.

That Lichtenberg was a Pietist is not to be denied, and
his predilection for eschatological themes place him solidly
in the Lutheran apocalyptic tradition. The vivid imagery of
Lichtenberg’s poetry helped facilitate the musical
imagination of Graupner. Both of the Darmstadt poets,
Lehms and Lichtenberg were part of an extraordinary
environment that saw the musical establishment at Darmstadt
reach its height. Like Graupner, whose later music showed a
transition from Baroque to Pre-classical, Lichtenberg was
part of the late Baroque literary tradition that fostered
early Romanticism. Kant, Schiller, and Goethe were all educated along Pietist lines. Kant rejected the "stilted piety, hypocrisy, and somber discipline of his surroundings, [but] he retained a deep sense of the radical evil of human nature, the stringency of the ethical, and the categorical imperative to duty." Lehms and Lichtenberg's focus on the moral evilness of the world, the rock of faith that brought both life and death, and the dual nature of God who both avenges and saves, supplied Graupner with much substance for musical elaboration.

Lehms and Lichtenberg: Forms and Rhyme Schemes of Arias

Although both opera seria and the German Lutheran cantata utilized the da capo aria, the aria of the former consisted of two stanzas of rhymed verse and that of the latter consisted of only one stanza of rhymed verse. Leonard Ratner's observation that the text of an opera seria aria was one four-line stanza is contradicted by Charlotte Greenspan who wrote that a da capo aria text "as seen in the librettos of Zeno and Metastasio, was typically a poem in two strophes, each strophe normally containing three to six lines. . . . The first strophe of the poem


103 "The conventional text of an Italian opera seria aria consisted of a single four-line stanza. Part I used the first two lines, part II the latter two." Leonard Ratner, Classic Music (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 281.
provided the text for the first section of the da capo aria.

... The second strophe provided the text for the middle section of the da capo aria.¹⁰⁴ Both Audrey Lyn Tolkoff,¹⁰⁵ and Donald Grout¹⁰⁶ concur with her definition. Examples of aria texts by Pietro Metastasio from Johann Adolph Hasse's opera Il Trionfo di Clelia show the dal segno aria, a form of the da capo aria where the repetition was not from the beginning but usually after the opening ritornello, contained two three-line or four-line stanzas: these are displayed in the libretto by hanging indentations for the successive lines of the text. The last two lines of each strophe usually ended in the same rhyme (Ex. 2.26).¹⁰⁷


¹⁰⁶"The typical full or five-part da capo aria as found at its highest point of development in Hasse has the following scheme: A (first four-line stanza) ... B (second four-line stanza) ... " Donald Grout, A Short History of Opera, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 211.

Example 2.26. Two Arias from Hasse’s *Il Trionfo de Clelia* (1762),

**Act I, Scene iii.**

*Ah celar la bella face*

In cui pena un cor fedele

E’ difficile, è crudele

E’ impossibile dover.

*Benchè in petto amor sepolto*

Prigioniero contumace

Frange i lacci, e fugge al volto

Con gli arcani del pensier.

**Act I, Scene v**

*Resta o cara, e per timore*

Se tremar mai senti il core;

Pensa a Roma, e pensa a me.

*E’ben guisto o mia speranza*

Che t’inspirino costanza

La tua patria, e la mia fe.*

A da capo aria text by Lehms or Lichtenberg written for the Lutheran cantata consisted of five or more lines written in rhymed, metrical verse. Although none of the Jahrgänge of Lichtenberg have survived, the four Jahrgänge by Lehms show the printed aria was set off from surrounding material by being placed in larger type and indented from the margin. Unlike the da capo aria texts of opera seria, they consisted of only one stanza (Ex. 2.27).

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Example 2.27. Two Arias from Georg Christian Lehms' Davids Heiligthum in Zion Cantata for Easter Day, Haltet im Gedächtnis

Aria

Seyd fröhlich ihr Christen/wir haben gewonnen/
Denn Teuffel und Hölle sind völlig besiegt.
Seyd fröhlich/denn Jesus ist wieder erstanden/
Und reist euch aus Satans gefährlichen Banden/
Seyd fröhlich/singt freudig und lebet vergnügt. D.C.

Aria

Ach! mein Jesu laß mich dis
Seeliglich zu Hertzen fassen.
Weil du lebst/muß mir dein Leben/
Auch ein ewig Leben geben:
Ich bin dessen gantz gewiß/
Du wirst mich nicht sterben lassen. D.C.

When Lehms wrote aria texts, he used different rhyme schemes for da capo and non-da capo arias. For arias without a da capo, paired couplets, or a variation of that pattern, was preferred. Consequently, non da capo arias seldom have an odd number of lines. The preferred formula for the da capo aria was a five-line stanza with the rhyme scheme AB.CCB, the dot indicating where the "A" section ends. Moreover, if an aria had more than five lines, Lehms invariably maintained his archetypical rhyme scheme with the formula A(N)B.CC(N)B, where (N) represents a variable number of added lines. Table 2.1 summarizes the frequency of da capo and non da capo texts as well as the prevalence of the A(N)B.CC(N)B pattern in the four Jahrgänge of Lehms. For a

106Georg Christian Lehms, Davids Heiligthum in Zion (Darmstadt: Peter Weimmann, [1714]), 26.
more detailed survey of the contents of these four Jahrgänge, see Appendix B.

Table 2.1.

Arias Forms and Rhyme Schemes in the Four Jahrgänge of Lehms

_Gottgefälliges Kirchen-Opffer, 1711/1712._

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morning Cantatas</th>
<th>Da Capo</th>
<th>Non Da Capo</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% D.C. Arias out of Total Arias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Da Capo</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Afternoon Cantatas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Da Capo</th>
<th>Non Da Capo</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% D.C. Arias out of Total Arias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Da Capo</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of times AB.CCB used: 123 (59% of D.C. Arias)
Number of times A(N)B.CC(N)B used: 170 (81% of D.C. Arias)

_Das Singende Lob Gottes, 1712/1713._

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Da Capo</th>
<th>Non Da Capo</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% D.C. Arias out of Total Arias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of times AB.CCB used: 64 (64% of D.C. Arias)
Number of times A(N)B.CC(N)B used: 89 (89% of D.C. Arias)

Since the Jahrgänge always begin liturgically with the 1st Sunday in Advent and conclude with the last Sunday after Trinity in the subsequent year, the years in Table 2.1 and the following text indicate those years a Jahrgang was in use.

Includes the formula AB.CCB.
Davids Heiligthum in Zion, 1714/1715.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Da Capo</th>
<th>Non Da Capo</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% D.C. Arias out of Total Arias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of times AB.CCB used: 38 (42% of D.C. Arias)
Number of times A(N)B.CC(N)B used: 65 (72% of D.C. Arias)

Ein Neues Lied, 1715/1716.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Da Capo</th>
<th>Non Da Capo</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% D.C. Arias out of Total Arias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of times AB.CCB used: 33 (30% of D.C. Arias)
Number of times A(N)B.CC(N)B: 72 (66% of D.C. Arias)

Lehms’ reliance on the five-line AB.CCB formula decreases from levels of 59% in Gottgefälliges (1711/1712) and 64% in Das Singende Lob Gottes (1712/1713) to 42% and 30% in the later collections of Davids Heiligthum in Zion (1714/1715) and Ein Neues Lied (1715/1716), respectively. Similarly, the two later publications, Davids Heiligthum and Ein Neues Lied, utilizes the pattern A(N)B.CC(N)B less frequently, 72% and 66% respectively, than the earlier Gottgefälliges and Das Singende Lob Gottes where it was used 81% and 89% of the time for the da capo aria. Such a trend suggests that even though the Lehms’ da capo aria texts were highly formulaic, his later settings began to free themselves of the rigidity of the pattern.
Conrad Lichtenberg continued to write da capo aria texts in the pattern that was propagated by his predecessor, Lehms. Virtually all of Lichtenberg's aria texts surveyed in this study are da capo and most of them follow the A(N)B.CC(N)B formula as Table 2.2 shows.\textsuperscript{112}

From the standpoint of the arias included in this study, the consistency that the pattern maintained from 1719, the year of Lichtenberg's first Jahrgang to 1743, the last Jahrgang that he authored, is staggering. It suggests

Table 2.2.
Rhyme Schemes of Da Capo Arias in the Christmas Cantatas of Lichtenberg\textsuperscript{113}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines in Aria</th>
<th>No. of Times A(N)B.CC(N)B used</th>
<th>Total No. of D.C. Arias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of times AB.CCB used: 37 (33\% of D.C. Arias)
Number of times A(N)B.CC(N)B used: 83 (73\% of D.C.) Arias

\textsuperscript{112}For complete texts and rhyme schemes of all the da capo arias included in this study, see Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{113}Includes arias with intervening material before the da capo.
a librettist or a tradition that was indebted to formulas and patterns for the creative process.

Since the two strophes of a da capo aria in a Zeno or Metastasio libretto typically end with the same rhyme, the formula utilized by the Darmstadt poets in their da capo arias may be indebted to operatic prototypes. However, although not found with an degree of regularity, the formula A(N)B.CC(N)B does occur in earlier German poetry, particularly that which was written in a barform (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3

Historical Precedents for the Formula A(N)B.CC(N)B.
Poetry of the Minnesingers: Examples of Identical Rhymes at the Termination of Sections

Winder wie ist
Neithart von Reuenthal

Stollen:
Winder wie ist nu dein kraft
Worden gar unsigehaft
Seyt der maye seine schafft
Auff dir hatt zustochen

Stollen:
Vor den walden auff der plan
Sieht man volkumenlichen stan
Liechte plümblein wolgetan
Der han ich geprochen

Abgesang:
Gar besunder durch ein wunder
Solches kunder ich vernahm
Man und frawen ir sult schawen

In den awen one scham, E
Wie des lichten mayen schar G

Stet beclait in purpur far. G
Jungen maidt das nehmet war, G
Bleibet unversprochen. B

In der anckelwyse Frauenlob\textsuperscript{115}

Stollen:
Ich sach in einen garten gan A
Altissimus und sine zwolif dinestman; A
Er sprach zu in: "Ir hern, ich will uch schencken. B
Stollen:
So einen seldenrichen tranck C
Clar, luter, fin, alz er am summerbirge sprang; C
Ir lieben gest, damit wil ich uch trencken! B

Abgesang:
Trincket, ir seldenriches her, D
Zwar uch getörstet nymmer mer!" D
Der ein enpfing des tufels ler; D
Ach, tumme welt, daran solt du gedencken. B

With the Darmstadt poets and earlier examples listed above, the cadential rhyme, created by both sections terminating in identical rhymes, has musical parallels to two forms of the Lutheran barform chorale. Johannes Riedel has identified the following barforms found in the chorale, each letter signifying a musical phrase (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4
Barforms in the Lutheran Chorale\textsuperscript{116}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stollen</th>
<th>Abgesang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repetition barform</td>
<td>$|:a-b:||$</td>
<td>$c-a-a-b$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial barform</td>
<td>$|:a-b:|$</td>
<td>$c-d-e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition-serial barform</td>
<td>$|:a-b:|$</td>
<td>$c-d-a-a-b$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the repetition barform and the repetition-serial barform use identical phrases to conclude the Stollen and the Abgesang, a technique not unlike Lehms and Lichtenberg using the same rhyme at the ends of sections of the da capo aria. Moreover, if in the repetition barform a period is placed at the end of the Stollen and the "a" in the Abgesang is replaced with a "c," the resulting AB.CCB formula is identical to the preferred five-line poetic pattern of Lehms and Lichtenberg. Such a relationship is curious and suggests an influence on the Lutheran poets writing sacred da capo arias. A librettist such as Conrad Lichtenberg, trained primarily as a theologian, probably would have had little contact with the opera, and in this instance the majority of his texts were written after the demise of opera in Darmstadt. This makes it most likely that his cantata texts were based either on inherited or familiar prototypes such as the Lutheran chorale.

\textsuperscript{116}Johannes Riedel, \textit{The Lutheran Chorale} (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967), 42.
In his dissertation on aria forms in J.S. Bach's cantatas, Stephen Crist's portrayal of rhyme schemes found in Bach's da capo arias in Weimar and his first year in Leipzig,\textsuperscript{117} uncovers no such usage of a systematic formulaic procedure by Bach's librettists. The technique, however, was not limited to Darmstadt. In \textit{Der Harmonische Gottesdienst}, published by Georg Philipp Telemann in Hamburg in 1725/6, the pattern \textit{A(N)B. CC(N)B} is common. Da capo aria texts by two anonymous poets from the cantatas for the Sundays Laetare and Judica are given below as examples (Table 2.5).

\textbf{Table 2.5.}

\textit{Der Harmonische Gottesdienst (1725/6): Rhyme Schemes of Da Capo Aria Texts for the Sundays Laetare and Judica.}\textsuperscript{118}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{Cantata for Laetare} \\
\textit{Du bist verflucht}, No. 1 \\
Rhyme Scheme: \textit{AB.CCDDEEFB} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
Du bist verflucht, o Schreckensstimme \\
Du bist verdammt, o Donnerwort! (Fine) \\
Die Rache knallt von Agars Spitzen \\
Mit tödlich, doch gerechten Blitzen. \\
Ihr Felsen, brecht die Bande los! \\
Ihr Hügel öffnet euren Schoß, \\
Bedeckt uns vor des Königis Grimme! \\
Doch nein zu schwacher Schutz, \\
 Zu wenig sich'rer Ort! \\
\end{tabular}


Du bist verflucht, No. 3
Rhyme Scheme: AB.CCDB

Frohilokket, ihr seligen Kinder der Freiden!
Die Fessel der Knechtschaft sind ewig zerstückt. (Fine)
Der Heiligste macht uns aus Sklaven und Knechten
Schon itzo auf Erden zu freien Gerechten,
Bis daß uns bei Zions verherrlichten Reichen
Das Erbe der völligsten Freiheit beglückt.

Wer ist, der dort, von Edom kümmt, No. 2
Rhyme Scheme: AB.CCDB

O welch' ein Opfer, welch' ein Segen
Stellt sich für uns in Christo dar! (Fine)
Bewundert dies, versöhnte Sünder.
Hier fließt kein Blut geweihter Rinder
Gott selber färbet euretwegen
Des neuen Bundes Sünnaltar.

Wer ist, der dort, von Edom kümmt, No. 4
Rhyme Scheme: AB.CCDB

So biet'ich mit vergnügem Schritte
Den Hüttten Kedar gute Nacht. (Fine)
Der Hohepriester jener Freuden
Verhilft mir durch sein Blut und Leiden
Zu einer weit vollkommnern
Hütte, die nicht durch Menschenhand gemacht.

With few exceptions, the arias texts by Lehms and Lichtenberg in this study are in the da capo format, the vast majority of them using the formula A(N)B.CC(N)B.

Although the origins of the model are not entirely clear, its persistent use by the Darmstadt poets helped facilitate an enormous production of cantata libretti. Virtually all of Graupner's creative life in Darmstadt was spent in the shadow of its staid stability, providing a coherent and stable vehicle for Graupner's productivity and inspiration.
CHAPTER III

THE COMPONENTS OF GRAUPNER'S CANTATAS

Introduction

Any study of Graupner's style is immediately complicated by the immensity of the surviving works. The extant 1,418 cantatas written for the church, exhibiting both progressive and conservative tendencies, make a historical-stylistic study of them full of the perils involved in the classification of German music of this time. The sheer number of cantatas overwhelms the historian. Other than Johann Friedrich Fasch, Graupner had no prominent student and the influence he exerted in the waning years of the Baroque and those of the ascendant pre-Classical styles is open to conjecture. Even though Graupner was highly respected by his contemporaries, the changing standards of the Enlightenment and the extended law suit between his heirs and the Landgrave over possession of the church music manuscripts effectively removed the cantatas from further circulation and consideration. It is not surprising then, that twentieth-century writers have expressed varying opinions about Graupner's contributions. In addition to the influences of opera and the "Italian art," Friedrich Noack
credited Graupner's training at the Thomas School in Leipzig with the thorough knowledge of counterpoint that was later prominent in his church music. In an essay written sixty years later, however, Colin Thomas noted that Graupner was chiefly a homophonic composer whose cantatas owed little to the study of counterpoint. Other historians expressed yet different perceptions: Richard Crocker characterized Graupner as the composer who achieved the most sapid synthesis of Italian style with the German temperament, and Otto Schilling-Trygophorus perceived Graupner to be a composer of the German spirit, a master of counterpoint, and a fellow instigator in the new expressive instrumental style that originated in locations like Mannheim. The purpose here is not to verify or disprove any of the opinions—for each is a statement of some truth, but rather to discuss and


compare structural and stylistic characteristics that were synthesized from the cantatas in this study.

The manuscripts are housed in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt, organized according to the year they were composed. All of the autograph scores are fair copies (Reinschrift); apparently Graupner destroyed all of his sketches (Konzeptschrift) for none are known to survive. At the top of each fair copy of the Christmas cantatas is written "I[n] N[omine] I[esu] M[onat] D[ezember] with Graupner's year of composition frequently crossed out and replaced with an erroneous date (Facsimile 3). Usually preserved with each autograph are parts for the singers and the instrumentalists, typically one part for each singer and one or two parts for each instrumental voice, indicating that the performing forces were small. Occasionally the vocal parts contain reminders for the time of performance

5The incorrect dates were a misguided attempt by an unknown cataloger to reconcile the dates on the autograph with the dates in the printed Jahrgänge. The Jahrgänge began the church year with the first Sunday in Advent but bore the imprint of the subsequent calendar year.

6For some cantatas, larger forces were employed and there can be up to three surviving parts for each vocal part although one is a more common number. Unfortunately, it is not possible to come up with an accurate number of performers employed by the Kapelle since some of the records were lost in 1944 with the Allied bombing of Darmstadt. See Joanna Cobb Biermann, "Die Darmstädter Hofkapelle unter Christoph Graupner 1709-1760," Christoph Graupner, Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt 1709-1760 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 27-72.
which were added by the singers. In *Freude, Freude* (1744) the canto parts are marked at the top "1. fer: Nachm[ittag]," indicating that the performance took place on the first day of Christmas in the afternoon. Similarly the "2 Fer: Vormittag" in the canto score of *Mache dich auf* (1740) points out that it was performed in the morning of the second day of Christmas (St. Stephen's Day).

The manuscripts show that on at least two different occasions singers were used who apparently had difficulty reading German script. The alto score from *Weht ihr Winde* (1721) is beautifully written in Roman script (Facsimile 4) and the alto score to *Hosianna sey* (1709) has a transliteration in Roman script written either above or below the German script (Facsimile 5), apparently to accommodate the singer. Like Bach, Graupner ends all of his cantatas with the inscription *Soli Deo Gloria* (Facsimile 6).

Beginning in 1719, Conrad Lichtenberg supplied all of the texts for Graupner's Darmstadt cantatas, which lent a certain stability to the format. Typically a cantata opens with a dictum, an accompanied recitative that is scripture (discussed below), or a short choral movement. This is usually followed by two recitative-aria pairs and a mandatory chorale, except for the 1720 Jahrgang which contains no chorales. This last item was placed at the end of the cantata and but occasionally appeared in the middle
or even at the beginning. Naturally, the procedure could be, and was, varied.

Facsimile 5. Hosianna sey willkommen (1709), Alto Part, F. 27.
The aria is otherwise correctly described as a well-arranged song, which has its own particular key and meter, is usually divided into two parts, and concisely expresses a great affection. Occasionally it closes with a repetition of the first part, occasionally without it. In the first instance it is called Da capo, from the top, or actually from the head, which an ancient usage of David as among others the eighth Psalm certifies.\(^7\)

Christoph Graupner's surviving cantatas and their arias bear witness to an extraordinarily prolific life. As Evangeline Rimbach has noted, Graupner was clearly an exception among Baroque Lutheran composers. Unlike other situations where the cantor might revive his earlier works or perform another composer's cantatas (Telemann printed four complete cycles with this arrangement in mind\textsuperscript{9}), cantatas were generally performed only once in the Darmstadt Schloß.\textsuperscript{10} After vice-Kapellmeister Gottfried Grünwald's death in 1739, Graupner bore the sole responsibility for setting all of the Jahrgänge texts. The pressure increased especially during Christmastide when up to four sacred cantatas (Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day, St. John's Day,


\textsuperscript{9}Martin Ruhnke, "Georg Philipp Telemann," New Grove, XVIII, 651.

\textsuperscript{10}It is not known if Graupner's cantatas were later revived while he completed earlier cantata cycles that were left incomplete because of the burning of vice-Kapellmeister Grünwald's cantatas in 1739. After Graupner's death, some of the cantatas were still performed because the bass singer Georg Balthasar Herzberger complained on Feb. 15, 1766, that the heirs, who then apparently controlled access to the manuscripts even though they could not sell them, made it difficult for him to use the music. Under Ludwig IX (1768-1790), the Kapelle was drastically reduced, making subsequent performances of Graupner's cantatas impossible. F. Noack, Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken, 154.
and the Sunday after Christmas) could be required within a week's time.\(^1\)

Graupner's fecundity was aided by his knowledge of the syntactical constraints of his time, that is, patterns and formulas that facilitated the musical rendering of the text. With the few exceptions discussed at the end of this chapter, the strict da capo accompanied aria, was Graupner's preferred compositional form for the solo song.\(^2\) In the literature concerned with Bach's music, the da capo aria is defined as either being "strict" or "free." Although the opening section returns in both variants, the first section of the strict variety always ends in the tonic whereas that of the free da capo modulates and ends in a key different from the tonic, necessitating a rewriting of the first section after the recapitulation so that it ends in the

\(^1\) In his catalogue of Graupner's cantatas, F. Noack lists four Christmastide cantatas for 1741, 1745, 1749, three for 1739, 1740, 1742, 1744, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1750, two for 1743, and one for 1751, 1752 and 1753. See F. Noack, Christoph Graupner als Kirchenkomponist. Ausführungen zu Band LI/LII der Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, Erste Folge, und Verzeichnis sämtlicher Kantaten Graupners. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1926), 36-70.

\(^2\) From Graupner's early period, only three Christmas cantatas are extant (Hosianna sey willkommen, 1709, Jesus ist und bleibt, 1712, Uns ist ein Kind, 1712). F. Noack writes that during Graupner's early years, the da capo form is prevalent even though there are many through composed arias with ritornellos. F. Noack, Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken, 48.
tonic. Thus, the resulting form of the former is ABA and that of the latter ABA.\footnote{13}

The texts were completed before composition began, and their structure dictated the musical form.\footnote{14} Whether Graupner rigorously set all of the poet's printed recitatives and arias as he received them would be difficult to assess, since all published versions of the Jahrgänge by Graupner's principal librettist, Conrad Lichtenberg, were destroyed in World War II. A conclusion based on the texts found in the manuscripts surveyed in this study, however, shows that Graupner consistently set poetry with the rhyme scheme A(N)B.CC(N)B in his arias (see Chapter II), whereas the recitatives, even though sometimes rhymed, utilized no consistent number of feet or lines. Stephen Crist has shown that in the arias of Graupner's contemporary, J.S. Bach, the composer's setting of arias invariably agrees with the suggestions in the printed libretti.\footnote{15}


\footnote{14}In the four surviving Jahrgänge by Georg Christian Lehms, the texts for the arias are clearly differentiated by use of a larger type that is indented (Gottgefälliges Kirchen-Opffer, 1711; Das singende Lob Gottes, 1712) or in addition is labeled "Aria" (David's Heilighthum, [1714]; Ein neues Leid, [1715]).

\footnote{15}Stephen Crist, Aria Forms in the Vocal Works of J.S. Bach, 1714-1724. op. cit., 76-87.
Distribution of the Da Capo Arias

The cantata texts that Graupner set usually consisted of two recitative-aria pairs, generally for a bass or soprano, reflecting the dominance of these voices in the Darmstadt court during his tenure. Gottfried Grünwald who was employed from 1711 until his death in 1739 and Georg Balthasar Hertzberger, employed in 1737 and whose tenure survived Graupner's, were both well known basses; principal sopranos included Johanna Elisabeth Döbricht-Hesse, employed 1711-1739, and Maria Elisabeth Eberhard-Schetky, who was employed in 1735 and served past Graupner's death.\textsuperscript{16} Table 3.1 shows the frequency with which Graupner wrote a da capo aria for a particular voice in the Christmas cantatas. Of the ninety-six solo da capo arias included in this study, there are nine tenor arias and only two for alto, but forty-four and forty-one for the soprano and bass, respectively. Graupner's preference for the higher and lower voices is evidenced in four cantatas (\textit{Siehe and Gedenket} 1727, \textit{Wie lieblich}, 1730, \textit{Der Herr}, 1749) which use alto and tenor solos only in the absence of a soprano or a bass.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{16}For complete listing of all known singers employed by the Darmstadt Kapelle see Joanna Cobb Biermann, "Die Darmstädter Hofkapelle unter Christoph Graupner," op. cit., 61-66.

\textsuperscript{17}The 1727 cantatas \textit{Siehe and Gedenket} are scored only for soprano, alto and tenor. \textit{Wie lieblich}, which dates from 1730, is written for alto, tenor, and bass while \textit{Der Herr} from 1749 includes only parts for alto, tenor and bass.
Table 3.1. Number and Distribution of Solo Da Capo Arias According to Voice Type in Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata and Year</th>
<th>Soprano</th>
<th>Alto</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>Bass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hosianaa sey 1709</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uns ist ein Kind 1712</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus ist 1712</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ich bleibe 18 1719</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frolocke Zions 19 1719</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Gerechte muß 1720</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weht ihr Winde 1721</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo zween 1725</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchze 1727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siehe da 1727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedenket an den 1727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wie lieblich 1730</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O schönes Hauß 1731</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasset uns 1737</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehre sey Gott 1739</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O, daß sie 1739</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet, welch 1739</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel Heer 1740</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mache dich auf 1740</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Licht 1740</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Engel 1741</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es ist leider 1741</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Gnadenblanz 20 1741</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach Gott 1741</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heute ist 1742</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach Gott 1742</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wie lieblich 1742</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchzet 1743</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gott wird 1743</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freude 1744</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graupner's preferential treatment for the soprano and bass is in contrast to Bach who attempted to write arias on a rotation approach so that there would be equal opportunities for each of his four principal singers. Stephen Crist, Aria Forms in the Vocal Works of J. S. Bach, 1714-1724, op. cit., 20-28.

18 Cantata for solo soprano. One of the three da capo arias is in dal segno form.

19 Cantata for solo bass.

20 Cantata for bass solo.
The bass voice was also preferred by Graupner as a component of duets (Table 3.2). Of the thirteen da capo duets in the Christmas cantatas, eleven of them include a part for the bass. It is curious that although the tenor and alto are infrequently used in solo arias, they are more

21Cantata for solo soprano.

22Cantata for solo tenor.

23Cantata for solo bass.

24Cantata for solo tenor.

25The "A" section is sung by the chorus, the "B" section by bass solo.

26Cantata for solo bass.
prevalent in duets, commonly yoked together with the bass voice. A duet in a Graupner cantata was balanced by one solo aria that was usually written for a different voice. The recurrent use of the soprano for solo arias but its only occasional scoring in duets suggests, once again, that particular singers came to Graupner with expectations, i.e., the soprano was reluctant to share an aria with another voice.

Table 3.2. Number and Distribution of Duets in Da Capo Form in Graupner's Christmas cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata and Year</th>
<th>Duet Scoring</th>
<th>Solo Aria Scoring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesus ist 1712</td>
<td>Soprano/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchze 1727</td>
<td>Alto/Tenor</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laßet uns 1737</td>
<td>Soprano/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehre sey Gott 1739</td>
<td>Alto/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet welch 1739</td>
<td>Alto/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach Gott 1742</td>
<td>Tenor/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gott wird 1743</td>
<td>Soprano/Bass</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es jauchze 1746</td>
<td>Tenor/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Licht 1746</td>
<td>Tenor/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet d'rauf 1748</td>
<td>Tenor/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerechtigkeit 1749</td>
<td>Tenor/Bass</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Herr hat mich 1749</td>
<td>Alto/Bass</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchet ihr Himmel 1753</td>
<td>Soprano/Tenor</td>
<td>Bass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christoph Graupner, like J.S. Bach\textsuperscript{27}, did not consider the aria limited to solos and duets. On the canto part of

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\textsuperscript{27}In the autograph score of Bach's Was mir behagt (BWV 208) Movement 11, although conceived by the librettist as a solo aria, was set as a polyphonic chorus by Bach who wrote in the margin Aria à 4. See Robert Marshall, The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972), I, 37-38.
the opening chorus from the cantata O schönes Haus\textsuperscript{28} (1731), is written Aria à 4 Voc. The alto part of Die Engel frolocken\textsuperscript{29} (1741) is similarly marked in the closing chorus with the word Aria. In Freude, Freude (1744) because an interpolated tenor recitative delays the recapitulation of the first section of the da capo opening chorus, a scribe wrote the following directions on the secondary Canto part: \textit{|| Recit tac. || Aria Freude, Freude D Capo.}\textsuperscript{30} Although not every da capo chorus movement in Graupner's cantatas is marked Aria, it is clear that Graupner thought of it as such. Table 3.3 shows the choral da capo arias in Graupner's Christmas cantatas. With three exceptions, they are all used as opening movements.

Table 3.3. Distribution of Da capo Arias for Chorus in Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Da capo Movement for Chorus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hosianna 1709</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uns ist 1712</td>
<td>No. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchze 1727</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O schönes 1731</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel 1740</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel 1741</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel 1741</td>
<td>No. 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{28}DM Mus MS 439/31, F. 13.

\textsuperscript{29}DS Mus MS 449/57, F. 27.

\textsuperscript{30}DM Mus MS 452/40, F. 27.
Freude 1744 No. 1
Es jauchze 1746 No. 1
Es ist 1748 No. 3
Jauchzet 1753 No. 1

Formal Procedures in the Da capo Arias

Although Graupner's former teacher, Johann Kuhnau, was knowledgeable about the da capo form, he scorned its use in church music because of its secular origins. Graupner nonetheless was already familiar with the da capo form before he came to Darmstadt having gained its acquaintance during his tenure (c. 1706-1709) with the Hamburg opera. Of the fifty-four vocal movements in his opera Dido (Hamburg, 1707), about half are in da capo form. Two strict da capo arias from this opera serve to show Graupner's differing resolutions of the formula. These are also procedural prototypes of arias that Graupner would later use in the church cantatas in Darmstadt. In the second act, scene three, Hiarbas, King of Numidia, vows the ruin of Carthage (Ex. 3.1).

Example 3.1. Dido (1707) II, iii, Hiarbas' Aria.

Sonn und Licht folgt Nacht und Schatten;
Zorn verschmähtem Lieben nach; [fine]
Geht mein Wunsch mir nicht von statten,
Waffne sich mein Geist mit Rach;
Eh ich mich verschmähtem wil sehen,
Soll Carthago untergehen. Da Capo


32 Hinrich Hinsch, Dido Königin von Carthago in einem Singe-Spiel auf dem Hamburgischen Theatro vorgestellet
In Hiarbas' aria, the text consists of one stanza with six lines and a rhyme scheme of AB.ABCC. After an opening ritornello in C major, lines one and two begin in the tonic but cadence on the dominant. A second statement of these two lines and their melodies is rewritten so that they remain entirely within the tonic. The third repetition of the second line in C major only serves to reaffirm the tonality of the aria. After a short ritornello of three measures, again in C major, the A section is concluded. Lines three and four modulate to A minor and are followed by a double statement of lines five and six that conclude the B section in E minor. This early da capo construction (see Table 3.4) is only twenty-three measures long but already it contains the embryonic idea of two distinct areas in the A section framed by ritornellos. The two vocal melodic groups in the A section ($A_1$ and $A_2$) are thematically parallel, the first group moving to the dominant but the second group beginning and ending in the tonic. For lack of a better term, Charles Rosen labels this binary variety found in the

(1707), II, iii. Sun and light follows night and shadows; Anger follows rejected love; If desire is not fulfilled, My spirit arms itself with revenge. Before I see myself scorned, Carthage shall be ruined.

The period in this and subsequent da capo lyrics indicates, as before, the division of the poem into A and B sections. Thus AB.ABCC shows that Graupner set the first two lines in the first section and the following four lines in the second.
A section as a "slow movement" form because of its prevalence in slow instrumental movements; disregarding the ritornelli, it is in effect a diminutive abridged sonata form, that is, a sonata with no development. It became by the 1720's the standard structure for the framing sections of ABA aria.\textsuperscript{34}

Table 3.4. Diagram of Hiarbas'a Aria: "Sonn und Licht" Dido, Königin von Carthago, Act II, Scene iii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th></th>
<th>A1</th>
<th></th>
<th>A2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rit.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lines 1 - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lines 1 - 2</td>
<td>(Ln. 2 repeated 2X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: I-I</td>
<td>I - V,</td>
<td>I - I,</td>
<td>I - I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ln. 3 - 4, Ln. 5 - 6 (Repeated 2X)</td>
<td>I - vi, iii - iii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second act, scene nine of Dido, Venus, appearing ex machina, warns Aeneas not to be blinded by the splendor

\textsuperscript{34}Charles Rosen, Sonata Forms (New York: Norton, 1980), 28-29.
of the African Dido and then sings the following lines (Ex. 3.2):

Example 3.2. *Dido* (1707) II, ix; Dido's Aria.

Die beschämten Sternen weichen,  
Wenn der Sonnen Glantz anbricht: [Fine]  
Der Dianen blasses Licht,  
Kan nicht Phöbus Flammen gleichen:  
Und für deines Purpurs Pracht,  
Bücket sich der Erden Macht.  

Führtwieder auf\(^{35}\)  
[da capo]

The rhyme scheme of the aria is AB.BACC and as in the previous example, the text consists of only one stanza. After an opening ritornello in D major, the first two lines (which together form a sentence), are sung in D major and conclude with a cadence on the dominant. The first line, joined with an expanded version of its original melody is repeated, cadencing again on the dominant. After these two dominant cadences, the first and second lines and their original melody are rearticulated but modified so they begin and end in the tonic. A terse one-measure ritornello in D major concludes the A section. The new four lines, beginning in the dominant and cadencing on the mediant, are

\(^{35}\)H. Hinsch, *op. cit.*, II, ix. The stars yield when the sun's rays break through and puts them to shame. The pale light of Diana can not equal the flames of Phoebus. And because of your purple splendor, the earth's might bows down.
sung without repetition. The entire aria is only twenty measures long—twelve measures in the A and eight in B. Like Hiarcas' aria from Act II, the outer sections of the da capo form are a movement from the tonic to the dominant and back to the tonic, repeating the same melodic material, i.e., "slow movement" form (Table 3.5).


In these two prototypes, Graupner utilized the ritornellos in different fashions. The instrumental ritornello in Hiarcas' aria does not have the same theme as the voice, a peculiarity that was not common with later composers of opera seria, but a characteristic which Graupner initially exploited. The trend in the eighteenth
century was to utilize the ritornello more and more as a thematic depository for ideas heard later in the piece, whether it was in the instrumental concerto, or Metastasio operatic arias. In Hiarbas' aria, the use of the ritornello as a thematically independent structure that could concertize with the vocal line was Graupner's use of a conservative procedure in a progressive form. In this aria, the instrumental part attempts to depict the rage and fury of a tormented man; there are few thematic similarities to the vocal line; only the descending line in the ritornello is parodied in the initial vocal statement (Ex. 3.3, 3.4).

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36 Rosen, Sonata Forms., 70.

Example 3.3. Instrumental Ritornello ms. 1-2 from Hiarbas' "Sonn und Licht," Dido, Königin von Carthago, Act II, Scene iii.38
Example 3.4. Opening Vocal Theme, ms. 4-7 from Hiarbas' "Sonn und Licht," Dido, Königin von Carthago, Act II, Scene iii.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., 173-174.
Schat-ten; Zorn von-schoh-ten Lie- be

nach; Sonn und
By contrast, the vocal line in Venus' aria from the second act literally repeats the theme of the instrumental ritornello (Ex. 3.5, 3.6), an ascendent characteristic of the eighteenth-century da capo aria form that Graupner did not frequently favor.

Example 3.5. Instrumental Ritornello, ms. 1-2, from Venus' "Die beschämten Sternen," Dido, Königin von Carthago, Act II, scene ix.40

Example 3.6. Vocal Theme, ms. 4-6, from Venus' "Die beschämten Sternen weichen," Dido, Königin von Carthago, Act II, scene ix.\textsuperscript{41}

Literal repetitions of the entire ritornello by the voice, such as Venus' "Die beschämten Sternen" from Dido later become infrequent in Graupner's church cantatas. In

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 202.
Ich bleibe (1719) No. 3, Frolocke Zions (1719) No. 5, Der Gerechte (1720) No. 5, Laßet uns (1737) No. 5, Es ist leyder (1741) No. 5, Ach Gott vom Himmel (1742) No. 3 and Jerusalem wie offt (1745) No. 3, the melody from the initial two measures of the ritornello is restated by the voice before the vocal line moves to other material.\textsuperscript{42} Graupner's more usual procedure is to quote a motive or parody phrases or motive from the ritornello in the vocal line. Another technique, intermittently employed, is the absence of thematic similarities between voice and ritornello, a quality previously noted by Friedrich Noack.\textsuperscript{43}

Approximately one-third of the arias surveyed in this study have ritornellos that have no thematic or motivic similarity to the vocal melody.

In Graupner's cantatas for the Christmas season can be seen a changing relation between the instruments and the voice. Graupner inherited traditions, particularly the sacred concerto, that governed aria composition. Martin Fuhrmann in his \textit{Musicalischer-Trichter} (1706) described the

\textsuperscript{42}This is in contrast to a true motto aria in which the vocalist pauses for an instrumental interlude before repeating the initial motive and continuing the phrase. Donald Grout, \textit{A Short History of Opera}, 2nd edition (New York: Columbia University, 1965), 105.

concerto as "a piece for voices and instrumentalists in which the vocalists and instrumentalists, as it were, fight or contend with one another." Johann Mattheson also used the image of fighting or opposition in Der vollkommene Capellmeister (1739) when he noted that "the name derives from certare, fighting, and which is as if saying that in such a concerto there is so to speak an artistic battle between one or more select voices and the organ, or between the voices themselves, whichever could make it most charming." In the bass aria "Das wir den Kinder Nahmen" from the cantata, Frolocke Zions fromme Schaar (1719), the vocal line concertizes with the violin, at times in opposition, at times in parallel agreement (Ex. 3.7).

In his later cantatas Graupner begins to explore the changing relation between soloist and accompaniment. In the baroque-inspired works, the orchestra, through its concertizing and tossing of motives back and forth, is on an equal footing with the voice. In the arias that look towards the pre-Classical or the galant, the "question and answer" format is abandoned and the orchestra assumes a

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44 Martin Fuhrmann, Musicalischer-Trichter ([Berlin], 1706), 83; translated in Kerla Snyder, Dietrich Buxtehude (New York: Schirmer, 1987), 152.

Example 3.7. Concertizing between Vocal and Violin Line.
Frolocke Zions (1719), No. 3, ms. 5-13.

Das wir den Kinder Nah-wen tragen.

Das wir den Kinder Nah-wen tragen Das kostet Christi theures Blut.
subservient role by reinforcing the harmony and emphasizing the vocal line by doubling of melody.

In Graupner's Christmas cantatas, this melodic doubling is first seen in the "A" section of the soprano aria "Würde doch" from *Es ist leyder* (1741), in which the first violin part frequently reinforces the melody by playing in unison or parallel thirds. Both the old and new approaches to aria writing can happily coexist, as can be seen in the cantata for tenor solo *Das ewig Licht geht* (1747). With its concertizing violin part, the spirit of "Gottes Kind" (No. 3) is closer to the Baroque ethos whereas "Komm nur Jesu" (No. 5), where the violin doubles the melody throughout, belongs more in spirit to the pre-Classical. Other cantatas in which the melody is instrumentally fortified include *Wandelt wie die Kinder*, No. 5 (1748), *Wenn des Königen Ange*, No. 3 and No. 5 (1749), *Der Herr hat mich*, No. 3 and No. 5 (1749), *Den Seegen hat*, No. 4 (1749), *Frolocket ihr Himmel*, No. 5 (1750), *Schuldige sie Gott*, No. 2 (1750) and *Das ist das ewige Leben*, No. 5 (1751).

Significantly, in terms of Graupner's stylistic development, all of these are later cantatas.

Graupner's da capo arias invariably were written with the following formal arrangement of the lines (Table 3.6):

46 The entire cantata is reproduced in Volume 2.
Table 3.6. Arrangement of Lines in Graupner's Da Capo Arias.

A Section

| Rit. | Lines 1,2,(3), | Rit. | Lines 1,2,(3), | Rit. (fine) |

B Section

| Lines 4,5,(N) |

Da Capo

Graupner's da capo arias, like those of his contemporaries Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1781),\(^{48}\) and Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1779),\(^{49}\) inevitably followed one of two harmonic plans though those of Graupner were somewhat more flexible. In Graupner's arias the tonic of the ritornello is reaffirmed by the opening of the vocal line which then modulates during the first two lines to the dominant or relative major. The internal ritornello, if present, is in the key of the end of the second line and the restatement of the first and second lines (and third) returns the tonic, if

\(^{47}\)N represents a variable number of lines.


not immediately, so there after. A typical progression in the "B" section exploits the third relation, beginning and ending with the mediant and submediant.\(^{50}\) In arias written after 1740, the "B" section frequently cadences on the dominant, perhaps a reflection of Graupner's growing fascination with the tonic-dominant relation. Arias in minor keys usually begin the "B" section with the dominant or the relative major, ending in either the submediant or dominant. The consistency of the model, methodically used, focused Graupner's attention solely on musical considerations and helped facilitate his extraordinary productiveness. Below (Tables 3.7, 3.8) are listed some arias illustrative of the model, both with and without internal ritornellos.

\(^{50}\) At the end of the "B" section typically the instruments drop out and the vocal and continuo lines conclude in unison on the root of the chord. No figures are provided in the continuo part.
Table 3.7. Diagrams of Da Capo Aria texts with Internal Ritornellos.\textsuperscript{51}

A. Frolocke Zions fromme Schaar (1719) No. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th></th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>B2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rit.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ln. 1</td>
<td>Ln. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3X)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fine)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ln. 3</th>
<th>Ln. 4</th>
<th>Ln. 5</th>
<th>Ln. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2X</td>
<td>2X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D: V-vi I, vi-I-iii b:i, VI - V, i-III, i

Da Capo

B. Das ewige Licht (1747) No. 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>B1</th>
<th>C1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rit.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ln. 1</td>
<td>Ln. 2</td>
<td>Ln. 2</td>
<td>Rit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3X)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fine)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{51}The letters in boxes indicate musical phrases in the "A" section. The chord progressions indicate at least the beginning and ending tonality in each section.
### B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ln. 3-4</th>
<th>Ln. 5</th>
<th>Ln. 6</th>
<th>Ln. 7</th>
<th>Ln. 6</th>
<th>Ln. 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D:IV-I, IV-IV, III-I, IV-vi, V/V-V-v/iii, iii-V/V-V</td>
<td>b:i, iv</td>
<td>f#:v, i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Da capo**

### C. Wandelt wie die Kinder des Lichts (1748) No. 3

#### A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>B2</th>
<th>C3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rit.</strong></td>
<td>Ln.1</td>
<td>Ln.2</td>
<td>Ln.3</td>
<td>Rit.</td>
<td>Ln.1</td>
<td>Ln.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C:I-I</td>
<td>I-V, V-V/V, V-V</td>
<td>V-V/V</td>
<td>V-I iii-V, I-I, I-I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fine)

#### B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ln. 4</th>
<th>Ln. 5</th>
<th>Ln. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| C:vi  | IV-iii |
| a:i-IV, |       |
| G:V,   | I-IV   |
| F:V-I, | I      |

(Da Capo)
Table 3.8. Diagrams of Da Capo Aria texts without Ritornellos.

A. *Hosianna sey willkommen* (1709) No. 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rit.</td>
<td>Ln. 1</td>
<td>Ln. 2</td>
<td>Ln. 3</td>
<td>Ln. 3</td>
<td>Ln. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d:i-i</td>
<td>i - i, i - i, V - V, i - V, i - i</td>
<td>i - i</td>
<td>i - i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fine)

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lns. 3-6</th>
<th>Lns. 3-6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d:III - I, iv - III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Da Capo

B. *Weht ihr Winde* (1721) No. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rit.</td>
<td>Ln. 1</td>
<td>Ln. 2</td>
<td>Ln. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G:I-I</td>
<td>I - I, I - V, V - I, I - I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fine)

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ln. 4, Ln. 5, Lns. 6-7, Ln. 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G:vi-III, vi-v/V, V - V/V, V/V-iii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Da Capo
The "B" sections contain no ritornellos and the repetition of the lines in that section is variable. Frequently in the earlier da capo forms, Graupner destroys the internal proportions of "A" by omitting the internal ritornello or not repeating a line or lines. The symmetry and balance that was obtained in the first section by framing it with ritornellos and by having the two statements of the lines separated by an internal ritornello becomes more and more the standard as Graupner increasingly moves towards the galant or pre-Classical. This trend is particularity evident after 1739, when fewer "A" sections lacking symmetry or an internal ritornello can be seen. Table 3.9 lists the errant arias from these two periods and compares their total number with that of the standard format. Before 1739, the year of vice-Kapellmeister Grünewald's death, there are only forty-one extant solo or duet da capo Christmas arias, but thirteen of them do not have a balanced "A" section. After 1739, the year of vice-Kapellmeister Grünewald's death, there are ninety-one such surviving examples but only nine deviant patterns. Two

52It is curious that five of these thirteen arias that do not have a balanced A section also contain examples of extensive word painting, suggesting that such a technique made it difficult to achieve symmetry. The five examples are *Der Gerechte* No. 7, *Weht ihr Winde* No. 2, *Siehe da* No. 5, *Gedenket an* 1727, and *Wie lieblich* No. 3. A sixth example, *Wo zween* No. 2, contains extensive coloratura writing that is not directly attributable to word painting.
of these aberrant patterns before 1739 and three of them after 1739 are duets, in which the repetition of words between voices may have necessitated omitting repeated lines or the internal ritornello.

Table 3.9. Number of Cantatas Containing Solo or Duet Da Capo Arias Without an Internal Ritornello or Balanced Repetition of Lines in the "A" Section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Variant</th>
<th>No. of Invariable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1739</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 1739</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graupner's use of the da capo form, the standard format in his arias, was done at a time when the paradigm was beginning its reign as the classic procedure for aria construction. Unlike other composers who participated in the ascendent rise of the da capo aria, however, Graupner never wrote (at least in the works studied) the "B" section in a contrasting tempo or meter. Graupner's arias were in

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53 Includes Wo zween (1725), No. 2, which has an internal ritornello that is not clearly defined because of elided cadences.

54 Includes the year 1739.
all likelihood written with specific singers in mind, allowing them opportunities to display their vocal abilities. Unlike Bach, who had to be content with what the town and school offered, Graupner had well-trained singers of a high caliber at his disposal. His music is necessarily reflective to some extent of their abilities and their demands; Bach, on the other hand, in the absence of such demands, could do as he pleased.

Other Aria Forms

Graupner's deviations from the structural norm of the strict da capo form are rare. By contrast, the arias in J.S. Bach's first Jahrgang at Leipzig show a wide variety of forms. During Bach's first year as Kantor, he wrote forty-eight da capo arias, twenty-six in strict and twenty-two in free da capo form, eighteen binary arias, and twelve in other forms.\textsuperscript{55} Bach varied the conventions and the formal procedure to avoid repetition of the entire first sentence in the repeat (BWV 22/4), to facilitate conformity to a rotating cyclical pattern (BWV 69a/5, BWV 77/3), and to set shorter poetic forms in da capo format because of the desirability of structural weight (BWV 83/1). He preferred

\textsuperscript{55}Stephen A. Crist, "Aria Forms in Cantatas from Bach's first Leipzig Jahrgang", 41-43.
certain rhyme schemes for free da capo arias (a.bba, aab.ccb). Bach's experimentation with the form and Graupner's need for a new cantata every Sunday made them both exceptions among their contemporaries. Graupner's heavy work load forced him to rely almost exclusively on the strict da capo format. Similarly, as Bach's frantic pace of composition continued during his first year in Leipzig, where he composed a cantata every week as well as the Magnificat, and the St. John Passion, he, too, wrote fewer arias in free da capo and more in strict da capo form. It would appear that both of them may have used the strict da capo form as an efficiency measure.

Graupner's da capo form occasionally was modified with intervening material placed before the return of the "A" section, such as in the bass aria "Danket Gott" from Frolocke Zions (1719; No. 5), which has both a recitative and an arioso section, or in the soprano aria "Lass nur die Welt," from Lass nur die Welt (1721; No. 2), where an intervening recitative is placed before the recapitulation. In these two examples, Graupner seems to be following the dictates of the text: the scansion and the rhyme scheme indicate that the librettist Lichtenberg intended the words

56 Ibid, 44-47.
57 Ibid, 47-48.
to be set as recitative, as part of the preceding aria, thus requiring Graupner to compose music that fit the poet's model. The aria lines in "Danket Gott" and in "Lass nur die Welt" are rhymed with regular feet but the ensuing recitatives have free verse (Ex. 3.8).

Example 3.8. Da Capo Arias with Internal Recitatives.

A. Frolocke Zions fromme Schaar, (1719) No. 5.

Aria:

Danket Gott an allen Orten!
Wir sind Gottes Kinder worden.
Welche Ehre, welcher Trost. (Fine)

Recitative:

So ist mein Glaube voller Ruhm.
Ich darf getrost zu meinem Vatter gehen.
Mein Bethen und mein Flehen verwirft er nicht.
Ich bin sein Eigenthum, ein Erb von seines Himmelsreiche,
Sagt was mag meiner Ehre gleichen.

Arioso:

Erden Zier die verdamten Sclaven macht wag mit dir!
Unser Erbtheil ist dort oben in dem Himmel,
Aufgehoben da uns Gottes Reichthum lacht.
(Da Capo)

B. Weht ihr Winde (1721) No. 2.

Aria:

Laß nur die Welt so ferne machen.
Mein Glaube, kann sie wohl verlachen
Der sich an seinem Heiland hält. (Fine)
Der Felß worauf Verwegne stranden,
An dem dan ich mit Freuden landen.
Er ist mein Fort,
Mein sichrer Ort,
Wenn mich ein Wetter überfält.

Recitative:
Zwar oftmals sagt die schwache Brust.
Es deucht sie alzu schwehr in wilden Meer
Im Anlaufstrengen Sturms zu rasten.
Jedoch, des Glauben Licht,
Macht bald den festen Grund bewußt.
Wandt man nur nicht.
So weiss uns Gott der Noth
Gar herrlich zu entlasten. (Da Capo)

In the arias surveyed for this study, the sole use of the *dal segno* aria, which is a modification of the *da capo* form, is found in the cantata for soprano solo, *Ich bleibe Gott getreu*, written for St. Stephen's Day, 1719. This cantata is unusual in several respects. Normally, when the scribe copied the individual parts from Graupner's score, the singer's score was notated without any instrumental cues. In *Ich bleibe*, however, the soprano score is supplied with a continuo line throughout the entire cantata, including recitatives. Moreover, the four arias in this cantata are written in three different forms. The first, "Ich bleibe Gott getreu," is a *dal segno* aria, with a *motto*.

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58Although this is the only Christmas cantata that has a bass line supplied with the singer's score, the practice must have been at least occasionally utilized in Darmstadt. The 1709 cantata, *Nimm mein Hertz zum geschencke* (BRD DS 417/21), also written for soprano solo, likewise supplies a bass line with the singer's score.
Example 3.9. *Ich bleibe Gott getreu* (1719) No. 1, ms. 6-11.
beginning\textsuperscript{59} that omits the opening ritornello at the repeat (Ex. 3.9). The second and fourth arias, "Tobt ihr Feinde," and "Muß ich gleich" are in the familiar strict da capo format, and the third "Marter Steine" is through composed. In addition, ornamental passaggi not present in Graupner's autograph were added to all four arias in the singer's score. This poses several intriguing questions: Is the continuo line in the singer's score meant to reassure an insecure singer? Were the ornaments added by a singer who

\textsuperscript{59}In a motto aria, the initial vocal phrase is stated in its completeness only after the opening motive has been sung and echoed by the instruments. The motto aria began to permeate operatic arias during the 1680's and 1690's. See Richard Crocker, \textit{A History of Musical Style}, 2nd edition (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 300. True motto arias are rare in Graupner.
was unfamiliar with the practice in Darmstadt or by a visiting vocalist who wrote them out of habit? Finally, does the use of the dal segno, i.e., the omission of the instrumental ritornello at the return of the "A" section, atypical for Graupner, indicate a desire to focus more attention on the singer at the expense of the orchestra?

Through-composed arias, such as "Marter Steine" from *Ich bleibe* (1719; No. 5) and "Wer wird Ihn aufnahmen" from *Nun freut euch* (1750; No. 4) are rare. The choice to compose an aria without a da capo again was dictated by the poet's text: either the text was shorter than the standard da capo format, as in "Marter Steine," or the passage was intended to be set as a Dictum, a passage from the Bible that served as the theme of the cantata, as in "Wer wird Ihn aufnahmen," where a direct quote from John 1:12 is used (Example 3.10). Typically a Dictum was set as an accompanied recitative but in "Wer wird Ihn aufnahmen," it is a through composed aria, framed by ritornellos.

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60 Similar ornaments were added to the soprano part of *Die Gerechte muß viel leiden*, perhaps by the same person. See Wolff, *Original Vocal Improvisations* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1972), 136-141. See below for a discussion of ornamentation.

61 See below for a discussion of the Dictum.
Example 3.10. Texts set as Through Composed Arias.

A. *Ich bleibe Gott getreu* (1719) No. 5

Marter Steine die all hier,  
Unsern Scheitel tödlich drücken  
Werden unsrer Ehren Cron  
Dort als Diamanten Schmücken.

The stones of a martyr which here,  
Press deadly on our heads,  
Become our glory crown there,  
Adorned with diamonds.

B. *Nun freut euch* (1750) No. 4

Wer wird Ihn aufnehmen denen gab er Macht Gottes  
Kinder zu werden, die an Seinen Namen glauben.

Whoever receives Him, He gives power to become  
God's children, those who believe in His name.  
*(John 1:12)*

Text Setting

In the preface to his *Darmstädtisches ChoralBuch*[^62] (1728), Graupner explains the care that must be taken in setting a text.

... Ingenious lovely songs are usually one of the most important acts of the public worship service. The care and the effort that goes into these songs should not be taken lightly, for a good setting of the text requires suitable melodies. Edifying words of the songs leave a deep impression in the soul, where with thoughtful and well-chosen expression, the sense and stress of the texts through the music, as it were, is actively represented. And this is so with every

composition when a certain text and words demand the highest elegance. Thus it is in the stops of punctuation: period, comma, semicolon, colon, question, exclamation parenthesis, and so on, are not the same. And so it follows that each of these in the music must have its own expression. Also, it is necessary to give each word a fitting and suitable emphasis. And where the thought in the paragraph ends, the harmony must conclude in a like manner. Thus all compositions and in particular in recitatives, which have much to say and above all test the judgement of a composer, show whether or not he has been equal to the task which is set before him.

In setting a text, Graupner's concerns of giving "each word its fitting and suitable emphasis," and advancing the "sense and stress of the text" through thoughtful musical expression, is indicative not only of his opinion how a chorale melody should be set, but also suggestive of his preoccupation with the proper musical setting of any text. The reformer Martin Luther was of the belief that a musical composition should be a sermon in music and Lutheran composers seeking to reach Luther's ideal, relied on musical-rhetorical figures to emphasize key words, much the same way the pastors, schooled in rhetoric, would deliver their sermons.63 Musical-rhetorical figures, particularity those of the hypotyposis group, that is word painting,64 are fairly frequent in Graupner's early Christmas cantatas but

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less prevalent later. At the time of the *Choralbuch* (1728), word painting was already becoming less frequent, an indication perhaps that Graupner's *Choralbuch* preface was more of a reverent bow to the past than a prescription for the future. In the bass aria "Ich küsse dich" from the cantata *Uns ist ein Kind geboren* (1712; No. 5), the words "So fliet mein herber Schmerz" ("thus my bitter soreness flees") is accompanied initially by an ascending chromatic line, musically depicting the departure of anguish (Ex. 3.11.). The coming of the Christ Child is joyfully depicted (Ex. 3.13) by a rising sequential motive in the key of D major on the word "frolocke" ("rejoice") in the bass aria "Frolocke" from *Frolocke Zions fromme Schaar* (1719; No. 1). Similarly, in the tenor aria "Mein Glaube" from *Gedenket an den* (1727; No. 5) Graupner paints (Example 3.13) the attempts of the world to move the faith with a long sequential ascending and descending melisma on the word "bewegt" (to move).
Example 3.11. Uns ist ein Kind (1712) No. 2, ms. 98-108.

Example 3.12. Frolocke Zions (1719) No. 1, ms. 8-11.
Musical-rhetorical figures also utilized rests to emphasize key words. The bass aria "Mein Hertz ist guter Dinge" (Example 3.14) from Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen (No. 5, 1730), has rests that delineate the key words "faste," "bethe," and "singe" (fast, pray, sing). The blood and death of God's servants that demands vengeance, murder, blood, and sword, is depicted in the bass aria's "Blut und Tod" from Hosianna sey willkommen (1709; No. 5, Ex. 3.15) with a long melisma on the word "Rache" (revenge). Furthermore, to emphasize "Schwerte" (sword), Graupner places a triplet on the word "Schwerte" while the accompanying orchestra simultaneously remains in duple time with two sixteenths and an eighth (ms. 13, Ex. 3.15). The identical rhythm, on the same word, also occurs in ms. 19 of the aria. It appears that cross rhythms were pictorial devices Graupner deliberately used to dramatize the text.

65See Harold Samuel, op. cit., 189.
Example 3.14 *Wie lieblich* (1730), No. 5, ms. 11-13.

In *Der Gerechte muß viel leiden* (1720; No. 7, Ex. 3.16), the confidence that remains in the spirit, even though storm and weather rage, is expressed through duple patterns against triple when the words "Sturm und" (storm and) appear. To heighten the drama further, there is a long melisma on the word "toben" (to rage) as the violin continues the storm perpetuum mobile. Similarly, in *Weht ihr Winde* (1720), in the soprano aria "Laß nur die Welt" (No. 2) the world becomes distant and the faith, which clings to the Saviour, laughs at the world ("verlachen.") Not only does faith deride the world with a long melisma (Ex. 3.17), but the repeated pattern of two triplets against a pair of two
sixteenth notes and an eighth adds clatter to the laughter. Furthermore, in the choral first movement of this cantata, Graupner uses both duple and triple time to recreate waves tossing the ship of faith. The opening movement begins with triplets in the strings and continuo and statements by the chorus in familiar style. As the storm continues to brew, the rushing triplets break into triplet sixteenth note patterns like the cacophony of waves while the chorus continues to defy the turbulence with homophonic statements of "Blow you winds! Rage you waves! ("Weht ihr Winde! Tobt ihr Wellen!"; Example 3.18). A fugato begins with the words, "Here is He who can defy you" ("Hier ist der euch trozen kan") and the imitative entrances on the following affirmation "God's Son does not allow himself to be cut down" ("Gottes läst sich nicht fallen") begins with eighth notes, progresses to triplet eighths, and concludes with sixteenth notes, presenting numerous opportunities for cross rhythms (Example 3.19).

In the later Christmas cantatas, as Graupner increasingly began to organize his phrases into some kind of articulated periodic structure, word painting becomes less frequent. The transition from Baroque perpetuum mobile pictorial motives and other musical-rhetorical devices to motives and phrases that enlisted the aid of symmetry and balance in their search for expressiveness, was often done
Example 3.15. *Hosianna sey* (1709), No. 5, ms. 12-17.
Example 3.17  

Weht ihr Winde (1720), No. 2, ms. 12-19.

Violino 1 |

Sopran |

Cont inuc
Example 3.18. Weht ihr Winde (1720), No. 1, ms. 9.
Example 3.19. Weht ihr Winde (1720), No. 1, ms. 36-39.
at the expense of explicit word painting. In pre-Classical or galant Graupner, the coloration of a word is not particularly an attempt to reflect the meaning of that word but rather becomes a vehicle for vocal virtuosity, frequently forced into a question and answer format. The change in Graupner's composition habits was not sudden but occurred gradually; occasionally both styles made joint appearances in the same cantata. For example, in Siehe da (1727), the aria "Frolockt" (No. 5) opens with two short melismas on the word "frolockt" (rejoice) with the
antecedent phrase cadencing on the dominant, and the consequent phrase on the tonic (Ex. 3.20). Similarly the phrase "ihr fromen mein Heyl ist nun gekommen" (pious ones, my salvation has now come) is initially set syllabically, cadencing on the dominant; however, the partial repetition of the text, likewise cadencing on the dominant, inspires Graupner to portray the coming of salvation with a long extended sequential melisma.

Example 3.20. Siehe da (1727) No. 5, ms. 7-15.

\[\text{Example 3.20. Siehe da (1727) No. 5, ms. 7-15.}\]

\[\text{Example 3.20. Siehe da (1727) No. 5, ms. 7-15.}\]

66 Compare Graupner's earlier sequential setting of this word in Frolocke (1719; No. 1), Example 3.12.
Though less frequent in Graupner's later cantatas, word painting was never completely abandoned. The soprano aria "Seele fleuch" from *Jerusalem wie oft habe ich* (1745) No. 5, receives its inspiration from the Gospel for that
Sunday, Matthew 23:37: Oh Jerusalem! How often have I yearned to gather your children as a hen gathers her young under her wings, but you refused me. The opening of the aria is replete with bird calls and ascending scalar passages, admonishing the soul to flee to Zion's hill, under the merciful wings of Jesus (Example 3.21).


67*Jerusalem! Wie oft habe ich deine Kinder versammeln wollen wie eine Henne versammelt ihre Küchlein unter ihre Flügel; und ihr habt nicht gewolt.*
Rather than the sequentially extended linear text painting that was favored by Graupner in his earlier cantatas, coloration in the later arias is frequently broken up into smaller units, underpinned by a slower harmonic rhythm, and attempts to show the vocal prowess of the singer at the expense of word painting. The coloratura writing in
"Alles will" (No. 5) from *Sie eifern* (1746) ignores the pictorial possibilities inherent in the word "streiten" (quarrel) and instead has a florid flourish on the word "groser" (great). Moreover, each time the coloration occurs, it appears in a phrase that has a strong consequent tendency (the phrase with the text "wieder Gottes Warheit streiten" being the antecedent), thus becoming a decorative element that helps articulate the structure (Example 3.22). Similarly, in *Das Licht scheint* (1746), the opening lines of the aria "Er leuchte mich" (No. 3) disregard the blatant opportunities present for pictorial illustrations in the antecedent phrase, "Erleuchte mich" (illuminate me) and instead have virtuoso flourishes in the consequent phrase on the word "Glantz," (brightness) (Example 3.23). Moreover, the unified rhythmic texture of the High Baroque is no longer evident in these two examples from *Das Licht scheint* and *Sie eifern*. The phrases, rather than being homogeneous rhythmically, become different articulated events that depend on rhythmic variety for their vitality.69


69 With this characteristic, Graupner is forward looking. Traits of Classical music include symmetrical
Ornamentation

Two of the arias from the cantata for solo soprano, *Ich bleibe Gott getreu* (1719), the through composed "Marter Steine" and the da capo "Muß ich gleich um Jesu leiden," (No. 5 and No. 7 respectively), contain Italian inspired *passaggi*, present in the singer's parts but absent in Graupner's autograph.\(^70\) The soprano aria "Tobe Welt" from *Die Gerechte* (1720; No. 5) contains similar *passaggi* in the singer's part but not in the autograph.\(^71\) This aria exists in two versions. The primary soprano's part (folio 16), contains the soprano's music for all pertinent movements, i.e., opening chorus, soprano recitative, second chorus, chorale, and the aria "Tobe Welt" with added ornaments. A secondary canto part (folio 17), though written in what appears to be the same hand, contains only the soprano aria, "Tobe Welt," unornamented. The existence of two variants of the same soprano aria is peculiar. If in fact there were two different sopranos involved in the same performance,

\(^70\)The exception is measure 25 of "Muß ich gleich" where the autograph, like the singer's score, contains a *Vorschlag* and a trill on beat one, and *passaggi* of six notes that connects the melodic interval of a seventh between beats two and three.

\(^71\)The aria "Tobe Welt," with the added ornamentation is reproduced in Christian Wolff, *Original Vocal Improvisations* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1972), 136-141.
Example 3.22. *Sie eifern* (1746) No. 5, ms. 11-18.
Example 3.23. Das Licht scheint (1746) No. 3, ms. 15-18.
which here is not at all likely, the principal singer's part would contain the music to both ensemble and solo numbers while the auxiliary singer's part would consist only of ensemble numbers. It is suspected that the music to the unornamented soprano aria may have been written after the original soprano part had been defaced with so many ornaments that the notes were unintelligible, making it necessary to recopy the part, either on Graupner's orders, who may have been displeased with the excessive ornamentation, or for some subsequent performance when heavily ornamented vocal lines were no longer in fashion.

The passaggi written in the singer's score for the arias "Marter Steine" and "Muß ich gleich" from *Ich bleibe* are placed above Graupner's original vocal line in Ex. 3.24). With the exception of "Tobe Welt" from *Der Gerechte*, written one year later than *Ich Bleibe*, such ornamentation is not present in other Christmas cantatas. The close proximity of passaggi limited to soprano arias may indicate the attempts of an unknown singer learning to sing in the Italian manner or the presence of a *prima donna* who was later forbidden such excesses who left Darmstadt at a later date. It is interesting to note that most of the added ornamentation in "Muß ich gleich" occurs in the "B" section of the da capo aria (beginning with ms. 27), and not in the "A" portion, whose recapitulation in performances today
would invariably invite ornamentation. In "Muß ich gleich,"
the restatement of three lines of the "A" section (ms. 14-24), is given a more elaborate melodic setting by Graupner,
perhaps discouraging further embellishing by the singer
(Example 3.24B).

Except for these two works listed above, performer
added ornaments in the Christmas cantatas are nonexistent.
More typical is Graupner's indication in the partitur of an
ornament that would be faithfully transferred by the scribe
to the performer's part. The extent of extemporaneous
improvising done during a performance cannot, of course, be
adequately documented. However, Graupner's careful notation
of trills and Vorschläge in his autograph and the careful
transmission of the ornamentation by the scribe suggests
that Graupner was intent on limiting the spontaneous whims
of the performer. Example 3.25 illustrates the relationship
between Graupner's own indications and those made on the
individual part. With the exception of the cadential trills
in Wo zween oder drei, No. 1 (Example 3.25C), where the
scribe neglected to add the cadential trill to the violin's
parts, and O, Das weise wären, No. 6 (Example 3.25D), where
the scribe added a cadential trill to the violin score that
was not present in the autograph, Graupner's wishes are
faithfully and meticulously conveyed by the scribe to the
Example 3.24. Ornamentation in *Ich bleibe Gott getreu* (1719): No. 5 ("Marter Steine") and No. 7 ("Muß ich gleich um Jesu leiden"). The bottom line contains Graupner's original, the top line indicates the added ornaments found in the soprano's part.

A. "Marter Steine."

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Example 3.24. Ornamentation in *Ich bleibe Gott getreu* (1719): No. 5 ("Marter Steine") and No. 7 ("Muß ich gleich um Jesu leiden"). The bottom line contains Graupner's original, the top line indicates the added ornaments found in the soprano's part.

A. "Marter Steine."

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B. "Muß ich gleich."

LARGO

Soprano Score; Folio 15-1

Muss ich gleich um Jesus leiden den noch beth ich auch mit

Muss ich gleich Jesus leiden den noch beth ich auch mit

Freuden den noch beth ich auch mit Freu -

Freuden den noch beth ich auch mit Freu -

-Ihn den Hey - land - bsend an Ihn den

-Ihn den Hey - land - bsend an Ihn den

Hey - land ster - bsend an. Muss ich leiden Jesus leiden

Hey - land ster - bsend an. Muss ich leiden Jesus leiden

Den - noch beth ich auch mit Freu -

Den - noch beth ich auch mit Freu -
Hey-land ster-bend an.
Nun 0 Herr  an mei-nem  End-  de, an
mei-nem  En- de  mei-nen  Geist  mei-ne  Geist  in  de- ne  Hän- de  in  de- ne
Hän- de. Da ihn  nich-ts  be-trü- ben  kan.
Da ihn  nich-ts  be-trü- ben  kan.
copy. In Example 3.25A, both Graupner and the scribe indicated a trill for the penultimate note of the cadence, a perfectly normal place for it to occur. In Example 3.25B, the measure 56 has a *Vorschlag* and trill on beats one and two in the middle of a phrase but at the cadence (ms. 58-59) where a trill would be obligatory, such an indication is absent, undoubtedly because cadential trills were such a part of the *de facto* performance that there was little concern with their careful notation. Folio 8, measure 56 of the violino part shows that, at least in this instance, the sign "+" and "tr" were used interchangeably for the trill (Example 3-25B). What is remarkable is the high degree of consistency between Graupner's indications and the scribes' duplications.

Example 3.25. Corresponding Ornament Signs in Graupner's Autograph and Scribe's Copies of Individual Parts.

A. Aria: "Das wir den Kinder," Frolocke Zions (1719; No. 3), Ms. 9-10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Autograph</th>
<th>Scribe's Copy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Autograph" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Scribe's Copy" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Aria: "Schmäht, schlagt," Weht ihr Winde (1721; No. 4)
Ms. 54-60.

Autograph

Scribe's Copy
C. Recitative: "Wo zween oder drei," Wo zween oder drei (1725; No. 1), Ms. 5.

**Autograph**

![Autograph notation]

**Scribe's Copy**

![Scribe's Copy notation]

D. Chorale: "Warum will du ewig sterben," O, Das Sie weise wären (1739; No. 6), Ms. 32-33.

**Autograph**

![Autograph notation]

**Scribe's Copy**

![Scribe's Copy notation]

E. Aria: "Danket Gott," Frolocke Zions (1719, No. 6)

**Autograph**

![Autograph notation]
F. Aria: "Frolockt mit mir" Siehe da, eine Hütte Gottes (1727; No. 5, Ms. 1-2).

G. Aria: "Frolockt mit mir" Siehe da, eine Hütte Gottes (1727; No. 5, Ms. 25-26).
H. Chorus: "O schönes Haus" O schönes Haus (1731; No. 1), Ms. 14-15.

**Autograph**

I. Duet: "Jesus gibt mir," Laßet uns rechtschaffen seyn (1737; No. 5), Ms. 11.

**Autograph**

**Scribe's Copy**
The Vorschläge, the other ornament sign favored by Graupner, was also meticulously notated in both the autograph and the scribe's copy. Early uses of the Vorschläge (Ex. 3.25-e, 3.25-f) combine it with the sign for a trill (+), hinting that the Vorschlag might be played before the beat, particularly in Ex. 3.25-e where the ornamented note is only a dotted eighth in duration. In later uses of the Vorschläge (Ex.3.25-h and 3.25-I), the ornament, taken in context with the written out appoggiatura that follows it, enriches the harmony through its on the beat dissonance, and becomes a unit of the thematic structure rather than a piece of melodic decoration. This

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72 A Vorschlag is a "one-note grace that precedes its parent." Played before the beat it is a grace note, played on the beat an "appoggiatura." Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Princeton University Press, 1978), 44-45.

73 Frederick Neumann suggests that a Vorschlag may be anticipated when "it occurs within a cluster or ornaments, and must be made audible." Ibid., 162.
expressive use of accented dissonance to enhance the melody was widely used by Graupner and his galant contemporaries. It reaches the apex of its development with Classical composers such as Wolfgang Mozart, who opened his Sonata in Bb (K. 333) with on-beat appoggiaturas, either written out or indicated with grace notes (Example 3.25-J).

**Tempo and Dynamic Markings**

Tempo indications in Graupner's Christmas cantatas, relatively rare in his early years, were increasingly used after 1739 (Table 3.10), the year of vice-Kapellmeister Grünewald's death when Graupner's compositional obligations doubled. It may have been that the tempo indications on the performers' scores were an attempt by Graupner to save rehearsal time, but more likely the tempo suggestions were a

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74 In paragraph I of Chapter VIII of the *Versuch*, Johann Quantz writes that "In performance appoggiaturas . . . are both ornamental and essential. Without appoggiaturas a melody would often sound very meagre and plain. If it is to have a *galant* air, it must contain more consonances than dissonances; but if many of the former occur in succession, and several rapid notes are followed by a long one that is also a consonance, the ear may easily be wearied by them. Hence dissonances must be used from time to time to rouse the ear. And in this connection, appoggiaturas can be of considerable assistance, since they are transformed into dissonances, such as fourths and sevenths, if they stand before thirds or sixths reckoned from the bass, and are then properly resolved by the following notes. Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 2nd edition, translated by Edward R. Reilly (New York: Schirmer, 1985), 91.
result of his intention increasingly to vary and dictate the mood and pace of the aria movements.

Table 3.10. Tempo Indications in the Da Capo Arias of Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.\textsuperscript{75}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Tempo Indication</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ich bleibe (1719), No. 5</td>
<td>Adagio\textsuperscript{76}</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Largo</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O schönes Hauß (1731), No. 2</td>
<td>Sortentato</td>
<td>V1.V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tempo giusto</td>
<td>V1.V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laßet uns (1737), No. 3</td>
<td>Affettuoso</td>
<td>V1.V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>V2,VO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehre sey Gott (1739), No. 6</td>
<td>Largo</td>
<td>V1,S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Der Engel Heer (1740), No. 3</td>
<td>Vivace</td>
<td>V1.V2.VA,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Largo</td>
<td>A,C,V1,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mache dich auf (1740), No. 3</td>
<td>Largo e giusto</td>
<td>V2,VA,VO,B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>Allegro\textsuperscript{77}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Licht (1740), No. 2</td>
<td>Allegro</td>
<td>C,V1,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andante</td>
<td>C,V1,V2,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Es ist leyder (1741), No. 5</td>
<td>Affettuoso</td>
<td>A,C,V1,V2,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S,</td>
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<td>VA,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heute ist (1742), No. 4</td>
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<td>A,C,V1,V0,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jauchzet (1743), No. 5</td>
<td>Allegro\textsuperscript{78}</td>
<td>C,V0,</td>
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</table>

\textsuperscript{75}The following abbreviations are used to indicate the location of the parts: A=Autograph, S=Soprano, T=Tenor, B=Bass, V1=1st Violin, V2=2nd Violin, VA=Viola, VO=Violone, C=Continuo, CO=Corno, CH=Chalumeau, Fl=Flute, T=Timpani, O=Oboe, CL=Clarino.

\textsuperscript{76}Marked Largo in the soprano's score.

\textsuperscript{77}Marked Vivace in the Continuo, Soprano and Violone parts.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Piece</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tempo</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>V2,VA,VO,</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Largo</td>
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<td>Das Licht (1744), No. 3</td>
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<td>Frolocke (1745), No. 3</td>
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<td>VA,VO,</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V2,VO,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Licht (1746), No. 3</td>
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<td>Largo</td>
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<td>Allegro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Man prediget (1747), No. 3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>A,C,V1,V2,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,B,</td>
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<td>V1,V2,VA,VO,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Das ewig Licht (1747), No. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Andante</td>
<td>A,V1,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A,C,V1,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es ist (1748), No. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Allegro</td>
<td>A,C,V1,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet d'rauf (1748), No. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Largo</td>
<td>A,C,VA,VO,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A,C,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,CO1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CO2,F,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandelt wie (1748), No. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Allegro</td>
<td>A,C,V1,V2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA,VO,CH1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CH2,S,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78 Marked Vivace in Violin 1.

79 Since the microfilm copy is missing a page of the autograph, it is not possible to determine if there is a dynamic marking in the autograph of No. 5.
Wenn des (1749), No. 3 Allegro
No. 6 Allegro
Gerechtigkeit (1749), No. 5 Largo
Den Seegen hat (1749), No. 3 Allegro
No. 5 Allegro
Frolocket ihr (1749), No. 1 Allegro
No. 3 Allegro
No. 5 Andante
Schuldige (1750), No. 3 Allegro
No. 5 Andante
Nun freut (1750), No. 3 Vivace
No. 6 Allegro
Das ist das (1751), No. 5 Andante
Der Herr ist (1752), No. 3 Allegro
No. 6 Allegro
Jauchzet ihr (1753), No. 1 Allegro
No. 3 Allegro

---

80 The term bass on the part probably indicated a violone.
Dynamic markings, like the tempo indications, show Graupner's increased use of them for intensifying expression. Markings for crescendo and decrescendo were unknown to Graupner and he limited himself to the symbols PP, P, F, fort and FF. Frequently, dynamic markings are used to remind the instrumentalists to play softer during a solo section and louder during a ritornello, as in "Holde Weißheit," No. 3 of Der Herr hat mich (1749; Example 3.26). Dynamic markings, particularly in later works, are used to vary and intensify the emotional texture. "Schaumt und Stürmt, No. 5 of Den Seegen hat (1749) and "Prangt immerhin," No. 6 of Nun freut euch (1750), with their sudden and surprising changes of loud and soft (Examples 3.27, 3.28) are reminiscent of the developments that were taking place in the contemporary Mannheim court orchestra under the direction of Johann Stamitz. Rather arresting is the complete lack of any dynamic indications in the singers' parts. This may be because the singers were privately rehearsed and informed of dynamic levels, but more likely Graupner was reluctant to enter the prima donna's realm.
Example 3.26. *Der Herr hat mich* (1749), No. 3.

A. Initial Vocal Entrance, ms. 6-8.

B. Beginning of Final Ritornello of the A Section,
Example 3.27. *Den Seegen hat* (1749), No. 5, ms. 122-126.

Example 3.28. *Nun freut euch* (1750), No. 6, ms. 1-7.
The Chorale

With the exception of the 1720 Jahrgang,\textsuperscript{81} all of Graupner's Christmas cantatas written by Lichtenberg were supplied with chorales. The usual position for the chorale was at the end of the cantata, but occasionally two stanzas of the chorale were separated by intervening arias and recitatives. In such instance, the second stanza invariably closes the cantata and the first is usually situated in the middle, or sometimes at the opening of the cantata (Table 3.11). Graupner's treatment of the chorale, unlike Bach's, invariably is a simple harmonic setting in familiar style, accompanied by concertizing instruments in non-imitative counterpoint, with soprano and alto lines frequently doubled. Graupner may have learned this style of chorale writing from his teacher Johann Kuhnau, who set chorales in this manner and who also used them as conclusions either for a section or the entire cantata.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{81}Since the church began its liturgical calendar with the first Sunday in Advent, Lichtenberg's printed cantata cycle from 1720 includes the cantatas \textit{Ich bleibe Gott getreu} (St. Stephen's Day 1719) and \textit{Frolocke Zions fromme Schaar} (Sunday after Christmas 1719), both of which are included in the present study. Neither contains a chorale.

Table 3.11. Position of Chorales in Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Position of Chorale&lt;sup&gt;83&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Position of Non-Chorale Chorus Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hosianna (1709)</td>
<td>1/7</td>
<td>1/7; 7/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uns ist ein Kind (1712)</td>
<td>3/7</td>
<td>1/7; 7/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Gerechte (1720)</td>
<td>4/9; 9/9</td>
<td>1/9; 3/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weht ihr Winde (1721)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo Zween oder Drei (1725)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchze, frolocke (1727)</td>
<td>4/9; 6/9</td>
<td>1/9, 9/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siehe da (1727)</td>
<td>4/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedenket an (1727)</td>
<td>5/8; 8/8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wie lieblich (1730)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O schönes Haß (1731)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laßet uns (1737)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehre sey Gott (1739)</td>
<td>4/8; 8/8</td>
<td>1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O! Das sie Weise (1739)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet welch (1739)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel Heer (1740)</td>
<td>4/8</td>
<td>1/8; 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mache dich auf (1740)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Licht des Lebens (1740)</td>
<td>3/7; 7/7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Engel frolocken (1741)</td>
<td>3/6; 6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es ist leyder (1741)</td>
<td>1/6; 6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Gnaden Glantz (1741)</td>
<td>3/6; 6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach Gott vom Himmel (1741)</td>
<td>1/6; 6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heut ist der Tag (1742)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach Gott vom Himmel (1742)</td>
<td>1/6; 6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wie lieblich sind (1742)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchzet ihr Himmel (1743)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gott wird ein (1743)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freude, Freude (1744)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruffe getrost (1744)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Licht (1744)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frolocke werthe (1745)</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem wie (1745)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Leben war (1745)</td>
<td>4/7; 7/7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sie eifier (1745)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sie eifier (1746)</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>83</sup> 3/7 signifies the chorale movement is the third movement out of a total of seven. The chorale movement in Uns ist ein Kind is an exception to Graupner's usual chorale setting since it is a motet with the chorale melody set in augmentation in the soprano.
Es jauchze aller (1746)  6/6  1/6
Das Licht (1746)  7/7
Der Engel Heer (1747)  4/6;7/7  1/7
Man prediget (1747)  6/6
Das ewig Licht (1747)  1/7;7/7
Es ist erschienen (1748)  7/7  3/7
Sehet d'rauf (1748)  4/7;7/7
Wandelt wie Kinder (1748)  7/7
Wenn des Königes (1749)  4/8;8/8  1/8
Gerechtigkeit (1749)  6/6  1/6
Der Herr hat mich (1749)  6/6
Den Seegen hat (1749)  4/7;7/7  1/7
Prolocket (1750)  7/7  1/7;4/7
Schuldige sie Gott (1750)  6/6
Nun freut euch (1750)  1/6
Das ist das (1751)  6/6  1/6
Der Herr ist allein (1752)  8/8  1/8;4/8
Jauchzet ihr Himmel (1753)  4/8  4/8;1/8

Motion between movements of a cantata is usually guided by keys a third apart or by tonic, subdominant, and dominant relations. What is interesting to note, however, is that the key of the chorale provides an anchor that helps mediate the choice of keys for the other movements (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12 Tonal Organization between movements in Five Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Beginning Key</th>
<th>Ending Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Die Gerechte muß viel leiden (1720)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Choral Fugue</td>
<td>c minor</td>
<td>G major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Soprano recitative</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>G major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chorus</td>
<td>Eb major</td>
<td>Eb major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. CHORALE, VS. 1</td>
<td>C MINOR</td>
<td>C MINOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Soprano aria</td>
<td>Eb major</td>
<td>Eb major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Soprano recitative</td>
<td>Bb major</td>
<td>F major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bass aria</td>
<td>Bb major</td>
<td>Bb major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bass recitative</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Eb major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. CHORALE, VS. 2</td>
<td>C MINOR</td>
<td>C MINOR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### B. Gedenket an den (1727)

1. Tenor recitative | Bb major | Bb major
2. Alto recitative | g minor | A major
3. Alto aria | F major | F major
4. Tenor recitative | C major | D major
5. **CHORALE, VS. 1** | G MAJOR | G MAJOR
6. Tenor aria | D major | D major
7. Tenor recitative | G major | D major
8. **CHORALE, VS. 2** | G MAJOR | G MAJOR

### C. Siehe da eine Hütte Gottes (1727)

1. Tenor recitative | F major | C major
2. Alto recitative | E major | A major
3. Alto aria | D major | D major
4. Tenor recitative | G major | G major
5. Tenor aria | C major | C major
6. **CHORALE** | F MAJOR | F MAJOR

### D. O schönes Hauß (1731)

1. Chorus | F major | F major
2. Tenor recitative | d minor | F major
3. Bass Dictum | Bb major | Bb major
4. Soprano recitative | F major | A major
5. Soprano aria | d minor | d minor
6. Bass recitative | C major | A major
7. **CHORALE** | F MAJOR | F MAJOR

### E. Den Seegen hat (1749)

1. Chorus | D major | D major
2. Bass recitative | G major | C major
3. Bass aria | F major | F major
4. **CHORALE, VS. 1** | D MINOR | D MINOR
5. Soprano aria | Bb major | Bb major
6. Tenor recitative | g minor | F major
7. **CHORALE, VS. 2** | D MINOR | D MINOR
When non-chorale movements are present, they usually occur in the first movement (Table 3.11) and frequently are written homophonically, particularly in later cantatas. The grandiose early cantata Unser ist ein Kind geboren, written in 1712, is scored for two clarini, timpani, two oboes, two violins, viola, continuo, two sopranos, alto, tenor, and bass. Except for the continuo part, only the score survives and individual parts are not extant. In the opening movement the clarino, timpani, strings, and choir concertize with each other, sounding together the emphatic words "Un ist ist ein Kind geboren" (ms. 10-11; "Unto us a child is born"), "ein Sohn ist uns gegeben" (ms. 17-20; "a son is given to us"), and "und des riedens kein Ende" (ms. 88-96; "and the peace has no end"). In the second half of the movement the meter changes from 4/4 to triple as a four voice fugue emerges. As is typical, the continuo plays in unison with the first two entries of the fugal subject, alto and soprano respectively, but only with the arrival of the third entry in the bass does the continuo double the bass line and supply appropriate harmonies (Example 3.29). The subject of this fugue is triadic and dance-like:
Example 3.29. *Uns ist ein Kind* (1712), No. 1, Fugal Exposition, ms. 44-53.
After an exposition, episode, and one middle entry, the movement concludes with a homophonic statement of the theme by all voices and instruments. Graupner does not deviate from the tonic key of D Major in this short fugue but instead attempts to create interest by varying the texture. The fugue begins with the voices unaccompanied except for the continuo. In the middle entry the strings double the voices and after the third entry in the tenor, the trumpets and timpani are added. During the free counterpoint after the middle entry the trumpets and timpani are absent, only to return during the final homophonic statement of the subject. The following chart in Table 3.13 illustrates the systematic thickening of the texture:
In this first movement, there are several passages that show similarities to Georg Frideric Handel's *Messiah*, perhaps indicating an unknown common source. Handel, whose borrowings from Reinhard Keiser have been well documented, was in Hamburg from 1703-1706, leaving the year of Graupner's arrival. The opening theme of Graupner's *Uns ist ein Kind* (above) has an affinity with the fugue subject in Handel's "For unto Us a Child is Born" from the *Messiah* (Example 3.30):

The following abbreviations are used: E = episode, Expo. = exposition, Cl. + T. = clarino and timpani. The final statement of the theme is homophonic.

Example 3.30. Setting of the text "Uns ist ein Kind geboren," ("For Unto Us a Child is Born") in Graupner's *Uns ist ein Kind* (1712), No. 1, "Uns ist ein Kind," and Handel's *Messiah* (1742), No. 12, "For Unto Us."

A. Graupner, Opening Subject, soprano, ms. 10-15.

B. Handel, Opening Fugal Subject, soprano, ms. 7-18.
A more striking example of similarities between these two works is found in the musical settings of the words "unter heißt Rat, Kraft, Held, ewig Vater, Friedefürst," (or in Handel's translation, "And His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace,"). Both of the versions employ rests to frame important words and use parallel thirds in sixteenth notes in the accompaniment (Example 3.31).

The third movement of *Uns ist ein Kind* is a four-voiced motet over the chorale melody "Von Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," sung in augmentation by the sopranos (Example 3.32). In later cantatas, Graupner's typical treatment of the chorale was an unpretentious, simple statement accompanied by homophonic instrumental figuration (see above). The use of a chorale melody in augmentation, however, was frequently employed by composers like Bach who utilized boys on the unadorned melody while singers with more training sang the challenging counterpoint. With no prohibition against women performing in the Schloßkirche in Darmstadt and with the

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86The first years Graupner was in Darmstadt he experimented writing movements that had the chorale as a thematically independent cantus firmus in a fugue or in a motet-like development. F. Noack. *Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1916), 43. *Uns ist ein Kind geboren* is the only cantata in the present study that contains one of these two characteristics.
availability of several highly trained singers, Graupner's later cantatas favored Darmstadt's prominent singers with arias at the expense of movements written for the ensemble.

It is conceivable though that boys were used in this and other large-scale cantatas. According to Friedrich Noack, two boys were used to augment the tutti section of the choir; one lived with Graupner and the other with Ernst Christian Hesse. It is not unreasonable to assume that Graupner also could have utilized the boy choir that was in the city.


88 The dates these two boys were in Darmstadt is not known. After 1719 the ledger books are missing. Friedrich Noack, Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken, 18.

89 The boy choir was founded in 1594 by the Landgrave Georg and remained an institution in Darmstadt until the destruction of the city by the Allied forces in 1944. In the early seventeenth century, the Hofkantor had the responsibility of training the choristers but later the task fell to the subcantor, a colleague, or older student, sometimes resulting in unpleasant situations. The Landgravin Elisabeth Dorothea complained in 1690 that the boys were lacking good voices, had uninspiring singing, missed their entrances, did not know the songs but instead quarreled and argued. Graupner's predecessor, Wolfgang Carl Briegel, was obligated to do the supervision himself or have a court musician be a substitute. See Elisabeth Noack, "Kirchenmusik und Kirchenmusiker in der Schloßkirche," Kirchliches Jahrbuch für das Evangelische Dekanat Darmstadt-Stadt (1965/1966), 25-30. On Dec. 20, 1725, Ludwig Hildebrand was appointed court cantor. His job included the supervision of the boys of the "Choral-Gesang" and he was admonished to sit where he could see the boys, not allow mischievousness, and report the worst offenders to the court
pastor. Elisabeth Noack, Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhnen 1967), 197.

90 The clarino and timpani parts, originally written one step lower (key of C major) in the autograph, have been transposed to concert pitch.
Friede, und on das seine Herrschaft gross.
auf das sei- be Herr- schaft gross.

Herr- schaft gross.
Although Graupner did not write out instrumental parts in the autograph, instruments probably doubled the voices. There are no extant individual instrumental parts for this cantata other than the continuo.
Bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen, bis willkommen.
In Der Gerechte (1720), there are two choral numbers placed at the beginning. The first, with the text "Der Gerechte muß viel leiden," (the righteous must suffer greatly) is contrapuntally conceived, with the words set imitatively over a descending bass line, depicting the anguish of the just. The second choral movement, "Aber der Herr hilft ihm aus dem allen," (but the Lord helps him out of all of this) is set homophonically over a rising bass line, portraying the assistance of the Lord to the believers.

Beginning already in the 1720's, Graupner interest in contrapuntally conceived choral movements began to wane. His future interest lay in the melodically dominated familiar style as "Aber der Herr" from Der Gerechte a fashion that was becoming increasingly in vogue in Europe.

**Recitative**

*Recitativo secco*

Typically each of the cantatas has two recitative-aria pairs with another recitative occasionally added before the closing chorale. The vast majority of these recitatives are in the secco style. Excluding the secco recitatives in Jesus ist und bleibt (1712), which are dialogues between soprano and bass, there are one hundred thirty secco recitatives for solo voice in the cantatas surveyed: fifty-two for bass, forty-two for soprano, thirty for tenor, but
only six for alto, reflecting again the hierarchical standing of singers in the Darmstadt Kapelle. A few of the recitatives tell the human side of performance. The tenor must have been sick or absent during the initial or a subsequent performance of *Heute ist der Tag* (1742) for on soprano's part in a hand different than the original scribe's and marked "NB," is the tenor's recitative transposed to soprano clef. Similarly, the problem of an unreliable tenor can be seen in the cantatas *Jerusalem, wie offt* (1745), *Wandelt wie die Kinder* (1748), and *Wenn des Königes* (1749), where the original tenor recitative was rewritten for the alto, soprano, and bass, respectively. The hectic pace of performance preparation is reflected in the rewritten alto recitative from *Jerusalem* where the usual concern for neatness, evident in most of the scribal copies, is absent.

*Recitativo accompagnato*

Although secco recitatives are most prevalent in Graupner's Christmas cantatas, frequently one recitative, which is placed at the beginning, will be accompanied. In later manuscript sources this movement is sometimes labeled a *Dictum*, a short Biblical quotation that summarizes the theme of a particular cantata. The preferred voice for the Dictum is a tenor but in the cantatas *Jerusalem, wie offt* (1745), and *Wandelt wie Kinder* (1748), the original Dictum for tenor
was rewritten into the alto and bass folios, respectively, indicating the absence of the tenor for either the initial or a subsequent performance. A short alto-tenor duet in *Schuldige Sie Gott* (1750) and two terse choral numbers in *Der Herr ist allein gutig* (1752) are labeled "Dictum."

In the St. Stephen's day cantata *Jerusalem* (1745), the Dictum quotes directly from Matthew 23:37, which is a section from the day's Gospel reading: "O Jerusalem! How often have I yearned to gather your children as a hen gathered her young under her wings but you refused me." On the other hand, the cantata for St. Stephen's day from 1748, *Sehet d'rauf*, quoting neither the Epistle for the day, Apostles 6: 8-15, 7: 55-60 nor the Gospel, Matthew 23: 34-39 or Luke 2: 15-20, utilizes Hebrew 12:15 as a source for the Dictum: "Therefore, see that nobody misses God's grace, that by chance, a bitter root grows and causes discord and many through that become defiled." Similarly in *Wandelt wie die Kinder*, the cantata for both St. John's Day and the Sunday after Christmas 1748, the text for the Dictum is

---

"Jerusalem! Wie oftich deine Kinder versammeln wollen wie eine Henne versammelt ihre Küchlein unter ihre Flügel; und ihr habt nicht gewollt."

"Sehet drauf daß niemand Gottes Gnade versäume, daß nicht etwa eine bittere Wurzel aufwachse und Unfriede anrichte, and viele durch die selbe verunreiniget werden."
likewise from neither of the daily Epistles (Sirach 15: 1-8 and Galatians 4: 1-7), nor the Gospels (John 21: 15-24 and Luke 2: 33-40) but from Ephesians 5:8,11: "Walk as Children of Light and have no association with the unfruitful works of darkness; rather, punish the works of darkness"94

Graupner's labeling of a Dictum for an accompanied recitative whose text both quoted scripture and served as the cantata's theme was not done consistently. In all of the Christmas cantatas surveyed, the term makes its presence known only after 1731, occurring merely fifteen times, nine times for the tenor, three times as a choral number, once as an alto-tenor duet, and once each for the bass and soprano. Table 3.14 identifies the location of the Dictum in the Christmas cantatas and the Biblical sources.

Table 3.14. Locations and Biblical Sources of the Dictum in the Christmas Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Performing Forces</th>
<th>Biblical Quotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O schönes Hauß</td>
<td>No. 3 Tenor</td>
<td>Isaiah 28:29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1731)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet welch</td>
<td>No. 1 Tenor</td>
<td>1 John 3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1739)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

94"Wandelt wie die Kinder des Lichtes und habt nicht gemeineschaft mit den unfruchtbaren Werken der Finsternis; strafet sie aber vielmehr." Die Bibel oder ganze Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments nach der deutschen Übersetzung D. Martin Luthers (St. Louis: Concordia), lists the verses as 9 and 11.
Yet quotations or paraphrases from Bible verses are present in other accompanied recitatives and chorus numbers, an indication perhaps that Biblical texts used as themes were not consistently labeled a Dictum. The text in the tenor accompanied recitative from *Hosianna sey willkommen* (1709; No. 3), "He came to his own but his own received him
not," is a quotation from John 1:112. Similarly the opening tenor accompanied recitative from Wo zween oder drey cites Matthew 18:20, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am with them." The quotation of Bible verses that stressed the theme of the cantata was not limited only to accompanied recitatives but can also be found elsewhere as in the opening choral movements from Den Seegen hat (1749), which quotes Proverbs 10:6 ("The head of the righteous has the blessing, but the mouth of the godless will be assaulted by their wickedness") and Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen (1730), which cites Psalm 84:1,5 ("How lovely are your dwelling places, Lord of Sabaoth. Blessed are those who dwell in your house! They praise you continually").

In the cantata for the Sunday after Christmas 1731, O schönes Hauß, the bass Dictum is accompanied by short detached eight notes. The bass line itself is sung in a parlando-like fashion (Example 3.33). There are two

95"Er kam in sein Eigentum, aber die Seinen nahmen ihn nicht auf."

96"Wo zween oder drei versamelt sind in meinem Nahmen, da bin ich mitten unter ihnen."

97"Den Seegen hat das Haupt des Gerechten; aber den Mund der Gottlosen wird ihr Frevel überfallen."

98"Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen, Herr Zebaoth! Wohl denen, die in deinem Hause wohnen; die lobe dich immerdar."
considerations that could have guided Graupner to set this Dictum in this manner. The joyful text "Such things happen from the Lord of Sabaoth for his counsel is wonderful and is gloriously carried out" demands a convincing setting and thus Graupner's choice of a more rapid-fire parlando setting is appropriate. Perhaps another inducement for Graupner to write in this style was the presence of the vice-Kapellmeister, the bass singer Gottfried Grünwald, who was

Example 3.33. O schönes Hauß (1731), No. 3, Bass Dictum, ms. 5-10.

99"Solches geschieht vom Herrn Zabaoth denn sein Rath ist wunderbar und führt es herrlich hinaus."
trained in the new Italian manner of singing and in all likelihood was the original performer.

A different approach can be seen in the Dictum for tenor from *Wandelt wie die Kinder* (1748). Graupner's

---

Example 3.34. Wandelt wie die Kinder (1748), No. 1, Tenor Dictum, ms. 6-13.
setting of the text "Walk as Children of Light and have no association with the unfruitful works of darkness; rather, punish the works of darkness" (Ephesians 5: 8,11) is marked Andante. Within the confines of the galant style and the pleasant sounding key of C major, the tenor moves in conjunct or stepwise motion, descending chromatically with the words "habt nicht gemeineschaft mit den unfruchtbaren Werken" (have no association with the unfruitful works) but jumping a sixth to stress "Finsternis" (darkness). In addition, with the restatement of that line of text, the violins take a dramatic plunge downward, thereby reinforcing the admonition to avoid darkness (Example 3.34).

Graupner's heavy workload, the availability of some superb singers, and a textual format that was standarized by the poet Johann Conrad Lichtenberg, were forces that helped shape the Lutheran cantata in Darmstadt. Because of Graupner's limited time and the demands of creating and performing new cantatas for Sundays or feast days, Graupner used paradigms and patterns that helped facilitate his productivity. The da capo aria not only was a procedure that helped make aria composition facile, it was a performance vehicle that helped showcase the vocal talent in Darmstadt. Vice-Kapellmeister Grünwald's death in 1739 must have been a shock for Graupner. The two men had known each other from youth, and, in Darmstadt they had alternated
setting Jahrgang texts. Yet, in some ways his death helped seal the fate of the cantata in Darmstadt. In accordance with Grünewald's wishes, all of Grünewald's cantatas were burned after his death. Henceforth Graupner alone had the responsibility of producing cantatas for the Darmstadt worship services, but the restraints of time and the continuing availability of Lichtenberg's texts, forced him to use the same format and procedures that had served so well in his earlier years. The arias continued to be written in a da capo form, chorales inevitably appeared at the end, and except for special occasions, the role of the chorus invariably was overshadowed by the prima donna singer who demanded--and received--extra musical consideration from Graupner. Yet within these constraints, within these formulas, Graupner remained responsive to the changing musical world. Most of his early cantatas in Darmstadt show him very much to be a composer of the Baroque; in his later creations, however, he began to assimilate what was increasingly becoming popular in Europe, the fashionable and stylish galant. Sensitive to these progressive trends, Graupner sought to find new modes of expression while still

101From 1719 to 1743, Lichtenberg was the sole poet for the Darmstadt Jahrgänge. After 1743 Graupner continued to use Lichtenberg's poetry, perhaps attempting to finish earlier cantata cycles that were left incomplete after Grünewald's cantatas were burned.
remaining steadfast to the replication of Lichtenberg's cantata format.
CHAPTER IV

INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE CANTATAS

Introduction

Even though the 1944 Allied bomb raid on Darmstadt burned many of the court documents, Joanna Cobb Biermann has attempted to determine the number of musicians who worked under Christoph Graupner during his tenure. Through surviving letters, petitions of court musicians to the prince, and reports to the Kapelle, she has established that a minimum of one hundred forty musicians worked under Graupner during his fifty-one years in Darmstadt. During the years 1718-1721, the Kapelle shrank from a high of forty-six to a low of thirty. The decline continued through the next two decades reaching a new low of twenty-four in 1734, but rising to forty in 1739, the year of both vice-Kapellemister Grünewald and Landgrave Ernst Ludwig's deaths and the ascension to the throne of Landgrave Ludwig VIII. Ludwig VIII's frugal policies may have caused the Kapelle to

\footnote{Joanna Cobb Biermann, "Die Darmstädtter Hofkapelle unter Christoph Graupner 1709-1860," Christoph Graupner, Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709-1760 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 27-72.}
further decline to thirty-one in 1741 and twenty-seven in 1746 but rose to over forty in the years 1757-1760.2

Perhaps the best indicator of the forces used is the number of parts surviving from each cantata where one usually finds one viola part, one or two first and second violin parts (rarely three), one figured continuo score, two violone parts, and single scores for the first and second players of any woodwinds, brass, or timpani instruments.

Graupner's customary cantata orchestra consisted of strings: a first and second violin (always labeled violino), a viola, a continuo instrument and a violone playing the basso part. The orchestra was frequently augmented by other instruments, particularly in later cantatas (Table 4.1). Some of the new instruments that were being developed in contemporary Germany must have fascinated Graupner, for he became a prolific composer of their music. The greatest number of surviving works for the oboe d'amore were written by Graupner;3 likewise, Graupner was a major contributor to

2Ibid., 28-35.

3Cevedra Marc Blake, The Baroque Oboe D'Amore (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1981), 65. The oboe d'amore, characterized by a pear shaped bell, was pitched a minor third lower than the oboe. Most of the existing instruments were built in Germany with the majority originating in the triangle formed by Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Dresden. See Philip Bates, "Oboe d'amore," New Grove, XIII, 476, and Blake, op. cit., 16-17.
music of the chalumeau. As Graupner emerged from the shadows of the baroque to become a composer of the galant, his addition of brass and woodwind instruments to the cantata orchestra helped fortify the melody, emphasize the text, and provide additional coloration.

Table 4.1. Instrumentation of Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Vocal Forces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hosianna</strong> (1709)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 D.C. Aria⁵</td>
<td>V₁, V₂, VA, CL₁, CL₂, T SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V₁, V₂, VA, T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V₁, V₂, VA B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>O⁷, VA, S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Uns ist ein Kind** (1712) |              |
| No. 1 TC⁶ | V₁, V₂, VA, CL₁, CL₂, T SATB |
| No. 2 D.C. Aria | V₁, V₂, VA, O₁, O₂ B |


⁵Instruments used in Graupner's continuo ensemble, usually two violones and a keyboard instrument, have been excluded from Table 1 but are discussed at the end of this chapter. In Table 4.1 the following abbreviations are used: V₁=1st Violin, V₂=2nd Violin, VA=Viola, O=Oboe, CL=Clarino, CH=Chalumeau, CO=Corno, FL=Flute, BS=Bassoon, T=Timpani, S=Soprano, A=Alto, T=Tenor, B=Bass.

⁶This aria is also repeated at the end of the cantata.

⁷Although there is no independent oboe part, this aria is marked *Hautb: Solo* in the autograph and one of the first violin parts (f. 9).

⁸Through composed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Piece Type</th>
<th>Motet Type</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Unknown</td>
<td>SSATB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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</table>

**Jesus ist und bleibt (1712)**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Piece Type</th>
<th>Motet Type</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>01,02,CO1,CO2</td>
<td>S</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V,0</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,01,02,CO1,CO2</td>
<td>S,B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ich bleibe (1719)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Piece Type</th>
<th>Motet Type</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>D.S. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Frolocke Zions (1719)**

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Piece Type</th>
<th>Motet Type</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
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**Der Gerechte (1720)**

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<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>TC</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,</td>
<td>SSTB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SSTB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>SSTB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>SSTB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Weht ihr Winde (1721)**

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Piece Type</th>
<th>Motet Type</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SSATB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V11,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SSTB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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9Motet.

10Since no original instrumental parts survive except for the continuo, it is not known which instruments played. Presumably the vocal lines were instrumentally doubled.

11Repeated after the bass and soprano recitatives in No. 4.

12Fugato.
Wo zween oder drei (1725)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jauchze, frolocke (1727)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SAT(B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, FL1, FL2</td>
<td>AT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SAT(B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SAT(B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, O1, O2, O3</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SAT(B)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Siehe da (1727)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>SAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Although the autograph is not scored for a bass singer in Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 9, there are two bass parts (f. 35, f. 36) that are derived from the continuo line in the autograph, perhaps an indication the original performance had no bass singer but a later performance was modified to include them.

14 According to the autograph, the oboes were scored to play on only in No. 7, a soprano aria. In the three oboe folios (f. 22–24), however, a different hand has added oboe parts that duplicate the violin lines in No. 1 and No. 8—the first and third oboes doubling the first violin part and the second oboe the second violin score.

15 Score is marked Flauto traverso.

16 Also scored for an unidentified bass instrument, possibly the bassoon.

17 Both the autograph and the first violin part (f. 6) have Fl, T, or Tutti markings, an indication flutes were used even though no individual flute parts survive.
Gedenket an den (1727)
No. 1 Rec. Acc. V₁,V₂,VA T
No. 3 D.C. Aria V₁, V₂, VA A
No. 5 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA SAT
No. 6 D.C. Aria V,VA T
No. 8 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA SAT

Wie lieblich sind (1730)
No. 1 TC V₁,V₂,VA ATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA T
No. 5 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA B
No. 7 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA ATB

O schönes Hauß (1731)
No. 1 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA SATB
No. 3 Dictum V₁,V₂,VA B
No. 5 D.C. Aria V,VA S
No. 7 Chorale V,VA SATB

Laßet uns (1737)
No. 1 TC V₁,V₂,VA SATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA B
No. 5 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA SB
No. 6 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA SATB

Ehre sey Gott (1739)
No. 1 TC V₁,V₂,VA,CL₁,CL₂, O₁,O₂,T SATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA,0₁,0₂¹⁸ AB
No. 4 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA,CL₁,CL₂, O₁,O₂,T SATB
No. 6 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA¹⁹ S
No. 8 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA,CL₁,CL₂, O₁,O₂,T SATB

O! Das Sie (1739)
No. 1 TC V₁,V₂,VA SATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA,CH₁,CH₂,CH₃ B
No. 5 D.C. Aria V₁,V₂,VA S
No. 6 Chorale V₁,V₂,VA,CH₁,CH₂,CH₃ SATB

¹⁸There are two first violin and one second violin scores extant, all of which contain solo and tutti markings for this aria.

¹⁹Marked Violino Solo above the first violin part in the autograph.
### Sehet welch (1739)
- No. 1 Dictum V1,V2,VA T
- No. 3 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA,FL AB
- No. 5 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA S
- No. 7 Chorale V1,V2,VA SATB

### Der Engel Heer singt (1740)
- No. 1 TC V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,01,02,T SATB
- No. 2 Rec. Acc. V1,V2,VA B
- No. 3 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA B
- No. 4 Chorale V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,01,02,T SATB
- No. 6 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA S
- No. 7 TC V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,01,02,T SATB

### Mache dich auf (1740)
- No. 1 TC V1,V2,VA,01,02 SATB
- No. 3 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA,01,02 B
- No. 5 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA S
- No. 7 Chorale V1,V2,VA,01,02 SATB

### Das Licht des Lebens (1740)
- No. 1 Rec. Acc. V1,V2,VA B
- No. 2 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA B
- No. 3 Chorale V1,V2,VA SATB
- No. 5 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA S
- No. 6 Arioso20 V1,V2,VA A
- No. 7 Chorale V1,V2,VA SATB

### Die Engel (1741)
- No. 1 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,01,02,T SATB
- No. 3 Chorale V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,01,02,T SATB
- No. 4 D.C. Aria V1,V2,VA,0,FL21 S
- No. 6 Chorale V1,V2,VA,CL1,CL2,01,02,T SATB

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20 Second half of a secco recitative.

21 Although the first violin part in the autograph and both first violin folios (f. 11, f. 13) have written on them Flaut. Haub. e Violn. Unison, there is no separate flute part. The oboe folios (f. 21, f. 22) likewise do not contain parts for this aria.
**Es ist leyder (1741)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>SATB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>V1,V2,VA,O22</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,O1,O2</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,O</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ein Gnaden Glantz (1741)**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Parts</th>
<th>SATB</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ach Gott (1741)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,O</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
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**Heute ist der Tag (1742)**

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>V1,V2,VA,C01,C02,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,C01,C02,T</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,C01,C02,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ach Gott (1742)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>SATB</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Wie lieblich (1742)**

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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>TC</td>
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<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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**Jauchzet ihr Himmel (1743)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>SATB</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,C01,C02,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,C01,C02,T</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,C01,C02,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

22 Oboe parts are not indicated in the autograph but in the first and second oboe parts (f.14, f.15) the oboes double the first and second violin parts until the chorale enters, at which point the oboes play the chorale melody.
### Gott wird ein (1743)
- No. 1 Rec. Acc.  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 2 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 4 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  SB
- No. 6 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  SATB

### Freude, Freude (1744)
- No. 1 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  SATB
- No. 2 D.C Aria  V1,V2,VA  S
- No. 4 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  B
- No. 6 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  SATB

### Ruffe getrost (1744)
- No. 1 Dictum  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 3 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  B
- No. 5 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  S
- No. 7 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  SATB

### Das Licht des Lebens (1744)
- No. 1 Rec. Acc.  V1,V2,VA,CL  S
- No. 2 Dictum  V1,V2,VA  S
- No. 3 D.C. Aria  V,VA,CL  S
- No. 5 D.C. Aria  V23,VA  S
- No. 7 Chorale  V1,V2,VA,CL  S

### Frolocke werthe (1745)
- No. 1 TC  V1,V2,VA  SATB
- No. 3 D.C. Aria  V,VA  B
- No. 5 D.C. Aria  V,VA  S
- No. 7 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  SATB

### Jerusalem, wie (1745)
- No. 1 Dictum  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 3 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  B
- No. 5 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  S
- No. 6 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  SATB

### Das Leben (1745)
- No. 1 Rec. Acc.  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 3 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 4 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 6 D.C. Aria  V1,V2,VA  T
- No. 7 Chorale  V1,V2,VA  T

23 The first violin part in the autograph and on the individual score (f. 12), is marked Violin Solo. The other extant first violin score (f. 10) is labeled Ripien: and doubles the second violin part in this aria.
**Siehe dießer (1745)**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
<th>SATB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
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**Es jauchze (1746)**

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<th>Part(s)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>V1, V2, VA, CO1, CO2</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, CO1, CO2</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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**Sie eifern (1746)**

<table>
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<th>Part(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
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**Das Licht scheinet (1746)**

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<th>Voices</th>
<th>Part(s)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Dictum</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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**Der Engel Heer begeht (1747)**

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>TC</td>
<td>V, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA, CO1, CO2, T</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA, CO1, CO2, FL1, FL2, B²⁴</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V, VA, CL1, CL2, T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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**Man prediget (1747)**

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>T</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V1, V2, VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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</table>

**Das ewig Licht (1747)**

<table>
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<th>Part(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>V, VA</td>
<td>T</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V, VA</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chorale</td>
<td>V, Va</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

²⁴The bass line in both the autograph and violone parts is marked *tutti* and *Fag*. There is no individual bassoon part extant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Komposition</th>
<th>Titel</th>
<th>Abs.</th>
<th>Stimme(n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Es ist erschienen (1748)</td>
<td>No. 1 Rec. Acc.</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2,T</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 3 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA, CH1,CH2</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 7 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehet d'rauf (1748)</td>
<td>No. 1 Dictum</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 3 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 4 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 6 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 7 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,BS1,BS2,FL1,FL2</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandelt wie die Kinder (1748)</td>
<td>No. 1 Dictum</td>
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<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 3 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CH1,CH2</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
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<td>No. 7 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CH1,CH2</td>
<td>SATB</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wenn des Königes (1749)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 3 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,FL1,FL2, B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 4 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2, 01,02,T, 0,FL1,FL2,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 6 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2, 0,FL1,FL2,T</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 8 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA,CO1,CO2 01,02,T</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerechtigkeit (1749)</td>
<td>No. 1 TC</td>
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<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 3 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>TB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 6 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>SATB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Herr hat mich (1749)</td>
<td>No. 1 Dictum</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 3 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>AB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5 D.C. Aria</td>
<td>V,VA</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 6 Chorale</td>
<td>V1,V2,VA</td>
<td>ATB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Den Seegen hat (1749)
No. 1 TC  V₁, V₂, VA  SATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  B
No. 4 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA  SATB
No. 5 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  S
No. 7 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA  SATB

Frolocket ihr Himmel (1750)
No. 1 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA, C₀₁, C₀₂, CO₁, CO₂, T
No. 3 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA, CL  S
No. 4 TC  V₁, V₂, VA, CL, CO₁, CO₂, T
No. 6 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA, FL₁, FL₂  B
No. 7 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA, CO₁, CO₂  SATB

Schuldige sie Gott (1750)
No. 1 Dictum  V₁, V₂, VA  AT
No. 3 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  Bass
No. 5 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  S
No. 6 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA  SATB

Nun freut euch (1750)
No. 1 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA  B
No. 3 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  B
No. 4 Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  B
No. 6 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  B

Das ist das ewige Leben (1751)
No. 1 Dictum  V₁, V₂, VA  SATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA, FL₁, FL₂  B
No. 5 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA  S
No. 6 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA  SATB

Der Herr ist allein gutig (1752)
No. 1 Dictum  V₁, V₂, VA, CL₁, CL₂, T  SATB
No. 3 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA, CO₁, CO₂  B
No. 4 Dictum  V₁, V₂, VA, CL₁, CL₂, T  SATB
No. 6 D.C. Aria  V₁, V₂, VA, CO₁, CO₂, T  S
No. 8 Chorale  V₁, V₂, VA, CL₁, CL₂, T  SATB

---

25 Fugue.

26 The aria is through composed.
The Chalumeau

The term chalumeau, which began to appear for the first time soon after 1700,\(^{28}\) is applied to a cylindrically bored instrument with a single reed that is commonly judged to be the precursor of the clarinet.\(^{29}\) Joseph Majer's *Museum musicum* (Halle, 1732) mentions four sizes of chalumeau (treble, alto or quart, tenor and bass)\(^ {30}\) but the instrument must have existed earlier because in 1698 a volume of music for the keyless chalumeau was printed in London.\(^ {31}\) Although Graupner's interest in the chalumeau may have been kindled

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\(^{27}\)Both the oboe and the violin part are marked "solo." In addition, the violin score is labeled "sordin."


\(^{29}\)Nicholas Shackleton, "Chalumeau," *New Grove*, IV, 111.


by the arrival in Darmstadt of Johann Christian Klotsch from Zerbst in 1735, a virtuoso on both the bassoon and the chalumeau,\textsuperscript{32} Graupner's first use of the chalumeau had occurred one year earlier in November in the cantata \textit{Seid barmherzig}, written for the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity.\textsuperscript{33} In addition to being used in the church cantatas, Graupner wrote five concertos, two trios and eleven suites that included chalumeaux.\textsuperscript{34}

The chalumeau is first used for the Christmas services in the cantata \textit{O! Das sie} (1739), and it can also be found in \textit{Es ist erschienen} (1748) and \textit{Wandelt wie die Kinder} (1748). In the bass aria, "Jesus will die Menschen retten" from \textit{O! Das sie} (No. 3), one treble and two bass chalumeaux take turns playing the melody with the violins and viola. The irregularity of the phrase lengths used in this section is refreshing. The initial two measure phrase of the strings is answered by the chalumeaux in a phrase of three measures. This is followed by a series of three measure phrases, with the melody alternating between the strings and

\textsuperscript{32}Elizabeth Noack, \textit{Musikgeschichte Darmstadt vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit} (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967), 215.


\textsuperscript{34}Colin Lawson, "Graupner and the Chalumeau," op. cit., 212.
chalumeaux, before the opening ritornello is concluded with a four measure tutti. In another bow to progressive trends, the lower of the chalumeaux assumes the function of the bass much of the time while the figured bass line is silent. (Example 4.1). A further expansion of the role of the chalumeaux can be seen in the aria "Erleuchte mich," from Es ist erschienen (1748), where the two bass chalumeaux reinforce the melody by doubling the first violin, or playing in parallel thirds and sixths with the violin and vocal lines (Example 4.2). Curiously, in the three Christmas cantatas that use chalumeaux, the chalumeaux are always scored with strings and in such cases the trumpet is never used.
Example 4.2. *Es ist erschienen* (1748), No. 5, ms. 1-21.
Lichl des Le—bens
mien.

Licht des Le
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The Oboe

The oboe appears in twelve different Christmas cantatas, including the earliest and last extant Christmas cantatas, *Hosianna sey willkommen* (1709) and *Jauchzet ihr Himmel* (1753), respectively. Although there is no individual oboe part extant in *Hosianna*, the soprano aria, "Die Henne" (No. 5), marked *Hautb. solo* in both the autograph and folio 9 of the first violin part\(^{35}\), is an obbligato line that concertizes with the soprano (Example 4.3).

In later cantatas, the oboe relinquishes its obbligato role and more customarily doubles the violins. It is also used to sound the cantus firmus of the chorale and play segments of an independent melody. Scored in conjunction with instruments other than the strings, it appears with either the clarini or corni but never with chalumeaux. Is this perhaps an indication that the same personnel doubled on chalumeaux and oboes? A common usage is the fanfare-like beginning of the *Der Engel Heer* (1740) where the oboes are used in a trumpet-like fashion with the clarini, strings and continuo (Example 4.4). A more distinctive employment of the oboes, however, can be seen in the chorale from the

\(^{35}\) *Hautb. solo* was written by different hand than the scribe who copied folio 9, indicating the oboe may have been added for a later performance.
Example 4.3. Hosianna sey willkommen (1709), No. 7, ms. 11-17.
same cantata, where the oboes double the first and second violin lines until the chorale enters, at which point both oboes augment the new melody (Example 4.5). In the bass aria "Ändert euch" from *Es ist leyder* (1741, No. 3), a more progressive scoring of the oboes can be seen (Example 4.6). Graupner divides the melody and the accompaniment between the oboes and the violins but then blurs the distinction between them. The accompanying voice in measure 1 becomes the bearer of the melody in measure 2 and vice versa. Furthermore, the violin's melody in measure 3 is repeated and modified by the oboe in measure 4, becoming part of the accompaniment. Haydn, in the preface to his Opus 33 string quartets, hinted at this new relation between the voices but Graupner, with his experiments in transforming the melody into the accompaniment and the assigning of melody and accompaniment to alternating parts, was one of the precursors of the new style.

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Example 4.4. Der Engel Heer (1740), No. 1, ms. 1-5.
Example 4.5. Der Engel Heer (1740), No. 4, ms. 1-7.
Flute and Bassoon

Graupner's standard scoring of the flute and bassoon, utilized in eight and three Christmas catatas respectively, typically doubles other instrumental lines at the octave. Only in the early cantata, *Jauchze, frolocke* (1727) is the flute scored independently, (Example 4.7) while the bassoon achieves independence in the later *Jauchzet ihr Himmel* (1743) (Example 4.8). In the latter example, the bassoon is emancipated from the rigors of the continuo line which, though supplied with two violone parts, performs only a few perfunctory chords.
Example 4.8. *Jauchze ihr Himmel* (1743), No. 3, ms. 15-18.\(^{37}\)

In the autograph, both corno parts were originally written an octave lower. They have been transposed here to their actual sounding pitch. See below.
The addition of other instruments to the elemental cantata string ensemble must have intrigued Graupner, for he experimented extensively with various color combinations. In the late Frolocket ihr Himmel (1750), the bass aria "Jesu, Trost," is accompanied by muted violins (marked Sordin in the score) and flutes which double the octave (Example 4.9). The metaphor of Jesus accepting his children as a hen gathers her chicks, inspired Graupner to use oscillating thirds in the soprano aria "Sammle mich" from Sehet d'rauf (1748) to illustrate the symbolic wings of Jesus beckoning the sinner.38 In this colorful portrayal, the violins are not only doubled at the higher octave by the flute, but also by the bassoons at the lower octave (Example 4.10).

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38 The text for the aria, "Gather me in thy wings, Jesus, take thy little chicken in. Will one mock your enticement? Oh, with such angry hordes, my heart has nothing in common" ("Sammle mich in deine Flügel, Jesus, nimm dein Küchlein drein. Will man deines Lockens spotten? Ach mit solchen bösen Rotten, hat mein Hertz gar nichts gemein"), is a paraphrase of Matthew 23:37, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, murderess of prophets and stoner of those who were sent to you! How often have I yearned to gather your children, as a mother abird gathers her young under her wings, but you refused me."
Example 4.9. Frolochet ihr Himmel (1750), No. 6, ms. 13-16.
Example 4.10. *Sehet d'rauf* (1748), No. 6, ms. 5-7.\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{quote}
In the autograph, both corno parts were originally written an octave lower. They have been transposed here to their actual sounding pitches.
\end{quote}
Horns

The horns, usually identified in the scores by the Italian nomenclature "corno," were used by Graupner in twelve of the fifty-five Christmas cantatas. The earliest known orchestral use of the horn occurred in Hamburg in 1705 in Reinhard Keiser's opera Octavia.\textsuperscript{40} Graupner, who was the clavier player for the Hamburg opera from c. 1706-1709, was probably exposed to the possibilities in that instrument through similar occasions. The orchestra accompanying Graupner's early cantata, \textit{Jesus ist und bleibt} (1712), features two horns, two oboes, strings, and the continuo ensemble, forces that are similar to what would later be scored in the early symphony.\textsuperscript{41} In the opening movement of this cantata, the horns alternate playing the melody with the oboes and reinforcing tutti sections (Example 4.11).


Example 4.11. *Jesus ist und bleibt* (1712), No. 1, ms. 1-8.42

The corno parts, which were originally written a fifth higher than their sounding pitch in the autograph, have been transposed to concert pitch.
Graupner's "corno" was the natural horn, a valveless instrument that used different crooks to enable it to play in various keys. In the Christmas cantatas, Graupner's preferred keys for the horn were the keys of G, D, and F major (Table 4.2), usually notated in both the autograph and the individual part without a key signature. Typically a "G," "D," or "F" written on the part reminded the performer which crook to select. One of the more puzzling aspects about Graupner's use of the horn is the interval of transposition. Table 4.2 shows the written note given in the autograph and the pitch as it was scored in the horn part. In Nos. 1 and 2, an interval of an octave and a fourth or an octave and a fifth occurs between the original
note in the autograph and the note in the corino part. If, however, the actual sounding pitch was intended to be an octave higher than Graupner's written note in the autograph, the transposing intervals become a fourth and a fifth, respectfully, normal expectations for G and F horns.\textsuperscript{43} Graupner may have written the horn parts an octave lower than the sounding pitch because the timpani, also written in bass clef, frequently appear with the corini as an ensemble that plays triadic fanfares and other heroic displays (Example 4.12).\textsuperscript{44} It may have been more convenient for Graupner to notate the corini, along with the timpani, in the bass clef and allow the scribes to do the transposing. Like the oboes, horns were used frequently in the chorales to double the melody (Example 4.13).

\textsuperscript{43}Hawkins, Merewether and Morley-Pegge, \textit{op. cit.}, 698.

\textsuperscript{44}Appearing with the corini in the keys of G and F major, are usually four timpani, with the tunings of "G,A,C,D" or "F,G,A,C" written on the respective parts.
Table 4.2. Corno Transcriptions in Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 1</th>
<th>Key of G major</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pitch Written</td>
<td>Actual Sounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Autograph</td>
<td>Pitch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heute ist der Tag (1742), Nos. 1,2,5  
Es ist erschienen (1748), Nos. 1,3,7  
Wenn des Königes Ange (1749), Nos. 1,4  
Frolocket ihr Himmel (1750), Nos. 1,4,7  
Der Herr ist allein (1752), No. 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 2</th>
<th>Key of F Major</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pitch Written</td>
<td>Actual Sounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Autograph</td>
<td>Pitch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jauchzet ihr Himmel (1743), Nos. 1,3,7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 3</th>
<th>Key of G Major(^{45})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pitch Written</td>
<td>Actual Sounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Autograph</td>
<td>Pitch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Es jauchze aller Kreiß (1746), Nos. 1,6  
Der Engel Heer (1747), Nos. 2,5

\(^{45}\)Scribe mistakenly wrote bass instead of treble clef.
No. 4 Key of F Major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch Written In Autograph</th>
<th>Actual Sounding Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Written In Horn Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Sehet d'rauf (1748), No. 6
Wandelt wie die Kinder (1748), No. 5

No. 5 Key of D Major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch Written In Autograph</th>
<th>Actual Sounding Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Written In Horn Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Wenn des Königes (1749), No. 6
Der Herr ist allein (1752), No. 6

No. 6 Key of F Major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch Written In Autograph</th>
<th>Actual Sounding Pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Jesus ist und bleibt (1712), Nos. 1, 5

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46 Scribe mistakenly wrote bass instead of treble clef.

47 No individual instrumental parts are extant.
Example 4.12. *Es ist erschienen* (1748), No. 3, ms. 1-4.\textsuperscript{48}

The coro parts, originally written an octave lower than their sounding pitch in the autograph, have been transposed to concert pitch.
Example 4.13. *Es ist erschienen* (1748), No. 7, ms. 5-6.

49 The corno parts, originally written an octave lower than their sounding pitch in the autograph, have been transposed to concert pitch.
In the cantatas **Wenn des Königes** (1749) and **Der Herr ist allein** (1752), both of which initially use the "G" horn, the letter "D" instructs the horn player to change crooks instrument later in the piece (Table 4.2, No. 5; Facsimile 7). Curiously, in these two instances, the transpositions are done in the autograph. Perhaps because of the infrequent use of the "D" horn, Graupner was concerned the scribes would not be able to transpose accurately.

The cantatas **Es jauchze aller Kreiß** (1746), **Der Engel Heer** (1747), and **Sehet d'rauf** (1748), **Wandelt wie** (1748), which contain horn parts in G and F respectively, include horn parts notated in the bass clef in both the autograph and the corno part. Moreover, these parts are always transposed down from the note indicated in the autograph (Table 4.2, Nos. 3, 4). The reason for this puzzling phenomenon is not entirely clear, but apparently the scribe erroneously notated the bass clef instead of the treble clef. If the notes in the transposed clef are read with a treble clef instead of a bass clef, the interval of transposition becomes identical to that of other cantatas that use corni in the keys of G and F major (Table 4.2).

The cantata **Jesus ist und bleibt** (Example 4.11) has the F horn part written in the treble clef, a fifth higher than
its actual sound.  

This exception to Graupner's normal custom possibly is a result of his compositional habits not being solidified. Curiously the horn parts in the autograph are identified as corn: di selv[o] and corn: di bl[echer] (di al[to]?). Was Graupner simply following the macronic style he used when identifying the various parts of the score, or does this combination of transposed parts and unusual names for the instruments point to the use of an uncommon practice or instruments?

**Clarino**

Unlike J. S. Bach, who usually used the Italian tromba to designate the trumpet and used the term clarino sparingly, Graupner employs clarino for all eleven

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50 With the exception of the continuo, there are no extant instrumental parts to this cantata.

51 The earlier horn mouth pieces were made of ivory, horn, or wood, each bestowing different qualities to the sound, depending on the diameter of the rim, and the bore and depth of the mouthpiece. Robin Gregory, *The Horn, 2nd edition* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1969), 47.

Facsimile 7. Der Herr ist allein (1752), Corno 1 part.
Christmas cantatas that call for trumpet parts, even when they have a low tessitura (Facsimile 8). The clarino pitched in D was preferred over the C clarino (Table 4.3). Curiously, in contrast to the corno parts which Graupner usually notated an octave below concert pitch, most of the D clarino parts, which sound a major second higher than written, are transposed in the autographs (Table 4.3, Nos. 2,3). For some inexplicable reason, Graupner wrote the clarino parts in both Das Licht des Lebens (1744) and Es jauchze (1746) at concert pitch (Table 4.3, nos. 4,5), allowing the scribe to complete the transposition. Typically the clarino is used to double the cantus firmus of the chorale and, like the corni, it usually appears with timpani in the cantatas, as in the opening fanfares of Hosianna sey willkommen, performed for St. Stephen's Day and the birthday of Landgrave Ernst Ludwig in 1709 (Example 4.14). In the short accompanied recitativo arioso that opens Das Licht des Lebens (1744), the soprano and strings imitate the clarino's calls, together helping to herald the arrival of the Light of Life (Example 4.15).
Facsimile 8. *Der Engel Heer singt* (1740), Clarino I, F. 27.
Table 4.3. Clarino Transpositions in Graupner's Christmas Cantatas.

No. 1 Key of C Major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch Written In Autograph</th>
<th>Actual Sounding Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Written In Clarino Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hosianna sey willkommen (1709), Nos. 1, No. 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauchze, frolocke (1727), Nos. 1, 4, 6, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehre sey Gott (1739), Nos. 1, 4, 8</td>
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No. 2 Key of D Major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch Written In Autograph</th>
<th>Actual Sounding Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Written In Clarino Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel Heer (1740), Nos. 1, 4, 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel frolocken (1741), Nos. 1, 3, 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Engel Heer begeht (1747), Nos. 1, 4, 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Herr ist allein (1752), Nos. 1, 4, 8</td>
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No. 3 Key of G Major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch Written In Autograph</th>
<th>Actual Sounding Pitch</th>
<th>Pitch Written In Clarino Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frolocket ihr Himmel (1750), Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
No. 4 Key of G Major

| Pitch Written In Autograph | Actual Sounding Pitch | Pitch Written In Clarino Part |

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{Es jauchze aller Kreiß (1746), Nos. 1, 5} \\
&\text{No. 5 Key of D Major} \\
| Pitch Written In Autograph | Actual Sounding Pitch | Pitch Written In Clarino Part |

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{Das Licht des Lebens (1744), Nos. 1, 3, 7} \\
&\text{No. 6 Key of D Major} \\
| Pitch Written In Autograph | Actual Sounding Pitch |

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{Üns ist ein Kind}^{53} (1712), \text{Nos. 1, 7} \\
\end{align*}

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53 With the exception of the continuo, there are no extant instrumental parts.
Example 4.15. *Das Licht des Lebens* (1744), No. 1, ms. 8-16.

Das Licht des Lebens

Das Licht des Lebens gehet auf.
Graupner's Continuo Ensemble

The surviving continuo ensemble parts from Graupner's Christmas cantatas usually consist of a figured bass folio marked continuo, and two violone parts\textsuperscript{54}. All of the figured continuo parts in this study are in Cammerton (chamber) pitch although Frederick Noack claims some of the

\textsuperscript{54}Hosianna sey willkommen (1709), which calls for a Violoncello instead of a violone, and Jauchzet ihr Himmel (1753) where one of the two violone parts is labeled Basso, are the only two cantatas where the designation violone is not used to identify the basso continuo instrument.
early cantatas contain two figured parts,\textsuperscript{55} one in \textit{Cammerton} and another in the higher \textit{Chorton}, the latter presumably played on the organ and the former on the harpsichord.\textsuperscript{56} What keyboard instrument realized the continuo in the cantatas included in this study is not known. Christian Vater's installation of a new organ in the Schloßkirche in 1709 points to the organ as the prime—and logical—candidate although the harpsichord should not be excluded. In five of the Christmas cantatas, the continuo part, in contrast to the usual continuo, is labeled \textit{organo} (Table 4.4). Moreover, the cantatas with the \textit{organo} designation tend to appear together, during the years 1725-1727 and 1751-1753, indicating either scribal inconsistency or, at the very least, the possibility the harpsichord was the normal continuo instrument, necessitating the use of \textit{organo} for special performing circumstances.

\textsuperscript{55} The cantatas are not named. Frederick Noack, \textit{Christoph Graupner als Kirchenkomponist}, 33.

\textsuperscript{56} Although scholarship has traditionally viewed the organ as Bach's continuo instrument for his church cantatas, Laurence Dreyfus offers compelling evidence that although the organ accompanied the cantatas, the harpsichord at times also provided dual accompaniment. Laurence Dreyfus, \textit{Bach's Continuo Group} (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987), 57-58.
Table 4.4. Cantatas that designate the organ (organo) as the continuo instrument.\(^{57}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wo zween oder drei</td>
<td>1725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siehe da</td>
<td>1727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das ist das ewige Leben(^{58})</td>
<td>1751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Herr ist allein gutig</td>
<td>1752</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jauchet ihr Himmel</td>
<td>1753</td>
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It is not entirely clear which instrument Graupner meant by the term violone, which always denoted the lowest instrument in the German continuo ensemble.\(^{59}\) Graupner's two violone parts usually double the continuo line, notated at the identical pitch.\(^{60}\) Frances Baines suggests that Bach's violone was an instrument of 16 foot pitch\(^{61}\) whereas Laurence Dreyfus has concluded, based on his studies of the Brandenburg Concertos, that Bach had three different violone instruments at his disposal: the 16 foot violono grosso with a low C string, a second 16 foot instrument tuned in D,

\(^{57}\)The word *organo* is written on the figured bass part as opposed to the usual term *continuo*.

\(^{58}\)Contains two *organo* parts, one figured and one unfigured. Quite likely, the unfigured part was intended to be played by a violone and was mislabeled.

\(^{59}\)Dreyfus, *op. cit.*.,137.

\(^{60}\)An exception is found in *Siehe da eine Hütte Gottes* (1727) No. 2, where sixteenth notes, present in the first violone part are absent both in the second violone and in the *organo* continuo.

\(^{61}\)Frances Baines, "What exactly is a violone?" *Early Music* V/2 (April 1977), 175.
and an antediluvian six-stringed instrument that played at
the 8 foot pitch. Since Graupner cantata orchestras were
frequently lightly scored with only a first and second
violin and a viola in addition to the continuo ensemble, it
seems unreasonable, ignoring Quantz's advise to avoid great
distances between the violins and the bass line, that both
violone parts sounded at the 16 foot pitch. Quite likely
Graupner used instruments with one playing at the notated
pitch and another an octave lower. In Es ist erschienen
(1748), Sehet d'rauf (1748), and Gerechtigkeit (1749) the
violone parts descend to a low C, an indication Graupner had
at his disposal during these years the lower violone pitched
in C.

As one of Europe's more prolific composers for the
chalumeau and oboe d'amore, and as a composer who straddled
two eras, the Baroque and the Galant, Graupner was a
progressive composer who not only saw the changes that were
sweeping Europe, he also helped to initiate them.

62Dreyfus, op. cit, 142-151.

63All notes must be played in the register in which
they are written; some must not be taken an octave higher at
one time, an octave lower at another, especially those with
which the other parts move in unison. . . . Were such notes
played on the violoncello an octave lower than they are
written, the distance from the violins would be too great,
and the notes would at the same time lose the sharpness and
animation that the composer had in mind. Johann Joachim
Quantz, On Playing the Flute (Berlin, 1752) translated by
In the soprano aria, "Theurer Fürst," (No. 7) from the cantata *Auf, lobet Gottes großen Namen* (1723)\(^{64}\), an unidentified bass instrument plays broken chords, i.e. an Alberti bass, in support of the melody (Example 4.16). Domenico Alberti (1710-1740) and his three contemporaries, Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785), Domenico Paradisi (1707-1791), and Giovanni Maria Placido Rutini (1723-1797), who all helped popularize the broken-chord accompaniment,\(^{65}\) were all too young to have had any influence on Graupner in 1723. Furthermore, Graupner's contemporary Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757), whose music occasionally contains an accompaniment with broken chords,\(^{66}\) did not have a significant following in Germany. Because of his position as Kapellmeister to one of Germany's finer landgravies and with a supply of many of the region's finer musicians, Graupner was able to experiment and inaugurate in the orchestral accompaniments to his cantatas many of the transformations that were imminent in Europe.

\(^{64}\)BERD DS Mus MS 431/29; only the autograph survives. This cantata, once included in the present study, was excluded because the text indicates it was written for the birthday of Landgrave Ernst Ludwig on December 26, 1723. The cantata is mentioned here because of its historical importance in the development of the Alberti bass.


\(^{66}\)Ibid, 101.
CONCLUSION

Christoph Graupner (1683-1760), praised by Johann Scheibe as a musician worthy of favorable treatment by Virtue and Truth,\textsuperscript{1} admired by Johann Mattheson as a composer deserving of emulation,\textsuperscript{2} and sought after by employers in Hamburg, Darmstadt, and Leipzig, today suffers the fate of being little known outside his native Germany. The lawsuit after Graupner's death between the Landgrave and Graupner's heirs over possession of the cantatas kept the works intact as a unit but prevented their dissemination to antiquarians who might have sparked an interest in these manuscripts. By 1819, when the cantatas were finally in the possession of the court library, Felix Mendelssohn's resurrection of Johann Sebastian Bach's St. Matthew Passion was only 10 years away. The subsequent revival and continuing popularity of Bach has cast a long shadow on Graupner, Georg Philipp Telemann, the Graun brothers and his other

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contemporaries; the brilliance of Bach threatens to dim their contributions.

Graupner's surviving 1,418 cantatas alone establish him as a major composer of the late German Baroque cantata. The task of assessing Graupner's contributions can be more easily distilled by studying only the fifty-five cantatas written for the feasts of Christmas (Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day, St. John's Day, and the Sunday after Christmas), whose texts include penitential as well as joyous themes. In surveying Graupner's cantatas, the journey of a composer who traveled from the Baroque to the galant can be documented. Counterpoint, concertizing between voices and instruments, word painting, and the unified rhythmic texture of the High Baroque begins to give way to a treble dominated texture amplified by strings playing in unison or parallel thirds. The phrases, rather than being homogeneous rhythmically, become different articulated events that depend on rhythmic variety for their vitality.

The da capo aria, Graupner's preferred form for solo performance, utilizes the bass forty-one and the soprano

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3All of Graupner's church cantatas are located in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt.

4See Preface for the Christmastide Gospel and Epistle readings used in Darmstadt during Graupner's tenure.
forty-four times, while the tenor and alto voices are granted similar opportunities only nine and two times, respectively. This is probably a reflection of the dominance of individual singers in Darmstadt during Graupner's tenure there. Gottfried Grünwald, who was employed from 1711 until his death in 1739 and Georg Balthasar Hertzberger, employed in 1737 and whose tenure survived Graupner's, were both well known basses; principal sopranos included Johanna Elisabeth Döbricht-Hesse, employed 1711-1739, and Maria Elisabeth Eberhard-Schetky, who was employed in 1735 and served past Graupner's death.

Graupner's Christmas cantata texts were supplied by the two Darmstadt poets, Georg Christian Lehms (1684-1717), author of four Jahrgänge preserved in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, and Johann Conrad Lichtenberg (1689-1751), who provided Graupner with cantata texts from 1719-1743 (Graupner continued to use Lichtenberg's poetry after 1743, setting cantatas from earlier incomplete Jahrgänge cycles). Unfortunately, all of Lichtenberg's Jahrgänge were destroyed in the Allied bombing of Darmstadt in 1944, leaving Graupner's autographs and singers' parts as the only sources for Lichtenberg's poetry today. Lichtenberg was an extremely prolific composer. Altogether he composed over 1,500 cantata texts, but in 1742 he was forced to tell Ernst Friedrich Neubauer that his poetic fires were
diminishing and he seldom wrote four cantatas texts per day whereas formerly he would have been inspired to compose as many as twelve in a day's time.

Lehms's four Jahrgänge include rhymed arias and recitatives, chorales, and Biblical quotations. A five-line stanza with the rhyme scheme AB.CCB was Lehms' preferred formula for the da capo aria. In da capo aria texts containing more than five lines, Lehms invariably maintains the archetypal rhyme scheme with the formula A(N)B.CC(N)B where (N) represents a variable number of added lines. Lichtenberg persisted in using the forms and procedures favored by Lehms.

Unlike Leipzig, which banned Pietism in 1690, and Arnstadt where the Pietists were publicly accused of false doctrines, Darmstadt was a center of Pietist activity. Graupner apparently was on friendly terms with the movement because Lichtenberg, both Graupner's principal librettist and later Superintendent of Darmstadt, was also Graupner's brother-in-law. In addition, most of the Pietists' concerns

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in Darmstadt addressed the threat of secular entertainment in the opera and theater, not *Figuralmusik* in the Schloßkirche. The apparent disinterest of the Darmstadt Pietists in church music is curious and suggests that the Pietist movement in Germany was not monolithic but was capable of reaching varying degrees of accommodation with orthodox church musicians.

Aside from the joyful texts that celebrate the birth of Christ much of the content of the cantata libretti, particularly that of Lichtenberg's, is concerned with the Pietist vision of the soul's aloneness in the perilous sea of life, seeking revelation and salvation. Further, the inclusiveness of many eschatological themes suggests that apocalyptic thinking in Germany, which had its zenith in the early years of the seventeenth-century, continued in Darmstadt and was reflected in the cantata libretti.

Some of the new instruments that were being developed in Germany during his lifetime must have intrigued Graupner for wrote numerous pieces for both the oboe d'amore and the

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chalumeau. Although there are no Christmas cantatas that are scored for the oboe d'amore, Graupner used the chalumeaux in three Christmas cantatas. The horn, which was first introduced into the orchestra in Reinhard Keiser's *Octavia* in 1705, was soon thereafter employed by Graupner in the 1712 cantata, *Jesus ist und bleibt*. The orchestration of strings, oboes, horns, and the continuo ensemble in this cantata is similar to what would later be employed in the early symphony, and suggests that Graupner was aware of current trends, perhaps even helping to instigate them. In addition to the strings, other instruments used were the trumpets (always labeled *clarino*), flutes and bassoons.

The history of the late German Baroque has not been written yet. Johann Christian Lehms, author of four *Jahrgänge* and the librettist for ten of Bach's cantatas, and Johann Conrad Lichtenberg, creator of over 1,500 cantata texts, alone merit more serious scholarly attention. Graupner's creativity, not restrained by his fecundity, shows him to be an innovator and highly talented composer, particularly gifted at creating beautiful melodies. The time has come to once again heed Johann Mattheson's words

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10 O! *Das sie weise wären* (1739), *Es ist erschienen* (1748), and *Wandelt wie die Kinder* (1749).