BACH AS HUMANIST: THE INFLUENCES OF THE CLASSICS AND COURT AESTHETICS ON THE DESIGN OF THE SIX BRANDENBURG CONCERTOS, BWV 1046-1051

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Bach as Humanist: The Influences of the Classics and Court Aesthetics on the Design of the Six Brandenburg Concertos, BWV 1046-1051

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School and the School of Music of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

by Michael F. Leonard

Professor Reid Alexander, Director of Research
Professor Charlotte Mattax Moersch, Committee Chair

This dissertation explores J. S. Bach’s *Six Brandenburg Concertos* in the light of a *Bildprogrammatik*, governed by the same principles that defined arrangements of Baroque art and sculpture, and with the royal hunt as its central motive, carrying the themes of victory, glory, and immortality.

Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of humanistic influences on Bach’s life and times, and includes two sections on number symbolism and the *Cabbala*, which are later applied to the Brandenburg Concertos.

Chapter 2 considers the Classical and theological texts used in Bach’s early education in the schools of Eisenach, Ohrdruf, and Lüneburg, and also introduces early school songs, particularly the *Jägerlied*, and the implications for Bach’s music.

Chapter 3 examines the influences of court art and philosophy, drawing on Frederick the Great’s *Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-souci*, and Matthias Oesterreich’s catalogue of the art and sculpture found at Frederick the Great’s palaces at Sanssouci, Charlottenburg, and Potsdam, with a comparison between the principles of Baroque *Musiklehre* and the *Baukunst*.

Chapter 4 discusses the First Brandenburg Concerto in detail: the relationship of the horn to the hunt and hunting-music, the theme of victory; multi-dimensional allegory; the use of the first movement as the sinfonia to Cantata BWV 52; Bach’s use of the horn theologically in selected cantatas and the B Minor Mass, and concludes with a discussion of possible number symbolism in the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1.

Chapter 5 covers Brandenburg Concertos 2, 3, 4, and 5, and how horn/hunting music themes and techniques carry over into each one, along with the themes of victory and glory; the use of similar music in the cantatas is also covered, including the use of the first movement of the Third Concerto as the sinfonia to Cantata BWV 174.
Chapter 6 takes on Philip Pickett’s discourse on Concerto No. 6 as a representation of the Medieval allegory *Des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs*, examining the Sixth Concerto from the point of death-poetics, particularly *mors triumphans/mors devicta* (death triumphant/death conquered) to depict the themes of victory and glory of the royal hunt now leading the way to immortality. A numerological/Cabbalistic link is presented between the First and Sixth Concertos, rounding out the *Bildprogrammatik* aesthetically and theologically. Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of various performing approaches to the Brandenburg Concertos, including my own, given at the University of Illinois in February, 2013.
Dedication

For the Rev. Martin Woulfe, who several years ago told me,

“There is no unrealistic goal . . . take that first step.”
Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the extensive and dedicated assistance from the staff of University of Illinois School of Music Library, headed by Prof. John Wagstaff. Indeed, Prof. Wagstaff’s willingness, and ever-ready availability made for contributions which, if added up, would comprise a great many hours of tireless efforts.

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Chris Pawlicki  Marlys Scarbrough  Gail Schmall  Nancy Taylor  Bill Buss  David Butler  and most recently Diane Pye;

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To John Nichols III, a composer whose works I shall be delighted to play and promote in the future.

And to Borah Kang, from, literally, the very first day of our doctoral studies, a friend to the end.

And,

To my mother, who has now seen the first doctorate ever in the family.

To so many others who played a part in these past years, including Joyce Griggs, Fawnie Honea, Selena Bartlett, Hillert Ibbeken, Don O. Franklin, John Sherer, Prof. William Kinderman, Prof. William Heiles, and Paul Jacobs.

And to two great friends who are not here to see this moment; to the memory of

Janet Richardson and Sue Swanson.

And to a longtime teacher, going back three decades, who gratefully is here to see this moment:

Marilyn Bourgeois.

My Sincere Thanks to Everyone!
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Introduction

Problem Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this work is not so much to fill a gap in the existing literature of Bach studies, but rather to open a new dimension from which to view J. S. Bach, his music, and his world, by addressing specific influences on Bach’s creative processes, and to create a new understanding of Bach’s music by examining the realm of Baroque thought from which these influences evolved.

The primary research questions driving this study are:

1. Is it possible to create a new picture of J. S. Bach as a humanist (as opposed to exclusively a religionist/theologian, or the commonly depicted “Fifth Evangelist”) by defining the German humanist according to the criteria (influences of education, literature, and art) of Bach’s time?
2. Can one further support this picture of Bach’s early humanistic/Classical education in the schools of Eisenach, Ohrdruf, and Lüneburg, and also the influences of court art and philosophy from the courts in which he was employed during his career?
3. Can connections and/or specific influences be deducted from both Bach’s education and the courts upon select works from Bach’s oeuvre, in this case, the Six Brandenburg Concertos?
4. Can the Brandenburg Concertos be shown to represent a Bildprogrammatik (pictorial-program) defined as such by the structural principles of Baroque Musiklehre that are shown to be the same for both Baroque music and Baroque art?
5. Can the overall picture be further enhanced by examining the microcosm of Baroque thought, specifically the influence of numbers and number symbolism, and construct a new approach to interpreting what is perceived as number symbolism/numerology in Bach’s music, and more specifically, how to distinguish between this number symbolism, and what might be defined as Cabbala in Bach’s works?
6. Can evidence of this number/Cabbala symbolism be revealed in the Brandenburg Concertos and other related works of Bach?

This study makes two major claims. First, that Bach’s Six Concerts Avec plusieurs Instruments, or Six Brandenburg Concertos, represent a Bildprogrammatik – a pictorial-program that can be defined according to the structural principles which define both Baroque art and Baroque music (cosmological, rhetorical, nature-philosophy, and theological), and that this Bildprogrammatik specifically represents the royal hunt, and the themes of victory, glory, and immortality. Second, it proposes a new theory for
interpreting combinations of number symbolism which can be discerned in Bach’s music, based on the principles of Baroque Musiklehre, and also differentiates between number symbolism/musical allegory and numbers representing Cabbala speculativa, a method of religious interpretation of Biblical correspondences which were acceptable for use by the Lutheran Christians of Bach’s time. These principles are then applied to the Brandenburg Concertos to support and unify the overall Bildprogrammatik.

This study adds to the existing literature in that it explores in greater depth select areas of Baroque primary education, correlating this material with the aesthetics and influences of the royal courts. For example, the virtues taught in school texts such as the Orbis Sensualium Pictus by Johann Amos Comenius, and how they reflect on the character of Alexander the Great, a hero to Baroque royalty, whose life and history was also taught in Bach’s early education. The qualities of Alexander are then shown to be a paradigm for the philosophies of Classical education, and for military victory and glory espoused by the royal courts, using Frederick the Great’s Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci as a model. Finally, these same elements are in turn shown to be symbolic of the royal hunt, and are the foundation of the Bildprogrammatik found in the Brandenburg Concertos.

One further question addressed in this study is the issue of the sacred and the secular in Bach, and how Bach the religionist could inscribe Soli Deo Gloria on some scores, and self-effacing dedications to royal patrons on others (such as the Brandenburg Concertos), apparently not differentiating between sacred and secular. The question to be asked here is, is it possible to isolate specific elements in early Baroque education, often commonly dismissed as superfluous, that actually serve to define underlying patterns of Baroque thought connecting music, theology, and science (as opposed to emerging rationalist philosophies) in such a way that explain this mode of thinking, and that it was not exclusive to Bach?

**Organization of the Study**

This study is divided into six chapters. Each chapter contains a central focus, supporting the theme of the title of the dissertation, “Bach as Humanist”, and the two major claims therein. The first half (Chapters 1, 2, 3,) shows the humanistic influences on Bach’s life and career from the culture, his education, and the courts. The second half (Chapters 4, 5, 6) discusses how these influences shape a Bildprogrammatik to the Brandenburg Concertos (first claim). The first three chapters cover, respectively, 1) the Humanist climate in which J. S. Bach was born, lived, and worked; 2) the school systems in which he was educated, and the scholastic and musical influences on his work; and 3) the philosophy, and literary, artistic and cultural influence of the courts where he was employed for the better part of his early career. The second three chapters are devoted exclusively to the Brandenburg Concertos, exploring the musical techniques and aesthetic themes (victory – glory – immortality) which bind them together as a
Bildprogrammatik. The second three chapters cover, respectively, 4) the First Concerto and horn/hunting music; 5) Concertos 2, 3, 4 and 5, their individual allegories, and their place in the overall Bildprogrammatik; and, 6) the Sixth Concerto and its relationship to death poetics, and its aesthetic function in rounding out the set. The theory of number symbolism/Cabbala (second claim) is worked throughout the six chapters to create an overall picture that supports both the humanist picture and Brandenburg Bildprogrammatik claim:

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<th>Central focus/theme</th>
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<td>Culture:</td>
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<td>→ Fifth and sixth sections propose new theory of number symbolism and Cabbala.</td>
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<td>Victory:</td>
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<td>Immortality:</td>
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<td>→ Fourth section rounds out the discussion of number theory and Cabbala.</td>
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The dissertation also discusses the importance of rhetoric as taught in Bach’s time, a basis for both music and speech, falling into the six-part formula of: exordium / narratio / propositio / confutatio / confirmatio / peroratio. So that form may reflect function, the dissertation is arranged in six chapters of six sections each, to correspond with the rhetorical formula described therein.
Related Literature Review

The literature used in the study is taken from the areas of Baroque art, architecture, and court philosophy; Bach studies; Bibles, catechisms and theological works; history and biography; studies and texts related to Baroque education; studies related to the horn and the hunt; works on numerology, number symbolism and the Cabbala; and studies on the Six Brandenburg Concertos. The literature is delineated into six major areas, each of which informs the major themes or claims in the dissertation:

1) Bach and Baroque studies; 2) books used in German Baroque education; 3) studies of court art and philosophy; 4) studies on the Brandenburg Concertos; 5) studies on the horn and hunting music; and 6) studies on numerology and Cabbala.

1) Central to the study is Rolf Damman’s Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock (1965), which lays the foundation for understanding the relationships between Baroque art and music, and (Dammann’s term) the Lightfield of Thought of the Baroque Era. The main biography of Bach used in the study is Christoph Wolff’s Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician, supported by volumes I, II, III, and IV of the Bach-Dokumente, and The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents. Also central to the study is the Bible in Martin Luther’s translation, Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments, nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers, and Luther’s complete writings, from Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften, vols. IX, XII, and XXIII.

2) The main source of information on Bach’s education is Martin Petzoldt’s article, „’Ut probus & doctus reddar,’ Zum Anteil der Theologie bei der Schulausbildung Johann Sebastian Bachs in Eisenach, Ohrdruff und Lüneburg”, which details the class structure and texts used in Bach’s education. Important to this area is Leonhard Hutter’s catechism, Compend of Lutheran Theology: A Summary of Christian Doctrine (with the original Latin text, Compendium Locorum Theologicorum). Also important are the texts by Johann Amos Comenius, Orbis Sensualium Pictus, and The Great Didactic, and texts by Classical writers, particularly, Virgil (The Aeneid) Horace (Odes), and Curtius (History of Alexander).

3) The two main sources for court art, aesthetics and philosophy come directly from Bach’s time: 1) the Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, vols. 1 & 2, by Frederick the Great (Friedrich II), published at Potsdam in 1760; and 2) the catalogue of paintings and sculpture found in Frederick the Great’s palaces at Sans-Souci, Potsdam, and Charlottenburg, compiled by Matthias

4) Several studies on the Brandenburg Concertos are used in this study, including those of Malcom Boyd, Giles Cantagrell, Walter Corten, Martin Geck, and Michael Talbot, as well as the dissertation, articles, and book, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos* by Michael Marissen. Only four studies discuss the Brandenburg Concertos as a set, or program of connected works: first, those of Karl Böhmer, “Bachs Mythologische Geheimnis”, and Reinhard Goebel, “J. S. Bach: Die Brandenburgische Konzerte,” both of which appear in *Concerto: Das Magazin für Alte Musik*; then Michael Marissen’s article, “J. S. Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos as a Meaningful Set” in *The Musical Quarterly*; and Philip Pickett’s article, “Johann Sebastian Bach / Brandenburg Concertos: A New Interpretation”, which accompanies his recording with the New London Consort, and is also available at *The Recorder Homepage*.


Preface

The Title and Dedication pages of the Six Brandenburg Concertos, [Public Domain].
Preface: Bach as Humanist

This dissertation is intended to portray J. S. Bach as a humanist, living and working in a humanistic world. Broadly, it seeks to demonstrate how the influence of this world - particularly the culture of the royal courts where Bach was employed early in his career (and in whose service he clearly expressed the wish to remain), came to shape Bach’s compositional processes. Specifically, it seeks to show how these processes affect his overall design for the score of the Six Concerts Avec plusieurs Instruments, which have come down to us known as the Six Brandenburg Concertos.

A study such as this requires bringing together certain Baroque concepts and philosophies in a way that creates a new picture of Bach’s work. As such, it is a portrait of the educational system, the arts, court philosophy, religion, polysemantics, and number symbolism of Bach’s time, configured so as to present a unique overview of what Rolf Dammann calls the Baroque Lichtfeld des Denkens, or “Lightfield of Thought.” As a study in the English language, it involves the use of conceptual German words which have no adequate English equivalents; in particular, Bildprogrammatik and Musiklehre. Musiklehre is the common German term to denote “music(al) theory.” For this study, as will be explained, it involves not merely theories of harmony, counterpoint, and form, but also several conceptual elements, including the cosmological, the rhetorical, nature-philosophy, and the theological. To this extent, the German term Musiklehre is used throughout the text.

The word Bildprogrammatik is more problematic. It is something of a modern term referring to a type of aesthetic scheme, yet it is not found in modern (20th-21st century) German dictionaries. It appears in the book, Antiken I, published by the Akademie Verlag (2009), in reference to the sculpture and painting collections found in the residences of Frederick the Great (König Friedrich II). This collection of just over one-thousand artworks, dominated by sculpture, is thoroughly documented in a catalogue compiled by Matthias Oesterreich, and published in three editions (two French and one German), dating from 1770-1775. Oesterreich’s work not only gives specific descriptions of each piece, but also describes in detail the manner in which the pieces are arranged in any given room. A grouping of works may be linked together by a particular theme (for example, Greek or Roman deities, emperors, or philosophers) or according to an architectural configuration – forming a Bildprogrammatik, literally, “ pictorial-program.” In Baroque thought, conceptual layers (such as the aforementioned cosmological, rhetorical, etc.) combine in the Textur des Denkens (texture of thought). It is within this “texture of thought” as Dammann states, “ . . . daß der Mensch das Wesen der Schönheit erfährt.” Dammann also notes that the aesthetic principles which govern the creation of a work of visual art are the same for music.

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1 Dammann, MdB, p. 84.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
In this study, the concepts of the visual Bildprogrammatik (adapted from Oesterreich) will be combined with those of Baroque Musiklehre, and will be used to define a Bildprogrammatik to the Brandenburg Concertos. “Programmatik” in the sense that the concertos as a whole carry an overall theme; “Bild” in reference to the visual layout of the score (a carefully numbered set, with the concerto with the largest scoring at the beginning, down to the the smallest-scored one at the end). Another important word occurring in the text is Vollkommenheitsgrad, implying a “perfection-gradient”, meaning the degree by which perfection (in art or music) is measured.

Another facet of this dissertation is a discussion of Bach’s plausible use of numerology, and especially whether he used any type of cabbalistic symbolism in his works, and, if such symbolism may be discerned in the Brandenburg Concertos. To do this requires the formulation of a new theory as to how to interpret various number combinations which can be observed in Bach’s works – and specifically, what constitutes musical allegory, and what constitutes Cabbala. The chief source used here is the only one concerning the subject that we are aware Bach actually owned; the book Judaismus oder der Judenthumb, by the 17th century Lutheran pastor Johannes Müller, first published in 1644.

Understanding specific concepts in Müller requires that the reader be aware of the difference between the Hebrew Bible and what is commonly referred to as the Old Testament. Simply, the Hebrew Bible represents the original Jewish arrangement of the Old Testament books, called a Tanakh. The Tanakh is divided into three sections: the Torah (the Five Books of Moses) the Nevi’im (major and minor prophets), and the Kethuvim (writings). The Old Testament is a re-arrangement of the same books, as found in the Judeo-Christian Bible, and sometimes containing (as in Luther’s version) the Apocrypha. The Five Books of Moses are called the Pentateuch (Luther uses the terms “1 Mose” (Genesis), “2 Mose” (Exodus), “3 Mose” (Leviticus), “4 Mose” (Numbers), and “5 Mose” (Deuteronomy). The Hebrew Bible begins with Genesis and ends with Chronicles II, whereas the Old Testament of the Judeo-Christian Bible begins with Genesis and ends with the minor prophet Malachi. Müller specifically refers to the Hebrew Bible in his text, and alludes to the appearance of the Hebrew letter aleph (א) six times in the first verse of Genesis, and six times in the final verse of Chronicles II, as being a foundation for understanding certain predictions in the Hebrew Bible (this will be explained in the last section of Chapter 1).

It is important to understand the Lutheran perception of the Old and New Testaments (the Judeo-Christian Bible) as containing the entire salvation history of humankind. But it is the Hebrew Scriptures and their arrangement as a whole – and (according to Müller) correspondences between select passages of the Hebrew Bible and Luther’s German translation – that convey certain prophecies which are the foundation of Christian/Lutheran revelation.

Lutheran though he was, Bach’s talents easily secured him a place in the service of the royal courts,  

4 The number 6 here has a purely theological reference, and is not relative to any of Bach’s works cast in a set of 6.
and the score of the Brandenburg Concertos is, in part, a testimony to his inclination to remain under royal patronage, rather than in the employ of the church. As the dedication page reveals, Bach was not only fulfilling a request made by the Margrave of Brandenburg; he also distinctly expressed his wish to remain in the Margrave’s service. That it not only took Bach *une couple d’années* to fulfill the request, but that Bach sent a full score (and not parts) with instrumentation for an orchestra the Margrave did not even have, shows the composer must have had some grander conception in mind, with something to impress the Margrave at a higher level, both in terms of the visual – the presentation score itself – and the musical, with the multiple allegories inherent in the music.

It is the primary premise of this thesis to demonstrate that the presentation score of the Six Brandenburg Concertos represents a *Bildprogrammatik*, being as they are Bach’s only orchestral music arranged in a numbered set, and that this *Bildprogrammatik* is an allegorical representation of the royal hunt in its totality, carrying the themes of victory, glory, and eventual immortality that were so seminal to the royal mind, yet at the same time holding religious implications significant for Bach, the combination of which allow the composer to be seen, not exclusively as a religionist/theologian, but as a genuine humanist in the truest sense of the word.
Literature Cited in Abbreviated Form

In normal references for the sake of convenience, the author’s last name precedes the abbreviation when it appears for the first time in any given chapter section. Biblical references are listed as “BibRef” and quotes are given by chapter and verse rather than page number. One work integral to this dissertation, Johannes Müller’s Judaismus oder der Judenthumb. Hamburg: Hertal, 1644, always appears as Judaismus.


BTB: Leaver, Robin A. Bachs Theologische Bibliothek / Bach’s Theological Library. Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung, 1983.


JBD: Johann Sebastian Bach Documenta. Edited by Wilhelm Martin Luther, 1950 (Note: this is a different source that is not part of the Bach-Dokumente).


MTN: Normand [Jean Barbou]. *Méthode de trompe ou manuel abrégé: contenant les tons et fanfares avec paroles indiquant les différentes circonstances de la chasse/par Normand* [facsimile], 1952.


OSP-G: Comenius, Johann Amos (Jan Amos Komenský – *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* [Czech, Latin, and German]. Svět v obrazích; jubilene přetisk prvního vydání z roku 1658; 1942.


PBC-2: Philip Pickett, “Johann Sebastian Bach / Brandenburg Concertos: A New Interpretation.” Available at *The Recorder Homepage,* [http://www.recorderhomepage.net/brandenburgs.html]: 1994, pp. 1-16 [Note: This is a more extensive version of the liner notes article above, yet each version contains select information exclusive to itself].


CHAPTER 1

Myth, the Classics, and the Numbers: Bach’s Humanist World

Philip Hainhofer (German, 1578-1647), maker, Adam Eck (d. 1630), carver; 
Augsburg Cabinet (c. 1630).
Ebony, ivory, various woods, brass, and iron implements.
160 x 110.5 cm (63 x 43 ½ in); diameter 64.8 cm (25 ½ in).
Anonymous Purchase Fund, 1970.404;
European Decorative Arts, Gallery 234.
Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.
The figure atop the cabinet is that of Venus; she is flanked by two cherubs.
Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Ohne Mythos is nichts; nichts ist ohne Mythos . . . In einem speziellen und emphatischeren Sinne jedoch sei jenes Diktum gesagt im Blick auf alle Erscheinungen, die in ihrer intentionalen Seinsweise dem Verstehn zugehören. Dabei rangiert an exponierter Stelle die Kunst. Und in diesem Versuch nun konzentriert sich das Diktum auf das Verstehen Bachs:
Ohne Mythos kein Bach; kein Bach ohne Mythos.

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Geheimnis Bach

Descende caelo et dic age tibia regina longum Calliope melos, seu voce nunc mavis acuta seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.

Descend from heaven o Queen Calliope, and play upon the flute a long-continued melody, or sing with thy clear voice, dost thou prefer, or to the strings of Phoebus’ lyre!

auditis, an me ludit amabilis insania? Audire et videor pios errare per lucos, amoenae quos et aquae subeunt et aurae.

Do you hear, or does some fond illusion mock me? Methinks I hear her and am straying through hallowed groves, where pleasant waters and breezes stir.

Horatius [Horace], Carminum Liber (Odes) III/iv
Translation by C. M. Bennet.

Phoebus, deine Melodei
Hat die Anmut selbst geboren.
Aber wer die Kunst versteht,
Wie dein Ton verwundern geht,
Wird dabei aus sich verloren.

Bach/Picander, Cantata BWV 201,
Geschwinde, geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde;
Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan, Mvt 9.

Introduction

The music of Johann Sebastian Bach, his world, his religious and philosophical outlook, even the geopolitical realm in which he lived and worked prove to be laid on foundations of Classical myth and were disciplined by Classical thinking to a greater degree than is perhaps commonly realized or acknowledged; this is particularly true of the educational system which provided for the composer’s formative experiences, both scholastic and musical. While it is affirmed that Bach was himself, on a social and family level, a committed Lutheran; indeed, evidence from his earliest school experiences attests to a continuous, interdependent study of religion, the Bible, and the Lutheran catechism; it is nevertheless the influences of Classical literature (which includes myth) which served to shape not only the basis of Bach’s early education, but most importantly, can be shown to lie at the very root of
theological thought to which he adhered. This foundation of mythology and Classical thought combined to form a humanistic macrocosm (the church, court, and school) and humanistic microcosm (the intellectual realm of the polysemantics of words and numbers) which clearly shaped Bach’s creative processes. Be it in works as diverse as the *Jagd-Kantata*, BWV 208, or the *Johannes-Passion*, BWV 245, we can trace a line of mythological and/or Classical elements (such as rhetoric) which allow us to demonstrate this pervading humanism in Bach’s life and work. The purpose of this dissertation is to reveal this humanistic Bach (versus Bach as theologian/religionist) by detailing his early Classical education in the schools of Eisenach, Ohrdruf, and Lüneburg, and to propose the argument that the humanistic influences of Bach’s education, when coupled with the influences of court art and aesthetics, converge in an allegorical *Bildprogrammatik* to the Brandenburg Concertos, BWV 1046-1051.

The main motive of this *Bildprogrammatik*, as we shall see, is the royal hunt in all its aspects, centering on the themes of victory, glory, and immortality. A depiction of the royal hunt may seen below, on the left inner door of the Augsburg Cabinet, depicted on the Frontispiece to this Chapter [see Figure 1.1].

![Augsburg Cabinet](c. 1630).

Detail of inside left panel, depicting a hunt scene; note the stag and the the hunter in the upper half of the panel.

Anonymous Purchase Fund, 1970.404; European Decorative Arts, Gallery 234.
Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.
Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.
Bach, the Humanist

Any attempt to portray Johann Sebastian Bach ‘as Humanist’ immediately raises eyebrows with the traditional image(s) of Bach as a ‘devout Lutheran’,¹ and this commonly ascribed-yet-seldom-questioned designation needs to be challenged here. While there is no question that Bach displayed a life-long fidelity to his Lutheran faith, his family background must also be clearly understood, evolving as it did within the Kantorei tradition first established by Martin Luther. In the words of Wilfrid Mellers,

The Kantorei tradition ensured that expert technical training in music was considered basic, not peripheral; and since music was essential to the health of the community, the Kantor’s position – at the top of the hierarchy that began with Spielmann (strolling musician) and ascended through Hausmann (household musician) to Stadtpfeifer (court trumpeter) – was an honorable one. In two hundred years the Bachs had risen through these ranks. Johann Sebastian’s respect for tradition must have been encouraged by the fact that he came from, and continued to propagate, so august a line of musicians. Loyalty to the family complemented loyalty to the faith; and this worked at a deeper level than subservience to church and state ² (my emphases).

One of the few writers to portray J. S. Bach as something other than a quintessential church musician was Friedrich Blume, in his article, “Outlines of a New Bach”,³

All we know for certain is that he [Bach] must have been a master of organ-playing and organ composition . . . If Bach had felt a fundamental affinity with the organ he would certainly not have found it difficult to obtain one of the important organ posts of which there was such an abundance in Germany. There is, however, no evidence that he ever made any effort to obtain such a post.

. . . [Such] erroneous assumptions [that Bach placed priority on a church/organ position] that have led, since Bitter and Spitta,⁴ to Bach being proclaimed the church musician, the great cantor, the jongleur de Dieu, and even the Fifth Evangelist. When the sources are evaluated objectively it appears that Bach was no more a church musician than any of his few great and many smaller contemporaries. Telemann and Graupner composed far greater quantities of church music than Bach . . . In 1708 Bach resolutely turned his back on the service of the church, with the declared intention of taking a court appointment.⁵

The characterization of “Bach the Preacher”, or as Blume notes, Bach as “the Fifth Evangelist” has spawned a wide array of writings, from Martin Naumann’s 1950 article, “Bach the Preacher” to the

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¹ This includes the more common designations of Bach as the “Fifth Evangelist”, and “Bach the Preacher.” The periodical, Christian History & Biography, Issue 95, Summer 2007, offers the title, “The Gospel According to J. S. Bach”, and is comprised of several articles by Calvin R. Stapert, Mark Noll, Carlos Messerli, Jennifer Woodruff Tait, Robin A. Leaver, Paul Westermeyer, and Uwe Siemon-Netto.
² Mellers, BDG, p. 80.
⁵ Blume, ibid, pp. 217-218.

\[
\begin{align*}
B & A & C & H \\
2 & 1 & 3 & 8 \\
\end{align*}
\]

and attempting to associate it with the inscription on the cross:

\[
\begin{align*}
I & N & R & I \\
9 + 13 + 17 + 9 \\
\end{align*}
\]

Not only is Smend’s assertion here baseless from a purely numerological standpoint – comparing the chance sum of one group of letters to the product of another – it makes no sense theologically, since it only corresponds with the inscription on the cross as described in the Gospel of John, 19:19, and the Johannine Gospel is the only Gospel to describe the languages in which the inscription was written (and appears in the Gospel only in its Greek form). That the Johannine description was the most influential possibly could have influenced Smend’s thinking; notes Raymond Brown,

John’s formulation of the wording of the title is the most solemn and most memorable, as attested by the traditional artistry of the cross with an INRI from the supposed Latin *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*. The solemnity is increased by the indication that the title was trilingual.\(^8\) [Note Brown’s use of the word, “supposed”, in reference to the inscription].

Yet further invalidating Smend’s claim is that in Lutheran artwork depicting the crucifixion dating from the time of the Reformation, well before Bach, the inscription can range from the traditional INRI, as in works by Jörg Breu the Elder,\(^9\) to depictions such as by Georg Lemberger, which uses the full trilingual titles,\(^10\) to ones that do not use the inscription at all.\(^11\) Such facts hardly support any association

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\(^7\) *Ibid.*.  
\(^9\) Morall, JBE, pp. 167-168, 190-191.  
of the INRI inscription with Bach’s name. Even the title of Smend’s book, Johann Sebastien Bach bei seinen Namen gerufen, is little more than a play on Luther’s translation of the text of Isaiah 43:1, Fürchte dich nicht, den ich habe dich erlöst; ich habe dich bei deinen Namen gerufen; du bist mein.  

Jaroslav Pelikan takes issue with Martin Naumann’s article, “Bach the Preacher”, which he notes was “prepared for the bicentennial of Bach’s death.” Pelikan quotes Naumann as saying,“Pastor Erdmann Neumeister of Hamburg . . . knew Bach to be a staunch Lutheran, and he knew Bach preached God’s Word in his own powerful way. When historians claim this man only as an artist of the highest rank they do him an injustice.” In Pelikan’s words,

This simplistic portrait [Naumann’s] of the ‘staunchly Lutheran’ Bach, with its polemic against historians, even went so far as to interpret 1717 to 1723, the years at Côthen, where Bach’s duties were essentially secular and where there is every indication that he was as happy in his musical vocation as he ever was, as a time when “he seems to have lost sight of the goal of his life. But this only lasted from 1717 to 1723. Then Bach was back in his true element again” [Note: the section in quotations is Naumann being quoted by Pelikan]. Ironically, such a one-sided resolution of the question of ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ in Bach falls into the very Pietism and subjectivism that it uses him to oppose.  

Naumann also suggests that:

When Bach got to Leipzig he had been on a detour. Some biographers cannot understand why he should have taken a post as Kapellmeister at Coethen. It had been his declared aim in life to “advance the music in divine service toward its very end and purpose, a regulated church music in honor of God.”  

Bach’s own record of employment clearly shows that he was inclined to the service of the court even earlier than his days at Côthen; again Blume:

The Mühlhausen letter of resignation makes it perfectly clear that Bach the church musician became Bach the court musician on moving to Weimar. Bach had in fact agreed on terms with the Weimar court in secret and confronted the Mühlhausen Council with a fait accompli. He did find it difficult to choose between the traditional ecclesiastical office and the musical prospects of a secular court; he came down on the side which promised the musician the greater freedom of development.

Naumann not only does not support his own reference to Bach’s “regulated church music”, he fails to see that Bach’s own ‘Kurtzer, iedoch [sic] höchstnötiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music [sic]; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben’ concerns the town-music as a whole, and Bach makes no reference at all to the “honor of God”, but rather comments on the abilities (or

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12 Smend even refers to this association; Smend, ibid., p. 32.
13 Pelikan, BAT, p. 133-134.
15 Blume, ibid., p. 223.
lack thereof) of the musicians available to him, concerning himself with the need for adequately trained musical personnel;\(^\text{16}\) as quoted by Wolff,

\[
\ldots \text{that the state of music is quite different from what it was, since our artistry had increased very much, and \{as\} the taste has changed astonishingly \ldots} \text{considerable help is therefore all the more needed to choose and appoint such musicians as will satisfy the present musical taste, master new kinds of music, and thus be in a position to do justice to the composer and his work.}\(^\text{17}\)
\]

Naummann also clearly disregards Bach’s letter to the “Imperial Russian Residence agent in Danzig”;\(^\text{18}\) one Georg Erdmann,\(^\text{19}\) written in October of 1730, seeking a recommendation for a post in that city; here Bach reflects on his time in the Cöthen court:

\begin{quote}
 Von Jugend auf sind Ihnen meine \textit{Fata} bestens bewust, biß auf die \textit{mutation}, so mich als Cappellmeister nach Cöthen zohe. Daselbst hatte einen gnädigen und \textit{Music} so wohl liebenden als kennenden Fürstin;\(^\text{20}\) bey welchem auch vermeinete meine Lebenszeit zu beschließen\(^\text{21}\) (editor’s emphases).
\end{quote}

Bach retained the title of „princely Anhalt-Cöthen capellemaster” until the end of March 1729,\(^\text{22}\) six years after taking up his post in Leipzig (and terminating only because of the death of his royal patron, a year and a-half before his letter to Erdmann). Wolff notes that it was also more than just a mere title, as Bach continued to compose works for Cöthen,\(^\text{23}\) and appeared as a guest performer there in 1724, 1725, 1728, and 1729.\(^\text{24}\)

Not only did Bach retain the Cöthen title for as long as possible, but he also acquired a second royal title while in Leipzig, just prior to expiration of the first one; that of “titular cappelmeister of the ducal Saxon-Weissenfels court” in late February, 1729.\(^\text{25}\) This was, no doubt, a result of his connection to Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels dating back to 1713, during Bach’s nine years at Weimar (1708-1717), being his first court position, just prior to his time at Cöthen. Although one of Bach’s central duties at Weimar involved “playing at the divine service \ldots this task was essentially limited to accompanying

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] \textit{BD} I, no. 22, pp. 60-64.
\item[18] \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 151.
\item[19] Peter Williams, \textit{J. S. Bach: A Life in Music}. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 274. This may refer to Erdmann’s contacts throughout Europe, or may refer to the position at the Marienkirche in Danzig. Erdmann had known Bach from his school days in Lüneburg; \textit{TLM}, pp. 53-54.
\item[20] Prince Leopold of Anhalt Cöthen.
\item[22] Wolff claims the titular lasted until 03/31/1729, \textit{TLM} p. 193; but then claims it terminated on 03/23-24/1729, \textit{ibid}, p. 341.
\item[23] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 205.
\item[24] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 208.
\item[25] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 526.
\end{footnotes}
hymns and providing introductory chorale preludes and a postlude.”\textsuperscript{26} Bach clearly wanted to advance his position with the Duke, “perhaps [performing] organ recitals or performances at the end of the church services, at the request of Duke Ernst August or for the pleasure of both ducal families, guests and foreign dignitaries”, and “may also have presented solo performances on the harpsichord”, allowing Bach to “impress and captivate his audiences by performing works that would ordinarily be unsuitable for worship services.”\textsuperscript{27} The court accommodated “Bach’s ‘desire to try every possible artistry’ . . . [which] could never have found this kind of focused support and promotion in a position under regular church and civic governance.”\textsuperscript{28}

This leads to yet another point integral to this dissertation: the importance Bach held in retaining court titles, for him being not only an indispensable part of his professional credentials, but even superior to the church titles he held as organist and Kantor. Naumann’s assertion that Bach’s position in Leipzig was “his true element” also contradicts Bach’s clear preference for serving the court. Not only did Bach retain the Cöthen and Weissenfels titles, but, following his unsuccessful plea to Erdmann, he continued to seek royal employment. Hansdieter Wohlfarth explains:

He [Bach] valued courtly titles and remained eager to acquire new ones. During his Cöthen period he also called himself ‘Royal Cappellemeister of Saxe-Weissenfels,’ though no such specific appointment had ever taken place. As late as 1733, when he was the Leipzig cantor, he successfully applied to the elector of Saxony for permission to use the title of ‘Composer to the Court Capelle.’\textsuperscript{29}

In the summer of 1733, Bach had sought the favor of the new (and Catholic\textsuperscript{30}) elector, Friedrich August III, with the dedication of the Kyrie and Gloria (Missa) from what would eventually become the B Minor Mass, BWV 232. It must be noted that while Bach did petition the elector at the time, he did not acquire the title until November 19, 1736, when he was named “Royal-Polish and Electoral-Saxon Court Composer.”\textsuperscript{31} Wohlfarth continues, “The same Bach who could strike so gruff a tone in dealings with church consistory or city councils could master the punctilious ceremonial language of a genteel courtier in the dedication to a composition written in honor of a prince.”\textsuperscript{32}

Evidence of this latter observation is perhaps nowhere more obvious than in Bach’s fawning dedication to Margrave Christian Ludwig on the presentation copy of the Brandenburg Concertos in 1721:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 124.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 125, referring to Bach’s obituary.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 125.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Wohlfarth, JSB, p. 67.
\item \textsuperscript{30} The elector, also being the king of Poland, was required to convert to Catholicism.
\item \textsuperscript{31} TLM, pp. 531-532.
\item \textsuperscript{32} JSB, p. 67.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Elle voulut bien me faire l’honneur de me commander de Lui envoyer quelques pieces de ma Composition: j’ai donc selon Ses tres gracieux ordres, pris la liberté de rendre mes tres-humbles devoirs à Votre Alteβe Royalle, par les presents Concerts, que j’ai accommodés à plusieurs Instruments; La priant tres-humblement de ne vouloir pas juger leur imperfection, à la rigueur du gout fin et delicat, que tout le monde sçait qu’Elle a pour les pièces musicales; mais de tirer plutot [sic] en benigne Consideration, le profond respect, & la tres-humble obeissance que je tache à Lui temoigner par là. 33

Christoph Wolff suggests that the French translation of the dedication was possibly provided for Bach by one Gustave Adolphe Allion, the librarian of the Cöthen court.34 If this is true, it only further exemplifies Bach’s ongoing efforts to establish and promote himself in the royal courts; he apparently distrusted his own knowledge of French, wanting to make every effort to be “politically correct”, and even signing his name on the dedication page with the proper French, Jean Sebastien Bach. 35

This leads to yet another curious paradox: on the heels of Wohlfarth’s comment, it may also be observed that the same Bach who could inscribe even secular works, such as the Klavierbuch für Wilhelm Friedemann (assembled at Cöthen in 1720) with I. N. I. (In Nomine Iesu) or even Soli Deo Gloria, could unstintingly transfer that praise to a sovereign when dedicating a work to royalty, such as in the dedication of the first Partita (BWV 825) in honor of Prince Leopold’s newborn son, Emanuel Ludwig in 1726, again, when Bach was already well-ensconced in his position at Leipzig:

Dem Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn
Herrn Emanuel Ludewig, . . .
Widmete diese geringe Musicalische Erstlinge aus unterthänigster Devotion . . .

Durchlauchtigst
Zarter Prinz36
Den zwar die Windeln decken
Doch Dein Fürsten Blick mehr als erwachsen zeigt,
Verziehe, wenn ich Dich im Schlaffe sollte wecken
Indem mein spielend Blatt vor Dir sich nieder beugt.
Es ist die Erste Frucht, die meine Saiten bringen;
Du bist der erste Printz den Deine Fürstin Küst 37
Dir soll Sie auch zuerst zu Deinen Ehren singen . . . 38 (my emphases)

However, this seeming paradox is in itself further evidence of Bach’s humanistic training, since Bach saw no conflict between sacred and secular. Blume notes that, “The relationship between sacred

33 Excerpt from dedication score; BD I, no. 150, pp. 216-217.
34 TLM, p. 488; BD I, no. 150, p. 217 suggests the translator is unknown.
35 Wolff notes that Bach may have gained some of his early exposure to the courts through the Ritter-Academie, which was a separate division of St. Michael’s School in Lüneburg for young noblemen; TLM, pp. 57-58.
36 Note: The text here uses both ”Prinz” and “Printz.”
37 The spelling here is correct.
38 BD I, p. 223, no. 155; NBR, no. 128; TLM, p. 205.
and secular music was different than from what it is today [1950], and what served as a flattering adulation of a prince was no less serviceable for the expression of Christian faith and worship.”\(^{39}\)

Christoph Wolff takes this yet a step further, noting that,

Bach would have known that the notion of music ordered or decreed by the divine spirit was not susceptible of strict empirical proof, yet even scientists of his time, including Newton and German Newtonians such as Johann Heinrich Winckler of Leipzig, believed that theological principles were capable of empirical demonstration and saw no conflict between science and Christianity. For in their view, the works of God they had studied only magnified the glory of God. And the “Soli Deo Gloria” at the end of Bach’s scores provides vivid testimony to his own stand in this respect.\(^{40}\)

Smend’s attempt however, to further justify his position of Bach as preacher by equating the \textit{Monogrammbuschstaben in Bachs Siegel den Lobpreis S. D. G.}, with Bach’s own initials,

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad D & \quad G & \quad J & \quad S & \quad B \\
18 & + & 4 & + & 7 & = 29 & = 9 & + & 18 & + & 2
\end{align*}
\]

again, the „Numeris aequivalere”,\(^{41}\) still does not work since, 1) it would also apply to anyone with the same initials, and 2) it is more likely an observation made by scholars and not by Bach himself. It must also be observed that the use of \textit{Soli Deo Gloria} at the end of a work, musical or academic, was also relatively common practice in Bach’s time, and can be found even in mathematical texts of the period, such as Johann Christophorus Sturm’s \textit{Mathesis Juvenilis}, from 1708-09.\(^{42}\)

It is true that Bach had been educated in a system which sought to demonstrate spiritual principles empirically, creating an afferent-efferent relationship between the two by coupling religious training with practical studies, such as the \textit{Ars Gnomonica}\(^ {43}\) (Art of the Sundial), whereby, “The cultivation of skills needed for discerning the truth, through the mathematical and mechanical (or useful) sciences, could only foster a collective recognition of ‘true Christianity’ (\textit{wahres Christianthums}).”\(^ {44}\) Thus the sacred could be discerned in everything, since everything preceded from the creator/God. This influence on Bach’s own attitudes allowed him the freedom of advancing himself in the secular courts, while at the same time not compromising his Lutheran beliefs,\(^ {45}\) and, despite the stunning range of his church output, did not necessarily predispose him to a desire to remain exclusively in the church’s service. In fact, a marked difference can be demonstrated in the attitude between Bach the court composer and Bach the \textit{Kantor};

\(^{39}\) Blume, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 220-221.  
\(^{40}\) TLM, pp. 338-339.  
\(^{41}\) Smend, \textit{ibid.}, p. 25.  
\(^{42}\) From an English edition by George Vaux, M.D., printed in London, in 1708-1709.  
\(^{43}\) Petzoldt, UPDR, pp. 11-12. The full title is \textit{Ars Gnomonica et Optica Mechana}.  
\(^{44}\) Whitmer, ETP, p. 558.  
\(^{45}\) At Cöthen, Prince Leopold insured protection of religious minorities (including Lutherans) in a predominately Calvinist/Reformed principality; JSB, p. 67.
Wohlfahrt’s observation regarding Bach’s attitude toward church and city councils is further illuminated by Bach’s response to a notification by the town clerk of a cancellation of the (then) traditional Good Friday Passion performance in 1739:

Auff E. E. Hochweisen Raths Verordnung bin ich zu Herrn Bachen allhier, gegangen, und habe demselben hinterbracht, wie die von ihm auf bevorstehenden Char-Freytage haltende Music, bis auf darzu erhaltene ordentliche Erlaubniß, unterbleiben solle; Worauff derselbe zur Antwort gab: es wäre ja allemahl so gehalten worden, er fragte nichts darnach, denn er hätte ohnedem nichts darvon, und wäre nur ein onus, er wolle es den Herrn Superintendenten melden, daß es ihm wäre untersagt worden, wenn etwa ein Bedenken wegen des Textes gemacht werden wolle, so wäre solcher schon ein paar mahl aufgeführt worden [editor’s emphases].

Thus, Bach’s own performances of what are considered his most profound religious works, and staple works of Evangelical Lutheranism were for him simply “an ‘onus’, a task which he performed with considerable reluctance.” Bach received no special reward or recognition for these efforts – which were themselves second in importance to the plainsong passions by Luther’s contemporary, Johann Walther (1496-1570), which were played earlier during Holy Week in Leipzig.

To further capitalize on Wohlfahrt’s statement, the same Bach who would give unabashed displays of his musical and technical superiority when seeking a court position or title, could refer to his gifts as “. . . (aux) petits talents que le Ciel m’a donnés pour la Musique.” Further evidence of Bach’s preference for royal employment can be seen in Bach’s letters; such as the recommendation of his son Johann Christoph Friedrich to Count Wilhelm of Bückeburg regarding a court position, and in Bach’s selection of Prince Leopold of Anhalt, plus two additional major and two minor royal figures to serve as godparents and sponsors for the baptism of his seventh child, Leopold Augustus, in 1718. Early in his life, Bach recognized the importance of the court in his own development, personally and as a musician; the court not only provided exposure to the influences of the art and musical styles of France and Italy, but also provided him with the means to develop and express the widest range of his abilities, and the recognition thereof. This is evidenced even further by the original amount of music he composed for his

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46 Note, the original text is uncapitalized.
47 TLM, p. 417; NBR, no. 208, p. 204; BD II, no. 439, pp. 338-339.
48 Blume, ibid., p. 219.
49 From Brandenburg dedication, BD I, pp. 216-217; the humble character of the statement is also no doubt part of the “punctilious ceremonial language” referred to by Wohlfarth.
50 Known as the “Bückeburg Bach” (1732-1795); OBC, p. 35.
51 JSB, pp. 68-69; Bach’s letter is dated 12/27/1749; J. C. F. Bach was appointed Cammermusicus (later becoming Konzertmeister) in January of 1750; OBC, p. 35; TLM, p. 533; J. C. F. Bach: Ein Komponist zwischen Barock und Klassik, Verlag Createam Bückeburg, 1995, p. 12. C. P. E. Bach had also been appointed harpsichordist to King Friedrich II of Prussia (when still crown prince), in the spring of 1738; TLM, p. 532.
52 JSB, p. 69.
royal patrons, including the lost scores of some fifteen secular cantatas.\textsuperscript{53}

The court was a prime locus of the humanistic influences (the others being the church and school) on his own works, both sacred and secular, this being perhaps the defining quality that set him apart from the standard church musician-

\textit{Kantor} of the German Baroque.

**The Humanistic Macrocosm: Italian Influences**

From the year 1250 until the time of Bach’s birth, the Holy Roman Empire (\textit{Sacrum Romanum Imperium}) had long ceased to hold any central authority, being considered by historians as “a ‘skeleton’, a ‘ghost’, even before its final demolition by the French Revolution and Napoleon.”\textsuperscript{54} Into the mid-seventeenth century however, the Empire was, still divided into four main territories, generally ruled independently by their respective “popes, kings, princes, and political thinkers”:\textsuperscript{55}

First, there were the ecclesiastical states, ruled as distinct principalities by prince-prelates of the German Catholic Church . . . who bore clerical titles ranging from archbishop through abbot and prior.\textsuperscript{56}

A second group of territories accounting for a much larger proportion of both land area and population of the Empire than the ecclesiastical states were the secular principalities. These were governed by members of the high nobility, by hereditary succession within the ruling family, who bore titles ranging from king (Bohemia) through duke, count, landgrave, margrave, and so on, down to simply ‘prince.’\textsuperscript{57}

A third group of territories, accounting for probably less than two percent of the population of the Empire, and even less of its territory, were the fifty-one so-called Imperial Cities (\textit{Reichstädte}). These, too, were immediate to Emperor and Empire, and were governed for the most part by exclusive and often self-perpetuating patrician oligarchies, which varied in the extent to which they represented the views and interests of their constituent populations from moderately to hardly at all.\textsuperscript{58}

A final group of territorial authorities comprised the families of the Imperial Counts and Knights (\textit{Reichsgrafen} and \textit{Reichsritter}) . . . . There were some 170 families of Imperial Counts, and slightly over double the number of Knight’s families. Together, the number of distinct territories they governed approached 1,600-1,700, of which the vast majority were the tiny estates of the Knights.\textsuperscript{59}

It was within the second group of territories, the secular principalities, including Saxony and the territory being formed as Brandenburg-Prussia, where Johann Sebastian Bach lived and worked.

\textsuperscript{53} TLM, p. 461.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., pp. 7-8.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., pp. 10-11.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p. 12.
Margrave Christian Ludwig, to whom the Brandenburg Concertos were dedicated, was in fact, *dem jüngsten Sohn des Großen Kurfürsten*,60 Frederick William (1620-1688). Bach’s – minority – Lutheran family background and faith were protected under princely patrons such as Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen.61 Upon the accession of Frederick the Great in 1740, the ruler “. . . proclaimed absolute religious tolerance, saying that all religions were equally good, provided their adherents were honest people.” 62

The line of Saxon musicians that eventually produced Kantor-Organists such as Karl Richter63 (1926-1981), traces its lineage back through Günther Ramin, Karl Straube, Max Reger, Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn, Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach,64 to J. S. Bach himself (and, previously to Heinrich Schütz), and leads to Eisenach, the capital of the province of Thuringia (including the duchy of Saxe-Eisenach-Weimar, hence the term “Saxon musicians”), where Johann Sebastian’s father, Ambrosius Bach (1645-1698) served as director of town music (*Hausmann*) beginning in 1671,65 and where Johann Sebastian was born in 1685.

Eisenach was, in Mellers’ terms, a “small walled town guarded by watchtowers”, with a working-class Protestant population serving an “intellectually enlightened and deist” Catholic court, inclining its Lutheran inhabitants towards a “conservatism born of desperation.”66 Mellers’ observation is not unfounded; the Catholic Church’s concerted, aggressive efforts to curb the spread of Protestantism included commissioning and patronizing artists from across Europe, the influence of which was strongly felt among the art-collecting royalty of the German principalities.67 Moreover, as Christoph Wolff observes, the “mere fact that the dukes moved their official residence to the city [of Eisenach] made the principal church the town church, a situation that affected in particular the feast days of the [Lutheran] liturgical year.”68 But it is also here – among the five cornerstones of Bach’s beginnings, “home, town,

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61 Wohlfarth, JSB, p. 67.
63 Richter was appointed as Kantor of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig at age 24, the same position J.S. Bach had held from 1724-50; The Legacy of Karl Richter: A Film by Klaus Peter Richter. Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophon B0006176-09, 2006.
64 Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach (1759-1845) was the grandson of J. S. Bach, from the ninth of his sons, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (1732-1795).
65 Wolff, TLM, p. 15.
66 Mellers, BDG, p. 80. One of the books in Bach’s personal library was a warning against the desertion of the Lutheran religion by one Franz Kling (1626-1693), *Warnung vor Abfall der Lutherischen Relig.*, published in Merseburg in 1693; Leaver, BTB, p. 183.
68 TLM, p. 22.
court, school, and church” that we find those first vestiges of humanism that would come to influence Bach’s early life, education, and subsequently, his music. Mellers corroborates the above Catholic influences, noting that, “The art, architecture and culture of this court was French and Italian rather than German...” Beginning in Augsburg, during the late fifteenth and early-to-mid sixteenth centuries, wealthy merchant families such as those of Jakob Fugger (1459-1525, known as “the Rich”), and the brothers Bartholomew and Lukas Welser, established and maintained lines of trade throughout Germany, extending throughout France and Holland and in particular to Italy, importing not only much Italian art, but also patronizing Italianate styles of art and architecture, and adapting Italian culture, “An important consequence of Fugger patronage, therefore, was to associate the ‘Italianate’ with high finance, power and international prestige. At the same time, such patronage gave impetus to a growing humanist culture.”

Thus, the humanist culture and art of the Italians merged with the growing humanist climate of the oncoming Reformation in the German provinces; works by Italian (as well as French and Dutch) masters came together in the royal German art collections and merged into the society that produced the Elder and the Younger Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, and the Elder and Younger Jörg Breu. The Elder Breu, in particular, demonstrated a wide-ranging ability to accommodate diverse styles, from Classically-styled chiaroscuro paintings to woodcuts sublimated with German religious mysticism. It must be noted that these royal art collections were often arranged and displayed in groups according to a defined Bildprogrammatik, such as the collection of Friedrich II (1712-1786) at Sans-Souci, with the intent to appeal to, and be understood by, those of highly educated sensibilities. This concept was in itself a reflection of court philosophy:

DIVINITE’ des vers & des êtres qui pensent,
Du Palais des esprits d’où partent tes éclairs,
Du brillant sanctuaire où les humains t’encensent,
Ecoute mes concerts.

Rien ne peut résister à ta force puissante,
Tu frappes les esprits, tu fais couler nos pleurs,
Ton éloquente voix flatteuse & foudroyante,

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69 Ibid., p. 21.
70 BDG, p. 80.
71 Morall, JBE, 73-76.
72 Ibid., pp. 73-74.
73 See in particular, Morall, JBE, pp. 15-17.
74 Hüneke, et al., ANT-I., p. 67. The collection is detailed by one Matthias Oesterreich in a volume titled Beschreibung und Aufklärung der Gruppen, Statuen . . ., published in Berlin 1775, translated into German from two earlier French editions, Description des Tableaux de la galerie royale et de Cabinet de San-Souci, published at Potsdam in 1764 and 1771. Oesterreich gives short biographies of all artists whose works are found in the collection, including 24 from Italy, 5 from France, and 14 from Holland; O-Catalogue, pp. 137-176.
Est maitresse des cœurs.

Tes rayons lumineux colorent la nature,
Ta main peupla la mer, l’air, la terre & les cieux,
Pallas te doit l’égide & Vénus sa ceinture ;
Tu crées tous les Dieux.  

The Bildprogrammatik did not simply apply to groupings of artworks, but also served to define the architecture and design of the area in which they were placed, for example, a group of statues of equal height and material defining a portal or entranceway, some on a grand scale, as in this description from the catalogue of Sans-Souci:  

Devant la grande Galerie des Tableaux sont placées
18 Statues de 7 piés 10 pouces de haut, marbre de Carare.  

Or adorning a fountain:  

Dans le Jardin
autour du Bassin de la grande Fontaine, sont placés
quatre grands groupes, & huit statues.  

But more than simply being an aesthetic experience for the intellectual elite, the concept of the Bildprogrammatik, in either painting or music, was designed to heighten the sensibilities of its viewers/listeners to a level of perception by which they experienced the sense of unity (Unitas) brought about through the alignment of order, proportion, number, and quantity; this Unitas made for a deeper understanding of the world and the self, and the nature of beauty. The effect (and affect) of this ordering can be seen in these illustrations from the “petite Galerie” at Sans-Souci [see Figures 1.2 and 1.3]:  

Dans le petite Galerie sont placées quatre Statues
dans les Niches, & dix Bustes sur des Gaines
incrustées d’agathe & de differentes sortes de marbre.  

This same principle also applied to the performance of court chamber music:  

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76 ANT-I, pp. 67-69.  
77 Oesterreich, O-Catalogue, pp. 8, 21.  
78 “marbre de Carare” refers to Carrara marble, a whitish or blue-grey marble from the city of Carrara (the Province of Massa and Carrara), in Tuscany, Italy; from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carrara_marble. The italics appear in Oesterreich’s original text.  
79 Dammann, MdB, p. 84.  
“Chamber music,” “musique de chambre,” or “musica da camera” – whatever its designation, it was music artistically performed in the royal chambers before an elite circle of listeners. At that time, chamber music was not yet a generic classification; rather it was a cultural and sociological phenomenon. For instance, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries chamber music designated a particular musical event arranged for a strictly circumscribed class of listeners and presented in a room especially provided for and accessible to them alone. In this purely external way chamber music in the period of courtly absolutism distinguished itself from the comparatively public musical performances of theater or church. The term “chamber style,” like the term *musica reservata* in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, designated a particularly artistic compositional genre fully appreciated only by the connoisseur. It demands “far more diligence,” said Johann Mattheson in 1739, than do other kinds of music.81

81 Wohlfarth, JSB, pp. 69-70. Wohlfarth appears to use the term *musica reservata* rather loosely, in the context of a designated performance space. The term is discussed extensively in Chapter XVI of Maria Rilke Maniates’s book, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630*; Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979, pp. 260-274. Maniates describes it as an “enigmatic term”, which, “like so many mottoes of the time . . . constitutes a fashionable slogan. It is so widely used that scholars conclude that *musica reservata* denotes no single meaning but rather a number of divergent connotations, all of them equally valid and at times mutually exclusive” (p. 260). She later addresses *musica reservata* as being associated “. . . with social function. Many documents now reveal that new music is reserved for some kind of elite audience. In this respect, *musica reservata* affords a striking parallel with the general mannerist pride in superior refinement and extraordinary exquisiteness beyond the reach of the masses” (p. 271). In the notes to the *Consolationes Piae Musica Reservata* by Adrian Petit Coclico (ca. 1500-1562), Martin Ruhnke discusses the words *musica reservata* extensively, but notes that it “ist bis heute noch nicht geklärt” what was meant in Coclico’s time, and also that it appears only on the tenor part-book to Coclico’s work; Ruhnke, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, Band 42. Lippstadt, Kistner & Siegel & Co., 1958, p. vi. In H. Federhofer’s article on *musica reservata* in *Das neue Lexikon der Musik* vol. 3; Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1996, pp. 360-361, he describes it, as does Maniates, as an enigmatic concept, “. . . wird zwar verschiedentlich erklärt, aber nirgends eindeutig definiert. Offenbar wohnen ihm verschiedene Bedeutungen inne, die einerseits Satztechnik und Character der so bezeichneten Musik, anderseits deren gesellschaftlichen Ort innerhalb eines sozial gehobenen, hochgebildeten Hörerkreises betreffen.” It is in the latter context that the term is be used in this dissertation.
Figure 1.2 – *Kleine Gallerie*, showing the west door; reproduced from Giersberg & Ibbeken.  
Photo credit: Used by kind permission of Hillert Ibbeken.

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\(^{82}\) Giersberg & Ibbeken, SS, p. 330.
The Unitas in music was expressed, in part, through “an aesthetic principle that was known at the time as the ‘Unity of Affect,’ according to which a composition was to be governed and unified by a single emotion or mood.”

Yet underlying the process of achieving this “Unity of Affect”, according to the Musikbegriff of the Baroque, were four principles which ruled the art of composition itself: the cosmological principle, the rhetorical principle, the natural philosophy principle (naturphilosophisch), and

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83 Ibid., p. 338.
theological principle. In the theological principal, the *Trinität* becomes identified with the *Trias harmonica*, (or the *Drey-Einigkeit* as described by Werckmeister⁸⁵) and, as Rolf Dammann notes:


In diesem vier traditionsmächtigen Grundeinsichten besteht die Textur des Denkens, das ein ordnendes, zusammenfassendes (nicht ein im modernen Sinne kritisches) Welt- und Selbstverständniss ist. Durch die von Gott gegebene Ordnungskraft geschieht es, daß der Mensch das Wesen der Schönheit erfährt. Das gilt für die Musik wie für die Malerei.⁸⁷

Die *Trias harmonica* oder *Drey-Einigkeit* (Werckmeister) ist als die natürliche Fundamentform der barocken-Satzstruktur ein *Fürbild* des einen Gottes.⁸⁸

Thus, the concept of the *Bildprogrammatik* carried the same emphases and purpose in music as it did in art, architecture, and sculpture; in the *Chambre au Concert* the passive aspect of the *Bildprogrammatik* (the art and architecture) came together with the active aspect (the performance of music), to give its well-schooled audiences⁹⁹ the highest level of aesthetic, nearly quasi-religious (in the Deist sense of the word) experience. Here, the allegory/symbolism of a programmatic work, or the aesthetic beauty – as well as intellectual stimulation - of an improvisation (such as Bach’s improvising a fugue for Frederick the Great⁹⁰) would be projected in a richly adorned chamber, designed by leading artists of the day [see Figure 1.4]:

*Dans la Chambre au Concert.*

*De Paris. Boucher.* La cheminée est ornés de cinq Vases d’une extrême beauté, d’agares précieuses de différentes couleurs; ornés très richement de bronze doré, d’un beau dessin; d’après l’invention de François Boucher. Ils étoient aussi destinés pour Madame de Pompadour; le Roi les a fait acheter à Paris par son Chargé des affaires Monsieur Mettra.

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⁸⁵ Noted in MdB, p. 85.
⁸⁶ This very concept also extended to the teaching of basic mathematics, (“*Juvenile Arithmetick*”), where “Unity also may be said to be Number, because we may answer as fitly to the Question, How many e.g. Gods are there? Saying There is but One God”; Sturm, *Mathesis Juvenilis*, p. 5.
⁸⁷ MdB, p. 84.
⁸⁹ According to Wolff, Bach would have had interaction with the aristocratic students of the *Ritter- Akademie*, which was attached to St. Michael’s School in Lüneburg, thus exposing him at an early age to the etiquette, French language, and customs of the court; TLM, p. 57.
⁹⁰ TLM, p. 425.
A work such as Handel’s Concerto Grosso in D Major, Op. 6, No. 5 (HWV 323) provides for an interesting parallel between the *Programmatik* of the visual and that of the musical. Just as a group of *bustes* or *demi-bustes* anchors the line of sight and orients the viewer’s perspective, so here Handel concludes the work with a *Menuet*, which could be said to have a similar aesthetic function; in the words of Nikolaus Harnoncourt,

> Händel scheint geradezu mit Vorliebe virtuos-aufregende Concerti durch einen unschuldig-leichten Tanszatz (vorzugsweise ein Menuett) abzuschließen. Dies entspricht ganz und gar nicht unserer Vorstellung von einem „wirksamen“ Abschluß, der den Beifall herausfordert. Der Hörer sollte wohl

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91 Giersberg and Ibbeken, SS, p. 250.
nicht in erregter Stimmung entlassen werden, sondern es mußte, nachdem er durch verschiedenartigsten Affekte der Musik getragen worden war, sein Gemüt wieder Gleichgewicht gebracht werden.

Another plausible example of a Programmatik is Handel’s Concerto Grosso in C Major, Alexander’s Feast (HWV 318). Originally intended to be performed between Parts I and II of Handel’s Ode of the same title (HWV 75), the work carries overtones which would have befitted its performance as musica reservata (the original Ode is subtitled, “The Power of Musick”). The final movement, Andante non presto, functions in much the same way as the Menuet of Op. 6, No. 5. It could be said that the persona of Alexander the Great, a noted hero to the Baroque mind, might also have served as a paradigm for prevailing royalty and honor of the courts, making for a powerful philosophical Programmatik; again from the Philosophe de Sans-Souci:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Le Dieu de la victoire a daigné par ma voix,}
&\text{Enseigner de son art les rigoureuses loix,}
&\text{Du métier des Héros on a vu l’origine,}
&\text{Le choix des campemens, l’ordre, la discipline.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Voilà ce champ fameux, voilà cette carrier,}
&\text{Où tant Généraux ont trop iôt succombé,}
&\text{Où GUILLIAME bronchait, où MAR SIN est tombé,}
&\text{Où d’autres essoufflés sans force & sans ressource}
&\text{N’atteignirent jamais le terme de leur course,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Mais dans ces mêmes champs courant avec plus}
&\text{d’art,}
&\text{On a vu triompher ALEXANDRE, CE’SAR,}
&\text{L’impétueux CONDE’, le sublime TURENNE,}
&\text{GUSTAVE, Luxembourg, VILLARS, MAURICE,}
&\text{EUGÈNE,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{O vous jeunes Guerriers touchés de leurs haute}
&\text{Faits,}
&\text{Craignez de votre ardeur les transports indiscrets;}
&\text{Dans le nombre d’amans qui courtisent la gloire,}
&\text{Très-peu sont couronnés des mains de la victoire; . . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

Another possible musical Programmatik can be found in Telemann’s Wasser-Overture, with its

\footnote{Bach’s studies at Lüneburg included Quintus Curtius’ biography of Alexander the Great; TLM, p. 57.}
\footnote{OduSS, Book I, pp. 296-297.
array of Classical personae such as Der verliebte Neptunus, Die spielenden Najaden, and Der stürmende Aeolus, etc., yet the suite-like nature of the work (including Sarabande, Bourée, Loure, Gavotte, Menuet, and Gig) suggests it may also have possibly functioned as a musical “entertainment” intended for the Galerie ou Salle de danse.  

These few examples lead to the question of a Programmatik in Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos, and whether (or not) they prove a unique circumstance within Bach’s output, distinct from his other chamber music and concerti. Philip Pickett has suggested that in Bach’s design for the concertos, he “was honouring the Margrave as an Ancient hero”, and that each is representative of a Classical allegory: No. 1 is ‘The Triumph of Caesar’; No. 2, ‘Fame, Homer, Virgil and Dante on Mount Parnassus’; No. 3 is ‘The Nine Muses and the Harmony of the Spheres’; No. 4, ‘The Musical Contest between Apollo and Marsyas’; No. 5 is ‘The Choice of Hercules’; and No. 6 is ‘The Meeting of the Three Quick and the Three Dead.’ It must be noted that the last one is not a Classical allegory at all, but a Medieval one, originating from five fourteenth-century French poems, later translated into low German, and known as the legend of Des trois morts et des trois vifs (Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und von den drei Toten).

Pickett’s concept largely alludes to court spectacle. The musical nature of the Brandenburg Concertos, however, with the emphasis on juxtaposition of soloist roles, even in the largest of the concertos (as opposed to the ensemble-type scoring as found in Handel’s Music for the Royal Fireworks), and the required number of players (the largest of the concertos can be performed with under 20 players, the smallest with 7) suggest they were intended for the more specialized venue of chamber music. Added to this are two important factors: 1) The Brandenburg Concertos represent Bach’s only orchestral music that was organized in a set, and 2) the positioning of the smallest and most intimately scored concerto coming, in the dedication score, at the end of the set. It should also be noted that the concluding Menuet of the first concerto (after the French style), probably serves in much the same way as in the aforementioned Handel concerto, to bring equilibrium to the listener’s emotions, yet in Bach’s case, still alluding to the “hunting-call” character of movements 1 and 3, with the inclusion of the second-to-last Trio. I suggest here that the Brandenburg Concertos are individually and collectively designed as a

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95 Handel’s Water Music, as well as the Music for the Royal Fireworks do not qualify in this regard as a Bildprogrammatik, since they were intended as part of a public spectacle, rather than for intimate court performance before a select audience.
96 O-Catalogue p. 95. Royal residences often contained both a Chambre au Concert and a Salle de danse, each with a different aesthetic function and décor. It is interesting to note that in the palace at Sans-Souci, the Chambre au Concert is followed by a single chamber (listed only as La Chambre suivante) separating it from the bedchamber of the king; ibid., pp. 43-44.
97 Pickett, PBC-1, p. 7.
98 Ibid., pp. 9-16.
99 Ibid., p. 8.
Bildprogrammatik, (not diverse Classical allegories, although allegory does play a vital role), and that they differ in nature from the Orchestral Suites and other concerti by virtue of their overall arrangement and aesthetic design, and that the collection proves to be a singular phenomenon within Bach’s oeuvre. The humanist influence of the Italian / French aspects of the court are one part of an interdependent process that comprised the humanist macrocosm (and as will be shown in Chapter 2, strongly allied to Bach’s early Classical studies); the other was that of the church.

Defining the German Humanist: The Role of Christian Literature in Art

The use of Classically-styled figures proves to be a common humanistic element in both Catholic and Protestant religious art. Trends, particularly in Italian art of the time, could often depict religious gestalts looking much like a Classical-Héro figure; such objets d’art were also intended as devotional objects;¹⁰⁰ [see Figure 1.5].

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¹⁰⁰ Notes to Art Institute of Chicago no. 1989.1, Gallery 211.
Catholic religious art (particularly from the Italians) tended to be elaborate, highly sensual, and often with much hermeneutic symbolism. While the same may be said of works by the likes of the Cranach, Dürer, and Breu, German religious art still retained much of its medieval character, in character with German mystical thought. The sharp difference between the Italian and German humanists (such as the north-Alpine school from which the Elder Cranach evolved) lie in the role of Christian literature:

Der begriffliche Zusatz »christlich« zur näheren Bestimmung der nordalpinen Humanisten im Gegensatz zu den italienischen Humanisten wurde im Hinblick auf die beherrschende Rolle gewählt, die die christliche Literatur spielte.¹⁰²

With the onset of the Reformation, this mysticism, together with evolution of Protestant theology, Germanic-Lutheran religious art became substantially more desensualized; not only this, but the demand for religious art had fallen to such a degree that even painters such as the Elder Breu were forced to seek patronage within the Catholic church.¹⁰³ By the time of J. S. Bach’s birth, the austerity of Lutheran religious art (as found at Wartburg Castle, which lay above the town of Eisenach, and hence an important part of Bach’s formative world), now stood in stark contrast with that of its Catholic counterparts, yet, as noted, this austerity was significant in itself, serving to direct the beholder’s thoughts to the underlying meaning of a work of religious art. Thus, the humanist macrocosm of Bach’s early world was shaped by an interdependent relationship between the humanist aspects of a deist court and the humanism of Martin Luther and Reformation Germany, its new theologies reflected in its outward symbols in an effort to gain inner illumination through mystical reflection. Again, to quote Mellers, “For Bach as for Luther, inner illumination, not scientific attitude toward fact, was the only approach to reality.”¹⁰⁴ This illumination, or process thereof, is achieved of course, by way of faith (Glaube); Luther notes,


It is from commentary such as this that we now can more specifically illustrate this humanist “role of Christian literature” in art, by way of a comparison of Catholic and Protestant religious art in context with

¹⁰¹ Breu’s use of Italianate elements is detailed in Morall, JBE, p. 27.
¹⁰³ Morall, JBE, pp. 138-139.
¹⁰⁴ Mellers, BDG, p. 80.
¹⁰⁵ Luther, HPR, columns 559-660. The quote from Galations 5:22 reads “Die Frucht aber des Geistes ist Liebe, Freude, Friede, Geduld, Freundlichkeit, Gültigkeit, Glaube, Sanftmuth, Keuchheit; BibRef – BML, Gal. 5:22.
Luther’s own writings, and subsequently, Bach’s music. Further commentary by Mellers provides us with the material for a direct hermeneutic connection between sacred art and literature:

Luther’s insistence that grace could come only through awareness of the ‘sweet wounds of Christ’ means that he was at heart both humanist and mystic. This bears directly on Bach’s music, which is also simultaneously mystical and human, spiritual and material, sacred and profane.¹⁰⁶

Now, taking the theme of Christ’s passion (with its underlying motives of “grace” through the “wounds of Christ”; i.e., the redemptive aspect thereof), we may first observe this theme expressed by way of the sensuous detail characteristic of Italian Catholic art, in a Deposition from sixteenth-century Italy [see Example 1.6].

Figure 1.6 – Guglielmo Della Porta (1516-1577), Deposizione; (The Deposition) Milan: Castello sforzesco.,¹⁰⁷ [Public Domain].

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¹⁰⁶ BDG, p. 84.
Here the intensely masculine, fully-adult body of Christ lies inert beneath the grieving figure of the Virgin, seemingly collapsed in sorrow, not touching the figure of her son, as an array of disciples attends to them.\textsuperscript{108} The hermeneutic aspects of the story are nearly overtaken by the sensuousness of the composition itself; only the figure bending at Christ’s hand (near one of the wounds) might somewhat suggest a homage, or gratitude for Christ’s sacrifice.

Contrast this image with a Pietà from the Wartburg Castle (Franconian,\textsuperscript{109} end of 15\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{110}), a piece from some fifty years earlier, and possibly, one Bach might have even seen himself [see Figure 1.7].

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Pietà.jpg}
\caption{Pietà, Franconian,\textsuperscript{111} end of 15\textsuperscript{th} century; reproduced from Günter Schuchardt, \textit{Kunstsammlung der Wartburg},\textsuperscript{112} Reproduced by arrangement with Schnell & Steiner Verlag.}
\end{figure}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{108}This is in reference to the passage of Nicodemus at John 19:39. Similar depictions can be found in Breu’s workshop; JBE, pp. 27, 29-30.
\textsuperscript{109}Related to the Franken region of Germany; which today consists of “parts of Bavaria, Thuringia, and Baden-Württemberg”; at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franconian.
\textsuperscript{110}Schuchardt, KdW, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{111}“Franconian” refers to “anything related to Franconia (German \textit{Franken}), a historic region in Germany, now part of Bavaria, Thuringia and Baden-Württemberg,” definition from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franconian.
\textsuperscript{112}KdW, p. 19.
\end{footnotesize}
The description of this work is appropriate here:

The figure of Mary mourning with the body of her son captures the moment of a last human contact between mother and child. Her cape, thrown far forward over her head, is meant to protect her dead son; it creates an enclosed image. The term, “pietà” comes from the Italian and means “deep compassion”; the German name “Vesperbild” (vesper picture) refers to the custom of holding a meditation on the five wounds of Christ on Good Friday . . . By giving the figure of Christ the proportions of a child in contrast to Mary, the unknown master achieved a contemplative, almost intimate unity of mourning and dignity. Unlike the pietà of the fourteenth century, which shows a broken woman with features distorted by suffering, the Good Friday vesper here is revealed as an hour of remembrance, when the mother held her son as a child on her lap.

This humanistic influence of Christian literature on German art finds a direct parallel here, from Luther’s own writings. First, we find Luther’s commentary on the Wunden:

Die Wunden, die sie Christo ist die Hände und Füße geschlagen, haben sie nicht allein Marien Sohne in seine Hände und Füße geschlagen, sondern Gottes Sohn. (my emphases)

From there the Wunden / passion are connected to the theme of Gnade, and then to the theme of Glaube, corresponding perfectly with Meller’s description:


Bach’s music, as mentioned earlier, also bears this same humanist imprint, and these same relationships can be seen in the passions and cantatas, which contain extensive literary relationships/meditations by Picander (Christian Friedrich Henrici), Erdmann Neumeister, Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, and Paul Gerhardt.

Likewise, the secular cantatas extensively reflect the influence of Classical literature. Christoph Wolff, discussing Bach’s re-working of the text of Cantata 201, Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan, notes that Bach interpolated his own poetry into Picander’s original libretto) and, “. . . invokes two

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113 It is clear from Della Porta’s work that this aspect/tradition carried over into the 16th century.
115 HPR, col. 2095.
116 HPR, adapted from col’s 705-708.
infamous if rather obscure figures: Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (a Roman orator known for his overly profuse style . . . ) and Lucius Orbilius Pupillus (Horace’s teacher, known for beating up his students).  

The secular cantatas also contain a broad array of Classical characters: Phoebus and Pan, Pallas, Momus, Midas, Tmolus, Endymion, Aeolus, and most notably, Diana in Cantata 208, *Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd*, as princess of the hunt. The subject of the hunt figures prominently in Baroque art. The Elder Cranach’s reputation as a Jagdmaler was significant in his depictions of both the royal hunt of and his rendering of an important Classical theme: Diana and the Stag. The theme of Diana and the Stag is found in literary works such as the *Caccia di Diana* of Giovanni Boccacio (1313-1375), and also in a number of works of Italian and French art, such as *Diana with a Stag and a Dog*, 119 by Jean-Baptiste Tuby I, from the late 17th century [see Figure 1.8].  

The symbolism of the Stag is threefold: 1) as the literal, or figurative object of the hunt, 2) it refers to the Christian moralization of animals,120 and 3) is also an allegory for the Christian man, in reference to Psalm 41: “As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God.” 121  

Thus the concept of the Stag can be readily linked to the Baroque cosmological/rhetorical/nature-philosophy/theological principles in both art and music. And as will be suggested in Chapters 3 and 4, the concept of the royal hunt provides a backdrop for the Bildprogrammatik of the Brandenburg Concertos, from No. 1, with its use of a genuine hunting-call,122 to No. 6, and its possible relationship to an allegory known as *Des trois morts et des trois vifs*, where three noblemen out on the hunt come face to face with three cadavers, confronting them with the ominous line, “Vous serez e que nous sommes.” 123  

The next section will examine the humanistic realm of word, thought, and number.

[see image on following page]
The Humanistic Microcosm I: The Word and the Number

According to the Baroque Lichtfeld des Denkens, all the formative structures within any art form are connected by way of order, proportion, number, and quantity. This includes both the organization of a given work (such as a piece of sculpture or a musical composition), and the ordering of a group of works into a collection or Programmatik. This formative process is a call to the underlying Unitas within any group of works of Baroque art. It is also a reflection of the cosmological principle, as we have noted earlier, which applies to both music and the visual arts:

... das kosmologische Prinzip: die Harmonia beruht auf Ordnung, Proportionen, numerus, quantitas; sie ist Gegenstand der Scientia Mathematica ... Das ist ein Gedanke, der die methodischen Darlegungen der Verhältnisses von Kon- und Dissonanzen durchzieht und der vor allem in den allegorischen Erklärungen über die Auflösungsgesetze (Werkmeister: de Resolutionibus) immer wieder ausgesprochen wird.\footnote{Dammann, MdB, p. 84.}
The cosmological principle combines with the rhetorical, nature-philosophy, and theological principles, where, as noted above, “Die Unitas signifiziert Gott . . . Durch die von Gott gegebene Ordnungskraft gescheieht es, daß der Mensch das Wesen der Schönheit erfährt. Das gilt für die Musik wie für die Malerei.”

In Bach’s arrangement of the presentation score of the Brandenburg Concertos (even if they were never intended to be played together as a set), given the German Baroque Musiklehre as noted above, as well as the influences (specifically of rhetoric and logic) from his early schooling, he could only have conceived of presenting the six scores in a way that carried some high-minded aesthetic significance for the royal court and the chambres de concerts where they were intended to be played, a significance both in terms of the concertos individually, and in their overall design and conceptual layout as a set.

According to the formative Textur des Denkens, the concertos, as do all other of Bach’s music arranged in sets, would have to be connected in some way by a single idea or concept, yet one which carried within itself the potential for multiple, yet organically connected meanings. An example would be the Orgelbüchlein chorales (BWV 599-644), where the individual chorales each project the theological meaning of a given chorale tune; the chorales are then grouped according to a particular church season, (Advent, Passiontide, etc.) the groupings which, collectively, represent the entire Lutheran liturgical year.

Thus, 1) a number can reflect an idea or concept (for example the number “6” indicating a “completion”, referring theologically to the six days of creation); 2) multiple ideas can be expressed in a given word (such as the word, Hirsch, outlined below); and 3) a word can be expressed in number, for example, Bach’s use of the word “Credo” in the Symolum nicenum of the B Minor Mass, BWV 232, adding up to the number 43, and then used 43 times in the movement.

The word “Stag” (Hirsch) was discussed in the last section; here, is a word which also implies the same process of organic connections. The stag is a multi-dimensional allegorical figure. As such, he is both observer and object of the hunt; he is also an allegory for the Christian man, and therefore a symbol of Christian renewal. The figure of the stag must be viewed contextually, relative to the dimension in which he appears (i.e., as the observer of the hunt in the Caccia di Diana; as “The hart that panteth . . . “in Psalm 42; as a symbol of baptismal rebirth, etc.), yet at the same time he represents an overall unity in the context of the redeemed Christian man.

Yet another example of this principle is found in the Philosoph du Sans-souci where the word Héros is used extensively, and invariably capitalized:

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125 Ibid.
127 MdB, p. 84.
Tu chantas les Héros, ton sublime génie
Dans son immensité bienfaisant et fécond,
Relevant leurs exploits, embellissant leur vie,
Les fit tout ce qu’ils sont. 128

The word Héros has at its core heroic figures of antiquity, specifically Augustus and Alexander the Great, but also includes poets such as Virgil and Horace,129 and orators, Cicero in particular. For the royalty of Bach’s time, these figures represented the continuation of Classical education, Classical ideals, and the return of les beaux Arts, themselves epitomizing the concepts of truth, victory, glory, and immortality.

The word “Hero” however, also has a religious connotation that was particularly significant for Bach, and also links it to number, and to the Cabbala. To understand this concept, we turn to a book from Bach’s own library, *Judaismus oder der Judenthumb* (Judaism or Jewry/Jewishness) by the seventeenth-century pastor and theologian, Johannes Müller (1598-1672). Bach owned four books by this author,130 which suggests they held a particular significance for him, and he more than likely knew of, and had an interest in, their contents. I suggest this is especially true in the light that all of the books in Bach’s personal library supported and defended the foundations of his Lutheran faith. *Judaismus*, while upholding Luther’s polemics against Jews who would not convert to Christianity, at the same time discourses on the Hebrew Bible131 as being the history and line of the prophets and the generations of Adam, from which the coming of the Messiah is foretold, and is inscribed, as Cabbala, within the Hebrew text. Müller follows in the tradition of Lutheran thought, where the two Testaments of the Bible represent a unified text in which is outlined the entire salvation history of humankind, as confirmed in Galatians 4: (23–) 24:

4:23: One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise.

4:24: Now this is an allegory these women are two covenants . . .132 (my emphases)

128 Frederick the Great, Odu-SS, Book I, p. 8.
129 See the third epigraph to Chapter 3, p. 91.
131 Müller specifically delineates between the “Büchern des Alten Testaments” and the “Hebreischen Bibel”; *Judaismus*, beginning p. 2, and p. 50, respectively.
132 Bib-Ref – GNT.
Luther translates the passages as follows, changing the word “covenant” (διαθήκαι) to “Testament”:

4:23: Aber der von der Magd war, ist nach dem Fleisch geboren; der aber von der Freien, ist durch die Verheißung geboren.

4:24: Dei Worte bedeuten etwas. Denn das sind die zwei Testamente . . .

Müller corroborates the same passage, again using the word “Testamente”: “daß ne[h]mlich siw zwey Testamenta dadurch fürtgebildet worden. Galat. 4. v.: 24.”

Müller was a pastor who had taken up the cause of converting the Jews to Christianity. The dichotomous language of Judaismus, is evidenced by the scathing opening lines [below, and Figure 1.9]:

Judaism
or Jewry
that is
Particulars of the Account of the
Jewish People’s Unbelief /
Blindness and Stubbornness

[see illustration on next page]
Figure 1.9 – Johannes Müller, Cover and opening page of *Judaismus*, in the edition published in Hamburg, 1644.\footnote{The copy Bach owned was from 1707; W. M. Luther, ed., JBD, p. 41.}
To Baroque Lutheran eyes, Christ’s mission to save humanity is a heroic one. This is evidenced both in Luther’s writings and in Bach’s music. In the *Johannes-Passion*, BWV 245, the climatic aria, “Es ist vollbracht”, the opening and ending of the chiastic structure of the piece is framed with the words, “Es ist vollbracht”; the mission of the Messiah/Hero is fulfilled. The central chiasm proclaims the victory of the Hero (coming from the line of Judah, as foretold in the Hebrew Bible) [see Figure 1.10]:

![Figure 1.10 – Johannes-Passion, BWV 245, No. 30, mm. 19-22; Note the repeated-note technique in m. 21, similar to the first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 5; Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, vol. 2:4, p. 133. Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel.]

We also find the Messiah-as-Hero motive in Luther’s translation of the Bible. In Genesis 49:10, the original Hebrew translates as:

The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. [translator’s emphases]

The commentary to *The Jerusalem Bible*, notes that the passage, “to whom the scepter belongs”, refers to “a veiled prophecy of a Judan king who is to rule over the nations.”

Luther translates this passage as:

*Es wird das Scepter von Juda nicht entwendet werden, noch ein Meister von seinen Füßen, bis daß der Held komme; und demselben die Völker anhangen.* (Luther’s emphases)

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137 Pelikan, BAT, pp. 106-107.
140 BibRef – BML, 1 Mose, 49:10.
Throughout the various editions of Luther’s translation of the Bible (including contemporary ones), this passage invariably appears either in italics or bold print, one of just over a dozen passages the fifty chapters of Genesis (Das erste Buch Mose) to be so emphasized. The passages begin with reference to the perfection of God’s creation, follow with the Fall, and continue with the line of Judah. Müller claims that this verse represents Jacob’s prediction of the coming of the Messiah, citing a Cabbalistic reference where the letters of the Hebrew words “until Shiloh come” (which Luther translates as das der Held komme) adds up to the number 358, the same number as the Hebrew word for Messiah, ﬀשׁיּﬨ. Müller held the view, in accordance with an ancient legend, that the Cabbala was an art (Kunst) that was handed down from angelic intelligences: „Adam habe die Kunst gelernt von Kaziel / Abraham von Zadkiel / Isaac von Raziel / Jacob von Peliel / welches Geister und dieser Alt-Väter Lehr-meister sollen gewesen seyn.” Bach’s possible knowledge, and/or use, of the Cabbala will be discussed later in this chapter.

We also can observe a relationship between Müller / the Cabbala, and the polysemanitics of numbers. In the mathematics text by Johann Sturm, Mathesis juvenilis (given here in the English version of 1709), Sturm poses the question:

What is Number?

Number is either that which is numbered, as any multitude of things, the Name of the thing being taken largely, that it may contain the Privations, and also Entia rationis; in this sense, Number is opposed to Unity, and Unity is not Number; that is, One is not Many; or Numbering, whereby we determine the Number of any Multitude conceiv’d by Mind or expressed by Words; and in this Signification, Unity also may be said to be Number, because we may answer as fitly to the Question, How many e.g. Gods are there? Saying, There is but One God.

This is corroborated in Müller, supporting it with both Biblical text, and with a Cabbalistic reference (in the Hebrew letters):

Also saget Moses Deuter. 6. V4. Es [ist] nur ﬀשׁיּ Explicit Ein Gott. [Müller’s emphases]
This understanding of the polysemantics of words and numbers in the Baroque is essential in order to grasp the underlying philosophy – and Unitas - behind the creation of Baroque artworks and music, and see the interrelationships that were inherent to the Baroque mind.

The concept of number in the Baroque leads to the never-ending question of whether or not Bach actively or intentionally used some form of number symbolism in his works – a question that never has been fully or clearly answered, in spite of numerous scholarly observations, interpretations (and misinterpretations) regarding Bach’s so-called use of this-or-that type of numerological system.

Malcolm Boyd states:

Bach’s music furnishes many instances of the composer’s interest in the symbolism of numbers. On the simplest level are such straightforward equations between text and music as the tenfold entry of the fugue subject in the chorale prelude Dies sind die heil'gen zehn gebot (“These are the ten holy commandments”, BWV 679) and the eleven repetitions (one for each disciple except Judas) of “Herr, bin ich’s?” (‘Lord, is it I?’) in no. 9c of the St. Matthew Passion.\(^{148}\)

Boyd’s reference to Bach’s “interest”, in number symbolism is of course, speculative, since it does not prove whether the patterns observed here result from an interest on Bach’s part in number symbolism, or are just part of the larger compositional process. Boyd goes on to discuss Friedrich Smend’s study, Johann Sebastian Bach bei seinem Namen gerufen (1950), and “Bach’s use (or supposed use) of gematria, or the number alphabet”, in which the name of Bach adds up to the number 14: B = 2 + A = 1 + C = 3 + H = 8, the sum of which is 14; this, and the “canon triplex of the Haussmann portraits”, with “fourteen notes of the canonic parts”, and also the chorale Vor deinen Thron tret’ ich [hiermit] (BWV 668), “which has fourteen notes in its first line and forty one in all.”\(^{149}\) But in the end, he concludes that,

It is a drawback of all such theories that, no matter how much the evidence may seem to support them, the workings of coincidence can never be discounted in a particular case. The number of bars or notes in any given passage of Bach’s music is therefore no more certain to be of numerological significance than, say, the number of chapters or music examples in a book on the composer.\(^{150}\)

The approaches to number symbolism that have been observed/perceived in Bach’s music run far and wide, from Martin Jansen’s article, “Bachs Zahlensymbolik, and seinen Passionen untersucht” (1937)\(^ {151}\) (addressing the problem of “Bach und die Zahl” mainly through specific groupings of notes relative to a passage from a biblical text), and Smend’s above-mentioned studies, to Arthur Hirsch’s Die

\(^{148}\) Boyd, BAC, p. 222.

\(^{149}\) Ibid., pp. 222-223, citing Smend, Bach –Studien: Gessamelte Reden und Aufsätze, p. 173. Boyd also mentions in the reference that “Smend was also the first to draw attention to the fourteen buttons visible in the Haussmann portrait.”

\(^{150}\) Ibid., p. 223.

\(^{151}\) Bach Jahrbuch, 34. Jahrgang, 1937, pp. 96-117.
Zahl im Kantatenwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs, (1986), which gives literally hundreds of examples of number symbolism in Bach’s music (namely by the number of notes, repetitions of a given word, phrase, ostinato patterns, etc.), grouped according to the meaning of a given number, the meanings being derived from mathematics, Baroque music theory, and biblical interpretation,\textsuperscript{152} such as,

Die Zahl 6

Bedeutung: Tage der Schöpfung, daher in Bachs Zeit Symbol für Schöpfung und Welt. - 1 + 2 + 3 = 6 “numerus mundanus.”\textsuperscript{153}

In his introduction, Hirsch notes however,

\begin{center}
\textsc{ABSICHT - ZUFALL?} \\
\textsc{GLAUBE - SPIEL?}
\end{center}

Die Rolle der Zahlensymbolik in Bachs Werk ist umstritten. In romantischer Kunstaufsäson wurde jegliche Verbindung zwischen freier intuitiver Phantasie des Genies und mathematischem Denken abschätzige beurteilt. Erst um die Mitte unseres Jahrhunderts begann man, die Möglichkeit der Zusammengehörigkeit solcher scheinbar paradoxer Welten im Denken vergangener Zeiten nicht auszuschließen.\textsuperscript{154}

In her book, \textit{Bach and the Riddle of the Number Alphabet} (1991), Ruth Tatlow discusses a variety of subjects, from Smend’s work to mathematics, cabbalism, various forms of the number alphabet, mathematical puzzles, and cryptographic games extant in Bach’s time. She claims that, “... one can say at very least that he [Bach] consciously used the notes b-a-c-h to express his name”, and also that:

He indisputably knew Picander’s \textit{Paragamma Cabbalisticum trigonale} [1718],\textsuperscript{155} the example given by Smend, and the acrostic, as is shown by his puzzle canon ‘F A B E Repetatur’ (BWV 1078). A Latin poem of five lines is written beneath the staff, line two of which is an acrostic on the name Faber: \textbf{Fidelis Amici Beatum Esse Recordari.}\textsuperscript{156}

Tatlow then speculates that “It is extremely likely that Bach came across many different number alphabets.”\textsuperscript{157} However, in her article on “Number Symbolism” for the \textit{Oxford Composer Companions: Bach}, she concludes that:

\textsuperscript{153} ZKB, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., p. 1.
\textsuperscript{155} Tatlow, BRN, pp. 6-7, 146.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., p.126. The phrase means “Happiness is to be remembered as being faithful to a friend.”
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.
The lack of evidence from Bach’s manuscripts and contemporary treatises for number symbolism should have prevented the subject from gaining so much popularity . . . In spite of the paucity of historical evidence, number symbolism is still an attractive analytical tool today, as it promises a direct path from the musical scores into the heart and mind of the composer . . . For the subject to move forward it must reject most of its past. The priority is to establish the historical plausibility that Bach used numbers as a tool when composed.158

Curiously, Tatlow does not note that in the aforementioned poem, Bach also uses his own name as an acrostic: (itaque) **Bonae Artis Cultorum Habeas** (verum am**Icum Tuum**).159 Tatlow does address the issue of the Cabbala in reference to Müller’s *Judaismus*, 160 and also refers to the final page of Müller’s text, *Vom Gebrauch der Jüdischen Cabbala* (On the Use of the Jewish Cabbala). She describes Müller’s differentiation between a *Cabbala speculativa* (considered proper for Lutherans 161) and a *Cabbala practica*, which was considered heretical. 162 These are taken from the chapter of *Judaismus* titled “Von der Cabbala und Shemamforas.” 163 It is this chapter from Müller’s book, I suggest, that holds the key to any possible understanding or use Bach may have made of the *Cabbala*, because of its strong relationship to Messianic prophecy and the importance thereof for his Lutheran faith. This aspect will be discussed in detail below.

While the various studies of Bach’s (assumed) use of numerology do not, as noted, provide any definitive conclusions, they do however, allow us to see at least three concrete examples of Bach indulging in some form of number play, musical “cryptograms”, and acrostics in relation to his own name: 1) the BACH = 14 / J. S. BACH = 41 symbolism (implying the use of some form of number alphabet); 2) the use of B-A-C-H (B-flat, A, C, B-natural) as part of the compositional process, as in *Die Kunst der Fuge*, BWV 1080; 164 and 3) his name appearing as an acrostic. From these three examples, we can deduce another solid example with Bach’s use of the word *CREDO*, which adds up to 43 (this from the same number alphabet which produces BACH = 14), appearing 43 times in the opening section of the *Symbolum Nicenum*, from the B Minor Mass, BWV 232. Bach generally did not leave any notes of his own as regards the use of any kind of number symbolism in his works, suggesting that the patterns that can be observed in his music may be part of the larger process of Baroque composition. Hirsch notes that Bach only indicated the number of bars of a given work / section in two vocal works: the *Patrem omnipotentem* from the B Minor Mass (84 bars), and the *Chorsatz* “Nun lob mein Seel den Herren” from

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159 “In the cultivation of good art, you already have your truest friend.”
160 BRN, pp. 44-48.
161 Ibid., p. 45.
162 BRN, pp. 46-47; the relevant passage, “Was Cabbala Practica sey”, is reproduced from *Judaismus* on p. 57.
163 Note: Tatlow does not mention the chapter’s title from Müller’s book.
Cantata BWV 28/ii (Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein) (174 bars). Bach however, appears to have left no clue as to their specific meanings.

Given the overall contradictions and lack of evidence to firmly support whether the composer used any particular number system, yet in the face of the many number combinations that can be observed in the cantatas as described by Hirsch, I therefore propose a new theory (both in a general sense, and for the purposes of this dissertation), that there are two specific and distinct uses of numbers/numerical patterns which can be observed in Bach’s music. One of these types of patterns is a normal outgrowth of the Baroque compositional process, resulting in musical allegory; the other is a rare use of Cabbala, which can be tied directly to the Cabbala described in Müller’s Judaismus. In order to distinguish between the two, it is necessary to present a definition of what constitutes number symbolism, and what constitutes Cabbala, and then to outline a method to determine whether the use of a particular number or combination of numbers is intentional or may be coincidental. Below, I first explain the process for determining number symbolism, and later, the criterion for Cabbala.

When looking at number patterns in Bach’s works, I suggest in order to determine the validity of a particular number or combination of numbers – meaning the creation of deliberate pattern – that the pattern must correspond in some way to each of the four principles of Baroque Musiklehre, “kosmologische, rhetorische, naturphilosophische, theologische.” This idea would then, of course, apply to other Baroque composers as well, but in Bach’s hands it yields – as does all other aspects of his composition – some very unique results and/or combinations of number symbolism not found in other composers of the period. I suggest that this in itself may be one of the biggest reasons for the lack of evidence for proving Bach’s use of a particular number system; one cannot easily find similar relationships, within a given system, in other Baroque composers from which to compare with Bach.

Theology, of course, plays a particularly important role; I believe for a pattern to be deliberate, one must see a clear relationship between number, theology, and the process of Baroque composition, of which the theological principal is an integral part. The process I am proposing here is also one of pure logic, which according to humanist thinking (and as found in the system of Bach’s early education), is one of dialectics, where music functions in the Baroque as speech; according to Niklaus Harnoncourt,

[In the Baroque] . . . musicians came up with the idea of making language itself, including dialogue, the basis of music. Such music had to be dramatic, for dialogue is by its very nature dramatic: its content is based on argument, persuasion, questioning, negation, conflict. The midwife of this idea was, of course, classical antiquity. 

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165 ZKB, p. 63.
166 MdB, p. 84.
This, as part of the *rhetorische Prinzip* can convey a particular message, or a theological truth here through a numerical or *Musiklehre* process. This same process I propose here will be used later in this study in establishing the criterion for a *Bildprogrammatik* for the Brandenburg Concertos.

To illustrate this process, I turn again to the *Credo in unum deum* from the B Minor Mass, BWV 232. We have observed that the word, *Credo* appears 43 times in the score, the letters of the word adding up to 43, by using the same process of substituting of numbers for letters as the one that produces BACH = 14/J.

S. BACH = 41. This relationship is important, since it does point to a specific number alphabet which will result in these correspondences. Tatlow outlines thirty-three number alphabets which existed in Bach’s time; one is Hebrew, two are Greek, and the rest either are from the Latin alphabet (*Latin milesian* or *Latin natural-order*) or are trigonal-related. The only number alphabets which yield the combinations of BACH = 14 and Credo = 43 are either the *Latin natural-order* or *Latin natural-order: variant I* (there are 3 variants) both following the system of the (old) German alphabet where I/J = 9 and U/V = 20. The *Latin natural-order* alphabet however, does not contain the letter “W”, ending in [ U = 20, X = 21, Y = 22, Z = 23 ], whereas *variant I* ends in [ U = 20, W = 21, X = 22, Y = 23, Z = 24 ], making it possible to render any German or Latin word. Other variants of the *Latin natural-order* will not work, since in *variant 2*, the letter “O” is given a “0” value, and in *variant 3*, the letter “K” is missing, giving “O” a value of 13. Still other systems increase the value of the letter “L” up to 20, with the remaining letters reaching anywhere from 150 to 6930.

Now, applying these figures to the principles of Baroque *Musiklehre* (according to Dammann), we find first, “das kosmologische (quadriviale) Prinzip: die Harmonia beruht auf Ordnung, Proportion, numerus, quantitas; sie ist Gegenstand der Scientia Mathematica . . . “: Here, the word *CREDO* is translated into number (43), and is the same number of times which the word is distributed across the work’s 45 bars. One might also take note that 4 + 5 = 9, (which is in itself considered the symbol of the mystery of the Trinity (meaning 3 + 3 + 3), the “Trinitätgeheimnis (. . . ter trino numero sanctam Trinitatem exprimant)” the phrase, *Credo in unum deum* adds up to 171, which also adds up to 9 (1 + 7 + 1); while these correspondences may be coincidental, the use of “43” is concrete.

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168 BRN, pp. 130-138. The two trigonal alphabets (trigonal, and trigonal: variant 1) given in Tatlow (p. 134) are based on the system that A=1, B=3 (1+2), C=6 (3+3), D=10 (6+3+1), E=15 (10+4+1), F=21 (15+5+1), etc. The only difference between the two is that the trigonal: variant 1 contains the letter W, whereas the trigonal does not.

169 Ibid., pp. 133.

170 Ibid., pp. 131-135.

171 MdB. p. 84.

Second, “das rhetorische Prinzip: die Harmonia bestimmt vom Wort. Der Text ist in seinem sprachlichen Bedeutungsgefüge ein erschließender Ansatz der Komposition“: 173 Essentially, the text determines the meaning and structure of the composition; here, the text, *Credo in unum deum*, is expressed through repetition by way of the specific number of times the word CREDO is repeated, determining the form and length of the Satzstruktur.

Third, “das naturphilosophische Prinzip: die Harmonia wird beherrscht von Kräften“, 174 refers to the Affekt. Here the repetitions of the “word“, being CREDO, are accompanied by an unbroken, “walking” ground-bass line (this unbroken stream comprised exclusively of quarter notes in the bass does not occur anywhere else in Bach’s music); I suggest here, to instill or elicit a “steadfastness” of faith in the listener [see Figure 1.11]:

![Figure 1.11 – Mass in B Minor, BWV 232, Credo in unum deum, mm. 1-4, Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, vol. 2:1, p. 135. Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel.](image)

And fourth, “das theologische Prinzip: . . . Die Unitas signfiziert Gott.” 175 This theology is outlined in one of Bach’s earliest schoolbooks, the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* by Johann Amos Comenius, where, “Gott ist auch sich selber . . . Spiritualis & Unus“/“dominus Deus noster Iehova unus est;” 176 *Credo in unum deum* affirms (the) faith in the one God. It should be noted that the numbers 4 + 3 add up

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173 MdB, p. 84.
174 Ibid.
175 MdB, p. 84.
176 Comenius, OSP-E, p. 6; this is further supported by the Hutter catechism used in Bach’s elementary education; CLT-L, p. 5-6; CLT-E, pp. 18-19.
to 7, according to Hirsch, the “Zahl des Glaubens”, and that “Luther nannte 7 die ‘herrliche’ Zahl.” 177
Not only are the words Credo in unum deum sung in BWV 232 on the Gregorian tune of 7 notes, but
Bach sets the canonic development in seven voices over the walking ground-bass: T, B, A, S1, S2, violin
I, violin II.

Given this process, we can thus affirm that Bach did use the number 43 intentionally in the Credo in
unum deum to BWV 232, the number symbolism drawn from the same number alphabet that produces the
14/41 combination from his own name, with the additional numbers as by-products of the same theology
related to the number 7. The following section continues with a discussion of the Cabbala, and Bach’s
possible use thereof.

The Humanistic Microcosm II: Biblical Foretellings and Cabbala Speculativa

In order to define any possible use of Cabbala in Bach’s works, it is necessary to draw a line
between mere musical allegory (specifically that allegory which is represented through number
symbolism178) and Messianic prophecy (appearing as Cabbalistic representations of Jesus as the true
Messiah) as foretold in the Old Testament, according to Bach’s Lutheran tradition. An example of the
former can be found in passages such as the eleven repetitions of the words, “Herr, bin ich?” in the turba
chorus (no. 9e, NBA) from the Matthäus-passion (BWV 244), representing the reactions of the eleven
disciples, sans Judas, in response to Jesus’ prediction, “Einer unter euch wird mich verraten.” But this is
simply musical allegory; it serves to dramatize the impact of the words, not carry a particular theological
meaning. By the same token, the ten syllables of Jesus’ words are carried over twelve notes, with a
melisma on the second syllable of “ver-ra-ten.” This too, is musical allegory, although not as
immediately apparent as in the former example. It suggests that “one of the twelve” will be the betrayer,
which is confirmed in the betrayal scene (no. 26 NBA, mm. 16-17), “da kam Judas, der Zwölfen einer.” It
must also be noted that in both cases, Bach uses a 6/5 chord, resolving upwards a half-step, on the highest
note of “ver-ra-ten”, and again on the name of “Judas.” Again, these are examples of musical allegory
(and poetics), somewhat similar to a paragram (where numbers parallel words; this is explained below)
except that in a paragram numbers are created through the values of individual letters, whereas in musical
allegory, the number of notes or phrases may reflect a given number (in this case, the disciples) described
in the text. This, however, is not Cabbala in that it only highlights the elements of the story, and does not
directly refer to any Messianic prophecy or its fulfillment. Before we can understand any passage or

177 ZKB, p. 24.
178 Some musical allegory is not numerical; for example the figurations of the “scattering of the flock” (“... und
die Schafe der Herde warden sich zerstreuen”) in BWV 244, at No. 14, mm. 8-10.
piece of Bach as constituting Cabbala, we must first understand what the Cabbala (both as a term and as a process) meant for Bach, described from the context of his Lutheran faith.

The term *Cabbala* held both negative and positive connotations during Bach’s time. On one hand, it referred to “arcane arts” whose operations were performed with the use of a magical number alphabet, and were hence considered to be heretical; Müller classifies this as *Cabbala practica*: 179

The opposite of this form Müller describes as *Cabbala speculativa*, which uses number correspondences from words or passages of the Hebrew Bible to foretell (*weissagen*) the coming of Jesus as the true Messiah (*der wahre Messias*) 180 According to Müller, this art – “Diese Kunst” – was encoded into the (five) Books of Moses, being put together by many different scribes. 181 Through what Müller describes as the *Cabbala contemplativa*, 182 select passages such as *bis daß der Held komme* correspond numerically with the Hebrew word for Messiah: 358. The use of the *Cabbala speculativa* 183 / *Cabbala contemplativa* was considered appropriate for “the Christians of good conscience” (die Christen mit gutem Gewissen), 184 of Bach’s time.

But the term *Cabbala* also was used somewhat generically in reference to poetical paragrams, known collectively as *Paragramma Cabbalistica Trigonalia*. 185 Number games were common in Bach’s time – they extended from children’s puzzles all the way up to scholarly poetic and mathematical writings, which included the *Paragramma*. 186 In the last section, we noted Ruth Tatlow’s claim that Bach “indisputably knew Picander’s *Paragramma Cabbalisticum trigonale*” of 1718. 187 Tatlow quotes the definition of a paragram given in Brockhaus’ *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*: 188

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179 Reproduced from *Judaismus*, p. 54. Public Domain.
180 Müller, *Judaismus*, p. 53.
183 Certain early poetical paragrams were considered forms of *Cabbala speculativa*; BRN, p. 10; certain forms were not considered appropriate; BRN, pp. 46-47, quoting Müller, p. 1222.
184 BRN, pp. 46-47; *Judaismus*, p. 1490.
185 BRN, pp. 95-96.
PARAGRAMMA (παραγραμμα), firstly, that which is written beside something else, secondly, that which is written instead of something else, whether it be a letter or a word . . . The moderns use the word Paragram improperly, partly for Anagram, partly in order to denominate thereby the cabbalistic use of a word, where every letter has the value of a particular number assigned to it, and conclusions are drawn from the total.

Thus Paragramma suggests “side-by-side”; Cabbalistica implies substituting numbers for letters; and trigonale refers to the type of number alphabet used – in this case, one of the so called trigonal alphabets.\(^\text{189}\) The process of assigning a numerical value to the letters of a given word for the purposes of (though not exclusive to) a biblical vis-à-vis poetic operation became known as cabbalistic gematria. Another example of a Paragramma Cabbalisticum trigonale can be found by Bach’s contemporary, Johann Friedrich Riederer (1678-1734), according to Tatlow, known as “‘Herr Paragrammatist’ par excellence.”\(^\text{190}\) Riederer’s Paragramma on “the new church of St. Egidien”, juxtaposing the following poem with the passage from 2 Chronicles 24:13:

Die nunmehr neu=erbaute schöne Kirche bey Sanct Egidien
in der Keyserlichen freyen Reichstadt und Weltberühmten Republiq Nüremburg.

(2 Chronicles 24:1)

Und die Arbeiter arbei[et]en daß die Besserung im Wercke zunahme durch ihre Hand / und machten das Haus Gottes ganz fertig und wo[h]l zugericht.\(^\text{191}\)

Basing the letters of each word on the trigonal-variant 1 alphabet,\(^\text{192}\)

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We find that the sum of the words of both passages is 9304. Although this represents an example of a high-minded art of its time, it is unclear exactly what significance the text of a (then) contemporary poem bears to a given German translation of a biblical passage. Note that Tatlow does not cite the specific translation either; Luther’s rendering of the same passage reads, “Und die Werckmeister sorgten dafür, daß durch sie die Ausbesserung fortschritt, und so stellten sie das Haus Gottes nach seinem alten Maß wieder her.“


\(^{190}\) BRN, p. 94.


Thus, a variation of either translation or number alphabet would result in a completely different outcome. Given Bach’s extremely precise manner of working, be it with notes, words, or any possible number symbolism, any use of Cabbala by Bach (if applied to a theological text) would: 1) have to be based on Luther’s translation of the Bible, and, 2) would have to be a precise, subtle musical exegesis of a (Lutheran) Christological truth. I suggest here that we must rule out the term *cabbalistic gematria* in reference to Bach. The term by itself, while suggesting a mere substitution of numbers for letters, is also broad enough to imply the use of magical alphabets for divining. Tatlow suggests that,

The possibility of Bach’s use of magical number alphabets must be ruled out on the grounds of his reputation and character. Any active involvement in magic would have led to dismissal from his Leipzig post, and rumours of bizarre happenings in the Bach household would hardly have escaped the critical attention of the Leipzig Council, even less the attention of students and later biographers.  

To this I would add that Bach would have avoided the use of such devices not only on Tatlow’s grounds, but also on the basis of preserving the long line of distinguished and socially respectable musicians from which he was descended, mentioned earlier. Further support is that Tatlow notes that while, “Smend was the first to make a connection between Bach and cabbalism . . . he neither defined the term cabbalism nor explored the connection.”

She also notes Smend’s misconception of the *Paragramma Cabbalisticum*:

The word ‘Cabbalisticum’ in Picander’s title also misled Smend, because he did not know what an eighteenth-century paragram was. Unfortunately Smend’s misunderstanding has caused the majority of his successors to link the poetical paragram with cabbalism and to assume that Bach did the same.

Therefore, the term *cabbalistic gematria* I deem inappropriate in reference to any Cabbala that might be found in Bach’s works. Rather, as has been proposed above, just as any allegorical number configurations in Bach’s music are an outgrowth of the Baroque compositional process – coupled with his own genius, or course – I suggest that any figurations which qualify as Cabbala are an outgrowth of Baroque Lutheran theology – and thus qualify as *Cabbala speculativa* in that they in some way reflect the realization of (and, in the Lutheran sense, the truth of) foretellings of the Messiah in the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible. Therefore the use of the Cabbala in Bach is subtle; it is, as will be shown, where a certain combination proves to be a Cabbalistic revelation by the standards of *Cabbala speculativa* (as set forth by Müller and contemporaries such as Eisenmenger). It must be remembered that nowhere

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194 *BRN, ibid.*, p. 4.  
Müller outlines a process for either *Cabbala speculativa* or *Cabbala practica*, only their respective purposes; the former is for use by, as mentioned above, “Christians of good conscience” and the use of the latter (for magical purposes) is heretical. For Bach, Cabbala would have meant the number of a Biblical chapter or verse containing a numerically-encoded Messianic “foretelling” which can be confirmed by the New Testament.

Leonard Bernstein would seem an unlikely source from which to bridge the gap between number symbolism observed in Bach, and Müller’s interpretation of what constitutes *Cabbala*. Yet, it is a small passage from his television script, “The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach” (broadcast March 31, 1957), which allows us to derive valuable information from the context of an equally curious pile of fractured observations:

He [Bach] was fond of that Talmudic trick of substituting numbers for letters of the alphabet and deriving mystical conclusions from the result.

For example, on the principle that A equals 1, b equals 2, etc., the name of Bach adds up to 14. For him, this became a mystic symbol . . . the factors of 14 are 2 and 7, both ancient mystic symbols, but, luckiest of all, the whole name of Johann Sebastian Bach adds up to 41 (in the old German alphabet), which is the exact inversion of 14 (the sum of B-A-C-H); and that, to a contrapuntal mind, must have been a miraculous sign.\(^{196}\)

Bach’s alleged “fondness” for number symbolism is of course, speculative. Bernstein takes the more-or-less common observation regarding Bach’s name adding up to the number 14, and declares that 14 for Bach was a “mystic symbol”, yet does not say exactly what kind of a mystic symbol it represented. He then speaks of the numbers 2 and 7 as “ancient mystic symbols”, again not offering any clue as to their specific meanings. His observation that the name of “Johann Sebastian Bach” adds up to 41 is also incorrect, as it is “J. S. Bach” that adds up to 41 – the full name adds up to 158. Nor does Bernstein allude to what kind of “miraculous sign” the 14 / 41 relationship implies. Yet, it is Bernstein’s unique use of the word, *Talmudic* – perhaps coming from his own Jewish perspective - that allows us to connect the above-mentioned figures with significant meanings for both the Cabbala as described by Müller and Bach’s music.

At the beginning of Müller’s book, he outlines the material to be covered, including the *Bücher Altes Testaments* / . . . *der Targumim* / *oder Chaldeischen Dolmetschung* / . . . *des Talmuds* / *der Rabbinen* / *der Juden Cabbala* / *des Shemamphoras* . . .\(^ {197}\) (Books of the Old Testament / . . . the

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\(^{197}\) *Judaismus*, p. 1; the words appear in bold in the text - the chapter on “der Rabbinen” refers specifically to the Rabbinical writings.
To briefly summarize the theological connection, the Books of the Old Testament contain;


Müller describes the Targum as, nicht anders / als eine Dolmetschung oder Erklärung, and the Talmud, ist der Jüdischen Lehre Corpus und ganze Verfassung; the word Talmud itself is called ein Lehre. In the Rabbinical writings we find (the manner of) die Entdeckung der verborgenen Dinge. According to the Targum and Talmud, the word Messias (according to the Chaldean interpretation) is revealed in the Hebrew text throughout the Old Testament.

We noted earlier that according to Müller, Cabbala, (specifically the more proper Cabbala speculativa) involves “foretellings” of Jesus as the true Messiah, as encoded in the Old Testament. We also noted that the Hebrew word for Messiah adds up to 358. Here we can observe a correspondence between the word Messiah, the passage from Genesis 49:10 (which can also be seen enumerated in Müller’s text, above) regarding the words until Shiloh come(s), which Luther translates as bis daß der

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198 The Shemamforas is explained on p. 56 of Judaismus, in reference to the Hebraic verses at Exodus (2 Mose) 14:19-21, concerning the Israelite’s crossing of the Red Sea. Contemporary Judaism asserts that the Shemamforas and the Tetragrammaton (the name of Jehovah, יהוה) are one and the same; my thanks to Dr. Rachel Mikva at the Chicago Theological Seminary for this observation; email correspondence, August 14, 2012.

199 Judaismus, pp. 2-3.


201 Ibid., p. 31.

202 Ibid, p. 45; Müller also discusses the relationship between the Cabbala and the Talmud; ibid, p. 49.

203 Reproduced from Müller, p. 30; a complete transcription of Müller’s list appears in Appendix B.
I suggest that any numbers or combination thereof that can be construed as *Cabbala speculativa* in Bach must involve a Messianic prediction from the Old Testament. It is also here that we can deduce some significant meanings from Bernstein’s numerical observations.

The number 14, as a “mystical number” would then have to occur somewhere within the Bible either in the Old Testament, or in the New Testament in reference to an Old Testament history or prediction of the Messiah. The genealogy of Jesus, as stated at the opening of the Gospel of Matthew 1:17:

So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation of Babylon, fourteen generations, and from the deportation of Babylon to the Messiah are fourteen generations.

Thus, the number 14 has an important meaning in that it shows the path from Abraham (according to Müller, to whom the Cabbala was taught by the angel Zadkiel), to the Christ occurs in three groupings of 14 generations. Now 14 x 3 = 42; this does not correspond to the 14 / 41 symbolism. However, the Biblical passages, as it turns out, count the ending of the first group of generations with David, *and* also counts the beginning of the second group with David, thus counting David twice. If the generations are added up according to the Genealogy in Matthew 1:2-16, without this duplication, the correct number of generations is 41:

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204 Reproduced in BRN, p. 44.
205 BRN, p. 44.
206 BibRef – GNT/RSV, Matthew 1:2-16; Luther translates the word “Messiah” as *Christum*, after the Greek Χριστός.
Matthew 1:2-16:

The last fourteen, from Jesus to the Babylonian Exile:


The middle fourteen, from the Babylonian Exile to David:


The first fourteen, from David to Abraham:


Assuming Bach was aware of this relationship, then by the mystical nature of his Lutheran religion, he would more than likely have found such an association highly significant, especially in relation to his own name. Such an association unifies the cosmological and theological aspects of the Baroque Musklehre; number and order which reveal the precise generation where the true Messiah will arrive: this in itself is Cabbalistic (Cabbala speculativa). The very essence of the Messiah’s heroic mission is to save humanity, being accomplished through his own sacrifice – therefore, logically (and according to the principle of the loci topici), any (deliberate) use of the number 41 in Bach’s works would have to, in some way, relate to the Messianic mission being fulfilled.

It was noted earlier that only in two instances did Bach make note of the number of bars in a particular piece; in the Chorsatz in BWV 28/ii (174 mm.) and in the Patrem omnipotentem to the B Minor Mass, BWV 232 (84 mm.). Yet, the number of bars, notes, or phrases may often have a particular meaning, even if not marked, and if so, prove to be highly significant ones theologically. The number “84” was obviously significant enough for Bach to inscribe it in the score of BWV 232. It must also be noted that, even though unmarked, the first movement of the First Brandenburg Concerto also contains 84 bars. Not only this, but the resumption of the Allegro, following the 2-bar Adagio in movement III also occurs at bar 84.


209 BRN, p. 112.
To further substantiate this claim, I address three instances listed by Arthur Hirsch (*Die Zahl im Kantantenwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs*) of the occurrence of the number 41 as the number of bars in a Satz, or notes in a given phrase:

BWV 155/2 Der Satz hat 41 Takte.
BWV 43/5 Der Satz hat 41 Takte.
BWV 188/5 Vokalthema hat 41 Töne.\(^\text{210}\)

If we examine each of these carefully, we find that Hirsch is in error on two out of the three: the Alto-Tenor duet, “Du muss glauben, du mußt hoffen”, from BWV 155 contains 42, not 41 bars, and this without the “Da capo dal segno.” By the same token, the number of notes (including a tied note) in the soprano recitative, “Die Macht der Welt verlieret sich” in BWV 188 contains 40 notes, not 41. But the soprano aria from BWV 43/v does contain 41 bars – the text declaring the fulfillment of the Messiah’s mission, with the words, “Mein Jesus hat nunmehr das Heilandwerk vollendet.” \(^\text{211}\) In this aria, we can also find a reference to the number 2.

According to the catechism of Bach’s early years, Leonhard Hutter’s *Compendium theologicorum locorum*, the number 2 implies the divine-human nature of Christ. The aria is accompanied by the two-voiced combination of two instruments, Oboe I & Violin I, and Oboe II & Violin II.\(^\text{212}\) Here we have musical poetics/allegory in the two orchestral voices (similar examples will also be described, relative to Hutter, in the B Minor Mass in Chapter 2, coupled with the *Cabbala* of the 41 generations leading to the Messiah / redemption. Thus the number 2, just as described by Bernstein, does here become a mystic symbol. Also to be noted is that this aria also concludes the first part of the Cantata 43 (*Gott fähret auf mit Jauchzen\(^\text{213}\)*); the second part then opens with a bass recitative on the words, “Es kommt der Helden Held”; in effect, a reinforcement of the Cabbalistic *Messias / der Held*,\(^\text{214}\) as well as the victorious Christ (*Christus victor*) theme of Lutheran theology.\(^\text{215}\) The number 7 holds multiple meanings. According to Hirsch, it can represent, among other things, some of which we have mentioned earlier.


\(^{210}\) ZKB, p. 58 – these are in the order taken from Hirsch.
\(^{211}\) One must also note Hirsch’s error on the words, using “vollbracht” instead of “vollendet.”; ZKB, p. 58.
\(^{212}\) The score also includes viola and continuo.
\(^{214}\) The text of these sections is by an unknown poet; CCSC (Stokes, translator), pp. 77-78.
\(^{215}\) Pelikan, BAT, pp. 106-108.
\(^{216}\) The “Worte Jesu am Kreutz” must be taken in context; one would not likely find a numerical motif on this theme in the Passions, since the “7 Last Words” are adapted from all four Gospels.
We have seen Bach’s use of the number 7 in the *Symbolum Nicenum* to BWV 232 above. We can find it again, this time in conjunction with the number 14 in the opening chorus of Cantata BWV 109, *Ich glaube, lieber Herr, hilf meinem Unglauben*, where, as Hirsch correctly notes, the soprano and alto soloists sing the words “ich glaube” on 7 tones. The words are then repeated by soloists and chorus a total of 14 times (2 X 7) – again, the “mystic symbols” referred to by Bernstein. These examples, as in the *Symbolum Nicenum* of BWV 232, reflect musical poetics and but are not Cabbala. But we can find an example of both allegory and Cabbala in BWV 232, in the *Crucifixus*.

The *Crucifixus* is comprised of thirteen repetitions of a 4-bar ostinato pattern, the last two of which differ, both from each other and from the previous eleven. According to Hirsch, the number thirteen represents, “Sünde, den der 13, an der Tafel Jesus war der Verräter.” This pattern would correspond allegorically to the *Abendmahl* preceding the betrayal, leading to the crucifixion. But the entire *Satz* is comprised of 53 bars; the passion and death of the Messiah is predicted in Isaiah 53 – and this corresponds to a Messianic prediction listed in Müller, line 8 of the text, immediately preceding Jerem[iah]); this would constitute *Cabbala speculativa*.

There are, however, still more examples from BWV 232. As we noted, the coming of *Shiloh / der Held / Messias* is predicted in Genesis 49:10. The Messiah, is of course, incarnated, descending to earth. In the preceding section of BWV 232, *Et incarnatus est*, the vocal lines, the accompanying figures in the violins, and the continuo line all play *descensus*, or descending figurations; the musical allegory of the incarnation. But also, as in the *Crucifixus*, it has a correspondence with the Messianic predictions listed in Müller: Genesis 49 [line 3] – the *Satz* is 49 bars in length; this too, would represent *Cabbala speculativa*.

Bach’s notation of the number 84 at the end of the *Patrem omnipotentem* is interpreted by Hirsch as being the product of both 7 x 12 or 6 x 14, “die Symbolzahlen 6 – 7 – 12 – 14 (= Schöpfung – Glaube – Kirche – “Bach”). Yet if we take the first three sections of the *Symbolum nicenum*, we find three more correspondences to Müller:

\[
\begin{align*}
Credo in unum Deum & = 45 \text{ bars} / \quad \text{Müller} = \text{Ps[alm] 45, v[erses] 3 [and] 8 (line 11)} \\
Patrem omnipotentem & = 84 \text{ bars} / \quad \text{Müller} = \text{Ps[alm] 84, v[erse] 10 (line 12)} \\
Et in unum Deum & = 80 \text{ bars} / \quad \text{Müller} = \text{Ps[alm] 80, v[erse] 18 (line 12)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\begin{align*}
217 & \text{ZKB, p. 24.} \\
218 & \text{This is also repeated by the tenor soloist at mm. 61-62.} \\
219 & \text{ZKB, p. 26.} \\
220 & \text{Ibid., p. 42.} \\
221 & \text{ZKB, p. 63.}
\end{align*}\]
While the numbers corresponding to the *Et incarnatus est* and *Crucifixus* are more obvious, it is clear that one can distinguish the Old Testament / Hebrew Bible themes of *faith, the omnipotent / almighty God, One Lord, coming of the Messiah, and passion and death of the Messiah*, (Ps. 45, Ps. 84, Ps. 80, Gen. 49, and Isa: 53, respectively) from the New Testament themes of *Resurrection, the Apostolic Church, Baptism* and eschatology reflected in the *Et resurrexit, Et in spiritum Sanctam*, and *Confiteor* of BWV 232, which, as New Testament themes, do not have correspondences to Müller, since they involve New Testament doctrines, not Messianic predictions. It should be noted that the verse number merely indicates the location of the particular (Hebrew) word or words that corresponds to *Messias*. In accordance with Lutheran theology, where (and as we shall see in Chapter 2) “the presence of the Messiah [is] in all things.” When a reference to the Messiah occurs in a given Biblical chapter or Psalm, it is said that the *entire* chapter or Psalm therefore contains the presence of the Messiah.

One reference from Müller’s list proves to have a most precise relationship with the number 43 as used by Bach in the *Credo in unum deum* to the B Minor Mass, mentioned earlier: Isaiah (Esa.) c. 43. v. 10. The indication here is that the name of the Messiah appears, in Hebrew, in Chapter 43, specifically in verse 10. But in this case, the Messiah is not only ‘present’ in Chapter 43, verse 10 is also a direct reference to the *one God*, with the declaration that “... *I am He. Before me there was no god formed, neither shall there be after me*”:

> Ihr aber seid meine Zeugen, spricht der Herr, und mein Knecht, den ich erwählet habe; auf daß ihr wisset und mir glaubet und verstehet, daß Ich es bin. Vor mir ist kein Gott gemacht, so wird auch nach mir keiner sein.

By playing upon the number 43, not only has Bach here interpreted the words *Credo in unum Deum* precisely according to the four principles of Baroque *Musiklehre* mentioned earlier, he has, intentionally or not, made a direct cabbalistic reference to both the Messiah, and the *one God* as revealed in the Hebrew Bible, qualifying as pure *Cabbala speculativa*.

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222 This is not to discount other possible number symbolism, which will not be dealt with here.
223 J. V. Andreæ, XNP, p. 231.
224 *Judaismus*, p. 554, and pp. 558-559. This is an extension of the principles dating back to the earliest Lutheran Hymnal, the “*Achtliederbuch/Hymnal of Eight*” from 1524, where the texts of the hymns were “made according to the pure word of God”, and thus all verses must always be sung; *Luther’s Works, American Edition, vol. 53: Liturgy and Hymns*, edited by Ulrich S. Leupold. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965, p. 192. The same practice is observed in Lutheran churches today.
225 BibRef – HHS; the emphasis on “*I am He*” appears in the English translation.
226 BibRef – BML.
The eighteenth chapter from Müller’s book demonstrates the Messianic link between the Hebrew Scriptures, Luther, and Hutter’s catechism. While not discussing the Cabbala, the title of the section however clearly delineates between Christian and Jewish belief, (in effect, between Cabbala speculativa and Cabbala practica):

_Von der Wahren Gottheit Messie
Wie dieselbige aus der Alten Testament wider die Juden zu erweisen._

. . . _Messias wird genennet Jehovah / welcher der wesentliche Name G O T T E S ist / [here Müller quotes Isaiah 4.2; note the correspondence with Müller’s list, line 6] Ich Jehovah / das ist mein Name / und meine Ehre keinen andern geben: Solche Namen führet Messias . . . . . . . darumb heisst Messias Jehovah._227 [Müller’s emphases]

In Hutter’s catechism, Chapter III, question 5, he challenges the reader to “Prove [from Scripture] that Christ is True God”, stating, “the Scripture calls him Jehovah” and citing Jeremiah 23, 6 as the answer:

_Hoc est nomen, quo vocabunt eum, Jehovah, iustitia nostra._

“And this is the name by which he shall be called, Jehovah our righteousness.” 228

Luther renders the same passage as: _Und dies wird sein Name sein: mit den man ihn nennen wird: « Der Herr unsere Gerechtigkeit »_. The passage at Jeremiah 23: 5-6 is rendered as a single block of text in Luther’s translation, (and italicized, as is the passage from Genesis 49); this corresponds perfectly with Müller’s listing of “Jerem. 23 v. 5.”

Whatever observations by Tatlow and others concerning Bach’s potential knowledge of Cabbala, the only source we can ascertain for certain – meaning that we know Bach had some kind of direct contact with it – would be Müller’s Judaismus. I suggest again that, possessing multiple books by the same author, Bach would have had an interest in, and knowledge of, its contents. That Müller’s definition of Cabbala (in the speculativa form) corresponds to Bach’s Lutheran faith is, I suggest, additional evidence for Bach’s knowledge of the book’s contents. By using Müller’s book as a yardstick, we can – safely – interpret any configurations that might be defined as Cabbala speculativa in Bach’s music.

Johann Sebastian Bach’s studies in religion, rhetoric, and numbers, and the formative processes that shaped his music, began at a German school in his home town of Eisenach.

227 Judaismus, pp. 546-547. The word Messiah has multiple spellings in Müller’s text, including “Messie” and “Messias.”
CHAPTER 2

Pictures and Parallels:
The Curricula of Eisenach, Ohrdruf, and Lüneburg

Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670)

Orbis Sensualim Pictus, cover and entry 52, “Venatus”;
from a facsimile of the edition published in 1658, at “Noribergæ” (Nuremberg);
[Public Domain]
2. Pictures and Parallels: The Curricula of Eisenach, Ohrdruf, and Lüneburg

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

Tell me, O Muse, the cause; wherein thwarted in will or wherefore angered, did the Queen of heaven drive a man, of goodness so wondrous, to traverse so many perils, to face so many toils. Can heavenly spirits cherish resentment so dire?

Virgil, *Aeneid*, I: 8-11
Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough

Warum ist er nicht im Himmel geblieben, da er ein Herr über alles war, und hätte nicht Mangel und Hunger leiden dürfen? Denn alsobald er in die Welt, und ins Teufels Reich und zu seinen Kindern kommt, so geht’s ihm also, daß er nicht einen Trunk kaltes Wassers hatte . . .

Martin Luther,
Third Sermon on the Fourth Chapter of the Gospel of John
(in reference to John 4:9, and the story of the woman from Samaria)

This is the Sum of the Sums.
The Sum of the Sums from the Alphabet.
It comes from the Latin Alphabet, from Numbers.
And it is the Number of Daniel.
Behold the sacred Sum of the whole Alphabet.
The Sum heard by Daniel, in the eighth [chapter] of Daniel,
And the sacred sum is revealed from Heaven.

Behold the Number of the Triangles,
It fills out the Alphabet with Triangles.
And behold there is a Pyramid with three corners.
Behold, this is the Number, this is the Alphabet.

Michael Stiefel (c.1487-1567)
from *Vœ tibi Papa, vœ tibi*,
translated by Ruth Tatlow

**From Christianopolis to Comenius: Education in Baroque Germany**

Bach’s home town of Eisenach was in itself a reflection of Martin Luther’s own home town of Mansfeld. Eisenach, as described by Mellers, was, “. . . a small walled town guarded by watchtowers,
with a few thousand working class”,¹ in the shadow of “the Wartburg, the medieval hilltop castle overlooking Eisenach.”²

This description of Eisenach recalls,

[Mansfeld], where Martin Luther was brought up . . . a small country town, with a population of little over 3000. Its walls were stout and ancient, with four corner towers. Outside and on a hill top was the great castle of the Counts of Anhalt.³

Eisenach was also a paradigm – albeit a backward-reflecting one – for the very utopia that inspired the founder of its educational systems, Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670). That utopia was the – hypothetical – city of Christianopolis, created by the theologian and linguist Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654).⁴ Just as Christianopolis was inspired, in part, by “that invincible hero, our Doctor Luther”,⁵ it, in turn became the prime inspiration behind Comenius, who enunciated the designs for the school systems that were implemented in Eisenach (as well as other parts of the German provinces and western Europe, including English-speaking lands⁶). Christianopolis in turn was the paradigm for Comenius’ own spiritual utopia, titled The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart.⁷ Andreae’s educational formulae for Christianopolis included studies in grammar, rhetoric, and logic (the trivium); this, plus foreign languages, music, mathematics and the sciences, as well as theology. The same structure can be seen in what came to be known as the Comenius-Reyher-Hutter system, after Comenius, together with fellow pedagogue Andreas Reyher (1601-1673), and the Lutheran theologian Leonhard Hutter (1563-1616), and each provided core texts (including the Hutter catechism mentioned above) that were standard in Bach’s educational world.⁸ In Andreae’s hypothetical-utopian design, the various subjects are presented in eight “lecture theaters” of three parts each:⁹

Lecture Theatre I: Grammar / Rhetoric / Foreign Languages

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¹ Mellers, BDG, p. 80.
² Wolff, TLM, p. 13.
⁴ J. V. Andreae XNP, p. xiii. Andreaeʼs original title is Reipublicae christianopolitanea descriptio (“A Description of the Republic of Christianopolis”), first published in 1619; XNP, p. 133.
⁵ Ibid., p. 147.
⁷ The first version appeared as Labyrint Světa a Lusthaus Srdce in 1631; Comenius, LBW, p. viii. Comenius’ work is in a considerably different vein than that of Andreae’s, with a theme along the lines of “a pilgrim’s progress”, a concept of great significance to the Lutheran mind. Rather than a utopian city, it describes the pilgrim making his way through the “labyrinth of the world”, observing with disenchantment the various social classes, trades, professions, academicians (grammarians, rhetoricians, poets, etc.); the “Castle of Fortune” and its temptations, finding his “Summit of all” [my term] – a spiritual utopia as it were – only in the spiritual truths inherent in Christianity; LBW; the text of the Labyrinth appears in LBW on pp. 1-135.
⁸ Wolff, TLM, p. 26; the specific texts will be discussed later in this chapter, beginning on pp. 93 and 103.
⁹ XNP, pp. 220-252.
Lecture Theatre II: Logic / Metaphysics / Theosophy
Lecture Theatre III: Arithmetic / Geometry / Mystic Numbers
Lecture Theatre IV: Music / Musical Instruments / The Choir
Lecture Theatre V: Astronomy / Astrology / The Christians’ Heaven
Lecture Theatre VI: Natural History / Civil History / Church History
Lecture Theatre VII: Ethics / Political Science / Christian Poverty
Lecture Theatre VIII: Theology / The Practice of Theology / Prophecies

As will be seen below, the essence of Andreæ’s educational concept included an awareness of God, the world and the heavens, mankind and its occupations, the nature of society, and the ability to think, judge rightly, communicate effectively and reason. This essence is clearly preserved in the Comenius-Rehyer-Hutter system, and was further fortified with intense studies in Classical literature and studies of the lives of Classical authors and historians. This foundation of Classical rhetoric and poetics was always infused with a continuous mixture of music and catechism. Comenius outlined two types of schools: the vernacular school and the Latin school, both of which Bach attended. The vernacular, or in Bach’s case, the “German” school, was intended primarily for those intending to pursue work as tradesmen; the Latin schools were designed for those preparing to continue on to a university education. In the school systems Bach’s time, both the German and Latin schools were divided into six levels of classes, with students spending an average of two years in each class. The classes, labeled from lowest to highest, were sexta, quinta, quarta, tertia, secunda, and prima. The earliest classes in both schools “followed a prescribed curriculum that focused on religion, grammar, and arithmetic.” Martin Luther’s Small Catechism was used in these classes, and integrated into the overall learning process. It is interesting to note that Luther’s own catechism was now used in the same school he once attended himself:


10 Ibid., pp. 163-186.
11 Ibid., pp. 195-201.
13 Martin Geck, Bach: Leben und Werk, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2000, p. 48; the section in guillamets quotes Kaiser,
Here the process of memorization began with *The Ten Commandments*, *The Creed*, and *The Lord’s Prayer*, which, Luther admonished, needed to be taught by “the head of the family” as well as by the Schoolmasters.\(^\text{14}\) This process of basic memorization anticipated a more thorough process of “didactic questions and answers”,\(^\text{15}\) beginning at an elementary level, with a dialogue between “*The Master and the Boy*”, or *Magister/Puer; Lehrer/Schüler*, as it would have appeared in a Latin/German version of Bach’s time:

\[
\begin{align*}
M. & \quad \text{Veni, Puer!} \\
 & \quad \text{disc disce Sapere.} \\
P. & \quad \text{Quid hoc est, Sapere?} \\
M. & \quad \text{Omnia, quae necessaria,} \\
 & \quad \text{recte intelligere,} \\
 & \quad \text{recte agere,} \\
 & \quad \text{recte eloqui,} \\
P. & \quad \text{Quis me hoc docebit?} \\
M. & \quad \text{Ego, cum Deo.} \\
L. & \quad \text{Komm, her Knab!} \\
 & \quad \text{lerne Weißheit.} \\
S. & \quad \text{Was ist das, Weißheit?} \\
L. & \quad \text{Alles, was nöhtig ist,} \\
 & \quad \text{recht verstehen,} \\
 & \quad \text{recht thun,} \\
 & \quad \text{recht ausreden,} \\
S. & \quad \text{Wer wird mich das lehren?} \\
L. & \quad \text{Ich, mit Gott.} \quad \text{\(\text{16}\)}
\end{align*}
\]

The above text is the beginning of the Invitation/Invitatio to Comenius’ *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, (also see the frontispiece to this Chapter), a foundational text which was an introduction to “Die sichtbare Welt”, or the “the visible world.” This was done through a series of pictures, with an accompanying text in both Latin and the student’s mother tongue:

Seventeenth-century schoolchildren had to study in two languages, the universal Latin and the vernacular. By that time the vernaculars had become well-developed for all of the needs of daily life and children learnt them first. Yet all serious learning was preserved in Latin; it was the language of the professions and the law courts.\(^\text{17}\)

The Latin-German editions of the *Orbis* published, “*Noribergae*” (“at Nuremberg”) between 1658 and 1688, would most likely have been the ones used in Eisenach at the time.\(^\text{18}\) The *Orbis* was intended not only as a functional introduction to the world, containing some one hundred-fifty titles,\(^\text{19}\) it also

\(^{14}\) Tappert, ed., BOC, p. 342.

\(^{15}\) TLM, p. 57.


\(^{17}\) OSP-E, p. 27.

\(^{18}\) A total of twenty-three Latin / German editions of the *Orbis* were published at Nuremberg between these years, demonstration the wide use of the text throughout the German provinces alone; Kurt Pilz, *Die Ausgaben des Orbis Sensualium Pictus. Eine Bibliographie*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Stadt Nürnberg Bd. 14. Nürnberg: Stadtbibliothek, 1967, pp. 54-55.

\(^{19}\) The titles range from “God”, “The World”, and “The Heavens”, continuing with the four elements, man and his
served as a basic Latin vocabulary and as a vehicle for memorization. The *Orbis* was later supplemented by Comenius’ own *Vestibulum* (a Latin grammar), which Bach first encountered at the Ohrdruf Lyceum.\(^{20}\)

The first entry in the *Orbis* is “God/Deus”, and we can immediately see the relationship to the *Unitas* mentioned in Chapter 1. God is not only theological, but the theological is reflected in the cosmological; a *Vollkommenheit* of alignment, proportion and order, with number reflecting *Unitas* in the phrase, “*Essentia Spiritualis, & Unus*” (“In his Essence, Spiritual & one” \(^{21}\)) [see Figure 2:1]:

![Figure 2.1 – *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, no. 1 (No. 1).](image)

Note the central *Dreieck*, or triangle, with the Hebrew lettering inside.

The column at the left is in Czech.

Reproduced from OSP-L, p. 1, [Public Domain]. \(^{22}\)

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occupations, society and societal institutions, education, virtues, and religions, including “Gentilism”, Christianity, Judaism, and “Mahometism” (Mohammedanism, or Islam), and concludes with “Judicium Extremum” (the Last Judgement); OSB-E, pp. 6-309.


\(^{21}\) The capitalizations here are correct; see p. 87.

\(^{22}\) OSP-L, p. 16.
The *Orbis* would have been integral to both the German and Latin schools of Bach’s time. The *Orbis* also provided an introduction to music and musical instruments [See Figure 2.2].

Yet the actual study of music was highly dependent upon mathematics; instruction in music was always concurrent with studies in arithmetic, and later, geometry. Mathematics also opened the door to understanding numbers as a means of explaining the mysteries of creation.

In Chapter 1, a new theory was proposed relative to the number symbology which can be observed in Bach’s music, and whether or not these number patterns are deliberate or result from other, innate factors of the Baroque compositional process. Andree’s *Christianopolis*, although a hypothetical curriculum, was a strong influence on the Comenian educational system. One can see from the third Lecture Theatre

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23 OSP-E, pp. 204-205.
in Christianopolos that the concept of “Mystic numbers” [De Numeris mysticis \(^{24}\)] was indeed known in Protestant Baroque education, integrated as it is in Andreæ’s work with the subjects of arithmetic and geometry. In fact, in the Christianopolis curriculum,

. . . no-one is allowed to enter [the Music department] without having first completed the courses in arithmetic and geometry. This shows how much music depends on number and measure. Here man produces once again an example of his excellence, when he multiplies three tones into infinite variations. \(^{25}\)

This clearly reflects the principles of Baroque Musiklehre and the trias harmonica and its relationship to the Drei-Einigkeit; as we noted in Chapter 1. “Der trias harmonica oder Drei-Einigkeit . . . ist als die natürliche Fundamentform der barocken Satzstruktur ein Fürbild des einigen Gottes.” \(^{26}\)

Following Comenius’ premise that everything is derived from nature, it follows that everything in nature is ordered by structure and number, including the tones that produce music. One cannot study music without first studying mathematics – which the study of “Mystic numbers” takes to an even greater depth:

Other students who are more advanced in age go yet further. For God has His own numbers and measurements, which it is fitting for man to contemplate. It is certain that the Supreme Architect did not make this immense machine, the universe, at random, but incorporated measurements, numbers and proportions into it most wisely, and added divisions of time to it in a wonderful harmony. Above all, He placed His mysteries for us in His workshops [fabricis foris] and typical buildings [typicis structuris \(^{27}\)], so that we may unlock the longitude, the latitude and the depth of divinity using the Key of David [per Clavem Davidicam \(^{28}\)], and we may observe the presence of the Messiah in all things. \(^{29}\)

Buildings are measured, of course, by a geometer, as seen in the Orbis [Figure 2.3]:

[see illustration on next page]

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\(^{24}\) From the Latin edition published by Argentorati: Strasburg, 1619.


\(^{26}\) MdB, p. 85.

\(^{27}\) Thompson observes that “Andreæ’s use of typus may suggest that these are in some sense ideal forms embodied in material existence”; XNP, p. 231, f.t. 605.

\(^{28}\) Thompson notes the relationship to Isaiah 22:22, and Revelation 3:7: ‘I will lay the key of David on his shoulder; what he opens no man shall shut, and what he shuts no man shall open’; XNP, p. 231, f.t. 606.

\(^{29}\) XNP, p. 231.
Andree also mentions this same principle in a slightly later work, *Adenlicher Zucht Ehrenspiegel*, from 1621,

In which there are Measure, Number and Weight,
From which everything is derived,
Through which everything is brought into proportion,
According to which the Law of Heavens is just . . .

This is the essence of the passage found in Wisdom 11:21 (11:22 in Martin Luther’s translation):

*Aber du hast Alles geordnet mit Ma(a)ß, Zahl, und Gewicht. Denn groß Vermögen ist allezeit bei dir; und wer kann der Macht deines Arms widerstehen?*

And this essence is also found in music; again, Dammann,

Das Wesen der Musik besteht in einer großartig Ordnung, mit der die in das Ganze Welt eingegliedert ist. Lippius verweist auf den archetypischen Hintergrund und auf die Schönheit in der Harmonie, auf deren überall ersichtliches Vorhandensein in der Natur und auch in den Wissenschaften, schließlich auf die Abkunft der Harmonie von Gott.

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30 OSP-E, pp. 208-209.
31 Quoted in XNP, p. 88.
32 MdB, p. 81.
It is within these three most elementary school subjects, religion, music, mathematics and geometry that students of Bach’s time encountered the most profound understanding of three fundamental elements — truths for their Lutheran world — of the mystical association between divinity, music, and numbers: the Trinity, the triad, and the triangle.

**The Trinity, the Triad, and the Triangle**

In Chapter 1, we observed that Bach did not discern between sacred and secular, that in his time religion found compatibility with scientific reason, and that even the words *Soli Deo Gloria* were something not exclusive to Bach’s scores, but a relatively common inscription, found at the end of such books as mathematical texts. We also observed Bach’s predilection for court service, seemingly in spite of his strong Lutheran family background. So how then did Bach reconcile his creative ambitions, particularly since his own educational background was, as noted, infused with religion and catechism, not only in the school but the home as well — particularly when his career ambitions allowed him to toss aside *Soli Deo Gloria* in favor of a self-abasing dedication to the Margrave of Brandenburg?

I suggest that the answer lies not so much in the emerging rationalist philosophies of Bach’s times, but rather in the three fundamental concepts of the Trinity (Trinität), the triad — “three-in-one” (Trias harmonica / Drei-Einigkeit) — and the triangle (Dreieck), to which he was exposed from his earliest school lessons. It is these concepts which, in part, shaped and guided the “texture of thought” (Textur des Denkens) of Bach’s formative, and subsequently, creative worlds.

The Trinity is of course, the cornerstone of Christian belief, and according to Müller, being expressed through the *Cabbala speculativa*, the three essences of the Trinity being synonymous with the Messiah:

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Gen. 1, v. 1. sieht das Wort YHWH unser Schöpfungserlelsche/das drey in Gott seyn. Den瓒
bedeutet in den Vater, in den Sohn, aber bedeutet in den Geist. Das Wielein yod ein Wort resolviretliche also Cabbalisisch der mittelste Buchstabe δ bedeutet Domm/im der haben einen und besaß auff einer Seite δ das bedeuete δ den Vater, auff der andern Seite γ δ das bedeuete γ den Geist. Es versteht auch erlische die Buchstaben des yodnen Wortes δ das ein ander Wort daraus kommt/welches letzte Wort das erste Wort erklärt.
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The essence of God / Gott / Deus (the Trinity) is found in the göttliche Dreieck (divine triangle), as seen in the figure in Figure 2.1, magnified here [see Figure 2.4]:

Figure 2.4 - [Detail/magnification of Figure 2.1].
Note that the Hebrew letters here are three “yod”s (appearing in a triangular pattern), and the letter daleth beneath; this is not the Tetragrammaton (yod, he, vau, he) seen in Figure 2.17.

I propose here that: If the trias-harmonica emanates from the sacred triangle and is hence a projection of divinity itself, therefore all (Baroque) music, sacred or secular, would still have its foundation – that foundation being the mathematical sound-proportions which form the triad – in the divine triangle from which it came. These mathematical proportions which emanate from the divine / sacred triangle are also the same ones which are used to determine the proportions of a building (or, aesthetically, a work of visual art), hence Andreæ’s comment about using mathematical proportions to determine “the presence of the Messiah in all things.” Since all music evolves from the trias-harmonica, the nature of the music (sacred or secular) would be irrelevant, except to its (human) purpose, and all music would contain the essence of divinity. Therefore Bach could carry out composing music for a secular purpose – and with a secular dedication – without contradicting the essence of his Lutheran faith, and the Brandenburg Concertos –being defined as they are by order and number – could be shaped by a secular programmatic, while at same time carrying theological motifs.

33 In other words, the Trinity.
34 Müller, Judaismus, p. 52; note that the text has been left double-spaced here for readability.
35 Andreæ, XNP, p. 231.
The description of Gott / Deus in the Orbis corresponds perfectly with Hutter’s catechism. In the Latin/English version of the Orbis from 1672 (see Figures 2.16 and 2.17), we see the Trinity: God / Deus as three essences/persons (represented by the three “yod”s in the German version, in Figure 2.15):

Pater non est Filius non est Spiritus non est [Pater]
The Father is not the Son is not the [Holy] Spirit is not the [Father]

And yet is,

Hypostasi, Trinus

In his Personality, Three

This is supported by Hutter:

Pater quidem est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus Sanctus est Deus, personaliter sumto vocabulo Dei; et tamen non tres sunt Dii [sic] sed unus est Deus, essentialiter accepto vocabulo Dei. Sic Pater est dominus, Filius est dominus, Spiritus Sanctus est dominus; et tamen non tres domini, sed unus est dominus.

(The Father indeed is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, when the word god is used with regard to person; and yet there are not three gods, but only one God, when the word god is used with regard to essence. So, likewise, the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Ghost is Lord; and yet there are not three Lords, but only one Lord) (translator’s emphases).

Hutter’s catechism then challenges the reader to prove the (truth of) the Trinity through scripture, citing 1 John 5:7, given here in Luther’s translation: “Den drei sind, die da zeugen im Himmel: der Vater, das Wort (Verbum), und der heilige Geist; und diese drei sind Eins” (Luther’s emphases).

In other words, the mystery of the Trinity can only be explained by three essences which make up the one God / Deus. Therefore, in accordance with Baroque thinking (and mystical numbers) – numerically, the number “3”, and geometrically, the Dreieck (triangle) – therefore symbolize not only the Trinity (and are thus considered Trinitarian symbols), but also represent the mystery of the Trinity [see Figure 2.5]:

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36 Comenius, OSP-E, p. 6; this is also verified in Müller, “/daß drey Personen in einem Göttlichen Wesen seyn/”; Judaismus, p. 41.
37 Hutter, CTL-L, pp. 6-7.
38 Hutter, CTL-E, p. 20, corresponding to the Athanasian Creed.
39 Hutter also cites Psalm 33:6, and Matthew 28:19; Luther refers to Matthew 28:19 immediately following the verse of 1 John 5:7; Bib-Ref – BML.
And just as noted in Chapter 1, the number “1” represents “Unity” in that it represents the essence of the Trinity (again corresponding to the *Orbis*), in that “There is but One God” (note Luther’s capitalization of the word, *Eins*).

[see illustration on next page]

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40 OSP-E, p. 6.
Yet the relationships between the number “3”, the musical triad / Trias harmonica, arithmetic, and geometry are not merely a connection to theology per se, but in the Baroque music-concept, provide mankind with the connection to divinity itself; notes Rolf Dammann,

Die „Trias musica“ ist durch das kristallscharfe Lichtbündel eines dreikantigen Pfeilers veranschaulicht, dessen Strahlkraft aus dem trinitarischen Dreieck kommt. Das göttliche Dreieck ist von einem Wolken- und Engelskreis umgeben. Das Lichtprisma führt durch den Altarraum einer Kirche (!) hindurch auf die Erde . . . . Die Helligkeit des trinitarisch-triadischen Lichtpfeilers durchbricht die Wolkendecke und schafft einen Durchlaß. Der dem Betracher mit dem Antlitz direkt zugekehrte Engel befindet sich im Zentrum des Lichtstrahls, was die kanonische Verbindlichkeit der Trias harmonica für die himmlische Musik (musica angelica) versinnbildlichen soll. 41

Thus with the (German) illustration of “Gott / Deus” above, German schoolchildren would have known of the “göttliche Dreieck” with their very first lessons in the Orbis; it was foundational to their understanding of God, the world, and of music. The three yod’s [נ] within the Dreieck suggest the three coequal essences (of the Trinity), and the unity thereof. 42 Regarding the letter daleth, Müller notes, “ ד ist ein grosser Buchstabe / [als] gilt sonst so viel vier bey den Hebeern / daraus erzwingen sie / daß der grosse Gott in [all]en vier Theilen der Welt gegenwärtig sey“ (Müller’s emphases). 43

How may we find an example of this Trinity / Triad / Triangle being manifested in Bach’s music –

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41 MdB, p. 455.
42 Virya, Vedhyas. Spiritualité de la Kabbale: Médiévale et Provençale. Editions Présence, 1986, pp. 28 and 32. (ft. 14, con’t) Note that this refers to the three “yod”的 and the “resh”, not the Tetragrammaton. The hidden meaning within the letters implies the use of some type of Cabbalistic method. Later English versions of the Orbis replace this combination with the four letters of Jehovah; יוהו, or replace it with the Latin inscription seen above on p. 87.
43 Judaismus, p. 51; this also corresponds with the Milesian Hebrew alphabet listed in Tatlow, BRN, p. 130.
and one that also might connect us in some way with the Brandenburg Concertos? For this, we need to look at Bach’s use of the *corno da caccia*, or hunting horn. Bach uses two of these instruments extensively in the First Brandenburg Concerto, but they also appear, as will be revealed in Chapter 4, in a number of sacred cantatas as well as the *Jagd-Kantate*, BWV 208. Thus, the sound of the horn can be a vehicle for both sacred and secular musical poetics. In both the *Jagd-Kantate* and Brandenburg No.1, the horn becomes symbolic of the royal hunt, which in itself symbolized courtly ideals and virtues, embodied by the sound of the hunting-horn; Fitzpatrick notes that:

> Because of these rich associations, the effect of the horn in concerted music was immediate and powerful. In its earliest appearances in opera and ballet the horn was thus a potent device for evoking outdoor atmosphere and an aura of royalty. The fanfares from Keiser’s *Octavia* of 1705 are good examples of this early colouristic usage; in the opening bars of the Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 of J. S. Bach, the horns sound the greeting-call of the hunt; and in the ‘Quoniam’ of the B Minor Mass the horn’s affective connotation of worldly *Tugend* underscores the image of God marching into the world.”  

Fitzpatrick’s observation, although somewhat presumptive as regards “the image of God marching into the world” (which from a theological point incorrectly suggests the incarnation, not the sole divinity of Christ, as expressed by the words *Quoniam tu solus*), is nevertheless particularly important here. As John Humphries notes, not only is it “most unusual for it [the horn] to be the only treble instrument in the ensemble”, and also that it “does not play anywhere else in the Mass.”

*Tugend* for Bach would also have had a theological significance – the horn here now representing not worldly, but divine *Tugend*, embodied in the mission of Christ; notes Martin Luther:


For the horn to carry a sacred poetic, it must be used in a way that projects a mystical, theological meaning. If we look at the “Quoniam” in the context of the Trinitarian-triadic-triangle, we can observe a singular musical gesture which cannot be not found anywhere else in the B Minor Mass. Figure 2.18 shows bars 9-16 of the “Quoniam.”

We can observe that Bach frames the entry of the bass solo with a punctuation of three notes – a triad – from the horn. This seems particularly curious, since Bach could have easily ended the horn passage by resolving it on the “d” with the opening d of the bass solo. Instead he completes the triad, f♯ - a – d, over the bass’s opening words, “Quoniam to solus” – “Only you alone” – by the standards of Müller’s book that we observed in Chapter 1, a clear Lutheran reference to Christ as the true Messiah:

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44 Fitzpatrick, HHP, pp. 20-21.
45 Humphries, EHP, p. 80.
46 Luther, HPR, col. 1848. This is further discussed in the section on *The Horn and the Bassoon* in Chapter 4.
This type of symbolism is profoundly different from such techniques as, for example, the “cruciform” notes on the word *gekreuzigt* in the *Matthäuspassion*, BWV 244 (NBA no. 2, mm. 7-8), where it is a form of musical allegory. But the relationship between the triad and the words “Quoniam to solus” – in effect, the *göttliche Dreieck* – I suggest, reveal this device as a unique form of musical *Cabbala*. But can we find a similar idea anywhere in the score of the Brandenburg Concertos?

One possibility can be found in Reinhard Goebel’s article on the Brandenburg Concertos for *Concerto* magazine (1987). Goebel suggests that the all-major key scheme of the set represents the
“Abbild göttlicher Trinität (that is, most all of the movements being based on the major triad), which, he claims, connects the set theologically.\textsuperscript{47} If this is so, then the question must be raised as to why the Brandenburg Concertos are Bach’s only set to be arranged exclusively in major keys, and also suggests that there may possibly be another musical or numerical symbolism that confirms the theological relevance of this arrangement. This aspect will be discussed fully in Chapter 3.

Johann Sebastian Bach’s first encounters with Latin, numbers, and theology/catechism would have begun in a small German (vernacular) school. In 1678, the Elector of Saxony, Duke Johann Georg I, issued a decree that all children from the age of five were legally required to attend school. Since the Latin schools only allowed male students beginning at age seven, Bach would have needed to attend one of seven German schools available in the town of Eisenach, prior to his matriculation at St. George’s Latin school in 1693.\textsuperscript{48}

In German and in Latin: The School Systems of Eisenach

In the \textit{Stadtkirchenarchiv Eisenach Kirchenbuch 1684-1695}, the name of one Hieronymus Knott turns up, listed as an organist and also as “. . . Schulmeister vffm [sic] Nicolaus Thor”, one of the German schools in Eisenach.\textsuperscript{49} Since the German schools kept no records,\textsuperscript{50} Bach undoubtedly attended one (or perhaps more than one) German school in Eisenach. In any case, an organist-schoolmaster figure like Hieronymus Knott easily fits with Luther’s prescription/description for a teacher, in the \textit{Kantorei} tradition:

I have always loved music. Those who have mastered this art are made of good stuff, they are fit for any task. It is indeed necessary that music be taught in schools. A teacher must be able to sing, otherwise I will not look at him. Also we must not ordain young men into the ministry unless they have become well acquainted with music in schools. We should always make it a point to habituate youth to enjoy the art of music, for it produces fine and skillful people.\textsuperscript{51}

During his two years in the German school(s), Bach would not only have followed the aforementioned course of studies, but in the process attained sufficient mastery of reading, writing, grammar and religion to enable him to enter the more advanced curriculum of St. George’s Latin School.


\textsuperscript{48} Wolff, TLM, p. 26; note on Wolff’s error concerning “eight” German schools; the Fleischgasse school Wolff suggests Bach may have attended was not established until 1696, a year after Bach would have matriculated as a student at the Ohrdruf Lyceum; KBJ, pp. 181-182.

\textsuperscript{49} Kaiser, KBJ, p. 181, f.t. 19.

\textsuperscript{50} Wolff, TLM, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{51} Mellers, BDG, p. 81.
(Eisenacher Lateinschule) directly at the *quinta* level, completing both *quinta* and *quarta* classes in a single year each, between 1693-1695. 52

At the Latin School, an author / pedagogue named Johann Christoph Junker 53 taught the *quinta* class, and the Kantorei tradition continued at the Latin School, where Andreas Christian Dedekind (1618-1706), the Kantor of the school and a close friend of Bach’s immediate family, 54 would have been Bach’s teacher for the *quarta* class; he also served in the Office of the Superintendent, and as Konrektor. 55 In the *quinta*, in addition to the study of the Bible and Hymnal, the main texts/subjects “included Luther’s *Catechism*, the psalms, and writing, reading, and grammatical exercises in German and Latin”, in preparation for the *quarta*, where instruction shifted exclusively to Latin. 56

In Bach’s school years in Eisenach, one of his very first school books was a song-book known as the *Neues vollständiges Eisenachisches Gesangbuch*, 57 first published by Johann Günter Rören, in 1673. Divided into five parts, the song-book included:

- **Part I**: “von der Fest Liedern”, or festival songs of the church-year.
- **Part II**: “von der Catechismus-Liedern” or Catechism songs.
- **Part III**: “von der Tugend-Liedern”, or virtue-songs of a religious nature.
- **Part IV**: “von der Haus-Liedern”, which included songs of war and peace, plague-songs (*Pest-Lieder*) weather-songs, and travel-songs.
- **Part V**: “von den Sterb-Liedern”, or death-songs, including songs of vanity (*Eitelkeitlieder*), illness (*Krankenlieder*), the grave (*Begräbnißlieder*), the courts (*Gerichtslieder*), “und ein Sogenannter, Nachschluß”.

The *Gesangbuch* also served as an introduction to the *Kirchenlieder* of the Lutheran church.

In later German *Schulegesangbücher* – even those of the nineteenth and early- to-mid twentieth century – are found examples of another type of song which date back to Bach’s own time: the *Jägerlieder*, or hunting-songs. I suggest here that Bach more than likely became acquainted with these

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52 TLM, p. 26, and p. 525; Bach’s precocity is also noted in Konrad Küster, “Bach als Eisenacher Schüler”, in *Der junge Bach*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 51-52; Küster also mentions the name of one Franz Hering, but gives no background or documentation on this individual, p. 52.
53 TLM, p. 27.
54 Ibid.
55 Petzoldt, UPDR, p. 22.
56 TLM, p. 27.
57 Ibid, p. 36.
58 UPDR, pp. 31-33.
same Jägerlieder, since a number of them are also German folk-songs (listed as Volksweise), and could have been heard in the home, town, or school [see Figure 2.8]:

![Das Jagen, das ist ja mein Leben](image)

Figure 2.8 – Das Jagen, das ist ja mein Leben; from Der Hamburger Musikant, 59 [Public Domain].

One can immediately note the similarity between the opening phrase of this Jägerlied and the Brandeiser Jägerlied, as used by Bach in the “Peasant” Cantata BWV 212,60 from 1724 [see Figure 2.9]:

[see next page]

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The hunt at that time, too, played not only a major part in courtly life, but was an integral part of life for the common folk as well, as we can see from the entry on *Venatus/Die Jagt* from the *Orbis* shown in the frontispiece to this Chapter.

Via the *Orbis*, Bach would also have been introduced to the *Artes Sermonis*, or the “Arts belonging to Speech”, which were later developed through intense studies in the Classics and classical rhetoric in Lüneburg [Figure 2.10]:

In the spring of 1695, following the death of Bach’s father Ambrosius on February 20th, and only nine months after the burial of his mother Elizabeth on May 3, 1694, Bach and his elder brother Jacob went to live with their eldest brother, Johann Christoph, organist of St. Michael’s Church in Ohrdruf, and there entered the *tertia* class at the Ohrdruf Lyceum – and the beginnings of his musical training, as well as the foundations of his Classical/humanist education which was later to be continued in Lüneburg.

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61 The “t” here is correct.
Religion, History, and Mathematics: The Ohrdruf Lyceum

Mellers’ observation to the extent that, “in apparent paradox, the ultimate flowering of German music may be attributable to the survival of an obsolete educational system [my italics] which stressed the light of faith at the expense of intellectual inquiry”\(^6\) proves quite unfounded. Wolff notes that both Comenius and Reyher:

\[
\ldots \text{modernized and restructured the century-old school plans. Without straying from the theological focus, Comenius and Reyher systematized the areas of knowledge and stressed, in addition to the study of languages, grammar, and logic, the importance of contact with objects in the environment, with “real things.” As they did not consider religion and science to be incompatible, belief in God as creator and the perfection of God’s creation remained as central as ever.} \]

These developments paralleled the work of the Berlin school of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), who picked up on the “pedagogically inclined reform projects of seventeenth-century figures, such

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\(^{62}\) OSP-E, pp. 202-203.
\(^{63}\) Mellers, BDG, pp. 80-81.
\(^{64}\) Wolff, TLM, p. 26.
as Johann Amos Comenius. Here the study of arithmetic/mathematics and the *Ars Gnomonica* (Art of the Sundial) held a similar position and purpose as it did in Ohrdruf and Lüneburg,

Francke wrote that mathematics promoted a meditative stillness in the *Gemüthe* and could help children acquire the ability to assimilate various masses and quantities . . . One could say that . . . these conciliatory mathematical sciences were a form of “spiritual exercise. They offered children opportunities to train their eyes by learning how to use new measuring instruments that enhanced or improved cognition . . . in such a way that their eyes would become strengthened, just as God made Abraham’s ability to see “stronger” when he set out to count all the stars of the heavens.66

Bach entered the *tertia* class of the Ohrdruf Lyceum in 1695 (finishing, as he had in the *quinta* and *quarta* classes, in a single year; he was also first in his class, and, at age twelve, the youngest67) and remaining at Ohrdruf through the beginning of the *prima* class in 1700.

Bach would have commenced his study of mathematics (arithmetic) in his classes in Ohrdruf, later to be continued in greater depth in Lüneburg. Also at Ohrdruf, three major texts, one each by Comenius, Rehyer, and Hutter, came together:


Andreas Rehyer: *Dialogi seu Colloquia puerilia*. Gotha, 1653

Leonhard Hutter: *Compendium locorum theologicorum*. Wittenberg, P. Helwig, 1622. 69

Comenius’ *Vestibulum* was his natural successor to the *Orbis*, extending the basic vocabulary of the latter into a basic grammar in the former. One of the Latin/German editions of Comenius’ text gives the following “invitation” to the Latin language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Text</th>
<th>German Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Januae Latinatis</em></td>
<td>Der Vorhof zur Lateinischen Sprach-Thür</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vestibulum</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Salvéte pueri</em></td>
<td>Seyd gegrüsset ihr Knaben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Venite tyrunculi</em></td>
<td>Kommet her ihr Schülerlein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Discite Latinam Linguam</em></td>
<td>Lernet die Lateinische Sprache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . .</td>
<td>. . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pro vestro captui</em></td>
<td>Nach eurem Verstand:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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65 Whitmer, ETP, p. 546.
67 TLM, p. 38.
69 Listed in W. M. Luther, ed., JBD, p. 39; Wolff lists the publication date as 1610; TLM, p. 57.
70 Comenius, DM-2, p. 208.
Reyher’s text followed the same format as Comenius’ *Orbis* and *Vestibulum*, with side-by-side columns in Latin and German in dialogue form, hence it was known as the “kleine Dialoge.” Reyher’s works also were the portals through which students were introduced to literature through language exercises; this also provided the foundations for the study of rhetoric:


Hutter’s *Compendium*, building upon Luther’s *Catechism*, was introduced in the *secunda*, which followed the didactic question-and-answer format of the times, to be memorized and retained, but with an added dimension; here the normal “Frage/Antwort” becomes “Frage/Antwort/Schema”; notes Petzoldt, Um Rede und Gegenrede in ihren Strukturen einzuüben, sind die Texte weithin katechetischer Natur (Frage-Antwort-Schema) oder gar in Dialogform verfaßt.

We can illustrate this process, taking the example given in Chapter 1, on Christ as true God, given here in the Latin version:

(Frage:) *Unde probas Christum esse verum Deum?*

(Antwort:) Probo illud initioinde, quod ipsi in sacris tribuitur essentiale Dei nomen, et vocatur Iehovah.

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74 TLM, pp. 40, 57.

75 UPDR, p. 37.
As noted in the first section of Chapter 1, we can observe a line of Classical elements in both Bach’s sacred and secular works, and we can also see this influence in the theological teachings of his time; again Petzoldt:

Die theologische Tugendlehre, eine frühe Form evangelischer Ethik, hat traditionell eine Nähe zur griechischen Ethik und erfährt durch die Arbeit mit bestimmten Texten der griechischen Antike eine Erweiterung. Die Tugenden des ersten Gebotes sind folgende:

„Das Erkäntnis Gottes ist die höchste Weißheit“ (agnitio Dei), „Die Furcht des Herrn is der Weißheit Anfang“ (timor Domini) . . .

Two works listed on the Ohrdruf curriculum indicate that Bach received his introduction to the Classics via the works of [Marcus Tullius] Cicero:


\textit{Orationes}, T. 1-3. Amsterdam, Janson-Waesberg, 1699.\textsuperscript{78}

These texts would have further laid the foundations for the study of Classical rhetoric, to which were added studies on the Roman historians Cato and Atticus,\textsuperscript{79} written by another Roman historian, Cornelius Nepos.\textsuperscript{80} When Bach was promoted to the \textit{prima} class in 1699 (four years ahead of his class\textsuperscript{81}), we find more Classical historical studies, including “biographies of Roman leaders by the Roman historian Cornelius Nepos” and other writings by Quintus Curtius Rufus,\textsuperscript{82} and an important book by the rector of the Lüneburg school Bach was soon to attend, Johannes Buno, \textit{Idea historiae universalis}, also published in a German version as \textit{Historische Bilder}, being “eine kurze Summarische Abbildung der füß[h]nehmsten geist- und weltlichen Geschichte von Anfang der Welt durch die Patriarchen/ Richter und Königen in Israel und Juda/ die IV. Monarchen, sam[p]t andern Königien: Item der berühmtesten Scribenten geist- und weltlichen/ der Kirchenlehrer und Ketzer sam[p]t den mer[c]kwürdigsten Gesichten.“\textsuperscript{83} The study of Greek was commenced,\textsuperscript{84} and also the first Greek literature (outside the New Testament) in the

\textsuperscript{76} From the Latin edition of 1855; Leonhardi Hutteri, \textit{Compendium Locorum Theologicorum}. Berolini, 1855, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{77} UPDR, pp. 38-39.
\textsuperscript{78} JBD, p. 39; also Wolff, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{79} TLM, p. 40; see also Nicholas Horsfall (translation and commentary), \textit{Cornelius Nepos: A selection, including the lives of Cato and Atticus}. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 3-6 (Life of Cato) and pp. 7-28 (Life of Atticus).
\textsuperscript{80} TLM, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{82} Wolff does not give the details here; \textit{ibid.}, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{83} Buno, Johannes. \textit{Historische Bilder / darinnen idea historiae universalis [sic]}. Wittenberg: Mit Schulischen schriften, 1693.
\textsuperscript{84} TLM, p. 40.
Perceptive Poem (ποιημα νουθετικον) of Phocylides, taken from Poemata Pythagorae et Phocylidis, published in Leipzig 1586.  

In 1700, Bach moved to Lüneburg; the abrupt loss of financial support (termed hospitia, provided by wealthy patrons) being the prime factor for the change, but it appears to be Bach who specifically chose his destination. Wolff notes that Bach may have “started over again in the prima at St. Michael’s, where the academic year began at Easter”, but his final school years proved not only an intense introduction to Classical literature, but more importantly to Classical rhetoric and thought, and the mysteries of numbers and letters as well.

Where the Classics and Numbers Converge: St. Michael’s School in Lüneburg

The interruption of Bach’s education in Ohrdruf may well have proved a blessing in disguise since, according to Wolff, “. . . while the transfer may have resulted in some loss of time, he definitely benefitted from the new and more demanding requirements at St. Michael’s, whose excellent reputation extended well beyond the duchy.” Bach had not only acceded to the prima four years ahead of his classmates, but entered the Lüneburg school with a full command of Latin, and well-prepared for what would now be an in-depth immersion in the Classics, as well as a continuation of his religious studies and his musical development, now as a choral scholar.

Four important subjects and their respective authors came together in Bach’s Lüneburg prima class, all taught by M. Johannes Büsche, the rector of the school. First, religious instruction continued with the same text Bach had used in Ohrdruf, Leonhard Hutter’s Compendium locorum theologicorum. Second, the study of rhetoric, according to the principles of Aristotle and Cicero was commenced by way of Heinrich Tolle’s Compendium brevissimum Rhetoricae usui Præcepue accommodatum, & maximum partem ex Aristotelis & Ciceronis de arte dicendi libris nova & facili methodo concinnatum (also known as Rhetorica Gottingensis), a small but highly detailed outline of 88 small, octavo pages published at Gottingen, in 1680. Third, these rhetorical foundations were supplemented extensively with studies from the writings of (Marcus Tullius) Cicero: Oratio quarta Catilinaria Ciceronis (the fourth of the Catiline Orations); Epistolae ad Fam(iliares) (“Letters to Intimates”, chapters 14-16); and De Officiis (or “On

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85 JBD, p. 39.
86 TLM, p. 41.
87 Ibid., p. 57.
88 Wolff, TLM, p. 57.
89 Comenius ascertained that “Latin can be learned in two years, Greek in one year, and Hebrew in six months”, ref: DM-2, pp. 205-206.
90 TLM, pp. 53-55.
91 Ibid., p. 57.
92 Ibid., and Petzoldt, UPDR, p. 15. The details and publication are taken directly from a copy of the 1680 edition of the work.
Duties”, which includes lectures on moral instruction; from the first chapter to chapter 16.1.  

Martin Petzoldt also mentions a Sententiae a libris philosophicis Ciceronis, compiled by rector Büsche’s predecessor, M. Johannes Buno, being a collection of selections from Cicero chosen by past “Lehrers, Rektors, Predigers, Pastors und Inspektors an der Michaelisschule und –kirche.” And fourth, studies in logic were initiated with the first volume of Christoph Reyher’s Systema logicum, being a preface on logic, and the nature of logic. 

One can already see in these studies the formative process by which Bach’s later musical poetics were shaped. This process can be illustrated, beginning with an example from Part III/4 of the Hutter Compendium. Here we find the question and response:

Q: Are there two natures in Christ?

A: Yes. For since the son of God in the fulleness of time has become man, there are in this one and undivided person of Christ, two distinct natures: the divine, which is from eternity; and the human, which in time was assumed in the unity of the person of the Son of God. And these two natures in the person of Christ are never either separated or commingled with each other, neither are they mutually interchanged, but each nature in the person of Christ retains its own essence and properties to all eternity.

On page one of Tolle’s Rhetorica, we find the dictum: “Finis Rhetorices est Persuadere”, that is “the end (purpose) of all rhetoric is persuasion.” Dammann notes that, “... der musikalisch-oratorischen Textexegese verfolgt er das gleiche Ziel, wie, - nach Cicero – der Redner: docere, delectare, movere. Er will überreden (persuadere), überzeugen, überwältigen.” In the musical rhetoric of the B Minor Mass (BWV 232), we find three musico-poetic representations of this divine-human nature of Christ, all sung by two solo voices, in effect, persuading the listener to accept the (Lutheran) truths expounded in Hutter’s catechism:

No. 2 - Christe eleison, sung by soprano I & II;

No. 7 - Domine Deus, sung by soprano I and tenor, beginning contrapuntally on the words “Domine Deus, rex coelestis”, “Domine fili unigenite, Jesu Christe, altissime”;

No. 14. - Et in unum Dominum, Jesum Christum, sung by the soprano and alto.

In No. 2, we see the unity of Father and the Son (the same voice range), yet having two individual parts. In No. 7, we have the two distinct natures, portrayed by the higher treble and higher male voices,

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93 UPDR, p. 10.
94 Ibid.
95 TLM, p. 57.
and with different texts. This dual-nature is further exemplified in No. 14, where, according to Jean-François Labie:

C’est à un duo de solistes, soprano et alto, qu’est confié le soin de décliner le nom du Fils et ses titres, dont le premier est sa parfaite égalité avec le Père. La présence de deux voix, proches mais différentes, signifie l’individualité des personnes, tandis que le duo très serré, où l’alto et la soprano se répondent en écho, souligne l’unité essentielle et la simultanéité du Père et du Fils. Chaque affirmation se retourne sur elle-même comme par un effet de miroir, dans un grand mouvement d’allégresse.⁹⁷

In this particular example, we not only can see Bach’s musical poetics relative to Baroque Musiklehre, but also observe a direct line to the Classical elements that shaped those poetics; one can note also that this also extends, in this case theologically, back to the first entry/illustration in Comenius’ Orbis, where Pater non est Filius non est Spiritus non est Pater, yet Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus est Deus.⁹⁸ This is also the point where musical poetics meet, and become, allegory; in No. 7, the nature of the Son, with two attributes, and as God descended to earth, is symbolized by the two descending lines, moving contrapuntally at the beginning of each phrase [see Figure 2.11]:

![Figure 2.11 – BWV 232, movement 7, “Domine Deus”, mm 16-18 first entry of tenor and soprano I. Leipzig: Ernst Eulenburg, n.d (ca. 1925), p. 103, [Public Domain].](image)


⁹⁸ The overall theology also corresponds to the early German Athanasian Creed, No.s 5-7, where, 5) “For the Father is one person, the Son is another, and the Holy Spirit is still another, 6) but there is one Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, equal in glory and coequal in majesty. 7) What the Father is, that is the Son and that is the Holy Spirit”; BOC, p. 19.
And in No. 14, the unity of the two natures of the Son is expressed by the two voices moving outward from the same note [Figure 2.12]:

![Figure 2.12 – BWV 232, movement 14, “Et in unum Dominum”, mm. 10-12. Leipzig: Ernst Eulenburg, n.d. (ca. 1925), p. 193, [Public Domain].](image)

Just as with the Trinitarische-triadischen-Dreieck representation in the horn at the entry of the bass solo in the Quoniam, the effect here is both aural and visual. Most curious (or perhaps deliberate) is the respective references in Christ, even if not specifically numbered by Bach,\(^9^9\) appear at the second, seventh, (again the prescient, “mystical symbols” referred to by Bernstein in Chapter 1, and No. 14 (2 X 7 = 14; again, 14 being the number of generations leading to Christ x 3, and also the sum of Bach’s name). As discussed in Chapter 1, there also proves to be a connection here between this 2-7-14 symbolism, Bach’s education, and Müller’s Judaismus.

The Hebrew language was taught at Lüneburg, but unlike Latin and Greek it was always learned privately, with the Konrektor, beginning with studies in Genesis 1-3 and 6-9 (the Creation until the Fall and expulsion from Eden, and the story of Noah and the flood).\(^1^0^0^0\) As with the study of Latin, it was learned in parallel columns, except that it was learned from Latin, not from German. At the same time,

\(^{9^9}\) An important discussion of the symbolism of the number 84 in Cantata 19, although not marked by Bach, appears in Chapter 6, A Return to Numbers and the Cabbala.

\(^{1^0^0^0}\) UPDR, pp. 11-12.
arithmetic was continued, “im regularen Plan (publice)” with the Subkonrektor,\textsuperscript{101} as well as “eine größere Anzahl von Pflichtstunden” (a great many compulsory hours), in Latin grammar, syntax, and style. This was coupled with continuing lessons, in German, in biblical and theological texts.\textsuperscript{102} The combination of Hebrew, arithmetic, and German biblical studies is particularly significant in the light of Müller’s text. In Chapter 1, it was observed how the numerical value of a particular passages from the Hebrew Bible correspond with passages from Luther’s German translation, being Messianic predictions / foretellings. On page 57 of \textit{Judaismus}, Müller introduces the concept of the \textit{Zahl-Namen}, given in context with the “Namen der Engel” (which we shall see in Chapter 6, is also a Messianic prediction, relative to Exodus 23:23). Here Müller explains, “sondern Zahl-Buchstaben / die nicht [bet]rachtet werden \textit{Grammaticè}, sondern \textit{Arithmeticè} “ (Müller’s emphasis).\textsuperscript{103} Thus, according to Müller, operations concerning the \textit{Zahl-Buchstaben} are an arithmetical process. I propose that the Lüneburg curriculum may have most likely been the place where Bach received his first instruction in the association of numbers and letters, tied in, as in Müller’s text, with the integral components of his Lutheran faith. It is curious indeed that whereas Latin, German, and Greek were taught in public, why Hebrew should be studied privately. It must also be noted that classes in “Arithmetik” are specifically distinguished from those “\textit{in mathematicis}”, the latter of which included the \textit{Ars Gnomonica}.\textsuperscript{104}
Dammann notes that the use of alphabetical-numerical components was integral to the structure of musical composition in church music during Bach’s time:

\begin{quote}
(Auch) die Symbol- und Alphabetzahlen können maßgeblich beteiligt sein an der Architektur eines Musikwerks. Der Begriff musikalischer Ordnung wäre zu eng gefaßt, wenn nicht die symbolischen und semantischen Zahlen als oft genug grundlegende Dispositionsprinzipien einbezogen würden. So geschieht es bei J. S. Bach, das die Zahl 14 in der Werkplanung erheblich wird (B – A – C – H = 2 + 1 + 3 + 8 = 14). Weiterhin kommen biblische Zahlen ver der mitteldeutschen Kirchenmusik des Spätbarock, was auf dem Unbezweifelbarkeitsgedanken orthodoxer Schriftstrenge gründet. (author’s italics)\textsuperscript{105}
\end{quote}

Dammann also observes that, “Das Wesen der Musik beruht der Zahl. Gott hat \textit{alles noch Maß} / \textit{Zahl und Gewicht geordnet}, - ein apokryphes Diktum, das bis hinauf in den deutschen Spätbarock begegnet.”\textsuperscript{106} This is also in perfect agreement with both Andreæ and the passage at Wisdom 11:21 (22) shown in earlier in this Chapter.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Judaismus}, p. 57, lines 5-6.
\textsuperscript{104} UPDR, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{105} MdB, p. 90.
\end{flushright}
We can also observe the concept of “God / Deus” from the *Orbis* first being expressed in Hebrew letters\(^{107}\) - and that this has a direct relationship to the number “3”, which in turn represents the Trinity, the triad, and the triangle. Here we have symbolism where the theological is represented both visually and with number; it was something to be contemplated, as a foundation on which the catechism was built.

There is a visual element to the Brandenburg Concertos as well. Michael Talbot observes that Bach took a then-uncommon practice of sending the Margrave a complete score rather than a set of parts from which the works could immediately be played.\(^{108}\) Philip Pickett, in accordance with his theory that “Bach was honouring the Margrave as an Ancient Hero”, also notes that:

... the presentation volume was also an object for study and contemplation. As in Vanitas paintings, the numerous symbols and allegories of the collection were open to a variety of interpretations – and they were also a means of moral instruction. Like the paintings the score was intended to be ‘read’, the various symbols interpreted not only according to traditional associations but also according to the Margrave’s personal perceptions, the depth of his knowledge and his powers of reason.\(^{109}\)

I suggest that this implies that not only do the Brandenburg Concertos contain multi-dimensional allegory, but that they also may contain – or more likely contain – numerical symbolism as well.

With Pickett’s mention of “moral instruction”, we find a correspondence again with Bach’s Lüneburg classroom and the writings of Cicero, as well as a relationship to the *Orbis*, which in turn lead us back to courtly values. In *De Officiis*, Cicero offers an interesting analogy between musical acuity and moral rectitude (*omnis honestas*), relative to one’s perceptions of what is good:

*(Book I, 146)* As, therefore, a musical ear detects even the slightest falsity of a tone in a harp, so we, if we wish to be keen and careful observers of moral faults, shall often draw important conclusions from trifles [i.e., casual glances, responses, or gestures] ... we shall easily judge which of our actions is proper, and which is out of accord with duty and Nature.\(^{110}\)

Cicero outlines “four sources” of moral rectitude,\(^{111}\) interestingly, corresponding with entries found in Comenius’ *Orbis*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cicero, <em>De Officiis</em></th>
<th>Comenius, <em>Orbis Sensualium Pictus</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prudence (<em>cognitionis</em>)</td>
<td>CX. <em>Prudentia</em> (prudence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{107}\) Note that this does not refer to the Tetragrammaton, but the three *yod’s* and *daleth*.


\(^{109}\) Pickett, *PGB*, p. 7.


Social instinct (*communitatis*)

Courage (*magnanimitas*)

Temperance (*moderationis*)

CXVII. *Liberalitas* (liberality)

CXIII. *Fortitudo* (fortitude)

CXII. *Temperantia* (temperance)

The *virtutes morales*, or moral virtues, are also discussed in Tolle’s *Rhetorica*, in Cap. VI, *De Honesto*; even the *artes sermonis* had to be infused with moral character. Of the *virtutes morales*, Tolle writes, “Honesta est virtus omnis” (Honesty is every virtue):

*Virtutes morales sunt:* [The] moral virtues are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Justitia</em></td>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fortitudo</em></td>
<td>Fortitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Temperantia</em></td>
<td>Temperance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Liberalitas</em></td>
<td>Liberality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mansuetudo</em></td>
<td>Gentleness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Modesta</em></td>
<td>Modesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Candor</em></td>
<td>Candor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Humanitas</em></td>
<td>Humanity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Urbanitas</em></td>
<td>Politeness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the virtues imply a rhetoric parallel with “all that was desirable in worldly virtue” as embodied by the courtly hunt; by way of logic, we can then say that the hunt epitomized those virtues esteemed by the nobleman, as did the sound of the hunting horn; worldly virtue elevated the royal mind to ever higher ideals: 113

*C’est par ces traits que votre ame accomplice
A par estime acquis de vrais amis! . . . .

C’est sur l’estime & c’est sur les vertus
Qui l’amité véritable se fonde :
Vous possédez ces titres; & de plus
Vous avez l’art de plaire à tout le monde . . . .

. . . . je chanterai
Ce beau génie, & je consacrera
A vos vertus mes talens & ma verve.
Et dans mes vers je vous implorerai
Comme ma Muse & comme ma Minerve.114
. . . .

---


113 Fitzpatrick, HHP, p. 20.

O toi, fils de ce Dieu, toi nourisson des graces,
Tu prends ton vol aux cieux qu’habitent les neuf sœurs.\textsuperscript{115}

Et l’on voit tour à tour renaître sur tes traces
Et des fruits & des fleurs.

Tes vers harmonieux, élegans sans parure,
Lion de l’art pédantique en leur simplicité,
Enfans du Dieu du goût, enfans de la nature,
Prêchent la volupté.

Au centre du bon goût d’une nouvelle Athenes,
Tu moissonnes en paix la gloire des talens,
Tandis que l’Univers envious de la Siene,
Applaudit à tes chants.\textsuperscript{116}

In addition to Cicero, other Classical writers and their works, figured prominently in the Lüneburg curriculum, including, Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro): the \textit{Eclogues} (Bucolics), the \textit{Georgics} and the \textit{Aeneid}, notably Part I, Book IV, from the edition of Virgil’s \textit{Opera}, published in Leiden by J. Hack, in 1684.\textsuperscript{117} In the Hellenistic world, Books I and II of the \textit{Aeneid} were considered “Rome’s sacred history”, and had been taught, as a matter of course, as a “catechism” to Hellenistic school students.\textsuperscript{118} Book IV contains the story of Dido and Aeneas – which, curiously contains an embryonic thread relative to the Stag theme (i.e., “Dido, wounded by Cupid, as if she were a hind cruelly hunted”\textsuperscript{119}), an indirect, inchoate reflection perhaps of what would, in Christian theology, metamorphose from the wounded stag pursued by the hunter, to the “hart that pants after streams of water” of Psalm 42, an allegorical representation of the Christian man as described in Chapter 3.

Even Martin Luther himself highly extolled Virgil, noting, “Virgilius ist den andern allen mit Herrlichkeit und Tapferkeit überlegen, ist alles herrlich und wichtig, mit einem Ernst.”\textsuperscript{120} Luther’s own final words, written on a scrap of paper, pay extraordinary tribute both Virgil and to Cicero, the humanistic line coming into play with the church fathers:

1. No one can understand Vergil’s Bucolics unless he has been a shepherd for five years. No one can understand Vergil’s Georgics, unless he has been a farmer for five years.

\textsuperscript{115} A reference to the Nine Muses.
\textsuperscript{116} OduSS, Book I, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{117} TLM, p. 57; UPDR, p. 10; W.M. Luther, ed., JBD, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{119} Cassell and Kirkham, DH/CD, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{120} Martin Luther, HPR, col. 1930-1931.
2. No one can understand Cicero’s letters (or so I teach), unless he has busied himself in the affairs of some prominent state for twenty years.

3. Know that no one can have indulged in the Holy Writers sufficiently, unless he has governed churches for a hundred years with the prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha, John the Baptist, Christ and the apostles.¹²¹

He concludes with a paraphrase on a line from Statius’ *Thebaid;*

Hanc tu ne divinam Aeneida tenta,
Sed vestigia pronus adora.

Do not assail this divine Aeneid;
Nay, rather prostrate revere the ground that it treads.¹²²

There was one additional figure studied in Bach’s Lüneburg classroom who personified not only Classical ideals and the values for which they stood, but also personified both the victorious military conquerer and royal glory: Alexander the Great.

**Alexander and the Rhetoric of Victory and Virtue**

On the inside of the Antique Temple in the gardens of Sans-Souci Palace, was ¹²³ a bas-relief of “a legendary hero to humanists of the Baroque era”, ¹²⁴ and one who links the philosophy of the court with Bach’s education, Alexander the Great:

Tête d’Alexandre le Grand, de profil & en bas-relief. Ouvrage Grec du premier rang, de marbre de Paros; de 1 pié haut, & de 10 pouces de large. Ce morceau est d’une beauté admirable & du travail le plus parfait. Le fameux Graveur en pierres précieuses, Mr. L. Natter, a fait dans ses ouvrages des remarques sur ce beau bas-relief, qu’il prétend être de Lysippe.

That this is one of only two images of Alexander in Frederick the Great’s collection, ¹²⁵ and the only one to depict the figure of Alexander exclusively. Its placement above the inner portals of the Temple, where Frederick kept his personal collection of antique artifacts, testifies to the near-sacred (in the deist sense) regard in which Alexander was held: the ultimate personification of the Baroque *Héros.*

¹²² Ibid., Note that Kellerman incorrectly states it as Statius’ “The Aeneid.”
¹²³ Oesterreich, O-Catalogue, p. 60, no. 478; also Hüncke, et al., ANT-I, p. 71.
¹²⁴ Mellers, BDG, p. 82.
¹²⁵ The second image, on a vase in the Salon, depicts Alexander’s visit to the family of Darius III, whom he had defeated in Persia; O-Catalogue, p. 28, no. 217.
Alexander’s position in the Lichtfeld des Denkens of the Baroque came not only from the glory which he reflected as a military commander, but, since he was said to be a pupil of Aristotle, his persona thereby also epitomized Classical education and ideals. Alexander is mentioned numerous times in the writings of Frederick the Great, and in various contexts. For Baroque royalty in particular, Alexander represented:

1. The restoration of order and morality:

   Tout Prince est entouré de vils adulateurs,
   De ses goûts dépravés mercenaires flatteurs,
   Qui remplis de mépris pour son ame commune,
   N’adorent en effet que l’aveugle fortune.

   Alexandre, dit-on eut le torticoli,
   De tous ses Courtisans le cortege poli,
   Par art négligemment pencher sa tête.
   Des Seigneurs de la Cour tel est l’usage honnête;
   Renversez à la coupe, le poison,
   Qui corrompant vos mœurs, perdrait votre raison.  

2. Glory:

   Le Vanqueur de l’Asie en subjuguant cent Rois,
   Dans le rapide cours de ses brillants exploits,
   Estimait Aristote & méditait son livre;
   . . . .

   Mais ce même Alexandre arrêtant sa furie,
   Dans Thebes, de Pindare épargna la Patrie.

   La Gréce était alors le berceau des beaux arts,
   La science y naquit sous les lauriers de Mars;
   De la gloire des Rois, vains juges que nous sommes!
   L’époque des beaux arts est celle des grands hommes.  

3. The essence of the line of Classical authors, poets, and philosophers, with whom the court identified:

   Louis à sa couronne ajouta ce fleuron,
   Il eut tout à la fois, Térence, Cicéron,
   Sophocle, Euclid, Horace, Anacrèon, Salluste,
   Et l’on revit les jours d’Alexandre & d’Auguste.

   Ainsi, tous ce Héros dans ces tems fortunés,
   Ont été par les arts doublement couronnés;
   L’example & le plaisir guidaient à la science.

---

126 Frederick the Great, OduSS, vol. I, p. 49.
127 Ibid. p. 62.
The life and conquests of Alexander naturally became a subject for Baroque opera, and included such works as *Alessandro Magno in Sidone*, by Marc’Antonio Ziani (1679) *Alessandro il grande in Sidone*, by Francesco Mancini (1706), and *Alessandro* by George Frideric Handel (HWV 21, 1719).

Bach’s own acquaintance with the figure of Alexander the Great probably came through the *Historische Bilder, darinnen Idea Historiæ Universalis* of 1692-1693, by M. Johannes Buno, “the rector for forty-three years (1653-1696) [at St.Michael’s School in Lüneburg] and the author of books on history and geography.” The book was introduced in the *prima* class in Ohrdruf, which Bach began in 1699, prior to his move to Lüneburg in 1700. Here Alexander’s victorious reign is mentioned in a brief passage in context with the biblical prophecy of the fall of the Greek monarchy after his death:

*Der Griechische Monarchy*

*Alexander Magnus der Grosse/ist der erste Griechische Monarch.*


Bach would have been more formally introduced to the life of Alexander by way of Quintus Curtius Rufus’ *Historia Alexandri Magni Macedonis* (History of Alexander the Great of Macedonia), which was read in the *prima* class of the conrector, M. Eberhard Joachim Elfeld, at Lüneburg. Alexander’s life and exploits served not only as a study in Latin narrative, but for Bach and his fellow students, but also made for reinforcement of the moral principles first taught in Comenius’ *Orbis; Temperance, Fortitude, Liberality, and Humanity.*

The ideals epitomized by Alexander are in themselves a clear reflection of Aristotelian principles:

[And, on the other hand,] the better and nobler things are, the better and nobler will be their superiority; and similarly, those things, the desire for which is nobler and better, for greater longings

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128 Ibid., p. 64.
129 It is worthy of note here that a device often found in Italian Baroque opera overtures (though not related to the subject itself) appears in Mancini’s work; a brief, slow passage between two fast movements, ending in a ii6 – V/vi cadence, creating a chromatic-median relationship with the succeeding, fast movement; Bach uses this same device in the slow movements to Brandenburg Concertos No.s 3 and 4. The technique, and Bach’s use of it, is illustrated in Chapter 5.
130 Wolff, TLM, p. 56.
131 Ibid., pp. 38-41.
133 TLM, p. 57. M. Johannes Büsche succeeded Buno as rector, and upon his death, was in succeeded by Elfeld’s in 1705; TLM, p. 57; Petzoldt, UPDR, pp. 14-15.
are directed towards greater objects. For the same reason, the better and nobler the object, the better and nobler are the desires.\textsuperscript{134}

These same ideals can be seen as a paradigm for the hunting-horn itself, the very sound eliciting the awareness of those ideals in the mind of the hearer (this process being similar to the Baroque \textit{Doctrine of the Affections}). Notes Horace Fitzpatrick, in \textit{The Horn and Horn-Playing}:

The hunt stood for all that was desirable in worldly virtue, representing a new embodiment of the older \textit{ritterlich-höfisch} (chivalrous-courtly) ideals which were at the centre of aristocratic thought. As the ceremonial and signal instrument of the hunt, the horn in turn became a symbol for these values. To a nobleman of the time the sound of the horn had the power to excite deep feeling, for it called forth those ideals and aspirations which lay at the very heart of the \textit{adeliches Landleben}.\textsuperscript{135}

Fitzpatrick also observes that:

Virtue is an inexact equivalent at the period. For [the poet Johann Christian] Günther and Spork, \textit{Tugend} [Virtue] implied rather a more complex mixture of bravery, industry, honesty, and chivalry. The moral principles inherent in this concept were basic to the world of pre-Enlightenment nobility.\textsuperscript{136}

In Chapter 3, it will be observed how the figures of Alexander the Great, Cicero, and other influences from Bach’s education converge in the “humanistic vortex” [my term], and the realm of royal philosophy for which Bach conceived the Brandenburg Concertos.


\textsuperscript{135} Fitzpatrick, HHP, p. 20. “adeliches Landleben” refers to those of the aristocratic country-life, or ‘ennobled country-dwellers’ [my term].

\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Ibid.}, ft. 1.
CHAPTER 3

The Humanistic Vortex: The Evolution of the Brandenburg Concertos

*Ampulla with Relief of Diana Hunting with Her Dog.*
Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio.
Terracotta with red glaze.
Gift of Bernhard Grebanier, 1971.20
Used by kind permission of Allen Memorial Art Museum.
3. The Humanist Vortex: The Evolution of the Brandenburg Concertos

Cicero ist der erste, be idem wir ihn finden: Die Formen und Figuren haben etwas Vollkommenes in sich, und die Idee dieser Vollkommenheit tragen wir in unserem Verstande . . . Der Künstler ist ein Gesetzgeber, ein legum lator, und zwar nicht bloß für die Gegenwart, sondern auch für die Zukunft. Man muß an KANTs Begriff des Künstlers denken, wenn man derartige Aussprüche aus hellenischer Zeit liest. Den Künstler verdanken die Götter die Gestalt, in der wir kennen, sagt Cicero.

Władysław Tatarkiewicz, “Die Spätantike Kunsttheorie“

But ancient witnesses are the most trustworthy, since they cannot be corrupted.

Aristotle, De Rhetorica, I/xv, 17.

Auguste doit sa gloire à la lyre d’Horace,  
Virgile lui voua ses nobles fictions ;  
Séduits par leurs beaux vers, les mortels lui font grâce  
De ses proscriptions.

Frederick the Great, Œuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, Ode I, vs, 21-24

Royal Philosophy

The humanistic macrocosm (Classical ideals, being expressed through the arts and the influences of such Baroque Heroes as Alexander the Great and other Classical figures), and the humanistic microcosm (Classical foundations of education, including literature, languages, and word and number symbolism) together carried the aesthetics and principles of humanism that both defined and shaped the Baroque Lichtfeld des Denkens, in which Bach lived and worked. As noted in the Preface, the various strata of this Lichtfeld, such as cosmogony, nature-philosophy, Classical thinking and rhetoric, theology, Musiklehre, etc, combine to form what is described by Dammann as the Textur des Denkens, (Texture of Thought) wherein lie the elements which in turn shape the processes of Baroque compositional thought. This thought process, relative to the royal aesthetic (an “aesthetic” being described as the subjective components by which an artwork is defined) for which Bach prepared the Brandenburg set, are what we wish to explore in detail.

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1 Dammann, MdB, p. 84.
2 This is a translation of Karl Wieninger’s comment (Grundlagen der Architekturtheorie), the original of which is quoted below.
In order to illustrate this *Lichtfeld des Denkens* within the context of royal philosophy we need only look at a figure which dominated not only the realm of “higher” education (in the schools of Bach’s time), but also the thought and philosophy of the court: Cicero. In the writings of the *Philosophe de Sans-Souci*, the name of Cicero is lavishly praised, placing him among the immortal *Héros* of the ancients:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Le courage d’Albert qu’on surnomma l’Achille,} \\
N’est pour ses descendans qu’une leçon utile; \\
\text{Celui qui de Nestor mérita le surnom,} \\
\text{Et ce Prince éloquent qu’on nomma Ciceron,} \\
\text{Ont reçu pour eux seuls ce tribute légitime,} \\
\text{Qu’aux talens, aux vertus doit la publique estime;} \\
\text{Mais il ne passe point à la postérité;} \\
\text{Qui veut avoir un nom, doit l’avoir mérité.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ce Héros immortel dont l’ame magnanime} \\
\text{Dans la paix, dans la guerre également sublime,} \\
\text{Lui fit, par l’Univers, donner le nom de Grand.} \\
\text{Nous met comme des nains à côte d’un géant;} \\
\text{Il marqua nos devoirs, sa vie est notre livre;} \\
\text{Plus l’exemple nous touche, & plus il faut le suivre.}
\end{align*}
\]

It can be seen from the passage above that Cicero, like Alexander the Great, was considered one of the supreme Classical *Héros*. Curiously, one facet of court life involved adorning the royal dining table with a bronze statuette, or perhaps bust of a just such a Classical hero; for example, such as the one shown below [Figure 3.1]. Such a figure suggests it was more than merely a form of decorative art; it carried a purpose that was intrinsic to the court mind, allowing them to internalize (or “metabolize”, to use a contemporary term) the essence of the heroes before them; the rulers and retinue of the court were not to be without a constant reminder of their ideals. Other figures, both mythological and those of classical heroes, could be found made of sugar or marzipan, not intended to be attractive to the palate, but rather to the intellect and emotions.\(^4\)

[see illustration on next page]

\(^3\) Frederick the Great, *OduSS*, vol. I, p. 48.
\(^4\) Boucher, *IBS*, pp. 186-187. That these objects were not intended for consumption is evidenced by the fact that they were molded with sugar and glue; *ibid.*
At Sans-Souci, we find possible evidence of this practice, where the *Salle de Manger* (Dining Hall), adorned with “Five vases of a very beautiful form” (*Cinq Vases d’une très belle forme*) and “A table made of mosaic, with different strengths of stones” (*Une Table en mosaïque, de différentes fortes de pierres*) is adjacent to “a small room” (*un petit Cabinet*) containing only one work of art: a demi-bust of Cicero, done in bronze. In light of the above information, one could certainly surmise that the visage of Cicero may well have often joined the royal family members and guests at the table. One is tempted to compare this practice with Martin Luther’s habit of quoting Classical lines, certainly a humanist counterpart in itself:

It is interesting to see with what works Luther was acquainted and what he thought of them. Of the prose writers Cicero is quoted most often by him and valued very highly, especially because of his ethical content . . . . There are also plenty of quotations in Luther’s works from Pliny the Elder,

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5 Margaret Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*. Chicago: Argonaut, Inc., Publishers, 1964, Plate XLIX, No. 96; the description is on p. 87. The Bibliothèque Nationale no longer uses this image, having replace it with an updated image, and the original form of the statuette has been altered. No site for Argonaut Inc., Publishers has been found; it is assumed the the company is no long active.

Pliny the Younger, Quintilian, Varro, Gellius, and Seneca . . . But Vergil was perhaps his favorite. This author surpasses all others heroica gravitate (Op. 62.343). He liked the Bucolics and the Georgies the best . . . Luther quotes Vergil constantly . . . The late Latin Disticha of Dionysius Cato were prime favorites. ‘Next to the Bible, we have no better book than Catonis scripta and fabulas Aesopi’ (Op. 62.459). [author’s emphases].

The framework of Luther’s own Lightfield of Thought can be observed here, from the texture of which emerges a variety of subjects. The references to the “ethical content” of Cicero, Cato’s Disticha, and Aesop’s Fables, are a clear link to moral lessons. Just as Luther’s process of quoting Classical lines or fable served the purpose of moral instruction, so the Lightfield of royal thought served its own purpose as an ever-present reminder of the Classical ideals of education, of victory and its subsequent glory, and of immortality.

By the year 1729, even Bach himself had been put on a par with and spoken in the same breath alongside the Classical Heroes being named one of „Die Drei Berühmten B” in the Trifolium Musicum by one Fuhrmann:

Wir haben das gelehrte Trifolium Musicum ex. B. von 3. Unvergleichlichen Virtuosen, deren Geschlechts-Nahme ein B. im Schilde führet, Buxtehuden, Bachelbel, 8 und Bachen zu Leipzig; diese gelten bey mir so viel, als Cicero bey den Lateinern (author’s emphases). 9

Not Cicero alone of course, but an entire array of classical writers, philosophers, leaders of the military and heads of state combined to form a pantheon of figures epitomizing Classical ideals, individually and collectively expressed by the word, Héros:

Tu chantas les Héros, ton sublime génie
Dans son immensité bienfaisant & fécond,
Relevant leurs exploits, embellissant leur vie,
Les fit tout ce qu’ils sont . . .

. . . Puissans esprits philosophiques,
Terrestres citoyens des cieux,
Flambeaux des écoles Stoïques,
Mortels vous devenez des Dieux;
Votre sagesse incomparable,
Votre courage inébranlable
Triomphent de l’humanité:
Que peut sur un cœur insensible
Déterminé, ferme, impassible,

8 The “B” on Pachelbel’s name is a trick adapted from the paragramma techniques, such as described in Tatlow, BRN, p. 58.
9 BD II, p. 198, Nr. 269.
10 ODuSS, p. 8
La douler & l’adversité?  

The ideals of the court extended to every aspect and event of life; as we have seen, even the mundane events of dining had to be infused with courtly ideals. In the case of royal marriages, the event was celebrated with a cantata or serenata, and court poets were retained so as “to have ready access” 12 that would entrain Classical scenes, such as the text to Bach’s Cantata BWV 202, “Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten”:

Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten,  
Frost und Winde, geht zur Ruh!  
Florens Lust  
Will der Brust  
Nicht als frohes Glück verstatten,  
Denn sie träget Blumen zu.

Die Welt wird wieder neu,  
Auf Bergen und in Gründen  
Will sich die Anmut doppelt schön verbinden,  
Der Tag ist von der Kälte frei.

Phoebus eilt mit schnellen Pferden  
Durch die neugeborne Welt.  
Ja, weil sie ihm wohlgefällt  
Will er selbst ein Buhler werden.13

It was in this very environment that Bach played for Frederick the Great himself, in a chambre du concert very similar to the one shown in Chapter 1 – and the very sort of environment for which Bach selected and/or conceived the works that have come to be known as the Brandenburg Concertos – and, as shall be illustrated – how his own classical training, and his experiences at Weimar, Köthen, and Dresden could only have predisposed him to a design that would in some way appeal to, and reflect, the high ideals of educated, cultured court life; again from the Philosophe de Sans-Souci, on Le Rétablissement de l’académie:

Que vois-je! Quel spectacle! O ma chere Patrie!  
Enfin voici l’époque où naîtront tes beaux jours;  
L’ignorant préjugé, l’erreur, la barbarie  
Chassés de tes Palais, sont bannis pour toujours:  
Les beaux Arts sont vainquers de l’absurde ignorance,  
Je vois de leurs Héros la pompe qui s’avance,  
Dans leurs mains les lauriers, a lyre & le compass:

11 Ibid., p. 13.  
13 BWV 202, 1 (Aria), 2 (Recitativo), and 3 (Aria).
Let us now look at the Lichtfeld of royal philosophy in the context of Bach’s knowledge of Classical literature.

**Bach and Classical Literature**

Buenger notes that, “the leaders of Protestantism were all of them well trained in the Classics . . . That this heritage might not be lost to their descendants they incorporated them into their schools. Protestantism adopted humanism as its educational standard.”

When Bach graduated from the Lüneburg school in the spring of 1702, he had not only acquired, but retained a consummate knowledge of Classical literature that was still evident even late in his life, and with this knowledge entered into the courts in 1708, bringing with him an understanding of the Baroque Héros, and the importance thereof. Bach’s extensive knowledge of the Classics – extending well beyond the texts he would have been required to study in Ohrdruf and Lüneburg – is demonstrated in his reworking of an original text by Picander for the secular cantata, *Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan*, BWV 201:

The change, made by Bach himself, shows his polemic bent (when called for) and his poetic vein, and even more his intimate familiarity with classical Latin literatures. He invokes two famous, if rather obscure figures: Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (a Roman orator known for his overly profuse style and defeated by Cicero in the trial against Verres) and Lucius Orbilius Pupillus (Horace’s teacher, known for beating up his students):

*Picander’s original:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Picander’s original:</th>
<th>Changed by Bach to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Now Phoebus, take up your lyre again; There is nothing lovlier than your songs.</td>
<td>Now Phoebus, redouble music and songs, Despite Hortens and Orbil raging against it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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14 OduSS, Ode IV, p. 20.
16 Wolff, TLM, p. 66.
According to Christoph Wolff, Bach evidently had made the changes in response to an incident involving Count Heinrich von Brühl, the prime minister of Saxony, who in early June of 1749 had sent the Compositeur of his own Capell, Gotllieb Harrer, to the Leipzig burgomaster Jacob Born with a letter requesting that Harrer be considered for the position of Capell-Director in Leipzig “upon the eventual occasion of the decease of Mr. Bach” – who at the time was neither ill, much less showing signs of being in any mortal state. But Bach’s references to Hortensius and Orbilius show not only his familiarity with “obscure” Classical figures; the context in which their names are mentioned also shows Bach’s awareness of their positions as orators and consuls. Bach’s knowledge of Classical literature, as well as his broad use of Classical characters in the secular cantatas, went hand in hand with theology and his extensive collection of theological writings of the time, including two complete sets of Luther’s works and the multi-volume Bibliische Erklärung of Johannes Olearius; a truly humanist outlook shaped by a genuinely humanist education, relating to the world in a profoundly humanist way.

Bach himself can even be seen as a reflection of this humanist society, where his own artistry prompted one of the court lyricists of Dresden, Johann Gottlieb Kittel (known as Micrander, or “little man”) to draw an allusion between Bach the organ virtuoso and Orpheus with his lyre, in a poem composed after Bach’s performance at the Sophien-Kirche in Dresden, on September 14, 1731:

Ein angenehmer Bach [“brook”] kan zwar das Ohr ergötzen,
Wenn er in Sträuchern hin durch hohe Felsen läufft;
Allein, den Bach muß man gewiß weit höher schätzen,
Der mit so hurter Hand gantz wunderba[h]rlich greift.
Man sagt: Daß, wenn Orpheus die laute sonst geschlagen,
Hab all Thiere er in Wäldern zu sich bracht;
Gewiß, man muß dißmehr von unserm Bache sagen,
Weil Er [sic], so bald er spielt, ja alles staunen(d) macht.  

Another allusion to Orpheus (and by inference, the Classical heroes) can be found in “Ein Huldigungsgedicht” by Bach’s friend, the author and lawyer Ludwig Friedrich Hudemann:

Wenn vor gar langer Zeit des Orpheus Harfenklang
Wie er die Menschen traf, sich auch in Tiere drang,
So muß es, großer Bach, weit schöner dir gelingen:
Er kann nur deine Kunst vernünftige Seelen zwingen . . .

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18 TLM, p. 444, NBR, no. 265, p. 240, and BD II, no. 583, pp. 456-457. Harrer was eventually appointed as Capell-Director in Leipzig, two months and one day after Bach’s death in mid-1750; TLM, p. 454.
20 The poem first appeared in 1732; Bach had dedicated the Kanon zu vier Stimmen (BWV 1074; NBA VIII;1, p. 3) to “A Monsieur Houdemann” in 1727; Johann Sebastian Bach: Leben und Schaffen. Edited by Willi Reich. Manesse Bibliothek der Weltliteratur. [Zürich]: Manesse Verlag, [c.1957] pp. 101-102.
Bach’s first experience in employing Classical personae in his works can be seen in the secular cantata, *Was mir behagt ist nur die muntre Jagd*, BWV 208, on a text by Salomo Franck, with its quartet of mythological characters, including Diana (as mistress of the hunt), Endymion, Pan, and Pales, written and first performed in early 1713 for the birthday of Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels at the “ducal hunting lodge near Weissenfels, after the completion of the chase.” Here, Bach’s use of instruments found in the traditional hunting ensembles of the time (*corni da caccia*, oboes, and bassoon) coupled with the use of genuine hunting-horn techniques/calls (both described in Chapter 4), come together with his knowledge and interest in Classical literatures and mythology. The hunt, being an important part of the courtly scene, where “the hunt itself was a measure for social standing amongst the nobles, so the horn itself became a status symbol within the hunt” (examples of sculpture imported during the Fugger trade even include such figures as a cherub with a helmet and a *Jagdhorn*). Certainly Bach understood the royal hunt and all that it stood for; he also saw the *corno da caccia* as an instrument that could be used multi-dimensionally to convey both the ideals of the hunt, as well as theological concepts.

**Polysemanitics I: Baptism and the Stag**

In this section, I address the multi-dimensional aspects of allegory, and how it can project different meanings in a sort of transformational way, the interpretation of which varies with context and the perceptions of the observer. In Chapter 2 (Lüneburg), it can be observed that Philipp Pickett’s comment regarding the presentation score of the Brandenburg Concertos as “also being an object for study and contemplation”, gives rise to hidden symbolism and allegorical interpretation. Baroque art itself is rich in allegorical symbolism; to wit the various details in a given work of painting or sculpture can reflect an array of meanings, each of which can arouse the emotions or stimulate the intellect in a particular way, thus providing for multi-dimensional transformations/interpretations of a given work.

An example can be found in the bronze allegories of the Italian sculptor Francesco Bertos (1678-1741). One allegory, *The Fall of Icarus*, shows not only this multi-dimensional perspective, but also a numerical canon consistent with the principles of Baroque art (and music) [see Figure 3.2]. Charles Avery observes:

As Kathryn Watson eloquently wrote . . . *The Fall of Icarus* was made to be enjoyed for the ever-changing patterns of limbs and drapery that occur with the rotation [my note; context] of the bronze. Each new angle reveals something unsuspected; for instance, the river-god’s face becomes fully

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21 TLM, pp. 134-135; Note on Bach’s use of the work again in 1748 (BWV 208a).
23 Pickett, PBC-1, p. 7.
24 Note: Bertos’ allegories of *Victory* (including multi-dimensional aspects) will be discussed relative to Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in Chapter 5, beginning at p. 230.
visible from only one point, one that totally blocks out the head of Icarus. In effect, something is always hidden, and in this way one is encouraged either to move the piece itself [my note: change the programmatik] or walk around it. The sculptor created his own figure canon of one to eight, even nine, and a curiously androgynous anatomy . . . the impact of Icarus’s fall is indicated by rhetorical gesture and the frowning visages of the two men; the face of Icarus registers no emotion.25

Figure 3.2 – Francesco Bertos (1693-1739), The Fall of Icarus, bronze. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio. Mrs. F.F. Prentiss Fund, Friend of Art Endowment Fund and Special Acquisitions Fund, 1971.52. Used by kind permission of Allen Memorial Art Museum.

Avery adds his own observation that the title, *The Fall of Icarus*, may also be “possibly emblematic of Fire and Water”, thus adding another potential allegorical dimension to the already multi-dimensional work.26

A similar example in Bach’s Fifth Brandenburg Concerto exists, if one considers Philip Pickett’s allegorical interpretation,27 where:

...the allegory depicts Hercules seated under a tree choosing between Virtue and Vice, each of whom tries to persuade him to follow her. One of the most common attributes of Vice is the satyr’s pipe,28 represented in the concerto by the flattering, ingratiating flute; Virtue often took the form of Minerva herself... Like Apollo, Minerva was regarded as a benevolent and civilizing influence, and like Apollo could be represented by a lira or violin.29

It should be noted that the allegorical representation of virtue can itself be multi-dimensional (as can vice), both visual and aural. In Pickett’s description, the sound of the violin represents virtue; in a work such as Giovanni Bernini’s *Bust of Louis XIV* (1665), we find that “the billowing cloak...was an allusion to Hercules on top of the mountain of Virtue.” 30 (A similar concept can be found in Cantata BWV 213, *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege*, where the solo oboe and solo violin figurations accompany the tenor (in the persona of *Tugend* aria (No. 7), “Auf meinen Flügel sollst du schweben, auf meinem Flügel steigest du den Sternen wie ein Adler zu”).

At the same time, the instrumentation of Brandenburg No. 5 can be found represented in Baroque allegories of *Musik*, such as the one found in the *Marmorsaalle* of Sans-Souci palace; keyboard, lira, violin, flute – together with the extensive *cadenza* in the first movement – the Fifth Concerto could also be interpreted, multi-dimensionally, as being an *Allegory of Musik* in itself, depending upon the context – or place – in which it was performed. And its use of themes and techniques related to hunting-music (triadic outline of opening melody, *roulé* rhythms, and the similarity of the final movement’s principal motive to certain horn-calls,31 also qualify it to fit into the *Bildprogramm* of the hunt, proposed in this dissertation; one might also notice that the Sans-Souci allegory, in addition to the above-listed instruments, also contains the hunting-horn.

This concept of multi-dimensional allegory now brings us back to figure of the stag. As noted earlier, there are manifold symbolisms equated with the stag; the object or observer of the hunt; in its

27 Also note Chapter 5, *Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Music for Multiple Allegories*.
28 Note the allegory of the satyr in Reuben’s painting of *Diana and Her Nymphs Departing for the Hunt* (frontispiece to Chapter 4, p. 160.
29 Pickett, PCB-1, p. 16.
31 The techniques are described in detail in Chapter 5.
positive aspects (as per Christian Bestiaries) a symbol for Christ; as a symbol for the Christian man, being “the hart which panteth after streams of water” in Psalm 41; and even a figure of moral instruction as found in fable (the hart admiring himself in the brook, unaware of the threat of the hunter). Yet each of these aspects opens up a dimension in itself; the stag itself is a genuine, multi-dimensional allegorical figure. I now briefly examine the first three of these allegories, the last being the relationship of the figure of the stag and Christian baptism.

As the observer of the hunt in Boccaccio’s Caccia di Diana, he is “The Stag of Sensual Love”, and a subtle link along the humanistic line to Virgil:

Boccaccio places his cervine storyteller squarely in the tradition of secular love and the Amorous Chase, which descends, at least in part, from Virgil’s famous simile for Dido, wounded to desperation by Cupid, as she were a hind cruelly hunted.\(^\text{32}\)

Virgil, Aeneid IV: 68-73:
Unhappy Dido burns, and through the city wanders in frenzy – even as a hind, smitten by an arrow, which, all unwary, midst the Cretan woods, a shepherd hunting with darts has pierced from afar, leaving in her the winged steel, unknowing: she in flight ranges the Dictaean woods and glades, but fast to her side clings the deadly shaft.\(^\text{33}\)

In reference to early Christian bestiaries, writers found it was necessary that “to complete each entry in his zoological dictionary, or confront them in a Bible passage, an author had to moralize his animals. Sometimes the meaning was positive (in bono or in bonam partam) such as when a beast could be likened to Christ.”\(^\text{34}\) This was particularly true of the lion; when this animal “challenged the hunter, he was Christ, whom all good men should diligently pursue.”\(^\text{35}\) This has an interesting connotation in terms of Martin Luther’s view of the hunt. Luther condemns the hunt: “Das Bild der Jagd bedeutet den Teufel, der durch seine Nachstellungen und die gottlosen Lehrer, die Hunde, die harmlosen Thiere jagt [jagd]”; the Hirsch is never mentioned, only the “greulichen und schädlichen wilden Thiere, als Wölfe, Bären und wilde Schwein . . . Luther ist mit auf der Jagd gewesen, hat aber auch dort unter den Netzen und Hunden Theologie getrieben.”\(^\text{36}\) When placed in context with Bach “the theologian” – who as previously noted, owned two complete sets of Luther’s works – we can observe Bach the Humanist even more clearly; Luther appears to be condemning exactly what Bach is extolling: the hunt as a sport, and, no matter how Lutheran he may have been, he clearly disregards any theological interpretations in favor of his prince, with the title of Cantata 208, Was mir behagt, is nur die muntre Jagd!

\(^{32}\) Cassell and Kirkham, DH/CD, p. 39.
\(^{33}\) Quoted in DH/CD p. 20; the Latin text appears in DH/CD on p. 76.
\(^{34}\) DH/CD, pp. 14-15.
\(^{35}\) Ibid, p. 15.
\(^{36}\) Martin Luther, HPR col. 827; this interestingly contradicts with Luther’s definition of the Hunde, who is “Das treueste von allen Thieren . . . der dem Menschen nächsten kommt an Scharfsinn und Gelehrigkeit”, and who “versteht die Worte der Menschen”; ibid, col. 832.
Moving on to the stag, as the Christian man, we first take note of an ancient/classical motif of “stags consuming snakes”, and the forerunner of Christian bestiaries, a 2nd century text known as Physiologus [Figure 3.3]:

![Figure 3.3 – Stags consuming snakes. Pseudo-Oppian, Cynegestica, Greek, ca. A.D. 200. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Gr. Z. 479, fol. 27 v. Used by kind permission of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.](image)

In his metrical adaptation of the Physiologus – the earliest Christian bestiary – by Bishop Theobald, in 1492, we find that:

In his teaching on the stag, Physiologus says that he has two natural characteristics and allegorical interpretations. For with his nostrils he pulls out snakes, no matter what their size, from their holes in the earth or their hiding places in the rock; these he devours and, soon with the foul poison
seething up, he burns to run to the limpid waters of a spring. When it happens that he has drunk them, full of them, he overcomes the poisons, and rejuvenates himself as he casts off his horns.\textsuperscript{37}

Cassel and Kirkham then continue,

The stag, then, could stand for [the] Christian man, vulnerable to the poison of sin, signified by the serpent. Man cleanses himself of this defilement by seeking the Living Waters of Christ, just as the stag ran to the water brook.\textsuperscript{38}

Returning to the stag as the narrator in the \textit{Caccia di Diana}, the stag becomes placed in context of,

The semantics of baptism, which give a cervine identity to the poem’s narrator, [and] govern the whole allegorical apparatus of the \textit{Hunt}. If the stag must survive throughout, not so the rest of the animals, who enact to the letter baptismal death and rebirth. Many “old men” die to be reborn out of fire and water . . . The miracle of the group occurs when, at the ladies [i.e., the huntresses] petition, a small white cloud poises above, platform to a diminutive Venus. Her special words murmured over Diana’s holocaust elude the narrator. But no matter, what counts is what happens: “. . . every beast that had been set afire came forth from that blaze, changed into the form of a man, youthful, glad, and fair, all running over the greensward and flowers. And all of them entered into the brook; and as he came forth, each one was cloaked in a cloth of noble vermillion. Each was as fresh as a lily.” . . . Boccaccio’s message bespeaks of Christian renewal.\textsuperscript{39}

Thus, allegory can – and for the Baroque mind, \textit{did} – have multi-dimensional aspects, which, as we have seen, can apply to literature, art, and music. In order to understand how the humanistic aspects of Baroque education – i.e., Classical thought and rhetoric – are fused with the \textit{Musiklehre} of the Baroque, and how this informs the creative processes which shape the aesthetic nature of a composition, or group of works – in this case, a \textit{Bildprogrammatik} to Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos – one has to understand what I term the “Humanistic Vortex.”

\textbf{The Humanistic Vortex: Bach in the Lightfield of Baroque Thought}

The \textit{Chambre de Concert} at Potsdam was more than likely the actual location where Bach – then in his early sixties, and referred to by Frederick the Great, respectfully, as “old Bach” – performed for the said monarch on a Sunday, May 7, 1747, improvising a fugue on a theme given to him by Frederick himself; among the \textit{cognoscenti} of the king’s court, in a room/situation which was, as noted in Chapter 1, designed for “a particularly artistic compositional genre fully appreciated only by the connoisseur.” \textsuperscript{40}

This type of experience was not unlike that of those readers of Boccaccio’s \textit{Caccia}; the same principles by which \textit{Musiklehre} subsequently produced the aesthetic experience “. . . \textit{Ordnung}, \textit{Proportion, numerus, quantitas} . . . ” Der Vollkommenheitsgrad wächst mit der Nähe der dem Akkord

\textsuperscript{37} DH/CD, pp. 42-43.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 43.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 51.
\textsuperscript{40} Wohlfarth, JSB, pp. 69-70.
zugrundliegenden Proportion zur Unitas hin. Die Unitas signifiziert Gott\textsuperscript{41} [author’s emphases], can also be seen, reflectively, to pervade the literary realm of Boccaccio’s time as well:

\dots numerical harmonies inhered in the powerful aesthetic analogy between God’s creative activity as Author of the universe – which He had ordered “in measure, number, and weight (Wisdom 11:21 \textsuperscript{42}) – and the poet’s task as a “maker” of well-formed literary microcosms. An intellectual of Boccaccio’s age derived enhanced pleasure in reading precisely from seeking and finding those numbers artfully concealed by the author in his work, whose structural armature and contents they measure.\textsuperscript{43}

It was this same type of intellectual environment for which Bach arranged the works the composer titled as the \textit{Concerts avec plusieurs instruments}, drawing on (then) numerous of his own chamber works, as he later did with the arrangements of cantata movements that form the \textit{Schübler} chorale preludes, for which the number “6” had to imply that they were connected according to some aesthetic and/or musical scheme.

The place where musical rhetoric, “Musica Poetica” – in the Baroque derived from the Classical/Aristotelian principles which shaped ones verbal elocutions,\textsuperscript{44} the very same Latin ones that Bach had learned in Heinrich Tolle’s \textit{Rhetorica} and his studies of Cicero – meets the objects, ideas and/or conditions they are intending to portray, I here term the “humanistic vortex.” This “vortex” in which Bach had learned and worked was already being formed in early Baroque humanist circles, such as the Florentine \textit{Camara}:

Im Hause Grafen [Giovanni d’] Bardi\textsuperscript{45} findet sich ein Kreis gebildeter Musiker, Dichter und Philosophen mit dem Zeil, aus der Kenntnis literarischer Quellen des Altertums neue Impulse für die Gegenwart zu gewinnen. Eine erhebliche Rolle in den Gesprächsthemen spielt die Musik und ihr Verhältnis zur Sprache. Man unterhält sich italienische. Denn das Festhalten am Latien gilt in diesem platonisierenden Zirkel als Ausdruck scholastische(-aristotelischer) Denkwohnheiten oder als Bekenntnis zur gelehrteten Pflege der alten Sprachen im philosophisch-ästhetischen und historienden Geist des älteren Humanismus. Latien war die Buchsprache, die Welt- und Gelehrtensprache . . . .

So setzt gegen 1600 (vielleicht schon um 1580) in Italien eine Bewegung ein, die in der radikalen und programmatischen Stoffkraft, in der „aufklärerisch“ revolutionierenden Wucht ihres Vorgehens den Beginn des Barockzeitalters kennzeichnet. Mit aller Entschiedenheit richtet sich der neue italienische Stilwege gegen die Polyphonie, gegen den gelehrteten Kontrapunkt des 16. Jahrhunderts.\textsuperscript{46}

Simply, this means that the Classical principles and influences which shaped Bach’s early thinking, now come into play with the aesthetics of the court and the high-minded ideals of the hunt, automatically

\begin{footnotes}
\item[41] Dammann, MdB, p. 84.
\item[42] The text, in Luther’s translation (11:22) also appears on p. 86; it is reproduced here for convenience: “Aber du hast Alles geordnet mit M(ab)\textsuperscript{a}β, Zahl, und Gewicht. Denn groß Vermögen ist allezeit bei dir; und wer kann der Macht deines Arms widerstehen?”
\item[45] Giovanni Bardi served as patron of the \textit{Camerata} from approx. 1576-1600.
\item[46] MdB, pp. 104-105.
\end{footnotes}
demanding a sense of order and scheme. Conversely, when one views a set of works such as the Brandenburg Concertos, their deliberate organization into a specific number must imply some underlying relationship to the aesthetic of the place or places in which they were intended to be performed; the essence, or adequation between structure and theme (or spirit) is what must remain in the mind of the listener. The principles of Baroque Musiklehre can (and subsequently, mystic numbers) be shown to be analogous to the principles of architecture, thereby providing a conceptual link from the visual Bildprogrammatik to the musical one. Consider the following observations vis-à-vis, taken from Rolf Dammann, Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock, and a contemporary, Karl F. Wieninger, in Grundlagen der Architekturtheorie:

Dammann:

Werckmeister zitiert dafür Marsilio Ficino, den großen italienischen Humanisten, Arzt, und neuplatonischen Naturphilosophen der Renaissance . . . . Und beruft sich dann auf den augusteischen Architekturtheoretiker Vitruv, der versichert hatte, daß auch die Schönheit der Architectur in den musicalischen Proportionibus bestehe. – Für Aristoteles beruhte die Schönheit auf Größe und Ordnung . . .


Wieninger:

Die subjektiven Bedingungen eines Kunstwerkes sind alles das, was man Ästhetik gennant hat . . . . Die gesichtlichen Anfänge von Architekturtheorie und Musiktheorie gehen mit Zahlenmystik und Kosmogonien einher. Sicherlich waren da auch Erkenntnissweisen und Erkenntnisse vorhanden, die uns heute abgehen. Diese sind aber durch eine Kosmogenie mehr zu erwecken, weil unsere Wissensphäre viel zu dicht mit einzelnen Erkenntnissen besetzt worden ist, so daß die Induktion nicht mehr gelingen kann.

Träger der alten Kosmogonien ist der Demiurg, und es ist immerhin eine wichtige geistesgeschichtliche Feststellung, daß man bestrebt war, das Schöpferische in Musik und Baukunst durch mathematische Verfahren, welche man dem Weltbildner zuschrieb, zu sichern, die höchsten Kunstwerke also als originale Schöpfung betrachtete.

Dammann:

49 MdB, p. 85.
50 Ibid., p. 84.
51 Wieninger, GAT, p. 21.
52 Ibid., p. 20.
53 Ibid., p. 20.
Die Musik wird aufgrund ihres proportional durchgegliederten Fundaments als ein großartiges architektonisches Wunderwerk verstanden. Der Vergleich mit der Architektur begegnet sowohl in Hinblick auf die „forma“ der Musik, also auf ihre archetypische Gestalt, wie auch in dem jene Grundordnung abspiegelnden kompositorischen Einzelwerk.  

Wieninger:

Die objektiven, geistigen Bestandteile eines Kunstwerkes sind daher drei; deren niedrigster und deren zweiter stellen Ideen dar, der höchste, dritte, die universalia ante rem, nähmlich:

1. die Idee des materials, welche aus der gemäßen Anwendung des jeweiligen Stoffes, etwa Marmor, Holz, Bronze, Ölfarbe, Aquarell usw. in den visuellen, und Instrumetierung in den auditiven Künsten spricht.
2. die Ideen, welche in den verschiedenen daseindenden Gestalten, den zahlreichen Objetivationen des Willens auf allen ihren Stufen sich nierten; als da sind Pflanzen, Landschaften, Tiere, Menschen, und deren Charaktere. Dieser zweite Bestandteil fehlt bei der absoluten Musik und der absoluten Architektur.
3. die reine Form, welche das eigentlich Schöpferische trägt und die Würde der Kunst ausmacht, denn außer der Zeugung eines neuen Menschen vermag allein durch sie etwas völlig Neues, noch nie Dagewesenes zu entstehen; ganz allein in diesen beiden Weisen nimmt der Mensch aktiven Anteil an der Schöpfung.

Comenius held the premise that all is derived from nature, we can see the same concepts expressed in both architecture and music, and bringing us back directly to the “oneness” or Unitas to be experienced in the Baroque Chambre de concert:

Wieninger:

. . . wichtig ist daß aus einem geistigen Grunde, nicht au seiner konstruktiven Ursache, die von der Natur angeregte Form acquirit wurde. Erst war die Form da in der Planze; der sehende Mensch fand diesem seinem Geiste adäquat, belegte die Form mit einem Symbol, dieses wurde mit der Zeit entleert, aber es bleibt die Adäquation zwischen Menschengeist und Form – und das ist Architektur (author’s emphasis).

Dammann:


54 MdB, pp. 85-86.
55 GAT, p. 19.
56 Comenius, DM-2, p. 98.
58 MdB, pp. 266-267.
59 Ibid., p. 161.
In short, music and architecture are grounded in the mysteries of numbers (or “mystic numbers”), and the structure of both music and architecture are formed by mathematical operations. Architecture finds its beauty in musical proportion; ideas are derived from nature (in effect, the “naturphilosoph Prinzip”), and given expression through materials/substances (in the building-art) and through instrumentation (in the “auditve” art), shaped by the pure form (die reine Form), whereby one takes an active part in the work of the Creator/Demiurge. It is in the resulting representation (Darstellung) that is formed by the component parts (Bestandteile) that herein the Affekt is felt, in both absolute music (that without a formal program) and absolute architecture (that which is related to the space, and not preconditioned by social, cultural, or political concerns). The Brandenburg Concertos qualify as absolute music, since Bach did not in any way indicate any type of viable program, yet it is the order, structure, inherent allegories (depending on the perceptions of the observer/listener), and numbering (and any possible numerical symbolism) in the collection that allow it to be seen as a Bildprogrammatik.

In the last section of this chapter, I will propose six elements which contribute in shaping an overall Bildprogrammatik to the Brandenburg Concertos, and in turn, by which this Bildprogrammatik may be defined. In order to link the elements which shape the visual Bildprogrammatik with an aural/auditive one, we need first to examine precisely what constitutes a “Bildprogrammatik”, according to its use in art and architecture. The Margrave of Brandenburg’s central venue for musical performances - which Bach probably had in mind when he dedicated the six Concerts - would have been the Berlin Palace, demolished in the mid-twentieth century. We shall therefore again look to catalogue of art and sculpture assembled by Matthias Oesterreich for Frederick the Great’s residences at Sans-Souci and Potsdam.

Defining a “Bildprogrammatik

What are the elements that define a Bildprogrammatik? While numerous examples of Bildprogrammatiks exist – those that made up Frederick the Great’s art and sculpture collection at Sans-Souci palace being among of the most prominent examples – there appears to be no precise definition of exactly what constitutes a Bildprogrammatik, and the term itself appears to be more of a contemporary one, used to describe the aesthetic focus of a particular group of artworks, relative to the overall context and/or place in which these works are displayed:

In allen Bauvorhaben Friedrichs [the Great] lassen sich Reminiszenzen an die Antike sowohl in den Formen Architektur als auch in der Bildprogrammatik von Sculptur und Malerei finden.

60 One possible example of Bach’s writing of a genuine “program” piece would be the Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother, BWV 992.
Untersuchungen insbesondere der letzten Jahre haben deutlich gemacht, welch entscheidende Rolle hierbei programmatische Überlegungen spielten.\textsuperscript{62}

Since, as we have seen in Chapter 1, the principles which constitute a \textit{Vollkommenheitsgrad} are “. . . Das gilt für die Musik wie für die Malerie”, and serve to establish the \textit{Unitas} in both, we can therefore establish that the elements which constitute a \textit{Bildprogrammatik} are also the same for both (visual) art and music; thus, when the term is applied to (Baroque) music, it is relative not only to the arrangement of a given set of works, such as proposed here, the six Brandenburg Concertos, but also to the location and/or context in which the given work(s) were intended to be performed. As a contemporary term, the word \textit{Bildprogrammatik} does not appear in Baroque dictionaries or lexicons; I propose, therefore that we can establish a foundation for the term based on entries in Zedler’s \textit{Universal Lexicon}, published in Bach’s time, relative to the elements which make up the \textit{Musica rhetorica} of the Baroque:

Zedler defines the word(s) \textit{Bild, Bildniß, Ebenbild}\textsuperscript{63} as:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Imago, Effigies, Statua, effigie, Image, Portrait, Statue ist ein Werck, welches die geschichte Hand eines Künstlers einer Sache so ähnlich gemacht, daß man es entweder vor die Sache selbst hält, oder den dem Dinge, welches es vorstellen soll, sich einen klarren und dentlichen Begriff machen kann, von denen ersten Seiten an der gleichen Bilder verfertiget.} \textsuperscript{64} [author’s emphases]
\end{quote}

The word \textit{Programma/Programmata}, in Zedler’s definition, has to do with both public proclamations from the “alten Römische Rechten”, such as “Fürstliche Mandate, Edicte, Patente” etc., and also with academic writings presented in public, “Reden, Disputationen, Begräbnisse, etc.”\textsuperscript{65} Since the elements of Classical speech are those derived from Quintillian and Aristotle, being codified (for Bach’s time) in Tolle’s \textit{Rhetorica}, and in turn corresponding to the elements of Baroque \textit{Musica poetica} we can, ostensibly, equate Zedler’s definition of the term \textit{Programma} with the rhetorical construction of a Baroque musical work. Phillipe Herreweghe notes that:

Once the elements [of composition; i.e., “form of a piece . . . rhythmic character, its tempo, and its key”] are defined, the musical work moulds itself according to the pattern of a classical oration.
\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] \textit{EXORDIUM} : the introduction,
\item[b.] \textit{NARRATIO} : the orator sets forth the facts of the problem,
\item[c.] \textit{PROPOSITIO} : he states his thesis,
\item[d.] \textit{CONFUTATIO} : he gives the counter-arguments to his thesis,
\item[e.] \textit{CONFIRMATIO} : he restates his thesis in a reinforced form,
\item[f.] \textit{PERORATIO} : he concludes.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{62} Saskia Hünke, et.al., ANT-I, p. 67. The authors cite studies by Hans-Joachim Giersberg, Gerd Zuchold, and Saskia Hünke, but do not give specific details; ANT-I, p. 73, f.t. 2.
\textsuperscript{63} These are grouped together at the beginning of the same entry.
\textsuperscript{64} Zedler, ZUL, Band 3, B-Bi, col. 1824.
\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Ibid.}, Band 20, Pr-Pz, col. 779.
Surprising as it might seem, this mould is applied to every Baroque work of any length.\(^66\)

Walter Corten, in his article “Les Concertos Brandebourgeois: rhétorique et architecture” cites another example of this rhetorical framework in,

\ldots le plan du premier movement du *Troisième Concerto brandebourgeois*, décrypté par H. H. Unger selon des critères oratoires (author’s emphases).

\begin{itemize}
  \item mes. 1-8: Exordium
  \item mes. 9-15: Narratio
  \item mes. 16-46: Propositio
  \item mes. 47-118: Confutatio
  \item mes. 119-132: Confirmatio
  \item mes. 132-136: Peroratio \(^67\)
\end{itemize}

Thus, a *Bildprogrammatik* by these terms would be an image (or allegory) presented in public; since the broad realm of the “Figuvale Vorstellung sowie Allegorie, Emblematical und Symbolik” is the same for both “Musik und Malerei:”, \(^68\) and is a reflection of Classical thinking/speech, a *Bildprogrammatik* therefore could apply to a collection of music – such as the Brandenburg Concertos- as well as the visual arts.

In order to define the elements of a *Bildprogrammatik* which could then be applied to Bach’s concertos, let us look first *Dans la Bibliotheque de Sans-Souci*, where we find a relatively small, but important *Bildprogrammatik*:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 131. *Polignac*. Tête d’Homere. Demi-Buste de 28 pouces; ouvrage Grec du premier rang; marbre de Paros. Un connaisseur ne peut se lasser d’examiner & d’admirer ce morceau, qui doit être mis au nombre des plus belles Antiques des collections de l’Europe.
  \item 132. *P.* Demi-Buste d’un Philosophe; de 24 pouces; ouvrage Grec du second rang ; de marbre de Paros.
  \item 133. *P.* Socrate. Demi-Buste de 26 pouces de hauter; ouvrage Grec du second rang ; marbre de Paros.
  \item 134. *P.* Apollon. Demi-Buste de 24 pouces; ouvrage Romain du second rang; marbre de Carare.\(^69\)
\end{itemize}

\(^66\) Phillippe Herreweghe, “Bach and Musical Rhetoric.” Notes to accompany *J. S. Bach: Matthäus Passion/Philippe Herreweghe*. France: Harmonia Mundi 901155.57, 1984, pp. 26-33. Herreweghe specifically alludes to the opening chorus of BWV 244 (No. 1): a = bars 1-16; b = bars 17-38; c = bars 42-51; d = bars 57-71; e = bars 72-82; f = bars 82-90 (pp. 30-31). He also adds that, “If Bach’s music seems so obvious, so «logical» to the average listener, it is because its organization coincides with the articulation of spoken discourse, and therefore, with our way of thinking” (p. 31).


\(^68\) MdB, p. 84.

\(^69\) Oesterreich, O-Catalogue, p. 17.
Here we have four Demi-Bustes of similar height, representing the head of Homer, a philosopher, Socrates, and Apollo; essentially, the entire realm of Greek thought: ancient epic/mythology, philosophy, Socratic dialogue, and theology; interestingly approximating the “kosmologisches” (in the sense of something giving meaning to existence) “rhetorices”, “naturphilosophisches” (including reflection upon nature, from which all else springs)\textsuperscript{70} and “theologisches” principles of the Baroque Musiklehre.\textsuperscript{71} In this Bildprogrammatik there is order (all works are of the same form, in this case the Demi-Buste), proportion (the figures are 28, 24, 26, and 24 inches in height, respectively), number (four more than likely representing the four directions, depending on the placement of the busts in the library); and all contextualize with each other - highlighting the importance (or even superiority, for the royal mind) of Greek thought:

Die programmatischen Aspekte lassen sich dahingehend zusammenfassen, dass in der Bibliothek die Welt der Bildung ausschließlich auf griechischen Hintergrund projiziert erscheint, Römisches, dagegen absichtlich ausblieb Zusammen mit Apoll sind nur griechische, Intellektuelle‘ versammelt.\textsuperscript{72}

A more elaborate example can be found in the grouping of the “18 statues of 7 feet, 10 inches in height”, placed in front of the Galerie dex Tableaux at Sans-Souci mentioned in Chapter I/iii, representing a series of allegories, the first being “Un jeune hôte qui représente la culture des Beaux-Arts”; the second is “Une femme, couronnée de lauriers, qui représente la nature & la vérité dans les Beaux-Arts“. These are followed by figures representative of various allegories: “la Géométrie”, “l’imitation de la nature dans les Beaux-Arts”, “la vérité & la justesse dans les Beaux-Arts”, “Architecture”, “l’Astronomie”, “l’Optique relativement au Dessin & à la Peinture”, “la Géographie”, etc.\textsuperscript{73} The statues as noted, are all of the same height, and are all made of the same marbre de Caràre, and collectively are allegorical reflections on the nature and essence of the Beaux-Arts. The imposing array of this Bildprogrammatick serves as a portal to the twenty-five “Statues, Bustes & Bas-Reliefs” of the Galerie, itself a Bildprogrammatick of Classical Greek and Roman culture, including figures from mythology (Apollo, “Diane, représentée courant”, Antigone, Mars, Venus, Bacchus); political and military leaders such as “Adrien” (Hadrian) and “Marc-Antoine, en habit consbnulaire”; figures of “trois femmes nues”, “Une muse”, and a bas-relief representing,“plusieurs enfans qui jouvent de divers instruments” (perhaps an allegory of music?).\textsuperscript{74} In this gallery, the figures vary in size anywhere from six feet, seven inches, to several smaller works, ranging from only twenty-four to thirty-six inches; the wide range of subjects,

\textsuperscript{70} This is also found in Comenius’ Orbis, under “Philosophia /Philosophy”: “The Naturalist vieweth all the works of God in the World. The Supernaturalist searcheth out the Causes, & Effects of things”; Comenius/Bowen, OSP-E, pp. 206-207.
\textsuperscript{71} MdB, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{72} ANT-I, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{73} O-Catalogue. pp. 6-8.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., pp. 9-13.
from mythological/religious, to political, to sensual, and to musical implies the realm of human experience, and is manifested artistically not by use of a single form (i.e., a bust or demi-bust) with each piece of equal dimensions, but instead by an array of forms, contrasting in size, shape, and materials.

Using the specifications of these Sans-Souci groupings as a yardstick, I suggest that for a Bildprogrammatik to exist (or for one to be determined), a grouping of works of art or music must contain four principle characteristics:

1. Number (being symbolic) and order (proportion relative to number) must occupy a significant place in the overall design.
2. The given number and proportions must be relative to the whole.
3. Each individual part must be relative to the whole, so as to contribute to an overall theme.
4. In the case of Baroque works of art or music, it must project something of an intellectual nature, relative to the arts, history/mythology, the sciences, and/or religion.

Bach’s first encounter with the concept of a Bildprogrammatik – even if not so named at the time – was undoubtedly Comenius’ Orbis, a literal and figurative Bildprogrammatik in itself. Following the opening Invitatio, the students were first introduced to:

I. Gott / Deus / God
II. Die Welt / Mundus / The World
III. Der Himmel / Cælum / The Heaven
Followed by the elements:
IV. Das Feuer / Ignis / Fire
V. Die Luft / Aer / The Air
VI. Das Wasser / Aqua / The Water
VII. Die Wolken / Nubes / The Clouds
VIII. Die Erde / Terra / The Earth

And then on to:

IX. Erdgewächse / Terræ Fœtûs / The Fruits of the Earth
and so on. At the end of Comenius’ foray through all of human experience we find,

CXLVIII. Die Vorstehung Gottes / Providentia Dei / God[‘]s Providence
and finally,
Within the concept of the Bildprogrammatik, we find the humanistic link – within the Unitas – that connects Classical rhetoric and philosophy, Comenius, Baroque art, and the very principles of Musiklehre in Bach’s time. In the Bildprogrammatik, the humanistic macrocosm (the broad world of Baroque art and literature; analogously the universal) meets the humanistic microcosm (the worlds of Bach’s Classical education and musical poetics; analogously the individual):


. . . Der Mensch, als affektgesteuert und typischer Gegenstand der Musik, erstrebt die vollkommene (himmlische) Freude. 79

The „vollkommene himmlische Freude“, could, for Bach, represent a religious concept of salvation; for the royal (deist) mind, it represented the concepts of glory and immortality. It is with this aim, and with the principles mentioned in this chapter, that shall be used to define a Bildprogrammatik to the Six Brandenburg Concertos. The next section will consider the Brandenburg Concertos in this light.

The Brandenburg Concertos as a Set and as a Bildprogrammatik

I propose that in order to define the Brandenburg Concertos as a (conceptual) set, and subsequently as a Bildprogrammatik, we must first observe how Bach himself defines a set. Both number, order, and aesthetics (the latter including the theological element) figure prominently in Bach’s designs; that is, the cosmological element of Musiklehre: “Ordnung, Proportion, numerus, quantitas”, being fortified with the principles of rhetoric, nature-philosophy (the “Lebensgeister”80), and theology.

Michael Marissen notes that, “Part III of the Clavier-Übung (BWV 552, 669-89, and 802-5) is generally acknowledged to be a meaningful set, though it contains works of very widely differing styles

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76 My note: principles of order, proportion and number.
77 MdB, p. 80.
78 Ibid., p. 80.
80 Dammann MdB, p. 84.
The Clavier-Übung III is actually carefully organized, and theologically grounded. The opening E-flat prelude consists of three ideas (the three elements of the Dreieinigkeit / Trinität / Trias harmonica), beginning at mm. 1, 33, and 71, respectively. The main body of the work contains twenty-one chorales; twenty-one, according to Hirsch, “als Produkt von 7 und 3 = Glaube und Trinität interpretiert warden.” These are based on ten chorale themes, all on hymns from the Catechism (ten, or “X = Römische Zahl, auch Zeichen des Kreuzes – 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10”); each chorale treated in pedaliter, and a fughetta manualiter version (save for the three versions of Allein Gott in der Höh sei Her, which features a pedaliter chorale framed by two manualiter fughettas). Even the Vier duetti can be considered theologically; the number two always implying Christ (the dual, divine-human nature, as we have seen from the Hutter Catechism), and the number four representing the “Vier Teile der Welt.” The work concludes with the “St. Anne” triple fugue; again, emphasizing the number three. There are twenty-seven individual works in all, the number, according to Hirsch, meaning “Zahl der Bücher des Neuen Testaments, - Multiplikation von 3 x 3 x 3.”

As noted earlier the Orgelbüchlein are designed according to the seasons of the church year, and their number – forty-five – equals 4 + 5 = 9, the supreme Trinitarian number (and curiously, is the numerological sum of the words, Credo in unum deum). The keyboard suites, all grouped by six, each represent the summation of a particular musical style. Therefore the Brandenburg Concertos, again, by the fact that they represent Bach’s only orchestral music arranged as a set; by the fact that the set is a group of six (representing some type of summation, or completion); and by the fact that all six concertos, unlike Bach’s other works in sets of six, are all in the major key, sufficiently warrants their consideration both as a conceptual set, and also with an underlying Bildprogrammatik.

Reinhard Goebel, in “Die Brandenburgischen Konzerte”, takes the position of Bach as the “fünftes Evangelisten”, finding such symbolism as “der Trinität zur Unität (nähmlich der Unisono)” in the last movement of the Third Brandenburg Concerto, where the groupings of three violins, three violas, and three cellos play in unison. He also suggests that:

Das Hauptmotiv fast aller Rahmensätze basiert auf dem Dur-Dreiklang, der sowohl als “Abbild göttlicher Trinität” als auch durch seine Verwandtschaft mit dem Naturtönen der (dem weltlichen Herrscher vorbehaltenen) Trompete bedeutungstragend ist.

82 Hirsch ZKB, p. 52.
83 Ibid., p. 33.
85 ZKB, p. 54.
87 Ibid.
This proves an interesting position when considered vis-à-vis with Dammann’s observations on the projection of the “Trias musica” through the “göttliche Dreieck”, yet I suggest that Goebel’s argument would be better supported by alluding to the overall major-key scheme of the concertos, rather than the individual movements, some of which are not in the major key.

Michael Talbot, in his article, “Purpose and Peculiarities of the Brandenburg Concertos”, takes an entirely different angle; the ‘uncommonness’ (to use Wolff’s term) of the collection being the fact that Bach chose to submit to the Margrave a “manuscript set of orchestral works”, rather than a set of parts, “ready for performance”, as was the norm when a composer dedicated a group of works to a royal patron, yet does not address, as Pickett does, “the score as an object for study and contemplation.” Talbot outlines melodic similarities between the works, here being in the form of eight musical figures which “should be considered as repository of the thematic ‘matrix’ of the six compositions.” Talbot does consider key relationships relative to the overall set, but contends that one of the main characteristics linking the concertos is that, “... as the set progresses, the scoring becomes reduced and the tone more intimate and kammermusikalisch, until, in Concerto No. 6, the parts number only six and the high register is eschewed.”

Do the Brandenburg Concertos meet the four aforementioned specifications for a Bildprogrammatik?

Consider these preliminary observations:

1. **Number (being symbolic) and order (proportion relative to number) must occupy a significant place in the overall design.**

   The number six is highly significant, in terms of its definition (for Bach’s time) as the numerous mundanus \((1 + 2 + 3 = 6)\), and also in terms of the numerology of Bach’s time, suggesting as it does, a summation or completion.

2. **The given number and proportions must be relative to the whole.**

   Both the first three concertos and the second three concertos are marked by two concertos with “diverse” instruments, followed by a third one written exclusively for strings. As has been observed Talbot, the scoring of each concerto becomes lighter as the set progresses (from the first to the sixth) and the sixth concerto is written for low-voiced instruments.

3. **Each individual part must be relative to the whole, so as to contribute to an overall theme.**

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89 Pickett, PBC-1, p. 7.
Each of the concertos contains thematic material that relates in some way to all the others; each concerto is also in the standard *concerto grosso* form of fast-slow-fast, save the first concerto, with its additional *Menuet* section, as well as hunting themes, acting as a type of “centerpiece” to the other works.

4. *In the case of Baroque works of art or music, it must project something of an intellectual nature, relative to the arts, history/mythology, the sciences, and/or religion.*

In addition to the “hunt” *Programmatik*, each of the individual concertos may function polysemantically (increasing the possibilities for intellectual reflection) and (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5), each concerto has, in addition to the overall hunt theme(s), additional facets, both sacred and secular.

I now propose six main points which support this *Bildprogrammatik*, based on the influences of Bach’s early Classical education and the realm of courtly aesthetics:

1. The influence of Classical themes, particularly related to the hunt. This includes the figure of Diana (as mistress of the hunt) in Cantata 208 as a Classical paradigm for the royal hunt, as well as potential allegories relating to the victory and glory stemming from the hunt.

2. The influences of logic and rhetoric, with the individual components (movements), as well as the overall set (of the dedication score) following a rhetorical design.

3. The influence of the Baroque *Musiklehre*; which demanded attention to the cosmological (order, number, and quality); rhetorical (already mentioned); nature-philosophy (in this case, the hunt, and the symbolism of animals); and theological (the interplay of the sacred and the secular).

4. The aesthetics of the *Konzertzimmer*, which demanded a “high-minded” experience, intended for an intellectually elite audience; perchance in part indicated by why Bach sent a complete score – versus parts – to the Margrave, intending it as a conceptual set.

5. Specific correspondences between the secular and the sacred; and themes found the cantatas and vocal works relating to – albeit from a more theological standpoint – the hunt and the horn.

6. The influence and use of hunting-horn techniques and calls.

Chapters 4 and 5 will explore the latter two points in detail, going through each of the concertos in turn.
CHAPTER 4

The Crown of the Bildprogrammatik:
Brandenburg Concerto No. 1

_Diana and Her Nymphs Departing for the Hunt_, c. 1615.
Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577-1640) and workshop. Oil on canvas, 216.0 x 178.7 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund 1959.190. Used by kind permission of the Cleveland Museum of Art.
4. The Crown of the Bildprogrammatik: Brandenburg Concerto No. 1

Game and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness. And he, receiving it, rejoiced in the gift and, used it (. )

Xenophon
“On Hunting”,
Translated (from the Greek) by E.C. Marchant

Jagen ist die Lust der Götter,
Jagen steht den Helden an!
Weichet, meiner Nymphen Spötter,
weichet von Dianen Bahn!

J.S. Bach
Cantata BWV 208,
Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd

Jagd-Musik: The Instruments and the Ensembles of the Hunt

The importance of the courts and the Classical ideals which they held sacred have heretofore been repeatedly emphasized as being a major influence within the humanistic macro-microcosm of Bach’s world. All court philosophy, as well as manners and social graces were inculcated in the German aristocrat of the day by way of their experiences in the courts of France, and it is also from the French courts that we find imported the instrument most integral to the courtly Jagd: the cor-de-chasse, or hunting-horn [see Figure 4.1]:

[see next page]
Michel Garcin-Marrou notes:

The evolution of the horn, until the moment it reaches a permanent status amongst the instruments of the orchestra, is strongly connected with the history of the hunt, and of royalty. One most remember that, at the beginning, the hunt was the best war exercise in peacetime. Many treatises concerning the hunt (“la Vénerie”) have been written in France during the past centuries. Almost all the French Kings were huntsmen, and some were extremely dedicated to this activity.²

In fact, so important was the influence of the French court, that Frederick the Great had written, “Toute l’Allemagne y voyageoit [;] un jeune homme passoit pour imbécile, s’il n’avoit séjourné quelque temps à la cour de Versailles.”³ The hunting-horn – and subsequently the art surrounding it – had been brought to the German provinces by way of Bohemia through the efforts of Franz Anton, Count von Sporck, (1662-1738) who, as “Lord of Lissa, Gradlitz, Konoged, and Heřmaněstec, Imperial Privy Counsellor⁴ and Chamberlain, and Viceroy of Bohemia, represented the ideal Austrian nobleman and Bohemian cavalier of the period.”⁵ Sporck had encountered the instrument at the Court of Louis XIV,

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⁴ The spelling here is correct.
⁵ Ibid. p 11.
somewhere around 1680-1681, on a tour through the major courts of Europe, “at this period, still a single-coil instrument whose hoop was large enough to encircle the shoulders of the mounted sportsman.” Sporck was immediately attracted by the sound of the instrument, and “had two of his retainers taught to play it on the spot.”

It was Sporck himself who brought the cor-de-chasse and its art to Bohemia, with these two same players, Wenzel Sweda and Peter Röllig, as his prime artists, thus adding to an already impressive array of accomplishments as a huntsman (he was labeled the “Premier Huntsman of Europe”), and as a patron of the arts who established the first opera house in Prague, and also developed a Jägerchor which, “through its legendary perfection, stimulated the development of the German hunting-song . . .”

Also during the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715), the multi-coiled horn evolved, at the time, “mostly in D or low C, sometimes in B-flat basso” [see Figure 4.2]:

**Figure 4.2** – Parforce-Jagdhörner in C basso; reproduced from Fitzpatrick,

*The Horn and Horn Playing, and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680-1830*

by Horace Fitzpatrick.


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10 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12; the sentence continues, “epitomized in the ‘Hunting Chorus’ of Weber’s *Der Freischütz.*”
12 HHP, XIII (d), plates between pp. 138-139.
Sporck later sent his hunters for additional study in Paris, as did other royalty such as Elector Prince Max Emmanuel III of Bavaria, with each nobleman developing his own (often extensive) hunting ensembles as well as fanfares unique to these ensembles.\textsuperscript{13} Jagdmusik, as it came to be known, usually consisted of an ensemble of hunting-horns, sometimes an octet, as kept August(us) the Strong of Saxony, and Charles VI of Austria,\textsuperscript{14} being inspired perhaps by performances of Sporck’s own Jagdmusik and Jägerchor.\textsuperscript{15}

After 1700, an important development occurred, first implemented at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg no less (which had instituted the mounted hunt by way of Sporck’s influence \textsuperscript{16}), with the addition of oboes to the traditional horn-ensembles that comprised the Jagdmusik. Still later (after 1725) a Jagdmusik sometimes consisted of 2 horns, 2 oboes, and 2 bassoons.\textsuperscript{17} Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels, already had maintained this very ensemble as early as 1713, the year Bach composed the Jagd-Kantate, BWV 208.\textsuperscript{18} Wind bands – or more specifically, shawm bands, consisting principally of oboe and snare-drum players,\textsuperscript{19} were already in existence at the court of Louis XIV before 1689 (known as the Fifres et Tambours); thus oboe players were readily available for the evolving Jagdmusik ensembles.

It is a most interesting coincidence that the evolution of the hunting-horn seems to have run nearly parallel with the early life of J. S. Bach.\textsuperscript{20} It is difficult to believe that Bach, with his awareness of all the developments taking place in Italian and French music, and his deliberate efforts to cultivate all forms of music and encompass “every possible artistry”,\textsuperscript{21} not to mention his own background as a Thuringian,\textsuperscript{22} would not have been more than cognizant of all the trends taking place in the ensembles and music of the hunt, especially given his use of genuine horn-call techniques in the Jagd-Kantate. Bach also knew Count Sporck personally, having met him somewhere between 1718 and 1720, as a member of Prince Leopold’s entourage on trips to Carlsbad.\textsuperscript{23} Bach’s connections to the courts – and the aesthetics thereof,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid, p. 228.
\item \textsuperscript{14} NG, vol. 12, p. 753.
\item \textsuperscript{15} HHP, p. 19; “- it was a favorite boast of Sporck’s that his Jagdmusik and Jägerchor had performed for Charles VI and August the Strong.”
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{17} NG, vol. 12, pp. 753-754.
\item \textsuperscript{18} HHP, p. 54.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Susan Goertzel Sandman, “The Wind Band at Louis XIV’s Court.” \textit{Early Music}. Vol. 5, no. 1 (Jan. 1977), pp. 27-37. Collections of music written for this ensemble also included pieces for fifes, trumpets, and kettledrums, including hunt fanfares.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Pizka observes that probably started “around 1630-1650”, with the hornists reaching “a very high level around 1700”; H-L, p. 227.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Wolff, TLM, Chapter 5, beginning p. 117.
\item \textsuperscript{22} My thanks to Don O. Franklin for this observation; personal correspondence, February 15, 2012.
\item \textsuperscript{23} TLM, p. 210. Christoph Wolff mentions the parts to the early Sanctus, BWV 232iii were in Sporck’s possession, probably after 1727; \textit{ibid.}, p. 410. Bach’s actual notation was, “Die Parteyen sind Böhmen bey Graf Sporck; BD III, p. 638.
\end{itemize}
together with the high priority he placed upon court positions and court titles – possibly beginning with any connections he may have had made with the students of the *Ritter-Akademie* in Lüneburg24 – to his connections with the courts of Weimar, Cöthen, and Dresden, could only have predisposed him, when writing music for the royal hunt, and on as high an artistic level as possible. That the First Brandenburg Concerto contains not only an authentic Saxon horn-call, but is scored for horns, and includes a trio of oboes and a bassoon (the latter separate from the continuo part), is more than ample evidence, I suggest, to portray the First Concerto as an allegory for the royal hunt. It is interesting to observe that other works relating to the hunt written before and after Brandenburg 1, such as Johann David Heinichen’s *Concerto con 2 Corni da Caccia*, and Leopold Mozart’s *Jagd-Sinfonie (Sinfonia da caccia)* make use of horns (2 and 4, respectively), but not oboes. The third movement of the Heinichen uses figurations similar to those in the third movement of Brandenburg No. 1 [see Figures 4.3 & 4.4, and 4.5]:

![Figures 4.3](image)

Figure 4.3 – Johann David Heinichen, *Concerto con 2 Corni da Caccia, F-dur*, movement III, mm.1-5; OCT-10214 Concerto con 2 Corni da Caccia by Johann David Heinichen, edited by Kurt Janetzky, Continuo realization by Herman Jeurissen, © 1983 Edition Kunzelmann GmbH, [www.kunzelmann.ch](http://www.kunzelmann.ch)
Excerpts reprinted by permission of Edition Kunzelmann GmbH.

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24 TLM, p. 57.
The Heinichen work and Leopold Mozart’s Sinfonie use 2 and 4 horns, respectively; one cannot also help but observe that the latter concludes with a Menuet, much in the same way as Brandenburg No. 1.
I believe that Bach’s work suggests his emulation of the royal hunting ensembles. Add to this, the dating of the First Concerto, particularly if one considers it relative to both Bach’s visit with the Margrave and the earlier developments in Brandenburg. I suggest implies the influences and techniques from the Brandenburg ensembles upon Bach’s instrumentation. Nikolaus Harnoncourt notes, “Auch die ersten Spieler für Bachs Konzert dürften wohl reisende Jäger-Virtuosen (mounted huntsmen) gewesen sein; jedenfalls wird dies durch ihr Entrée im ersten Tutti, eine echte Jagdfanfare bei der die Achtelnoten dem jagdlichen Triolenrhythmus angepaßt warden, sehr deutlich gemacht.” This becomes all the more convincing when one considers the use of the horns and oboes in the first and third movements, and the final Trio of horns and oboes. In using the horn, Bach not only reflected the high courtly ideals represented by the Cor de chasse, but also extolled the French culture from which it came – evident all the more by the French dedication of the presentation score to “Crétien Louis.”

Hunting-Themes in Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 and the Jagd-Kantate

In the entry on the Brandenburg Concertos in the Oxford Composer Companions: Bach, Michael Marissen says that the First Concerto “must have made a sensation the first time it was heard”, with the “loud greetings from the hunting horns – outdoor instruments probably never before heard in the elegant chamber music rooms where Bach’s concertos were performed – clash rhythmically and harmonically.” First impressions notwithstanding, the truth is that it is not known when the first performance took place (since the Margrave’s ensemble presumably never played the concertos). Bach did perform the work at Cöthen in 1722, and later used the first movement as the sinfonia to Cantata BWV 52, on 24 November 1726, in Leipzig, in a version without the solo violin (BWV 1046a). Another truth is that by the 1720s, it would not have been at all unusual to find the hunting-horn not only in the royal chamber de concert (Sporck had introduced the instrument into his court orchestra many years before). But in the church as well, as can be seen by its use in some of Bach’s earliest Leipzig cantatas, such as the first movement to Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde, BWV 83. Bach’s orchestration here is not unique to Brandenburg 1, with the use of horns, oboes, and violin concerto, but can be found in selected of Vivaldi’s concerti, particularly the Concerto in G minor, F. XII, no. 33 [see Figures 4.6 and 4.7]:

26Michael Marissen, in OBC, p. 89.
28Fitzpatrick, HHP, p. 59; Michel Garcin-Marrou has suggested that “Single coil horns seem to have been used for the first time in the “comédie-ballet” La Princesse d’Elide by Lully and Molière given in Versailles, on 7 May 1664. The score contains an “Air des Valets des Chiens et des Chasseurs avec des Cors de chasse.”; Garcin-Marrou, ibid., p. 31.
29The opening of BWV 83 contains a near-similar instrumentation to the First Brandenburg Concerto: corno I and II, oboe I and II, violin concertate, strings and continuo; see also p. 215.
Figure 4.6 – Vivaldi, Concerto in G Minor, F. XII, no. 33, movement 1, mm. 1-5 [G. Ricordi & C., Tomo 249, p. 1; Public Domain].

Figure 4.7 – Vivaldi, Concerto in G Minor, F. XII, no. 33, movement 1; entry of the horns at mm. 13-15; [G. Ricordi & C., Tomo 249, p. 3; Public Domain].

Yet what makes the first movement of Brandenburg 1 unique by contrast is the juxtaposition of triplets and sixteenths; in the words of Gilles Cantagrel, “par lesquelles se singularisent les deux cors en un merveilleux effet de « cacophonie » cynégétique” des mouvements de l’âme.\(^\text{30}\)

The Saxon horn call at the beginning of Brandenburg 1 can be found in earlier Baroque works, such as the Overture to Ziani’s opera, *Meleagro*, written by J. J. Fux; note the triadic outline in each of the following examples [see Figures 4.8 and 4.9]:

**Figure 4.8** – 18th century greeting call. 31

**Figure 4.9** – Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, movement I, opening.

**Figure 4.10** – Ziani/Fux, *Meleagro*, opening, Corno da caccia parts; reproduced from Fitzpatrick, 32 [Permission arranged].

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31 The example is reproduced in Marissen, SRD, p. 23; Boyd, p. 13; and HHP p. 62.
32 HHP, p. 61.
The subject of *Meleagro* is a boar hunt, yet the use of the Saxon hunting-call here is equally relevant to Brandenburg No. 1 as an allegory for the hunt, since the royal hunt concerned not only the stag, but many different types of animals, including the boar, as this detail from the painting, *Hunting near Hartenfels Castle*, by Lucas Cranach the Elder, attests [Figure 4.11]:

![Hunting Near Hartenfels Castle](image)

*Figure 4.11 – Hunting Near Hartenfels Castle*, 1540 (detail).
Lucas Cranach the Elder (German, 1472-1553).
Oil, originally on wood, transferred to masonite; 116.8 x 170.2 cm.
Used by kind permission of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

We also can find exactly the same horn call in several of Bach’s sacred cantatas, played by both the *corno da caccia* and the *tromba*, such as these movements from Cantatas BWV 127 and 143, respectively [see Figures 4.12 and 4.13]:

127
Saxon horn call in Tromba:

![Image of musical notation]

Saxon horn call:

![Image of musical notation]

Figure 4.12 – Cantata BWV 127/iv, mm. 1-7. BG, vol. XXVI, p. 153, [Public Domain].

[see next page]
If, as has been suggested by both Boyd and Marissen, the first movement of Brandenburg I (in its earliest form, the Sinfonia, BWV 1071) was used as the sinfonia to the Jagd-Kantate,\textsuperscript{33} then its first performance might have been at the hunting lodge in Weissenfels in 1713, where, as noted earlier, Duke Christian kept a hunting ensemble of two horns, two oboes, and two bassoons. This seems highly improbable however, since the BWV 1071 suggests a stage of development after Bach had come under

\textsuperscript{33}Boyd, BBC, p. 12-14; Boyd actually debates the pros and cons of the use of the Penzel Sinfonia (BWV 1071) or perhaps another pre-existing version as the Sinfonia to BWB 208. Marissen on the other hand, suggests a specific connection in his article, “On Linking Bach’s F-Major Sinfonia and his Hunt Cantata.” \textit{Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute}, vol. XXIII/2 (1992), pp. 31-46.
the influence of Vivaldi, and, having “signal[ed] the adoption in 1713-14 of the modern Italian concerto type.”

There is also no precise date as to the origin of BWV 1071; as in the sinfonia arrangement for Cantata BWV 52 (BWV 1046a), it does not contain the solo violin (violino piccolo) part; and the first version of the concerto as a whole does not appear before 1717. An altered version of the Jagd-Kantate was performed for the name-day of the King of Poland in 1733, and another version (BWV 208a) for the Elector’s name-day on 3 August 1748, so it is reasonable to postulate that it might possibly have been used as a sinfonia to the Jagd-Kantate, given the similar instrumentation and use of horn-calls, as well as having the same key as the cantata – but there appears to be no direct evidence of a connection in terms of performance – between the two works, or of Bach’s necessarily having any intention thereof.

What can be established between the concerto and the cantata is a use of horn-calls and playing techniques that clearly show the composer’s knowledge of the hunting-horn and its music. Boyd suggests that there is a similarity between the aforementioned Saxon horn call and the opening recitative of BWV 208 [Figure 4.14, below]:

![Figure 4.14 – Jagd-Kantate, BWV 208, opening line.](image)

Apart from the triadic outlines, another characteristic of horn-calls is that the range of the call usually falls within an octave; see Figures 4.15, 4.16, and 4.17:

![Figure 4.15 – Signal „Hornruf der Falkner“, reproduced from Pöschl, Jagmusik; Notenbeispiel 160, p. 195. Reproduced by kind permission of Musikantiquariat und Verlag Prof. Dr. Hans Schneider OHG.](image)

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34 Wolff, TLM, p. 126.
36 HHP, p. 58.
37 TLM, p. 362.
The triadic outlines and octave ranges of these early horn calls are largely due to the fact that the first ten partials of the early horn only accommodated the fundamental, two fifths, two octaves, two thirds, and one seventh, and one ninth (low) C2 – c3 – g3 – (middle) c4 – e4 – g4 – b-flat4 – c5 – d5, and e5. Cecil Forsythe note that “a player on the old Hunting Horn or Military Trumpet had a repertoire of 11 healthy and 4 decrepit notes only” (extending to the 16th partial, c6; the “decrepit” notes being b-flat4, f5, a5, and

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39 Clewing, MuJ, p. 262. The translation appears in Appendix C.
b-flat\textsubscript{5}).\textsuperscript{40} This also further supports the case, I believe, for the Brandenburg Concertos as a Hunt-
programmatik. All of the concertos contain melodic outlines of triadic notes [see Figures 4.18 and 4.19].

Why would Bach, having the availability of virtuoso players (and conceiving a set for presumably an elite,
virtuoso orchestra), limit the melodic outlines to triadic figurations, all in the major key, unless they
represented some underlying, connected theme, in this case, one that is so easily correlates with the horn
and the hunt?

1. Brandenburg Concerto No. 1/i:

![Figure 1](image1)

2. Brandenburg Concerto No. 2/i:

![Figure 2](image2)

3. Brandenburg Concerto No. 3/i:

![Figure 3](image3)

4. Brandenburg Concerto No. 4/i:

![Figure 4](image4)

Figure 4.18– Themes from opening movements of Brandenburg Concertos 1-6.
Copyright © 1932 by C. F. Peters Corporation. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

notes of the trumpet to great effect in No. 7 of the Weimar Christmas Cantata, \textit{Christen, ätzet diesen Tag}, where the
words, “Aber niemals mehr geschehn, daß uns Satan, möge quälen”, where the devil’s influence is allegorized by
an out-of-tune passage on the trumpet. The first trumpet plays a high b-natural against the oboe I’s tritone f-natural,
then a high b-flat against the oboe’s tritone e-natural, followed by the notes a\textsubscript{5} - g\textsuperscript{\#} - f-naturals, the a\textsubscript{5} and the f-
naturals being the out-of-tune 13th and 11th partials. My thanks here to Prof. Tom Ward, for his observations
regarding the horn partials, and to Prof. Ton Koopman, for his elucidations on Bach’s use of the trumpet.
5. Brandenburg Concerto No. 5/i:

![Brandenburg Concerto No. 5/i](image1)

6. Brandenburg Concerto 6/i:

![Brandenburg Concerto 6/i](image2)

Figure 4.19 – Themes from opening movements of Brandenburg Concertos 1-6. Copyright © 1932 by C. F. Peters Corporation. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

We can also observe this triadic outline, again in the corno da caccia, in the chorus “Lebe, Sonne dieser Erden” from BWV 208/xi [Figure 4.20]:

Corno I ↓ Corno II ↓

![Cantata BWV 208/xi](image3)

Figure 4.20 – Cantata BWV 208/xi, mm. 10-13; from top: corno I, corno II, violin I, violin II, viola, SATB, continuo. BG vol. XXIX, p. 19, [Public Domain].
Another technique, found used prominently – and most appropriately – in Diana’s aria, “Jägen ist die Lust der Götter, (BWV 208/ii), is a “jerking” rhythm, known in horn playing as *tayauté* [see Figures 4.21 and 4.22]:

![Figure 4.21 – “Single and double ‘jirking’ or ‘tayauté’”; reproduced from “Jadgmusik” in NG, vol. 12, p. 753.

*Figure 4.21 – “Single and double ‘jirking’ or ‘tayauté’”; reproduced from “Jadgmusik” in NG, vol. 12, p. 753.

*Figure 4.22 – *Tayauté* figures in m. 4, from Cantata BWV 208/ii. BG, vol. XXIX, p. 3, [Public Domain].

*Tayauté* may be played on either the upper or lower auxiliary (*trille* or *mordant*) and as we shall see in Chapter 5, also figures prominently in Brandenburg Concerto No. 3.

Another hunt-call technique that can be seen in both BWV 208 and Brandenburg No. 1 is the use of repeated notes known as the *roulé*, which “est une sorte de coup de langue souvent employé dans les fanfares pour le trompe de chasse.” We can see the technique immediately in the *Corni* I and II at the beginning of the first movement of Brandenburg 1, with the repeated triplet eighth notes as part of the horn call, in mm. 2-3 [see Figure 4.23].

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41 Normand, MTN, p. 3; see also Chapter 5, p. 245.
42 MTN, p. 4.
Roulé rhythms as part of Saxon horn call:

Bach later expands upon the idea to include sixteenths, at mm. 27-32, [see Figure 4.24]:

[see example on next page]
The roulé rhythms can be found again in movement 3 of Brandenburg No. 1, first punctuating the opening horn motive at m. 4, and then again at mm. 12-13 and mm. 16-17, returning to the more traditional three-note (eighth) roulé rhythm at mm. 27-30.

The Jagd-Kantate also contains a variety of horn calls/techniques, from the aforementioned triadic line of Diana’s opening recitative, to the triadic outlines and tayuté rhythms of her succeeding aria [see Figure 4.25]:

[see example on next page]
In the final chorus to BWV 208, Bach appears to playfully expand upon yet another technique, known as the *coupe de langue simple*,\(^\text{43}\) derived from the 6/8 patterns of the horn-calls, by tying the notes over the bar in coupled with the roulé rhythms [see Figure 4.26].

In light of the consistent use of horn calls and techniques in both Brandenburg No. 1 (which sets the stage – the crown of the *Bildprogrammatik* as it were – for the concertos that follow in the layout of the dedication score) and in the earlier *Jagd-Kantate*, even though Bach may not have intended the two to be related, I suggest that it remains a “justifiable liberty” to include the *sinfonia* (BWV 1046a) version of the first movement of Brandenburg 1 as the sinfonia to BWV 208. In the context of multi-dimensional allegory, I continue this discussion with a look at the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1 from the point of view of its use as the *sinfonia* to Cantata BWV 52, *Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht*.

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\(^{43}\) The *coupe de langue simple* is described in MTN, p. 5.
Polysemantics II: Multi-dimensional Allegory

In *Polysemantics I: Baptism and the Stag* in Chapter 3, we saw how the figure of the stag, evolving from Diana’s Hunt, becomes an allegory for the Christian man, represented in Psalm 42 as “the hart that panteth after streams of water”, the water being the “Wasserbad” or baptism through which the stag
emerges – exactly as in Boccaccio’s *Caccia di Diana*, as the redeemed Christian man; again the lines from Canto 17, vs. 37-45:

... every beast that had been set afire came forth from that blaze, changed into the form of a man, youthful, glad, and fair, all running over the greensward and flowers. And all of them entered into the brook; and as he came forth, each one was cloaked in a cloth of noble vermillion.

At first glance, Bach’s use of the horn-laden, hunt-themed first movement of Brandenburg 1 as the *sinfonia* (BWV 1046a, sans violino piccolo/concertante) to Cantata BWV 52, *Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht*, does not seem to in any way reflect the cantata’s text, or the readings for 23. *Sonntag nach Trinitas* (Trinity XXIII), for which it was written:

Phil. 3:17-21 (Our citizenship is in heaven)  
Mt. 22:15-22 (The Pharisees try to trap Jesus with the Question: “Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar?”)  

Yet, particularly in light of all we have observed about Bach’s humanistic – not to say theological – mode of thought, why would he put so substantial an overture, longer in itself than any other of the work’s remaining five movements, on so short a work unless it had some theological relevance? The horns, outside the *sinfonia*, do not appear again until the final chorale, “In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr”, and the three oboes, aside from doubling the soprano (I, II) and alto (III) in the final chorale, are used only in the soprano aria, “Ich hält es mit dem lieben Gott.” The *Sinfonia*’s inclusion can hardly be justified in terms of practicality. First, it would have no doubt been easier for Bach to have written a new, shorter sinfonia, such as he did for Cantatas BWV 12, 21, 156, or 182 than revise an extensive concerto movement. Second, the rhetorical training from Bach’s schooldays, along with the humanistic vortex, would have predisposed him to have some significant purpose in using a work composed nearly ten years earlier:

On sait en effet aujourd’hui à quel point tous les musiciens du « Baroque », et en particulier ceux de la fin du XVIIe siècle et du début du XVIIIe, se préoccupaient de rhétorique (ne trouve-t-on pas Bach évoqué en note dans une traduction d’époque de *L’art oratoire* de Quintilien?). La macrostructure d’une œuvre, l’articulation de son discours musical, tout en jeu d’allusions et de symbolique . . . relevaient d’un code admis et connu de tous, et cela jusqu’au sein des œuvres purement instrumentales: toute musique s’énonce alors comme un discours, véhicule des mouvements de l’âme.  

Bach already had composed two cantatas for that particular Sunday, Trinity XXIII, BWV 139, *Wohl dem, der sich auf seinen Gott*, from his first Jahrgang cycle in 1724, and an even earlier one, BWV 163,

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Nur jedem das Seine from his Weimar days, in 1715, neither of which use the horn.\footnote{The instrumentation for BWV 163 is only strings and continuo; BWV 139 incorporates two oboe d’amore.} We can begin to find an answer by looking at the opening lines of the soprano recitative (BWV 52/ii):

\begin{quote}
Falsche welt, dir trau ich nicht!
Hier muß ich unter Skorpionen
Und unter falschen Schlangen wohnen.
\end{quote}

The third line, Und unter falschen Schlangen wohnen corresponds to Ezekiel 2:6b,

And you, son of man, do not be afraid of them nor be afraid of their words, though briers and thorns are with you and you dwell among scorpions; do not be afraid of their words or dismayed by their looks, though they are a rebellious house.


\begin{quote}
Behold, I give you the authority to trample on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, and nothing shall by any means hurt you.
\end{quote}

Serpents and scorpions are, of course, carriers of poison; it is however, through the serpent that sin came into the world; Luther notes that man (mankind) was lost through,

\begin{quote}
. . . der alten Schlange, des Teufels, Biß und Gift . . . Durch die Schlange im Paradies redet der Teufel. In der Schlange hat der Geist gesteckt, welcher der unschuldigen Natur feind gewesen . . . Vor der Sünde ist die Schlange das schönste Thierlein und dem Menschen lieb und angenehm gewesen.\footnote{Luther, HPR, col’s 1608 and 1607, respectively.}
\end{quote}

According to Melvyn Unger, this also corresponds to Genesis 3:1, 4, 13:\footnote{Unger, ibid. p. 180.}

Now the serpent was more cunning than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said to the woman, “Has God indeed said, ‘You shall not eat of every tree of the garden’?”

Then the serpent said to the woman, “You will not surely die.”

And the LORD God said to the woman, “What is this you have done?”
The woman said, “The serpent deceived me, and I ate.”\footnote{Adaptation of the text quoted from Unger, ibid; Unger’s text appears in English.}

The serpent of course appears in the Garden of Eden, but, according to the allegories depicted by Baroque artists of this scene, so does another figure: the stag [see Figure 4.27].
As noted in Polysemantics I, it is the “aged” stag who pulls the snakes/serpents from their hiding places, and, having consumed the poisonous reptiles, then purifies itself from the waters of the river, becoming itself the (allegory for the) Christian man; in the Garden of Eden, the stag is, as in the Caccia di Diana, an observer of the scene; it is also the symbol of baptismal death and rebirth. If we wish to see Bach’s use of the music of the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1 in the light of multi-dimensional allegory in the score of BWV 52 - i.e., the horns reflecting the hunt, the hunt reflecting the stag, and the stag symbolizing Christian redemption - we need to take a deeper theological step to connect the Garden of Eden with the reading from Philippians 3: (17-) 20-21:

3:20: But our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.
3:21: He will transform the body of humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, by the power that also enables him to make all things subject to himself. (NRSV)

Luther translates the Greek word πολίτευμα (citizenship) as Wandel (change); the passages at Philippians 3:20-21 appear in Luther’s translation in bold-face type:

3:21: Welcher unsern nichtigen Leib verklären wird, daß er ähnlich werde seinem verklärten Leibe, nach der Wirkung, damit er kann auch alle Dinge ihm unter(h)ändig machen.

According the Luther, this passage at 3:20 is not about birthright (citizenship), but about change, or transformation (in the Lutheran sense) linking it to the passage at 3:21. This is also part of Luther’s own theologia crucis (Theology of the Cross). Luther explains Wandel as,


Alister McGrath explains,

Everything which is concerned with the theologia crucis hinges upon faith. Only those who have faith understand the true meaning of the cross . . . As Luther himself emphasised, 52 faith is the only key by which the hidden mystery of the cross may be unlocked . . . 53

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51 HPR, col. 1939.
52 This is McGrath’s spelling.
The link to the Garden of Eden is clearly explained by Fr. Sergius Bulgakov:

Out of the side of the old Adam was created woman, who tempted him to fall. But the wound delivered to humankind from Adam’s side is healed by the wound in Jesus’ side. They sanctify this world as a pledge of future redemption.  

Thus the Sinfonia to BWV 52 may be seen, in the context of the horn-hunt-stag-Christian redemption motifs as multi-dimensional allegory; justified even further by Bach’s specific adaptation of it from the first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1. Further supporting this claim is a reference to

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Philippians 3:21 which appears in Cantata BWV 128 / 2, written for the Feast of the Ascension [see Figure 4.28]:

The first movement (and title) of the cantata, *Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein* proves yet another example of multi-dimensional allegory, where the opening chorus is scored with virtually the same instrumentation as BWV’s 1060/1071, (except using oboe d’amore and oboe da caccia in place of oboes II and III). Like Brandenburg I, it contains two extensive virtuosic horn parts, and the poetics are the same as Brandenburg I, victory and glory, albeit within a theological context [see Figure 4.29]:

\[\text{Figure 4.28 – Cantata BWV 128, movement 2,}
\]
\[\text{*Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, vol. 1:12, p. 119.}
\]
\[\text{Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel.}\]

I now examine Bach’s most prescient theological use of the horn and hunting-calls, the *Quoniam tu solus sanctus* from the B Minor Mass.
The Horn and the Bassoon: from Menschenkind to Divinity

In 1713 at the court of Weimar, Bach directed a performance of a *Markuspassion* by his slightly older contemporary, Reinhard Keiser, and as late as 1748 directed a *Passion pasticcio* with music by both Keiser and Handel. Bach composed additional music for Keiser’s *Markus-Passion*, which was performed in Leipzig in 1726, and Keiser supplied the Gospel recitatives and *turbae* for Bach’s now-lost *Markuspassion*, performed in Leipzig in 1731, thus Bach was certainly familiar with Keiser’s work. More likely than not, he probably knew Keiser’s opera, *Octavia*, which contains the first-known use of horns in an opera score, as seen here in Nero’s opening aria, “La Roma trionfante” [Figure 4.30, below]:

![Figure 4.30](image_url)

One immediately observes that these fanfares resemble the Saxon horn-call found in Brandenburg No. 1. Keiser also makes a unique use of bassoons, using two (plus continuo) to accompany Clelia’s aria, *Holde Strahlen*, and five (plus continuo) in Octavia’s aria *Geloso sospetto*. Keiser’s influence may

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57 The additional music, consisting of three chorales, appears in NBA II/9, pp. 75-77.
60 Philip Pickett has suggested that the horns in Brandenburg No. 1 allegorically represent the triumphal entry of Nero, accompanied by the Roman *cornu*; Pickett, PBC-1, pp. 7-8.
61 The libretto of *Octavia*, although primarily in German, also has several arias in Italian.
certainly have played a role in Bach’s own use of these instruments, yet Bach’s use of these instruments is even more unique, with a powerful theological underpinning.

The instrumentation of the basso aria, *Quoniam tu solus sanctus*, from the *Messe in H-moll*, BWV 232, provides us with one of the most singular examples of scoring in all of Bach’s works, where the solo bass line is accompanied by a solo *corno da caccia*, *fagotto I*, *fagotto II*, and continuo; the aria also marks the one and only appearance of the *corno da caccia* in the whole of BWV 232. Bach rarely calls for a solo *fagotto* line; it appears only sixteen times throughout the cantatas: in the sinfonias to Cantatas BWV 42 and 52; in the bass and tenor arias (no’s 5 and 6) in BWV 143; in the opening chorus, and in the alto/tenor duet (no. 6) in BWV 149; as an *obbligato* instrument in six of the seven movements of BWV 150; in the alto/tenor duet (no. 2) in BWV 155; in the tenor aria (no. 4) in BWV 177; in the bass aria (no. 6, “Post Copulationem”) in BWV 197; and in the final chorus (no. 15) of the *Jagd-Kantate*, BWV 208, where it alternates between an independent solo line and doubling the continuo. In no other of Bach’s works can be found a combination of two solo bassoons.

Thus Bach’s use of two *fagotti* in the *Quoniam* to BWV 232, written on two independent lines (independent of the continuo part), and in counterpoint with a solo horn makes for a singular combination in Bach’s oeuvre, and also one that has a significant theological meaning. As we noted in Chapter 2, in accordance with Hutter’s catechism, the number *two* implies the two distinct natures of Christ, man and divinity. But now we have the descending lines of horn; we observed Fitzpatrick’s comment in Chapter 2, that “in the ‘Quoniam’ of the B Minor Mass the horn’s affective connotation of worldly Tugend underscores the image of God marching into the world”, suggesting that the horn represents, allegorically, the descent of divinity into the flesh, on the words *Quoniam tu solus sanctus* (For you alone are holy) [Figure 4.31, p. below]:

[see example on next page]

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62 This refers only to the *fagotto* as a solo instrument, and not the *fagotto* appearing on an independent line as a continuo instrument. Where the *fagotto* part does appear on its own line, such as in the opening chorus to Cantata BWV 186, *Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht*; here it is exclusively part of the continuo group (save for two notes in m.13, reinforcing the cadence), and only playing when in combination with the oboe I, II, taille group.

63 Fitzpatrick, HHP, pp. 20-21.
Fitzpatrick also notes “Hunting-Call Figures”, passages such as the following, interestingly and example of the roulé figures/rhythms\textsuperscript{64} [Figure 4.32, below):

\begin{quote}
\textit{Roulé} rhythms in Corno da caccia:
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., p. 20.
It was noted in Chapter 2 that *Tugend* for Bach must have a theological meaning, making Fitzpatrick’s observation about the horn’s “worldly *Tugend*” somewhat problematic, since what is represented in the *Quoniam* is not worldly virtues, but theological ones; Luther explains,

Gott allein verdankt man den Glauben, die Hoffnung, die Liebe, daher sie den auch die theologischen Tugenden genannt werden . . . Die äusserlichen Tugenden und ein ehrbarer Wandel sind nicht Christi Reich noch himmlische Gerechtigkeit, sondern eine Gerechtigkeit des Fleisches . . . Die Tugenden Gottes sind, daß Christus durch Gottes Kraft den Tod verschlungen hat, die Hölle zerstört, die Sünde erwürgt und uns gesezt in das ewige Leben.65

Luther’s reference to the kingdom (Reich) of Christ has a direct connection with the horn as a symbol. From a theological/biblical perspective, the horn can be a considered as a musical instrument,66 yet according to Luther, a horn symbolizes both power and divine reign: “Ein Christ nimmt das Horn des Reiches Christi und stößt damit zu Boden Tod, Sünde und Teufel; aber steht nicht in unserer Macht, sondern Gott hat es aufgerichtet durch das Predigtamt.”67 This corresponds with the text of the *Quoniam*, proclaiming Christ as *tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus*. We also observed in Chapter 2, that not only is this Bach’s only use of the horn in the whole of BWV 232, but that we also find a musical figure that occurs only a single time in the entire mass, that of the triad, f#’ – a’ – d’ in the horn part (the *Trinitarisch-triadischen Dreieck*) spaced over three bars, and coming exactly with the bass’s opening words, *Quoniam tu solus* (mm. 13-15). I suggest that just as the two bassoons allegorically represent the two natures of Christ, the horn represents the singular, divine power found in “the only one,” as well as being symbolic of the kingdom (Reich) come down to earth.

I also suggest that Bach’s use of the horn portrays him as distinctly humanist; he easily caters to the nobleman’s “theology” of worldly virtues in Brandenburg No. 1, while at the same time able to give voice to his own theological/Lutheran beliefs with the use of the same instrument in the B Minor Mass.

Bach’s unique compositional methods now lead to the question of his use of a *Menuet* within the *concerto grosso* form, as seen in the fourth movement of the First Brandenburg Concerto.

**The Jagd-Tanz: The Menuet of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1**

The placing of the *Menuet* at the end of the First Concerto invariably raises the question as to its purpose and/or function, and answers to this question vary widely. Nicholas Anderson suggests it is a group of “stylized dances”, which “gives this concerto a strong French bias of a kind which we can often

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65 Luther, HPR, col. 1848.
67 HPR, col. 828.
find amongst the German followers of Lully.” Another explanation might be its similarity to the placement of a *Menuet* at the end of such works as Handel’s Concerti Grossi, op. 6 no. 5, with the purpose of restoring the listener’s equilibrium following the more dramatic movements of the work. Gilles Cantagrel suggests it is a “bizzarement accolée, une suite de danses composée d’un menuet repris en refrain après chacun des trois charmants épisodes de divertissement qui renouvelent le coloris instrumental.” Philipp Pickett, in character with his conception of the Brandenburg Concertos as court spectacle (played out theatrically) and its “Triumph of Caesar” theme, suggests that, “the following minuet and trios might then have been danced by the Prince and the courtiers who took part in the action.” Marissen refers to “a jarring bit of Germanic hunting music for horns” in the final trio.

One cannot help observe a comparison here between Bach’s *Menuet* as a final movement and the *Menuet-Trio* which concludes Leopold Mozart’s later *Jagd-Sinfonie/Sinfonia di caccia* (1756). But Leopold Mozart’s score calls for such theatrical effects as “raucous” horn playing, barking dogs, shouts of “ho-ho” from the players (as well as gun-shots in the first movement), suggesting it may have been played “for an entertainment following the hunt.” By contrast, Bach’s refined treatment of the *Menuet*’s scoring (including the alternation of woodwinds, strings, and brass/woodwinds with the fully scored *Menuet*), I suggest, again clearly shows that the work as a whole was intended for the Chambre du Concert, and not as spectacle music. The addition of the *Menuet* is certainly a – seemingly – unusual conclusion for a traditional German Baroque *concerto grosso*. And the *Minuet* of Brandenburg 1 is also indeed a conclusion, and as such must fit in some way with the *programmatik* character of the movements that preceded it (if it is to be truly considered a *programmatik*) as well as with the overall *Bildprogrammatik* of the set to which it belongs. Thus, the question must be asked: if the theme of the first concerto is truly that of the royal hunt, how then do the movements that make up the alternating *Minuet – Trio – Polinesse* – *Trio* sequence fit this theme?

A survey of *Jagdmusik* – and its corresponding *Jagd*-literature and poetry – reveals that *Jagdmusik* not only encompassed the fanfares, signals, and other ceremonial music of the hunt, but also included a

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68 Nicholas Anderson; liner notes to *Johann Sebastian Bach: Brandenburg Concertos*. Concentus Musicus Wien / Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Teldec, 9031-77611-2, 1964, 1992, p. 7. Anderson cites Georg Muffat and J. K. F. Fischer as examples. He is apparently referring to Muffat’s concerti grossi such as *Cor vigilans*, *Delirium amoris*, and *Propitia sydera*; yet these models are closer to the early Baroque suite, than the three-movement concerto grosso form.

69 Cantagrell, CBC, p. 16.

70 Pickett, PBC – 2, p. 5.

71 Marissen, OBC, p. 70.

72 Pöschl, JGM, pp. 76-77.


74 This is Bach’s spelling in the dedication score. Handel uses a Polonaise in the *Concerto grosso* in E minor, op. 6, no. 3.
vast body of musical literature spread across various genres: not only the early Baroque Jägermessen ("missa venatoria"), but also numerous Jägerlieder, Jägerliebe songs, Jägerfreuden songs, songs of Natur and the hunt, Jägerbuben songs, songs of the Hirsch and songs of the Wald, and songs in praise of the Waldhorn.

Laßt jetzo mich mein Waldhorn preisen, das weithin sendet Ruf und Gruß;
mit seinen hellen Zwillingsweisen lockt’s von der Bergwand bis zum Fluß.

Gefesselt hängt’s mir an der Hüfte,
Des Waidmanns Schmuck und blanke Zier,
Früh weckt es durch Morgenlüfte,
Bläst and die Jagd! Auf ins Revier!

Within this extensive Jagd-literature can also be found “Tanz und Scherz”, such as this minuet in praise of the goddess Diana, as noted in the text, sung at the conclusion of the hunting-fest [see Figure 4.33]:

Figure 4.33 – Diana verschworen; reproduced from Clewing [Public Domain].

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75 JGM, beginning at pp. 161-165.
76 Clewing, MuJ, pp. 32-33.
77 Ibid., p. 32
78 Ibid., pp. 215-260.
79 MuJ, p. 229. The full text and translation appears in Appendix C.
The *Jagd-Menuett* proves to be a genre in itself, and includes such examples as the following *Musik und Jägerei*, which is a dialogue between *Der Dichter*, *Der Jäger*, and *Der Musikus*, [see Figure 4.34]:

![Figure 4.34 – Musik und Jägerei reproduced from Clewing [Public Domain].](image)

Note the older spelling of the word, “Jägerey.”

Most interesting about some of these examples are the curious similarities in the harmonies, the contour of the phrases, and phrase structures with that of the Brandenburg *Menuet*; one could easily arrange one of these pieces after the same fashion [see Figures 4.35 and 4.36]:

[see example on next page]

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81 MuI, p. 10. The full text and translation appears in Appendix C.
Figure 4.35 – Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, *Menuet* mm. 1-14. Note the preponderance of 6th (first inversion) chords; ⁸² BG, vol. XIX, pp. 27-28, [Public Domain].

⁸² My thanks to Prof. Ton Koopman for access to his personal conducting score of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, with his notation of the figured bass. Bach’s manuscript reads “Menuet.”
Figure 4.36 – *Diana verschworen*, verse 1; note the manner in which 6th chords can be distributed throughout the piece. Copyright © 2015 by Michael Leonard.

Bach follows the *Menuet* with a *Trio* of two oboes and bassoon, which is sometimes described as a “Lullyan” trio. While this can be found in Lully’s music, such as the *Ritornelles* of Act I, scene 1, and Act V, scenes 1 and 3 of the opera *Armide*, the woodwinds here are also invariably doubled by strings and continuo, whereas Bach’s trio is scored exclusively for the three instruments alone, sans continuo. At one level, it may be a tip of the hat to the French courtly style, especially in the light of the importance of French aesthetics. At another level, relative to the overall *Bildprogrammatik*, it must be noted that in the courtly hunt, the *Jagdhoboisten* played a most important role, especially if the hunt were a successful one. Pizka explains in his *Horn-Lexicon*, where he defines *Jagdmusik* as, “. . . any music performed by brass

83 My sincere thanks to harpsichordist Sonia Lee for her assistance in the realization of the basso continuo for this arrangement.
84 My sincere thanks to composer John Nichols III, for his expert rendering of my original manuscript.
85 OBC, p. 70; also Boyd, BBC, p. 73; and Andersen/Harnoncourt, *ibid*, p. 7.
instruments[,] mainly horns at the beginning and at the end of the high princely hunting events, and if the animal was killed, mostly played by the Jagdhoboists” 87 (author’s emphasis).

As noted at the beginning of this Chapter, the Jagd–ensembles of the early eighteenth century also came to include a bassoon or bassoons. Pizka’s entry implies more of a ceremonial-type music than the lyrical first Trio of Brandenburg No. 1. One can find, however, an interesting detail in the entry in Zedler’s Universal Lexicon, on the Jagt–Hautbois: 88

. . . warden bey einem Haupt–Jagen nicht nur gebrauchet zu Abwechslung des Wald–Geschreyes sich hören zu lassen; sondern müssen auch alle Morgen und Abende sämtlich mit ihrer angenehmen Music gehöriges Orts dem Ober-Jägermeister aufwarten.90

Thus we have, by the First Concerto’s programmatik, a Jagd-Menuet, and then a Trio of the Jagd-Hoboisten, playing a more angenehmen-Musik; with a repeat of the Menuet – a continuation, as it were, of the overall Jagd-Tanz.

If we continue to survey the sub-genres of the Jagd-Tanz (in addition to the Menuet) we find several other examples, including the Jagd-Gavotte, 91 and – a Jäger-Polonaise, with its theme of “Amors grimme Pein” [see Figure 4.61]. It can be observed that the Jäger-Polonaise would have already been well-developed by Bach’s time, as the poem was written almost fifty years before Bach’s birth and the music during Bach’s own lifetime, and other examples no doubt exist(ed).92 Bach’s Poloinesse follows a reprise of the Menuet, after the first trio. It is interesting to observe the similarities of the sudden change of rhythm (via meter) in the Jäger-Polonaise, and Bach’s own use of terrace dynamics, p → f, together with the abrupt change in rhythm of the melody at m 25 – perhaps characteristic in itself of the Jäger-Polonaise style? [see Figure 4.37]:

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88 Note: “Jagt” is Zedler’s spelling.
89 Note: Zedler uses “c” here and not “k.”
91 Clewing, M&J; five examples of Jäger-Gavotte, are given on pp. 224-228: Ei, wohlan, ihr Waidleut all!, Hirschgerechte Jäger, auf!, Allzeit Grün!, Jägerbrauch, and Warnung; all follow the Gavotte rhythm of a pick-up on the half-bar.
92 M&J; Clewing only gives the single example listed on p, 217.
It can be observed that the Jäger-Polonaise would already have been well-developed by Bach’s time, as the poem was written almost fifty years before Bach’s birth and the music during Bach’s own lifetime, and other examples no doubt exist(ed). Bach’s Poloinesse follows a reprise of the Menuet, after the first trio. It is interesting to observe the similarities of the sudden change of rhythm (via meter) in the Jäger-Polonaise, and Bach’s own use of terrace dynamics, $p \rightarrow f$, together with the abrupt change in rhythm of the melody at m 25 – perhaps characteristic in itself of the Jäger-Polonaise style? [see Figure 4.38]:

[see example on next page]

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93 MuJ, p. 217. The full text and translation appears in Appendix C.
94 M&J; Clewing only gives the single example listed on p. 217.
A study of the above *Jäger-Polonaise* may also provide a clue to a rhythmic issue, not in the *Menuet*, but in the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1. The rhythm of this *Jäger-Polonaise* alternates between the *Pompös 3/4* and the *Schwingend 6/8* (triple to compound meter) over four verses. Bach rarely changes meter or character within a single movement. One notable exception, however, is the opening movement of the *Cantate burlesque, Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet (Bauernkantate)*, BWV 212,\(^95\) where the composer changes meter seven times within 87 bars [see Figure 4.39]. Bach also changes freely between duple, triple, and compound meter.\(^96\)

\[\text{[see next page]}\]

\(^{95}\) The *Bauernkantate* also contains the *Brandeiser Jägerlied*, at No. 16 – played with the *Corne de Chasse*.

\(^{96}\) In the first movement of Cantata BWV 88 (mm. 100-101), from 6/8 to cut time, oddly enough at the words “Und darnach will ich viel Jäger aussenden.” This movement is discussed fully in Chapter 5.
Examples of meter change such as this can also be found in certain Jäger-calls, such as “Wann die Hunde anfangen zu jagen” [see Figure 4.40]:

Figure 4.40 – “Parforcejagdfanfare” (Mounted-hunt fanfare)
„Wann die Hunden anfangen zu jagen”, reproduced from Pöschl, Jagdmusik, Notenbeispiel 170, p. 199.
Reproduced by kind permission of Musikantiquariat und Verlag Prof. Dr. Hans Schneider OHG.
One can observe the triplet rhythm in m. 2 of the second line, in duple meter. Bach renders the same figure as two sixteenths and an eighth in the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1 - but follows with a *roulé* figure in triplets:

![Horn in F:](image)

Figure 4.41 – Saxon horn call in Brandenburg No. 1, movement 1.

The question that arises is, is the final sixteenth note of the fanfare played as a sixteenth, or in traditional Baroque “gigue” fashion, as a triplet-quarter-eighth? If we again examine the original Saxon horn-call, we can observe a steady compound meter,\(^97\)

![Figure 4.42 – 18th century greeting call.](image)

and again observe the strict differentiation between 3/4 and 6/8 in the *Jäger-Polonaise*, we can see that by Bach’s use of the sixteenths-eighth pattern in one bar, and the triplet pattern in the following bar, that he also clearly differentiates between simple and compound meter – suggesting that the dotted-eighth-sixteenth figure should be played in normal Baroque triplet fashion, (as a triplet/quarter-eighth). Nowhere does Bach conclude a phrase or beat in simple meter with a single sixteenth-note; it always occurs as a pick-up.\(^99\) Yet Bach is also making use of, and adapting a genuine hunting-horn call, the musical character of which is independent of Baroque compositional principles; one only needs to consider the sudden irregularity of the triplet in duple meter in bar 7 of Figure 4.65, above, as contrasted with the opening 6/8 pattern. Therefore I suggest that Bach’s notation of the dotted-eighth / sixteenth in simple duple meter should be performed as written. This is also supported by the final bars of movement 1 where we can observe a clear superimposition – very rare in Bach – of simple and compound meter [see Figure 4.43]:

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\(^{97}\) Reproduced from Fitzpatrick, HHP p. 20.

\(^{98}\) Marissen, SRD, p. 23; Boyd, p. 13; and HHP p. 62.

\(^{99}\) An example of consistent use of sixteenth pick-ups and triplet/dotted eighth-sixteenth juxtapositions can be found in Pan’s aria, “Ein Fürst ist seines Landes Pan”, in the *Jagd Kantate* BWV 208/vii.

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The Jagd-Tanz again continues with another reprise of the Menuet, finally rounding out the concerto’s overall programmatik with a return to the hunt-motives in – as indicated in the later sinfonia version (BWV 1060a) – the Trio pour les Cors de chasse, with, it must be again noted, the exclusive “Brandenburg hunt-ensemble” of horns and oboes, and a final reprise of the Menuet. Bach later used same trio as the Ritornello in Cantatas BWV 207, Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten (1726), rescoring it for two tromba’s, oboe d’amore I & II together with taille, and an accompaniment of strings and continuo. Bach uses the same arrangement again in BWV 207a, Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten (1733), yet another example of multi-dimensional allegory, from the horns in the hunt-themed Programmatik in Brandenburg No. 1 to the trumpets in the two celebratory secular cantatas [see Figures 4.44 and 4.45].

In both BWV 207 and BWV 207a, the Ritornello appears as No. 5a (NBA vol. 1:38, p. 143, and vol. 1:37, p. 50, respectfully). The trios of Brandenburg No. 1 are both interesting examples of Bach’s writing without the use of continuo. Two other examples can be found: first in Cantata 46/v, the alto aria, “Doch Jesus will auch bei der Strafe, der Frommen Schild und Beistand sein”, which is accompanied by Flauto dolce I & II, and two oboe da caccia as a bass bass line, sans continuo; and second, in Cantata 105/3, the soprano aria “Wie zittern und wanken”, which is accompanied by oboe, violin I & II, and viola, playing a consistent stream of eighth notes throughout, again, sans continuo.
Brandenburg Concerto No. 1: Allegory and Cabbala?

In Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, we see the influences of: 1) the hunting ensembles devised by the Elector of Brandenburg after 1700; 2) the use of a genuine Saxon horn-call and hunting-horn techniques in the first movement; 3) the continued use of horn-themes and hunting-style techniques in the third
movement; and, 4) the use of Jagd-Tanzen (Menuet and Poloinesse) in the fourth movement (as well as the significance – from the point of a hunting ensemble – of the instrumentation of the two trios, including the exclusive use of the Brandenburg hunting ensemble in the second trio). These influences, together with the overall structure – from the introduction of the horn-calls in the first movement to the Cor de chasse \(^{101}\) of the final trio – allow the First Concerto to be seen as an allegory for the royal hunt. Not only this, but how the extended size – the Menuet section breaking with the traditional concerto grosso form – allow it to function as the crown of a Bildprogrammatik for the remaining concertos. Taken in the light of a Bildprogrammatik, it must be remembered that the concertos were, as noted earlier, intended for performance in the royal concert chambers, not, as was the Jadg-Kantate, as a type of spectacle music to celebrate the victory of the hunt. Therefore, I suggest that the concertos as a set were intended to represent, allegorically, the royal hunt in all its aspects, and particularly the values it represented for the nobleman.

Returning to Marissen’s observation regarding the “loud greetings from the hunting horns” in the concert chamber, it must be noted that the instruments of Bach’s time were substantially different from the modern valve-horn, with a considerably subdued sound, blending with the overall texture(s) of the rest of the ensemble; a powerful symbol and also an effective concert instrument:

\[\ldots\] the horn was the emblem of all that was pleasant in sport, music, and the out-of-doors \ldots\] In addition to these strong associations with royalty and the outdoor life of the privileged, the parforce \(^{102}\) hunt embodied certain moral and philosophical precepts which were basic to the ideals of the time. It is perhaps through these concepts that we may best perceive the strength of the horn’s connotations when used in the concerted music of the period.\(^{103}\)

In other words, the horn was not an instrument which simply “stood out” from the other instruments in an ensemble, but also elicited particular feelings, and, as we have already noted, kept the nobleman’s mind on the high plateau of his own ideals, connected by the highest levels of art:

\[
\text{Lors vint du sein de l’Ausonie} \\
\text{L’harmonieuse Polymnie,} \\
\text{Qui joignait avec art à ses divins accords,} \\
\text{Avec doux charmes de la Musique,} \\
\text{Tout ce qu’a de pompeux un spectacle magique,} \\
\text{Où, la Profusion étale ses trésors.}\]

\[
\text{Ainsi que la troupe de Flore,} \\
\text{Vint la bande de Terpsichore ;} \\
\text{Le Graces arrangeaient ses pas entrelacés,} \\
\text{Et d’entrechâs brillans avec art rehaussés.}^{104}\]

\(^{101}\) As indicated in Bach’s later version, BWV 1060a.  
\(^{102}\) The “Parforce-jagd” was the general term for the mounted hunt.  
\(^{103}\) Fitzpatrick, HHP, p. 19.  
\(^{104}\) Frederick the Great, OduSS, Book II, pp. 43-44.
Bach’s use of a Menuet and a Poloinesse – which, as we have seen, themselves held connotations for the hunt – interwoven with the Cor de chasse, only strengthen the argument for the First Concerto as symbolic of the royal hunt; a complete allegorical picture, as it were, for the joy of the chase, and victory thereof, the relaxation of the out-of-doors (in the Jagd-Tanzen), all presented as courtly music within the idealized atmosphere of the royal Chambre de concert.

This allegorical picture also corresponds to the natur-philosoph Prinzip of Baroque Musiklehre where “die Harmonia beherrscht von Kräften, welche die ‘Lebensgeister’ (spiritus animalis) im Menschen in Bewegung setz”; this is to say that the very essence of the royal hunt – and the values thereof – are embodied by the score, characterized by Bach’s use of the Brandenburg hunt ensemble. The use of the horn as a symbol of victory also finds a correspondence with the theologische Prinzip, where, as we have seen in Polysemantics II, Bach used the horns as symbolic of the victory of Christ (in Lutheran terms, Christus victor) for the Feast of the Ascension in Cantata BWV 128. We can find another example in the opening of Cantata 83, written for the Feast of the Purification in February 1724 (in this case the victory of faith), as noted earlier, its scoring nearly the same as Brandenburg No. 1, to the words, “Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde, da unser Glaube Jesum halt” [see Figure 4.46]:

![Figure 4.46 – Beginning of opening aria from Cantata BWV 83/i; Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, vol. 1:28, p. 3. Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel.](image)

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105 Dammann, MdB, p. 84.
Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 contains additional symbolism – apart from the more obvious allegorical aspects – something that could have been deciphered by members of the court, much in the same way that the readers of Renaissance literature amused themselves intellectually with the hidden number play found in literary works such as those of Boccaccio. Thus, Bach would have had to employ a system discernible to the courtly mind; perhaps some combination of numbers and/or structure that bespeak a hidden meaning – that is, something to stimulate the faculties of the intellect.

One possibility might lie in the rhetorical structure of the first movement. In Walter Corten’s article on the Brandenburg Concertos, we find a reference to Hans-Heinrich Unger’s rhetorical analysis/outline of the first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, following the same principles which Bach would have learned from Tolle’s Rhetorica:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mm. 1-8:} & \quad \text{Exordium} \\
\text{mm. 9-15:} & \quad \text{Narratio} \\
\text{mm. 16-46:} & \quad \text{Propositio} \\
\text{mm. 47-118:} & \quad \text{Confutatio} \\
\text{mm. 119-132:} & \quad \text{Confirmatio} \\
\text{mm. 132-136:} & \quad \text{Peroratio}
\end{align*}
\]

If we apply this same principle to the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1, being determined by the major themes and cadences, we have:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mm. 1-12:} & \quad \text{Exordium (F major)} \\
\text{mm. 13-32:} & \quad \text{Narratio (F major)} \\
\text{mm. 33-42:} & \quad \text{Propositio (D minor)} \\
\text{mm. 43-62:} & \quad \text{Confutatio (C major)} \\
\text{mm. 63-71:} & \quad \text{Confirmatio (C major)} \\
\text{mm. 72-82:} & \quad \text{Peroratio (F major)}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus we have six sections. If we take the name of B-A-C-H, \( B + A + C + H = 14 \), multiplying it by the number of sections, we have:

\[6 \times 14 = 84\]

In Chapter 1 it was noted that the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1 contains 84 measures. Bach does not indicate the number of bars anywhere in the dedication score (or in any of the other Brandenburg concertos either), yet as noted earlier in Chapter 1, Bach specifically marked the number 84 following the Patrem omnipotentem section of the B Minor Mass, BWV 232 So for Bach, the number 84 must have

\[108\] Ibid., p. 20; quoting Unger, Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16 – 18 Jahrhundert; Wurzburg, 1941, p. 53.
\[109\] Ibid.
had a particular theological connotation – or perhaps even a Cabalistic one.\textsuperscript{110} We observed in the same chapter that the number 84 is indeed among the Messianic references listed in Müller’s Judaismus, in reference to Psalm 84, verse 10:

10: \textit{Gott, unser Schild, schaue doch, siehe an das Reich deines Gesalbten!} \textsuperscript{111}

A translation of the original Hebrew passage reads:

\textit{Behold, O God our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed.} \textsuperscript{112}

Note that Luther changes the word “face” (or “countenance; in later German translations, appearing as “Antlitz”), to the word “Reich”, or kingdom. What is important however, is that the Hebrew passage begins with the words יוהוּא אלהים, Jehovah Elohim,\textsuperscript{113} again as Müller emphasizes:

\textit{Messias wird genennet Jehovah / welcher der wesentliche Name G O T T E S ist} \textsuperscript{114}

Thus Psalm 84:10 holds a Messianic reference, and the number 84 had a significant meaning for Bach; therefore it functions as Cabbala speculativa. As to whether this was or was not intentional, one must observe the correlations to the principles of Baroque Musiklehre: the kosmologische (order and number); we have noted the natur-philosoph principle above in the sound of the horn; both the horn and the number 84 relate to the theologische principle, and the sound of the horn as expressing ideals / concepts relates to the rhetorische principle (Baroque music as speech). One must also observe yet another factor: in the third movement of Brandenburg No. 1, at the two-bar Adagio (beginning at bar 82), the Allegro is resumed with the pick-up to bar 84.

The horn’s connotations can also be observed with another line from Psalm 84; the opening of Luther’s translation of verse 12 reads:

\textit{Den Gott, der Herr, ist Sonne und Schild} \textsuperscript{115}

The Hebrew passage again uses the words יוהוּא אלהים, Jehovah Elohim. Bach’s setting of the words \textit{Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild}\textsuperscript{116} in Cantata BWV 79 uses two horns, Corno I and Corno II – exactly the same indications as Brandenburg No. 1 – three times: the opening chorus, \textit{Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild}, the chorale, \textit{Nun danket alle Gott} (no. 3) and the final chorale \textit{Erhalt uns in der Wahrheit} (no. 6).

\textsuperscript{110} Hirsch suggests that 84 may also represent 7 x 12, or Glaube und Kirche; ref: Hirsch, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{111} BibRef – BML.
\textsuperscript{112} BibRef – HHS. One must note that this verse appears as Psalm 84, verse 9; Luther’s translation of the Psalms takes the preliminary passages, i.e., “To the chief Musician upon Gittith.  A Psalm for the sons of Korah”, as the first verse of each Psalm, pushing the number of verses up; thus what appears in the Hebrew Bible as Psalm 84:9 appears in Luther’s translation as Psalm 84:10 – corresponding with Müller’s text.
\textsuperscript{113} Elohim is the third Hebrew word of Genesis 1:1, commonly translated as “God.”
\textsuperscript{114} Müller, Judaismus, p. 547.
\textsuperscript{115} BibRef – BML.
\textsuperscript{116} The “e” on Sonne in Luther’s text is correct.
I continue to discuss of the allegory of the Brandenburg *Bildprogrammatik* with Concertos 2, 3, 4, and 5, beginning with a return to the figure of the stag.
CHAPTER 5

Pillars of a Vollkommenheitsgrad: Brandenburg Concertos 2, 3, 4, & 5

Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553)

Apollo and Diana in a Forest Landscape
[painting, 1530; Public Domain]

Adam and Eve in Paradise
[woodcut, 1509; Public Domain]
5. **Pillars of a Vollkomenheitsgrad:**
**Brandenburg Concertos 2, 3, 4, & 5**

quivi Diana, che ‘l tiepido foco
ne’ casti petti tien, ricolse quelle
che invitate furono al suo gioco.

Poi comandò che esse entrassero nelle
chiarissime onde e de’ freschi liquori
lavando sé si rifacesser belle.

E poi, come a lei piacque, uscite fori
si rivestir di purpurea veste,
inghirlandate d’ uliv’e di fiori.

Diana quattro parti fè di queste,
ed alla bella donna disse: “Andrai
sopra ‘l monte a meriggio con coteste
e tu, Isabella, al ponente sarai,
e Fiore a tramontana; ed alla caccia
ciascuna pensi di valere assai.”

Giovanni Boccaccio
*Caccia di Diana*, Canto 2, vs. 22-36

(. . .) Und danach will ich viele Jäger aussenden, die sollen sie fangen auf allen Bergen und
auf allen Hügeln und in allen Felsklüften.

Der Prophet Jeremia, 16:16,
in Bach, Cantata BWV 88/i

**A Stag in Paradise: Sacred and Secular Allegory**

The paintings of Lucas Cranach the Elder provide a perfect framework from which to compare the
use of the same theme/figure within the contexts of both sacred and secular allegory. The figure of the
stag, in the context of Diana and the hunt, symbolizing both the observer/narrator of events (in the *Caccia
di Diana*) and, simultaneously, the Christian man, who is reborn through the *Feuer-Taufe* (my term) at the
penultimate moment of the hunt, can be seen in Cranach’s painting of *Apollo and Diana in a Forest
Landscape* (1530) on the frontispiece (left) to this chapter. This same stag figure, inherently representing
the same attributes, is then found in the Garden of Eden (see frontispiece, right), here in the form of
multiple stags. Again, as in the *Caccia di Diana*, the stag is both observer (in this instance, of the fall of
mankind), and also an allegory for the Christian man who is seeking redemption; as such, he becomes the
“hart who panteth after streams of water”, mentioned in Psalm 42:2-3:
Wie der Hirsch lechzt nach frischem Wasser,
so schreit meine Seele, Gott, zu dir.
Meine Seele dürstet nach Gott,
nach dem lebendigen Gott,
Wann werde ich dahin kommen,
daß ich Gottes Angesicht schaue? ¹

The figure of the stag links the sacred and the secular by virtue of the aforementioned naturphilosophische Prinzip (and again reinforcing Comenius’ principle that “art can do nothing unless it imitates nature” ²) which as we have seen, is also inherently at work in both painting and music. Here the naturphilosophe Prinzip merges with the theologische Prinzip; for the Christian man of Bach’s time, the allegory of the stag in paradise represented not merely the fallen man/mankind in need of redemption, but rather the entire plan of God’s salvation, a totality/Unitas, ³ here reflected in art (or music) by order, proportion, and harmony; again, Dammann:


The stag in both of these paintings becomes the core element of the Vollkommenheitsgrad, whose allegory serves to underscore the Unitas in both sacred and secular contexts; as noted in Chapter 1 (quoting Dammann):

Der Vollkommenheitsgrad wächst mit der Nähe der dem Akkord zugrundeliegenden Proportion zur Unitas hin. Die Unitas signifiziert Gott. – Figurale Vorstellungen sowie Allegorie, Emblematic und Symbolik haben hier breiten Raum.⁵

In other words, the stag is the real centerpiece which unifies all the other elements in both artworks; in each, he represents the entire story being told. As noted in Chapter 3, relative to Diana (and along

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¹ After Martin Luther’s translation; Psalm 42:3, BibRef - BML.
² Comenius, DM-2, p. 98.
⁴ Dammann, MdB, p. 85.
⁵ Ibid. p. 84.
Boccaccio’s lines), he observes the entire process of the hunt, and is symbolic of the hunt as representing baptismal death and rebirth. In the Garden of Eden, he is the observer of the fall and (the figural representation of) the redemption of humankind. In both, he is symbolic of the unity that underscores a Programmatik, or story, to each. As the horn and its music are allegorical and figural representations/symbols of the hunt, and, as will be seen, horn/hunting themes carry throughout the Brandenburg set, I suggest it is the theme of the hunt which is the core of the Vollkommenheitsgrad which serves in defining the overall Bildprogrammatik for Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos. The use of similar themes and techniques throughout each of the six concertos also gives rise to multi-dimensional allegory (depending on the perceptions of the observer/listener, in this case the Lutheran or the deist) and projects both sacred and secular elements within the same music.

Bach’s own use of similar themes and/or music, in both sacred and secular scores, can be found in such common examples as the Air from the Third Orchestral Suite, adapted in a shortened version (sans repeats, this time with a solo oboe); as the Sinfonia to Cantata BWV 156; the third violin Partita, adapted for the organ as the Sinfonia to Cantata BWV 29; the first movement of the D minor harpsichord concerto, arranged for the organ as the Sinfonia to Cantatas BWV 146 and BWV 188.6 But these are simply re-workings of secular music into a sacred context; as such they more likely serve to illustrate Wolff’s comment on Bach’s use of organ obbligato (in the cases of BWV 29 and BWV 146) as having “introduced a completely new dimension into Bach’s Leipzig church music.”7 But I suggest that the more prescient example here lies, not in the use of similar (or the same) material in both sacred and secular contexts, but rather in the use of specific techniques; an excellent example can be seen in Bach’s use of sustained-string textures in accompanied recitative. Most aficionados of Bach’s music recognize this technique as that by which the composer underscores the words of Christ in the Matthäus-Passion, BWV 244, 8 [see Figure 5.1]:

6 Examples can also be found from sacred-to-secular, such as the Sinfonia to the second part (“nach der Predigt”) of Cantata BWV 76, later recast as the first movement of the organ Trio Sonata No. 4, BWV 528).
7 Wolff, TLM, p. 283.
8 Alberto Basso, in his article “Matthäus Passion”, notes that “Christ’s words are always sung in arioso style with an instrumental accompaniment, except the passage immediately preceding his death («Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani ?»); Notes to accompany J. S. Bach: Matthäus Passion/Philippe Herreweghe. France: Harmonia Mundi 901155.57, 1984, p. 24. Interestingly, Bernstein alludes to this technique as a musical poetic, suggesting that the voice of Jesus is always accompanied by “glowing chords, which have often been described as a halo”, except for “Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani”: “This is the only time that Jesus’ words are not framed by the halo of the strings . . . for at this one moment of death, Christ is mortal”; The Joy of Music. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959, pp. 248, 262.
5.1 – Bach, *Matthäus Passion*, No. 18, mm. 1-7.

Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke vol. 2:5, p. 61, reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel.

This device however, is not either unique or original to Bach, stemming as it does from Baroque opera, where it was commonly used to project the words of Classical and mythological characters; not only this, but even the words of royal personae were often highlighted by the same technique, as in this example from Keiser’s *Octavia* (the wife of Nero) [see Figure 5.2]. What makes Bach’s particular use of this technique in BWV 244 particularly effective is that the composer – again, in accordance with the principles of Hutter’s theology – uses it to portray (as well as “confess”, in the Lutheran sense) the two natures of Christ, being both human and divine; the words of Christ are consistently accompanied by the sustained-string recitative *except* for the moment just before his death [see Figure 5.3]:

[see next page]
Figure 5.2 – Reinhard Keiser, Octavia, Act 2, scene 16

Figure 5.3 – Bach, *Matthäus Passion*, No. 61a, mm. 4-12.
*Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* vol. 2:5, p. 252, reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel.
Again, the technique itself is not unique to Bach. Keiser also uses the very same musical poetic to depict the fall of the emperor Nero from the pinnacle of Roman power [see Figure 5.4]; it should be noted that Keiser does not use the device regularly to accompany Nero’s recitatives, especially when combined with other characters; here only *secco* recitative is used. Rather, Keiser saves the dramatic effect for the moment Nero realizes he no longer holds the power of the Roman throne. Again, Bach’s genius lies in the use of the technique – according to the theological principle of Musiklehre – using the two styles of recitative to depict the divine / mortal image of Christ, just as do the two bassoons in the *Quoniam* of BWV 232.

![Figure 5.4 – Reinhard Keiser, Octavia, Act 3, scene 8; third act; Handel Supplement VI: Octavia von Reinhard Keiser, p. 183, [Public Domain].](image)

A survey of Bach’s cantatas reveals that the composer actually used this device quite freely (though not always with the same theological emphasis), and examples can be found in all voice ranges, S-A-T-B in both the sacred and secular cantatas, as well as in the *Weihnachts Oratorium*, BWV 248. Bach does not limit the device to strings alone; examples in the above works can be found using flutes, combinations...
of oboes and strings, and of oboes, oboe d’amore, and oboe da caccia, such as in the opening movement of Cantata BWV 183, *Sie werden euch in den Bann tun* [see Figure 5.5]:

Figure 5.5 – Cantata BWV 183/i, opening recitative, BG, vol. XXXVII, p. 61, [Public Domain].

Bach also uses the device in Cantata 206, *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, to highlight the words of the soprano (as the Pleiße river, metaphorically the city of Leipzig) in the recitative (Nr. 10, mm. 8-23), beginning with the bass line “Ich muß, ich will gehorsam sein”, as well as to underscore the words of Classical characters, such in the recitatives of Merkur (Mercury) in *Die Wahl Hercules* (BWV 213, No. 12), and Pallas in *Tönet ihr Pauken* (BWV 214, No. 6), thus putting secular allegory on a par with the sacred. Perhaps most interestingly (in the context of this dissertation), we find the technique used in
Cantata BWV 148, *Bringet dem Herrn Ehre seines Namens*, in the alto recitative (Nr. 3), on the words of Psalm 42, referring to none other than “der Hirsch nach dem frischer Wasser schreit,” [see Figure 5.6]:

And here the allegory of the biblical stag finds not a parallel, but an exact counter[art in the *Wasserkünste* of Sans-souci Palace [see Figure 5.7]:

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I will now examine each of the four succeeding Brandenburg Concertos, and their position in the Vollkommenheitsgrad of the Bildprogrammatik of the hunt, beginning with the use of the tromba as an allegory of victory in Brandenburg Concerto No. 2.

**Brandenburg Concerto No. 2: From Victory to Glory**

If the First Brandenburg Concerto is symbolic of the success of the royal hunt and victory thereof, then, according to court philosophy, glory must follow in its wake:

*Un Dieu s'empare de mon ame;*
  *Je sens une célesté ardeur;*
  *O Gloire! ta divine flamme*
  *M'embrase jusqu'au fond du cœur.*
  *Rempli de ton puissant délire,*
  *Par les doux accords de ma lyre,*
  *Je veux célébrer tes bienfaits.*
  *Tu couronnes le vrai mérite*
  *Et ton divin laurier excite*
  *Les humains à tous leurs succès.*  

As noted in Chapter 2 (quoting Fitzpatrick) “The hunt stood for all that was desirable in worldly virtue, representing a new embodiment of the older ritterlich-höflich (chivalrous-courtly ideals which were at the centre of aristocratic thought.”  

The word “virtue” itself, as noted above, symbolized not one, but several core values (in itself a polyseous word, in character with the Baroque mind); again Fitzpatrick:

‘Tugend’, a fundamental concept in seventeenth-century Austrian aristocratic thought. ‘Virtue’ is an inexact equivalent at this period . . . Tugend implied rather a more complex nature of bravery, industry, honesty, and chivalry. The moral principles inherent in this concept were basic to the world of pre-Enlightenment nobility.

In court philosophy, we find that “Tugend/”Vertu” is mirrored in both Victory and in Glory, it is expressed in the speech of the great classical orators, and is the very essence of royalty itself:

*Les Vertus menet à la Gloire;*
*Et la Gloire mene aux Vertus;*
*Elle est mere de la Victoire,*
*Elle déchaîne les vaincus;*
*Cicéron lui dut l’eloquence,*
*Sénèca la vaste science;*
*Elle forma les vrais Césars.*

---

11 Fitzpatrick, HHP, p. 20.
Sortez des voûtes ténébreuses;
Parlez, ô manes généreuses!
Qui vous fit braver les hazards?¹³

In the realm of court thought, it is glory above all to which one must aspire:

    Enfants des Arts & du Génie,
    Fils de Minerve & d’Apollon,
    Qui vous excite & vous convie
    De monter sur le double ment?
    Parlez, répondez-nous, Homere,
    Horace, Virgile & Voltaire,
    Quel Dieu préside à vos concerts?
    Vous aspirez tous à la gloire;
    Et pour vivre dans la mémoire,
    L’Honneur lime & polit vos vers. ¹⁴
    O Gloire! à qui je sacrifie
    Mes plaisers & mes passions;
    O Gloire! en qui je me confie,
    Daigne éclairer mes actions;
    Tu peux, malgré la mort cruelle,
    Sauver une faible étincelle
    De l’esprit qui réflé en moi.
    Que ta main m’ouvre la barriere;
    Et prêt à courir ta carriere,
    Je veux vivre & mourir pour toi. ¹⁵

In Bach’s cantatas, the solo trumpet is used to convey not only a sense of praise and glorification, as in Cantata BWV 51, *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*; but also of that of victory, as in the bass aria, “Auf, auf, mit hellem Schall, verkündigt überall: mein Jesus sitzt zur Rechten”, from Cantata BWV 128/iii, *Auf Christi himmelfahrt allein* [see Figure 5.8]:

[see example on next page]

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In the cantata movements/arias with a solo *tromba* part, we generally find the instrument and solo voice join together with strings and continuo. Among the cantatas, a scoring closest to that of Brandenburg No. 2 can be found in the final chorus “Lass’, Höchster, uns zu allen Zeiten des Herzens Trost” (No. 5) from Cantata BWV 181, *Leichtgesinnte, Flattergeister*, with a combination of solo tromba, flauto (traverso), oboe, strings and continuo [see Figure 5.9].
Nowhere else in Bach’s instrumental oeuvre however, do we find a another configuration like that of Brandenburg No. 2, with the solo trumpet supported by a group of diverse instruments, here the flute, oboe, and violin, in addition to the strings and continuo. One can easily make an aesthetic comparison between the scoring of this concerto and the bronze “allegories of victory” of Francesco Bertos (1678-1741), a contemporary of Bach whose fame as a sculptor was comparable to that of Bach as a musician. In Bertos’ allegories, the figure of victory surmounts the top of the composition, always being supported by additional figures [see Figures 5.10 and 5.11]:

[see next pages]

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16 There appears to be no evidence that Bach and Francesco Bertos ever met. Just as Bach never travelled outside the German provinces, Bertos spent his entire life in Italy, particularly Padua and Venice; Avery, BCR p. 25.
Charles Avery notes,

By reference to the trumpeting female figure that crowns the group, the writer of Mme. Pole’s sale catalogue, followed by Planiscig, proposed that it was an allegory for glory or fame, adding that the position and shape of the trumpet – like the raised garland in the other group - emphasized the vertical thrust of the composition.

The multi-dimensional aspects of Baroque allegory can be observed in another Bertos’ work, “Victory (formerly known An Allegory: Probably Peace and War)” [see Figure 5.80]:

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17 BCR, no. 106, p. 211. Avery lists the image as at “Location unkown”, and does not cite a photographic credit. As all of Bertos’ works are Public Domain, it is reproduced here with respect to the Fair Use Act.
18 The reference is to Leo Planiscig (1887-1952), was a Viennese art historian specializing in Italian Renaissance sculpture; available at http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/planiscigl.htm.
19 BCR, p. 211.
Avery notes that this bronze was once “captioned erroneously as Allegory of the Chase.” The multidimensional aspects of the work encompass the interrelated themes of victory, war/peace, and the hunt. The mounted figure of Victory is supported by Valour. The supporting figures further enhance the multi-dimensional character; being, clockwise from left: Honour overcoming Deceit – Riches – Prudence – Intellect. The bronze in Example 5.2b, interestingly, corresponds very well with Pickett’s description of Concerto No. 2, where, “... the trumpet must represent the allegorical figure of Fame – and old and firmly-established tradition ... Fame appears ... generally accompanied by such allegorical

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20 Ibid., p. 224.
21 BCR, p. 85.
figures as Time, Fortune and Envy. Similar characters must be represented here by the violin, oboe and recorder.” 22

But whether interpreted multi-dimensionally, as either Glory or Fame, is the trumpet the only instrument which can be used in Concerto No. 2? Bach’s dedication score indicates Tromba, presumably the high trumpet in F. But from the Partiturabschrift by C. F. Penzel (Mus. ms. Bach P 1062), we find in Stimmenabschrift, also in the hand of Penzel (Mus. ms. Bach St 637),23 the indication (on the continuo part), “Tromba Corno Conc.”, and more specifically, on the Tromba part, (“hinter der Instrumentenangabe”) “Tromba der Zusatz: ô vero Corno da Caccia.”24 (Trumpet or natural Hunting Horn). Janetsky and Brüchle note that:

“Whoever could play the horn could also play the trumpet and of course vice versa,” 25 and that “ . . . the low trumpet in D, still very common at the time, corresponded in length and pitch exactly to the hunting-horn in D, already occasionally in use . . . both were played with their bells raised high in the air, and what is more remarkable – both instruments were played with the same cup-shaped mouthpiece.” 26

Bach may have had a certain corno-tromba player in mind for the Tromba part (especially if Bach may have hoped to be invited himself to perform the concertos and bring his own instrumentalists). Janetsky and Brüchle observe that while all horn players could play the trumpet:

(But) not everyone was allowed to; just as, long ago, it had been the privilege of noble knights to carry and use oliphants, so royal personages in later times laid exclusive claim to the trumpet, with its bright piercing sound, when necessary allowing its use in church for the praise and glory of God. Reigning ‘emperors, kings, electors, knights and men of a similar rank’27 retained court and field trumpeters. These men organized themselves into guilds and jealously monitored the strict observance of the privileges granted to them and solemnly ratified . . . . However, genuine masters of the ‘clarino’ were practically unique throughout the world: one such was Gottfried Reiche (1667-1734), the senior Stadtpfeifer of Leipzig and world-famous player of the ‘Bach trumpet.’ The portrait of him painted in 1723 by Elias Gottlieb Haussmann shows him holding in his hand ‘a wind instrument coiled many times in the manner of a posthorn’, as most experts cautiously put it. He did not possess the right to be portrayed with a long trumpet, since he was not a court trumpeter, merely a Stadtpfeifer.28

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22 Pickett, PBC-1, p. 11. Note that Avery, in BCR, does not give any specific allegorical descriptions for the supporting figures here; BCR, pp. 211-212.
24 Ibid., p. 58.
25 Janetsky and Brüchle, TH, p. 33.
26 Ibid., p. 32.
27 Janetsky and Brüchle do not cite their source here.
28 TH, pp. 33-34; Janetsky and Brüchle do not cite the sources for the quoted sections. Pizka suggests that Reiche was a “Ratsmusikant”, or town musician, which would support Janetsky and Brüchle’s statement; H-L, p. 373. Terry suggests that this instrument is [not a posthorn or German court trumpet, but] an Italian, four-coiled trumpet; Charles Sanford Terry, Bach’s Orchestra. London: Oxford University Press, 1932, p. 48.
Therefore, a trumpet player appearing in the royal concert chambers would have to be selected or approved by the monarch himself. In any case, the horn / corno da caccia – and an expert player thereon – could easily, and legitimately, replace the tromba in Brandenburg No. 2. And, being as it was emblematic of the success and victory of the hunt, it could also represent the glory thereof, without in any way disrupting – and even enhancing – the overall hunt-programmatic, carried over from the First to the Second Brandenburg Concerto. And as seen in Chapter 6, it is victory and glory which lead the way to the royal ruler’s ultimate goal: immortality. The hunt-programmatic of the First and Second Brandenburg Concertos now carries over into the Third Concerto.

**Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: All Roads Lead to the Stag**

As noted in Chapter 1, the Third Brandenburg Concerto shares many characteristics with late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Italian Baroque opera sinfonias by composers such as Domenico Gabrieli, Giovanni Bononcini, Giacomo Antonio Perti, Alessandro Scarlatti, Marc Antonio Ziani, and others. Typical of these characteristics are fast but contrasting outer movements/sections separated by short, Adagio/Largo/Grave passages often consisting of only a few bars, up to a single line. The two chords which comprise the second movement of Brandenburg 3 form a ii6 → V/vi cadence (in G major), with a chromatic-median relationship to the last movement. This same device can be found in a number of Italian Baroque operas, among them, _Il pastore di Corinto_ (A. Scarlatti, 1701; concluding a 7-bar Adagio); _La Rosaura_ (Perti, 1689; concluding a 6-bar Adagio); _Il Flavio Cuniberto_ (A. Scarlatti, last 2, 1/2 bars of the Grave, which opens the sinfonia, with a mediant relationship to the succeeding Allegro); _La fede publica_ (Bononcini, 1699; concluding an 11-bar Adagio), _Alessandro il Grande in Sidone_ (Francesco Mancini, 1706; concluding an 8-bar Larghetto); and _La donna ancora è fedele_ (A. Scarlatti, 1698; in final bar of the 10-bar Largo).\(^\text{30}\)

The use of strings (with continuo), as well as being characteristic of the concerti grossi of Handel, Corelli, and Locatelli, also appears to be the most common scoring used in Italian Baroque opera overtures and sinfonias; of the one-hundred overtures listed in Geertinger, sixty-four use strings alone.\(^\text{31}\)

Could it be that Bach was thinking in terms of a large overture, a greatly expanded version of the Italian opera overture of the times? The overall structure of Brandenburg No. 3 can be observed in several Italian opera overtures, perhaps best exemplified by the “Sinfonia avanti l’opera” to _Cesare in Alessandria_ by Guiseppe Antonio Aldrovandini, composed in 1700; here we can see the following similarities:

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29 *Sinfonia* is the more common term used among Italian composers; however the terms Ouverture and Preludio also appear frequently; Axel Teich Geertinger, *Die italienische Opernsinfonia 1680-1710: 100 Opernsinfonien*. Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2009.

30 Geertinger, *ibid.*; Scarlatti, pp. 345-347; Perti, pp. 239-241; Scarlatti; 317-318; Bononcini, pp. 138-139; Mancini, pp. 209-212; Scarlatti, pp. 332-333.

31 Other instruments include from 1-4 tromba, 1-3 oboes, and bassoon; Geertinger, *ibid.*
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement/section</th>
<th>Aldrovandini</th>
<th>Bach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Fast; common time, no tempo marking.</td>
<td>Fast; cut time, no tempo marking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td><em>Adagio</em>; common time, 2 measures ending in a ii₆ → V/vi cadence in the tonic key. Chromatic-medi ant relationship to movement III.</td>
<td><em>Adagio</em>; common time, 1 measure, with a ii₆ → V/vi cadence in the tonic key. Chromatic-medi ant relationship to movement III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td><em>Presto</em>; 12/8 time, two repeated sections.</td>
<td><em>Allegro</em>; 12/8 time, two repeated sections.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seeing as Bach also used the music of the first movement of the Third Concerto as the Sinfonia to Cantata BWV 174 (which occupies nearly one-third of the cantata’s total length), and given Wolff’s assertion, mentioned in Chapter 1, that Bach was ever-inclined to try “every possible artistry”, Brandenburg Three may have been an attempt to show his skills as a potential opera composer, with a score eclipsing the range of any Italian(ate) works, just as his organ works far exceeded in difficulty and scope any other works, including those of his most eminent predecessors, at the time.

If Brandenburg No. 3 is placed within the context of a hunt-<em>Bildprogrammatik</em>, how then would one justify the use of all strings (versus the *corni da caccia* and *tromba/corno* of the First and Second Concertos respectively), especially in the light of other Baroque hunt-themed works, such as Johann David Heinichen’s *Concerto con 2 Corni da Caccia*, and Handel’s cantata, *Alla caccia* (“Diana cacciatrice” using the *tromba*), HWV 79? First, we know of Vivaldi’s influence on Bach’s own concerto writing; notes Wolff:

Forkel’s key insight into Bach, however, addresses a more fundamental aspect of musical composition: he writes that Vivaldi’s works “taught him how to think musically.” Bach transcribed Italian concertos during the mid-Weimar years of 1713-1714 . . . exactly when his experimental tendencies were leading him toward forming a genuinely personal style. The fact that Forkel links only Vivaldi’s name to the concerto transcriptions suggests the latter’s preeminent role for Bach.  

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32 Geertinger, <em>ibid.</em>, pp. 113-114.
33 See Wolff, TLM, p. 125.
34 The Aldrovandini sinfonia consists of only 45 bars (60 with the third movement repeats; Geertinger, pp. 113-114.
35 Wolff also makes note of Vivaldi’s influence on Bach’s organ and harpsichord writing; TLM, p. 126.
36 TLM, p. 170.
In this light, we need only consider Vivaldi’s own Concerto in Bb major, op. 8 no. 10 (RV 362), “La Caccia”, a violin concerto with string accompaniment and continuo (“organo o cembalo”). Here the use and development of musical themes take precedence over the *corno* and *tromba* timbres associated with the hunt. The work appears under the title, ‘Da “Il cimento dell’armonia e dell’invenzione”, a group of ten concerti for violin, strings and continuo. 37 Bach’s own use of an expanded instrumental scheme (3 violins, 3 violas, and 3 cellos), thematic and harmonic invention, clearly shows his desire to expand upon Vivaldian models of the concerto, just as he did with other genres. 38 Another curiosity here is that in Vivaldi’s work, the *Adagio* is also unusually short, consisting of only two repeated sections of three and six bars, respectively; the final chord forms a chromatic-mediant relationship to the last movement. The octave-leaping motive (as horn call) of the first movement can be found in later works, such as Haydn’s “Hornsignal” Symphony [see Figures 5.12 and 5.13]:

![Figures 5.12 – Antonio Vivaldi, Concerto, RV 362, “La Caccia”, movement 1, mm. 1-9; Edizioni Ricordi, Tomo 83, p. 1, [Public Domain].](image)

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37 The first four concerti comprise the group subsequently known as *Le Quattro Stagioni*.  
38 Note Wolff’s observation (quoting Forkel) that for Bach, “concerto transcription is only a means to the goal of learning how to think musically”; TLM, p. 171, par. 2.
Figures 5.13 – Joseph Haydn, Symphony No. 31, movement 1, mm. 1-17; note the horn-call (Solo) in mm. 9-15; Edwin F. Kalmus, p. 1, [Public Domain].

Yet another example is found in the last movement of Vivaldi’s “L’autunno” from *Le Quattro Stagioni*, op. 8 no. 3 (RV 293), again a concerto for violin, with strings and continuo. Pöschl, describing the opening of the movement as the „Jadgbeginn“, notes “Im Herbstteil des zyklischen Werkes „Die vier Jahreszeiten“ spielt die Jagd eine wesentliche Rolle . . . Ein freudiges Fest zur Ehren Bacchus wird
musikalisch veranschaulicht . . . ”, 39 thus, qualifying the movement as a programmatik in itself, within the larger Bildprogrammatik of the whole of the work [see Figure 5.14]:

![Figure 5.14 – Antonio Vivaldi, “L’Autunno”, movement 3, mm. 1-5; Edizioni Ricordi, Tomo 78, p. 18, [Public Domain].](image)

The use of hunting horn-call techniques in Brandenburg Three is apparent from the first bar, beginning with the aforementioned tayauté, or “jerking” rhythm, as found in Diana’s aria in the Jagdkantata, BWV 208/ii; the main theme is formed by groupings of two fast notes followed by a longer one on the beat. The tayauté rhythms in BWV 208 are played with the upper auxiliary; but we learn from the treatises on horn-playing, that it may also be played on the lower auxiliary:

Ainsi donc le MORDANT, le TRILLE et le TAYAUTÉ sont des ornements qui participent de la même nature: le trille n’est qu’un mordant prolonge et le tayauté est une trille ou un mordant, selon le cas ; mais son accentuation est beaucoup plus forte . . . 40

Such directions also give us an idea, in this context, of the tempo (fast) and dynamics (loud) of the first movement of the Third Concerto, which the composer does not indicate; this also fits with Bach’s preference for fast tempi.41

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39 Pöschl, JGM, pp. 70-71; note Pöschl’s error listing the movement as “ersten Satz.”
40 Normand, MTN p. 3.
Another horn-call technique is seen in the use of grouping of repeated notes in the same rhythm, first appearing at mm. 46-49 of the first movement, and at m. 2 of the third movement (in the latter, as in Brandenburg One, being a roulé 42), a device which appears in all six of the concertos (as well as the Quoniam from the B Minor Mass) [Figure 5.15]:

![Figure 5.15 – Brandenburg No. 3 movement 3, mm. 13-18; note the roulé figures in the violas at mm. 13, 15-16, and in the violins at m. 14, and in violin I and violin II at m. 18;](image)

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42 The roulé (three-note repeated figure) as part of the “fanfare de chasse” is shown in MTN, p. 4.
The device also appears prominently in Vivaldi’s *La Caccia* [see Figure 5.16]:

![Figure 5.16](image.png)

Figure 5.16 – Vivaldi, “La Caccia”, movement 3, mm. 183-196; note the *roulé* figures in the viola, cello, contrabass, and continuo parts, beginning at m. 188; Edizione Ricordi, Tomo 83, p. 20, [Public Domain].

Additionally, the eighth note triadic outlines, which appear in the *corni* and *tromba* parts respectively, in the opening of the first and second concertos, can be seen in the three violas in the opening bar of Brandenburg Three, and then appear more prominently in the three violins at m. 19. The motive/device is used a number of times throughout the first movement. The triadic outlines, together with the *roulé* rhythms and *tayauté* can be seen in the Violin I-II-III parts at mm. 34-35 [see Figure 5.17]:
In Bach’s adaptation of the first movement of the third concerto as the Sinfonia to Cantata BWV 174, Ich liebe dem Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte, he curiously adds the same “hunting” ensemble found in the first concerto: two corno da caccia, and three oboes (in BWV174, a taille replaces the third oboe). Bach arranges the strings after the fashion of Corelli and Locatelli, keeping the nine concertato parts, but adding Violin I, Violin II, and Violin III ripieno parts doubling the oboes and taille, interestingly, reinforcing the tayauté rhythm [see Figure 5.18]:

[see next page]
Reinforcement of *tayauté* rhythms in the oboe/taille/violin/viola ripieno parts:

Figure 5.18 – Cantata BWV 174, *Sinfonia*, mm. 1-3.

Note the triadic outlines and independence of the *Corno da caccia* parts

*Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* vol. 1:15, p. 65,
reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel.
Another clear horn-call technique here is Bach’s use of groupings of repeated sixteenth-note *roulé* rhythms to punctuate phrases, as he does in Brandenburg One [see Figure 5.19]:

*Roulé* rhythms in Corno I ↓II↓

![Image of musical notation](image)

Figure 5.19 - Cantata BWV 174, *Sinfonia*, mm. 133-136. note the independence of the oboe/taille/violin *ripieno* parts; *Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* vol. 1:14, p. 105, reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel.
Does the text of BWV 174 in any way correspond to hunting theme(s)? No; here the horn is used in a manner similar to the *Quoniam* of the B Minor Mass, and with a similar theological poetic. The Gospel reading for the cantata’s performance (on 2 Pentecost) is John 3:16-21, beginning, “*Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt, daß er seinen eingeboren Sohn gab, auf daß alle, die an ihn Glauben, nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben*” [Luther’s emphases]. Thus the text concerns, at one level, Christ, as God’s *eingeboren Sohn* descended into the world (the same “*tu solus sanctus*” of the B minor Mass, which, as we have seen, is accompanied by a horn-calls. In the tenor *Recitativo* (Nr. 3), the text, “O Liebe, welcher keine gleich! O unschätzbares Lösegeld!” (referring to Christ), is accompanied by the string “halo”, with the 3 concertato violins and 3 concertato violas each playing a unison line, with continuo. The following aria (Nr. 4) for bass,

Greifet zu, 0  
Faß das Heil, ihr Glaubenshände!  
Jesus gibt sein Himmelreich  
Und verlangt nur das von euch;  
Gläubt getrue bis an das Ende!

is accompanied by all violins and violas playing in unison (plus continuo) where we find again the repeated notes of the horn-call motif beginning at bars 6, 8, and 10 [see Figure 5.20]:

![Figure 5.20 – Cantata BWV 174/iii mm. 1-10.](image-url)  
*Johann Sebastian Bach – Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke* vol. 1:14, p. 113, reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel.

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The concept of “grasping salvation” reveals an aspect of Bach’s use of numerology: the number 19 is the sum of 12 (church) and 7 (faith); the words “greifet” and “Gläubt” are repeated 19 times each throughout the aria. The relationship of this aria to the Sinfonia of BWV 174 lay in that both have exactly 136 bars. Here the numerological symbolism, as with the aria itself, is not a coincident: the number 1 implies unity/unitas; the number 19 consists of 1 + 9 = 10, and 1 + 0 = 1; the number 136 consists of 1 + 3 + 6 = 10, and again, 1 + 0 = 1. And a most curious (and even if purely coincidental) parallel here is that in Boccaccio’s Caccia, the usual canto has eighteen triplets and two doublets, save Canto 3, which adds a nineteenth triplet – with the same numerological meaning – to emphasize the unity of Diana and Venus. The Jagd/Jäger carries over into Cantata BWV 88 (note the second epigraph to this chapter), and here there are relationships with Brandenburg Concerto No. 4.

Brandenburg Concerto No. 4: Der Jäger auf der Felsklüften?

Malcolm Boyd observes that Concerto No. 4 is “one of the most substantial in the whole set, and the only one in which the entire forces are employed in all the movements.” Boyd’s statement is certainly true. At 427 measures in length, the first movement of Concerto No. 4 is the longest of any movement of the Brandenburg set (although the Menuet-Trio-Poloinesse from Concerto No. 1 and the first movement of Concerto No. 5, with its extended cadenza, are longer in actual duration). Here, the violone appears on its own line (as Violone, not Violone ripieno, as in Concerto No. 2), and independent of the continuo (as can also be found in Concerto No. 5), intermittently doubling either the violoncello or continuo in movements 1 and 3; it doubles both instruments throughout the second movement. It must be observed here too, that the final chords of the second movement of Concerto No. 4 are exactly the same as those in Concerto No. 3 (ii6 → V/vi in G major / iv6 → V in e minor), and are in exactly the same key, with the same chromatic-median relationship (B-D#-F# → G-B-D) to the final movement.

This relationship again raises the question of whether Bach may have been thinking in terms of an extended operatic-type overture, yet the music of Brandenburg No. 4 cannot be found reworked anywhere among the cantatas, as do the first movements Concertos No. 1 and No. 3. It does appear transcribed as the Harpsichord Concerto in F major, BWV 1057. There is however, an interesting similarity between the music of the last movement of the Fourth Concerto with the second (b) section of the first movement of Cantata BWV 88, Siehe, ich will viel Fischer aussenden [see Figures 5.21 and 5.22]:

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43 Hirsch, ZKB, p. 52.
44 Ibid, p. 52.
46 Boyd, BBC, p. 83.
One can easily see the similarity of style with the beginning of the second section of BWV 88, marked *Allegro quasi presto*, coming on the words, “... Und danach will ich viele Jäger aussenden, die sollen sie fangen auf allen Bergen und auf allen Hügeln und in allen Felsklüften.” ⁴⁷ [see Figure 5.91].

⁴⁷ *Jeremiah* 16:16; see the second epigraph to this chapter.
At m. 104, the three-note motif of the *roulé* rhythm of the hunting-call is noticeable; Martin Petzoldt notes of this section, “Nun treten zwei Hörner hinzu, und der Eindruck einer Jagdszene entsteht.” The same *roulé* rhythms can also be seen, albeit briefly, later in the third movement of Concerto No. 4 [see Figure 5.23].

![Figure 5.23 – Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, movement III, mm. 89-102; note the *roulé* figures in mm. 95-100. BG, vol. XIX, p. 115, [Public Domain].](image)

Perhaps most interesting of all is that the opening motive of the last movement of Concerto No. 4 is built on the same opening notes, d – g – f# – g – a, as do both the *Brandeiser Jägerlied*, and the school song, *Das Jagen das ist ja mein Leben*, seen in Chapter 2. These relationships provide us with an immediate connection to the themes of the hunt.

Both Brandenburg No. 4/iii and BWV 88/i-b are equally complex contrapuntally, yet the cantata movement does not share the fugal exposition of the third movement of Brandenburg No. 4, nor the episodic-ripieno sections between the solo passages. Instead, the lively, highly melismatic solo bass line is accompanied by an equally lively *continuo* part, to which are added the aforementioned *roulé* figures.

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coupled with genuine hunting *appels* (calls)\(^{49}\), consisting of tied, alternating quarter-eighth note figures [Figure 5.24]:

![Figure 5.24 – Cantata BWV 88/i-b section, mm. 137-142; the *roulé* figures can be seen in the horns beginning at m. 138, while the *appels* can be seen in Corno I beginning at m. 139, and in the violin II and viola parts; BG, vol. xx/1, p. 162, [Public Domain]](image)

But what of the first movement? The opening motive contains the triadic outlines, in character with the other five concertos, and features a virtuoso *violino principale* with two solo *flauto a becco* parts, *ripieno* strings, cello, violone, and continuo [see Figure 5.25]:

[see example on next page]

\(^{49}\) These are illustrated in Normand, MTN, p. 6.
Perhaps the closest parallel in the cantatas would be the seventh movement of Cantata BWV 74, the alto solo, “Nichts kann mich erretten.” While using oboes and oboe da caccia in place of flutes, it still contains the violino solo, 3/8 time, and figurations characteristic of the first movement of Concerto No. 4 [see Figures 5.26 and 5.27]:

[see examples on next pages]
Figure 5.26 – Cantata BWV 74/vii, mm. 1-15.
The first movement of the Fourth Concerto is sometimes considered a lighter, more pastorale movement, yet the similar musical figurations in Cantata BWV 74/vii accompany a text which declares a theological victory, in keeping with the *Christus Victor* theme:

Nichts kann mich erretten  
Von höllischen Ketten  
Als, Jesu, dein Blut  
Dein Leiden, dein Sterben  
Macht mich ja zum Erben:  
Ich lache der Wut.

Most interestingly, the aria in BWV 74 is preceded by a bass recitative, accompanied by sustained oboes and oboe da caccia. One again can observe the multi-dimensional allegorical function of the oboes; just as they were used to proclaim victory in the *Jagd*-ensembles, here they serve as a proclamation of assured (soteriological) victory [Figure 5.28]:

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50 In reference to Pelikan, BAT, pp. 106-107.
The theme of victory is carried over, both theologically and secularly, in the figurations of the opening movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 5.

**Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Music for Multiple Allegories**

At first glance, the Fifth Concerto might seem the most unlikely match for anything relating to the hunt or hunting-themes. The work is often considered to be the pivotal work that heralded a new genre out of which was to evolve the Classical piano concerto, and as such, would seem more of a venue for a display of virtuosic keyboard skills (particularly those of Bach himself) than anything else. Yet all of the six concertos, each in its turn, reflect a new enterprise in instrumental techniques and/or scoring, later carried over into numerous cantatas: the virtuosic use of corni da caccia in the First Concerto, along with its hunting-ensemble horn-and-oboet combination and violin concertato; the virtuoso tromba / corno above the flute-oboe-violin concertato grouping in the first and last movements of Concerto No. 2; the expanded groupings of exclusively concertato strings in No. 3; the virtuoso violin (much more complex than any of the violin concertos) and recorders in No. 4; the cembalo concertato in No. 5, and the low-

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51 Wolff, TLM p. 373.
string violas da braccio and violas da gamba in No. 6; a *programmatic* in itself to showcase the best string, wind, brass, and keyboard players of the time. It can seen thus far, that Bach’s humanistic background, the prevailing Musiklehre of the Baroque, and the obvious influences of hunting/horn music and techniques in the first four concertos are all in harmony with the ideals and aesthetics of the court. Therefore Bach’s overall conception of the presentation score would have to have had a grander aesthetic scheme and purpose beyond a mere display of keyboard virtuosity when he included the fifth concerto as part of the overall set.

So what could the Fifth Concerto represent in terms of the overall *Programmatik*? An answer to this question can be found by studying the repeated-note figurations of the *ripieno* passages of the first movement, which can also be found in several cantata movements, each corresponding to a different musical poetic – a figure whose musical-semantic meaning can be multi-dimensional, depending on context [see Figure 5.29]:

![Figure 5.29 – Brandenburg Concerto No. 5, movement I, mm. 1-4. BG, vol. XIX, p. 127, [Public Domain].](image)

The relationship of the repeated-note figures to the alto aria, *Es ist vollbracht/Der Held aus Juda siegt mit Macht* from the *Johannes-passion*, BWV 254, has already been noted in Chapter 1. This same opening phrase, as well as the repeated-note figurations, can also be seen at the beginning of Cantata BWV 176, written for Trinity 1, 27 May 1725, but this time the exultant major-key *anabasis* figures of Concerto no. 5 now appear in the harmonic minor (in m. 1), underscoring the text, *Es ist ein trotzig und verzagt Ding um aller Menschen Herze* [see Figure 5.30]:

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Figure 5.30 – Cantata BWV 176/i, mm. 1-7; note the shifting, ambiguous harmonies and repeated-note figurations underscoring the nature of the text with its referral to the mercurial state of the human heart; BG, vol. XXXV, p. 181, [Public Domain].
Similar repeated-note figurations in close, major and minor alternations can also be found in the Sinfonia to the Prima Parte of Cantata BWV 35, again in a minor key, suggesting a poetic of confusion and turmoil, in preparation for words of the alto aria (and also the cantata’s title), “Geist und Seele wird verwirret” [see Figure 5.31]:

Figure 5.31 – Cantata BWV 35, Sinfonia to Part I, mm. 1-7, BG, vol. VII, p. 173, [Public Domain]
We can see how Bach’s manipulation of the same type of figuration (called *Repetitionstechnik* by Goebel⁵²) has here yielded contrasting musico-poetic meanings between the Fifth Concerto, and Cantatas BWV 176 and 35. The same figuration can also have a “triumphant” aspect as can be found in Cantatas BWV 172, *Erschallet, ihr Lieder*, and BWV 57, *Selig ist der Mann*. In the C major bass aria, “Heiligste Dreieinigkeit, grosser Gott der Ehre” (BWV 172/iii), we find both ascending and descending repeated-note patterns occurring between three trumpets and the continuo. Here is a sense of proclamation, poetically functioning much like the horn in the “Quoniam” from the B Minor Mass [see Figure 5.32]:

![Tayauté figures](image)

Figure 5.32 – Cantata BWV 172/iii, mm. 1-2; note the tayauté figures in m. 2 in the Tromba I & II. BG, vol. XXXV, p. 54, [Public Domain].

One of the best exemplifications of this “triumphant” aspect appears in the bass aria from Cantata BWV 57/iii, again in the major key. The solo bass voice, specifically characterized in the score as “Jesus”,⁵³ proclaiming triumph with the words, “Ja, ja, ich kann die Feinde schlagen” [see Figure 5.33]:

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⁵³ Note that this specific characterization of the bass voice does not always appear in works where the inference is obvious, such as Cantata 140/iii, the soprano and bass Aria-Duetto, “Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil”, with the soprano words, “Komm Jesu”, answered by the bass “ich komme.”
This repeated-note figure is played by three tromba, together with timpani punctuating phrases proclaiming honour and glory in the chorale that concludes the New Year’s Cantata, *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm*, BWV 171/vi, first performed in 1729 [see Figure 5.34]. Taking these examples of Bach’s musical poetics, it can be observed that the repeated-note technique in the minor key, or using alternating major and minor figures, reflects texts expressing agitation, despair and struggle; the same figures in the major key express texts affirming triumph, victory, and glory. I suggest that similar figures, appearing in the opening movement of Concerto No. 5, serve to carry the themes of sovereign victory and glory – those first expressed by the royal hunt in Concerto No. 1, as the crown of the *Bildprogrammatik* – now supported by Concertos Two, Three, Four, and Five, as the title of this chapter suggests, the “pillars of a *Vollkommenheitsgrad*,” in preparation for the Sixth Concerto, which, as seen in Chapter 6, rounds out the *Bildprogrammatik*, both musically and in terms of the visual presentation of the dedication score, victory and glory now leading to the ultimate royal goal of immortality.

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54 It should be noted that the bass recitative, “Und da du, Herr, gesagt: Bittet nur in meinem Namen, so ist alles Ja!”, is accompanied by two oboes in sustained recitative, and continuo.
At the beginning of this section, we described Concerto No. 5 as music for multiple allegories, and we can observe an interesting aesthetic comparison between the scoring of the Fifth Concerto and a group of figures which appear in the Marmorsaal (Marble Hall) in Sanssouci Palace of Frederick the Great. At the four corners of the elliptical dome, each framed from below by a pair of Corinthian columns, are four allegories. The figure of a beautiful woman appears in each allegory, being the same person in each
one. To the west is the Allegory of Painting and Sculpture. To the south is the Allegory of Astronomy. To the east is the Allegory of Architecture. And to the north is the Allegory of Music [see Figure 5.35].

Figure 5.35 – The Allegory of Music, reproduced from Giersburg and Ibbeken, *Schloss Sansouci*.

Photo credit: Used by kind permission of Hillert Ibbeken.

In this allegory, we can see three players, with instruments representative of the group found in Concerto No. 5: strings (a lute, or “Knicklaute”), wind (flute), and keyboard (organ/positiv). Surrounding the figures, is another flute at the far right; to the right of the woman, is violin, and at the far right, a trumpet. Between the woman and the cherub on the left is either a clarinet or (more likely) an

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57 *SS*, p. 219, plate 82.
oboe; behind them is a bassoon or sackbut. And at the far left, next to (possibly) a trombone, is the ubiquitous hunting-horn.

Based on such a representation, the Fifth Concerto could also be interpreted as an Allegory of Music itself. At the same time, its music for multiple allegories allow it to be seen as part of the overall hunt-Programmatik, and/or a virtuoso showcase on its own, or (depending on a Margrave’s tastes), perhaps all three together. The final movement of the concerto reinforces the hunt-theme with its pick-up fourth/fifth interval-motive, and groupings of thirds in the cembalo, not unlike the figures found in the Jagd-Musik of the hunt and the waldhorn, [see Figures 5.36 and 5.37]:

![Figure 5.36](image)

Figure 5.36 – Friedrich Stitcher, *Das Waldhorn*[^59]  
[Public Domain].

Figure 5.37 – Brandenburg Concerto No. 5, movement III, mm. 294-310; note the entries of the subject-motive in the cembalo at mm. 298-99, followed by the descending third (tenth) patterns, both characteristic of Jagd-Musik.

* * * * * *

Observing the repeated-note motive of the opening movement of the Fifth Concerto, and its use in Cantata BWV 171 leads us to an interesting connection between the Cantata, the B Minor Mass, and the First Brandenburg Concerto, although not directly related to the motive itself but rather to the number 84, and the göttliche Dreieck described in Chapter 2. The poetic of the motive is one of victory and triumph. The opening movement of the Cantata also expresses the same poetic, to the words, *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm bis an der Welt Ende.* The movement is a precursor (Vorbild) of the “Patrem Ominpotentem” section of the B Minor Mass, except consisting of only 78 bars, not 84. But in the second movement, the tenor aria, on the words:
remind the (Lutheran) listener that God’s praise is carried “as wide as the clouds reach.”\textsuperscript{60} Recalling Dammann’s statement from Chapter 2, we are reminded that the \textit{göttliche Dreieck} comes through the clouds (and the circle of angels):

\begin{quote}
Das göttliche Dreieck ist von einem Wolken- und Engelskreis umgeben . . . Die Helligkeit des trinitarisch-triadischen Lichtpfeilers durchbricht die Wolkendecke und schafft einen Durchlaß . . . was die kanonische Verbindlichkeit der Trias harmonica für die himmlische Musik (musica angelica) versinnbildlichen soll.\textsuperscript{61}
\end{quote}

Hirsch notes that this movement contains 84 bars,\textsuperscript{62} and as we have seen earlier, Psalm 84 is one of the Messianic predictions in Müller’s \textit{Judaismus}. But it must be noted that the movement actually concludes with a single quarter-note chord on the 85th bar – would the movement, so high in theological significance, still qualify as \textit{Cabbala speculativa}? According to Tatlow, a work by Johann Christoph Mieth and Johann Christoph Zimmerman, \textit{Das ABC cum notis variorum} of 1695 outlines a procedure whereby, “¶ 358. Sometimes, however, it may be that the numbers will not accord exactly . . . the last may fall short by 1, 2, or 3, and that is called \textit{demta Monade, Dyade, Triade}; if it is added to, then it is called \textit{addita Monade, Dyade, Triade}.”\textsuperscript{63} Therefore, given Bach’s precision in the use of anything that would qualify as number symbolism or \textit{Cabbala}, and referring again to the four principles of Baroque \textit{Musiklehre}, we have: 1) the number of bars, and the text’s obvious connection to the \textit{göttliche Dreieck} – 2) an introduction consisting of 14 bars, with the cadence culminating on the tenor’s entrance at bar 15, and a conclusion also consisting of 14 bars, with exactly the same cadence, the final quarter note falling on the 85\textsuperscript{th} bar, adding to the theological relevance. All this can easily be interpreted as \textit{Cabbala speculativa}.

The Brandenburg Concertos, in addition to being a \textit{Bildprogrammatik} for the royal hunt, also provide us with profound theological insights and connections to Bach’s cantatas. Before we examine the Sixth Concerto, I examine one further element that contributes to the overall structure of the Brandenburg Concertos as a set.

\textsuperscript{60} My translation.
\textsuperscript{61} Dammann, MdB, p. 455.
\textsuperscript{62} Hirsch, ZKB, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{63} Tatlow, BRN, pp. 86-87; the translation and emphases are Tatlow’s. Mieth and Zimmerman here refers to its use in a paragram, but, as it involves arriving at a specific number, the principle would still be the same.
Adagios and Andantes: A Hidden Connection?

Philip Pickett observed the dedication score of the Brandenburg Concertos as being “also an object for study and contemplation.” 64 We do not know to what extent – if at all – Margrave Christian Ludwig gave any attention to Bach’s presentation score, nor do we know the extent of his musical knowledge or training. But there is (at least) one aspect of the set that cannot be noticed unless one studies the set as opposed to performing the concertos, and it occurs in the relationship between the slow movements, and could only be noticed by the Margrave if he were not only a proficient musician, and also well-versed in music theory.

The slow movements of Concertos No. 3 and No. 4 have the same cadence: ii6 → V/vi, in G major (iv6 → V/vi in E minor) with a chromatic-mediant relationship to the last movement. In both cases, the resolution is achieved by a half-step descent in the bass. This is also true of the First and Sixth Concertos. The Second and Fifth Concertos each have an authentic cadence; in No. 2 from A to D major, and in No. 5 from F# to B minor. The result is an overall symmetrical pattern:

**Concerto No. 1 (Adagio)**
Resolution by half-step: (in D minor) iv6 /iv to V7 of A major – chromatic-mediant relationship to
↓
(B-flat in the bass)

**Concerto No. 2 (Andante)**
Authentic cadence (in D minor) – I6/4 to V of D major - chromatic-mediant relationship to
the third movement

**Concerto No. 3 (Adagio)**
Resolution by half-step (in G major) - ii6→B major - chromatic-mediant relationship to
(or iv6 in E minor)
the third movement

**Concerto No. 4 (Adagio)**
Resolution by half-step (in E minor) iv6→B major - chromatic-mediant relationship to
(or ii6 in G major)
the third movement

**Concerto No. 5 (Affettuoso)**
Authentic cadence (in B minor) I6/4 to V of B minor - chromatic-mediant relationship to
the third movement

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64 Pickett, PBC-1, p. 7.
Concerto No. 6 (Adagio ma non tanto)

Resolution by half-step (in G minor) V16/5-iv6/5-iv6→D major - chromatic-mediant relationship to the third movement

The cadences of the slow movements contribute to an overall symmetry that further enhances the overall conception of the arrangement of the Concertos as a whole. This, together with theme of the hunt, 65and horn-call patterns and techniques in all of the concertos – result in a presentation score with both visual and musical implications for contemplation – all conveying the essence of a true Bildprogrammatik – and prepare the way for the theme of the final and most enigmatic work of the Brandenburg set.
CHAPTER 6

Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: The “Mirror of God?”

*Hunting Near Hartenfels Castle*, 1540 (detail).
Lucas Cranach the Elder (German, 1472-1553).
Oil, originally on wood, transferred to masonite; 116.8 x 170.2 cm.
Used by kind permission of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

*Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinetts*
*Die Drei Lebenden und Die Drei Toten Könige*
(drypoint on handmade paper, c. 1485-1490)
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.
Graphische Sammlung © Foto: Stattsgalerie Stuttgart.
6. Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: The “Mirror of God?”

Trois jeunes seigneurs se trouvent face à face avec trois cadavres en pleine décomposition qui se sont ranimés . . . C’est le thème macabre des Trois morts et des trois vifs, qui a joui longtemps d’une vogue considérable; il a inspiré non seulement des poèmes en plusieurs langues, mais aussi un nombre incalculable peintures.

Stefan Glixelli, from the introduction to Les Cinq Poèmes Des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs, p. 1

Ensi con li matere conte
Il furent, si con duc et conte,
Troi noble homme de grant arroi
Et de rice, con fil a roi,
Et aveuc molt joli et gent.
Fort ierent envers toute gent,
U orent de terre a marcier.
Un jour, pour lor orguel marcier,
Leur apert un mireoir Diex,
Tourble et oscur a veoir d’iex
Et lait ‘ de ce ne vous ment gié,
C’ierent troi mort de vers mengié

Badouin de Condé (13th cent.),
Ce sont li troi mort et li troi vif
(my emphases)

Kein mensch ist so weise, daß er seine Fahrt wisse. Der Tod bedeutet den Dieb; keinen von euch läßt er hier. Er ist ein Gleichmacher. Kein Mensch ist so erhaben, daß er nicht sterben müßte. Dazu kann ihm sein Schatz nicht zugute kommen.

Noker von Zwiefalten (c. 1065-1090)
Memento mori

The Enigma of the Sixth Concerto

Bach’s placement of the smallest, most sparsely-scored concerto at the end of the set poses an enigma in itself. If, as has been argued thus far, the First Brandenburg concerto serves as the crown for a Bildprogrammatik, allegorically depicting the royal hunt, and if the four succeeding concertos are the Bauteilen that define and further project themes connected with the hunt, then how does this smallest, final concerto fit into the overall visual and tonal picture to properly conclude this Bildprogrammatik?

Evidence suggests that the Sixth concerto was probably written earlier than any of the others. Malcolm Boyd, following Heinrich Besseler’s “very reasonable suggestion that Bach tailored the
concertos [as a whole] to the forces of Prince Leopold’s collegium musicum at Cöthen”, ¹ concludes, in reference to Concerto No. 6, that:

The instrumentation may seem old-fashioned, but it was well suited to the Cöthen band, and especially to a small group of players such as Prince Leopold might have taken with him on one of his visits to the spa at Carlsbad. (The prince himself, an able viol player, might indeed have been a member of the ensemble in the early performances.) ²

But Wolff is quick to observe that:

Eighteenth-century protocol would have required Bach, while in the employ of Prince Leopold, to obtain formal permission for dedicating such a work to another sovereign, and it is hard to imagine that Bach could have submitted to the margrave of Brandenburg a bundle of works originally written for the prince of Anhalt-Cöthen — especially if the prince was fond of them and considered them his property. We can therefore assume that Bach carefully selected from outside the restricted Cöthen contingent the best of his concerto compositions that would properly fit into an uncommon collection. ³

This is in itself a suggestion that the Sixth Concerto may be, or be derived from, an earlier work. If indeed it is one of Bach’s earlier concertos — and given the fact that it would have been among numerous of Bach’s concertos written at the time which were subsequently destroyed or lost, how is it that Bach selected this particular concerto to conclude the set?

In order to examine the Sixth concerto in the light of the proposed Bildprogrammatik, we again return again to Bach’s early education. As has been continually emphasized, in the Didactica Magna, completed around 1632, Comenius lay down his premise that all learning is derived from nature, “The exact order of instruction must be borrowed from nature . . . . If we wish to find a remedy for the defects of nature, it is in nature herself that we must look for it, since it is certain that art can do nothing unless it imitates nature.” ⁴

If nature is then the basis of all human experience, then it follows logically that all experience of nature occurs between birth and death; and death is of course the conclusion of life begun at birth. Could the Bildprogrammatik of the Brandenburg Concertos “conclude” with an allegory somehow related to themes of both the hunt and death? Death is of course part of the hunt; as we have noted, when the animal was killed, the Jagd-ensemble assumed a different instrumentation to announce the success of the hunt, and Jagd-Musik even included songs which proclaimed the felled animal [see Figure 6.1]:

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² Ibid.
⁴ Comenius, DM-2, p. 98.
Philip Pickett has suggested that the Sixth Concerto represents the allegory of *The Three Quick and the Three Dead*, where three princes out on the hunt encounter three cadavers “who warn them to repent . . . for all must eventually succumb to death” (in effect, the hunters now becoming the hunted). But would Bach, presumably submitting the concerto set to the Margrave – in the interest of gaining a court position – have dealt so practically and directly with the theme of death within the royal house?

According to the *Ars moriendi*, or *Sterbekunst* of the Baroque, death is an “art” that must be learned throughout the whole of one’s life: “Gut sterben ist wirklich eine Kunst, die gelernt sein will. Das wissen die Philosophen des 20. Jahrhunderts – wir wiesen in der Einleitung darauf hin – und das wußten auch die Seelsorger früherer Jahrhunderte.”

Again, we see the names of Classical philosophers are invoked in the poems and reflections on the *Sterbekunst*, such as this passage from “Unum discamus mori” by Heinrich Mühlpforth, published in 1698:

```
Und alles durchgesucht; so kommt ein fremder Gast /
Weist uns das Stunden-Glaß / und spricht: Mensche lernen sterben
Wo du nicht ewig wilst an Leib un Seel verderben.
Ach Wunder-volle Kunst / und unergründes Werck /
Die Weißheit / so zuvor ein gantzes Land geehrt /
Wird da zum Kinderspiel. Was Plato hat gelehret /
Was Socrates gesagt / und was der Künste Berg
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5 Clewing, MuJ, p. 120. The text and translation appears in Appendix C, p. 260.
6 It should be noted that *The Three Quick and the Three Dead* represents a medieval allegory and not a Classical one. Pickett’s discussion occupies only five short paragraphs, and does not discuss any of the original poems.
7 Pickett, PBC-1, p. 16. This carries over into twentieth-century music, in Bartók’s *Cantata Profana*, subtitled, “The Nine Splendid Stags”, where an old man trains his sons in the art of hunting. The sons go off into the forest, finding a bridge with magical deer tracks. When they cross the bridge, they are transformed into stags, the hunters becoming the hunted; adapted from the text (in German) to the score of Béla Bartók, *Cantata Profana*, New York: Universal Edition, UE 10613, 1955 [no page number given]. My thanks to Prof. Sever Tipei for this observation.
8 Van Ingen, VMDB, p. 121.
Von Klugheit bey sich hat / das wird allhier zum Thoren /
Wer nicht recht sterben lernt / ist ewiglich verlohren.\(^9\)

Court philosophy itself reflected on the frailness of life – and again, with the names of Classical figures, as in Ode VIII, “Maupertius\(^10\)” La vie est un songe” from the Philosophe de Sans-Souci, this time in context with the mortality of humankind as a whole:

\[
\text{O Maupertius, cher Maupertius,} \\
\text{Que notre vie est peu de chose!} \\
\text{Cette fleur qui brille aujourd’hui,} \\
\text{Demain se fane à peine éclosée:} \\
\text{Tout péri, tout est emporté} \\
\text{Par la dure fatalité} \\
\text{Des arrêts de la destinée;} \\
\text{Votre vertu, vos grands talents} \\
\text{Ne pourront obtenir du temps} \\
\text{Le seul délai d’une journée.}
\]

\[
\text{Homme si fier, homme si vain} \\
\text{De ce que ton faible esprit pense,} \\
\text{Connais ton fragile destin,} \\
\text{Et réprime ton arrogance;} \\
\text{Ton terme est court, il est borné;} \\
\text{La sort du jour où l’homme est né,} \\
\text{L’entraîne la soule confondues,} \\
\text{Les Virgile, les Mévius} \\
\text{Ont une destinée égale.} \(^{11}\)
\]

Thus, it would not have been unusual, but even appropriate for Bach to address the theme of death within the context of a royal tribute; especially since the themes of victory and glory culminate in immortality; the doorway to a new life, in the courtly sense. Also, as a court composer, Bach would have been expected to provide music for funerals and commemorative services, such as he did with the Trauer Ode, BWV 198, for the Electress Christiane Eberhardine.\(^12\) In this work, the musical poetics find parallels with both the Sixth Concerto and the Cantata, Liebster Gott, wenn werd’ ich sterben?, BWV 8, one of four cantatas written on the \textit{ars moriendi} theme for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity.\(^13\) Bach’s use of low-pitched instruments, as found exclusively (within the Brandenburg set) in the Sixth concerto, two viola da braccios and two viola da gambas, which, according to Pickett, were associated with

\(^9\) \textit{Teutsche Gedichte}, Breslau, 1698; quoted in Van Ingen, p. 121.
\(^10\) Pierre Louis Maupertius (1698-1759), was the director of the Berlin Academy.
\(^12\) Written in 1727; Bach retained the nonresident status of princely Anhalt-Cöthen Cappelmeister; \textit{TLM}, p. 528.
\(^13\) The other three cantatas are BWV 27, \textit{Wer weiß, wie nahe mein nur Ende?}, BWV 95, \textit{Christus, der ist mein Leben}, and BWV 161, \textit{Komm, du süße Todesstunde}. 
“feelings of despair due to a depression of the soul or spirits, and 16th- and 17th-century composers expressed this through low-pitched music written for sombre sounding sackbuts, viols and organs.”  

A similar combination can be found in the two viola da gambas that accompany BWV 198/v, the alto aria, “Wie starb die Heldin so vergnügt” [see Figure 6.2]:

Figure 6.2 – Cantata BWV 198/iv, mm. 1-3; [BG, vol. XIII.3, p. 35; Public Domain].

Bach also uses the two-viola da gamba combination extensively in the funeral Cantata BWV 106, Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit (Actus Tragicus), appearing in all but one of its eight sections. Other parallels also can be found in the musical death-poetics of BWV 198, BWV 8, and BWV 161, Komm, du süße Todesstunde, also written for the 16th Sunday after Trinity. In BWV 198/iv, two traverse flutes play a continuous stream of repeated semi-quavers, accompanying the alto’s words, Der Glocken beben des Getön, awakening the lamenting soul, and calling to der ganzen Europäerwelt ein Zeugniss unsres Jammers bringen! The same poetics are seen in the first movement of BWV 8, where a single traverse flute plays a similar figure of repeated notes, to the words, Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben? Meine Zeit läuft immer, hin.

In BWV 161/iv, again an alto aria, repeated notes from the transverse flute appear at the words, “So schlage doch, schlage doch, du letzter Stundenschlag”, punctuated by pizzicato notes from the violins. [See Figure 6.3]:

[see example on next page]
Just as musical poetics reflect upon each other, so too do the opening verses of the final chorus of BWV 198 prove to be a reflection of court philosophy:

**BWV 198/x**

Doch, Königen! du stirbest nicht!
Mann weiß, was man an dir besessen;
Die Nachwelt wird dich nicht vergessen,
Bis dieser Weltbau einst zerbricht.

*Philosophe de Sans-Souci, Ode X (A Voltaire), final stanza*[^15]

*Quel avenir t’attend, divin Voltaire,*
*Lorsque ton ame aura quitté la terre!*
*A tes genoux vois la postérité;*
*Le tem(p)is qui s’élançe,*
*Te promet d’avance*
*L’immortalité.*

And the main lesson of the *Sterbekunst*, as enunciated by the Breslau theologian Georg Lintzner, in his *Memento Mori* (1675),

Weil du gesund bist / lerne krank seyn /
lerne sterben / in beyden ist grosse kunst[^16]

can be found in the tenor aria of BWV 198/vi:

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[^15]: OduSS, vol. I, p. 44.
[^16]: VMDB, p. 121.
Ihr Leben liess die Kunst zu Sterben
In unverrückter Übung sehn;
Unmöglich konnt’ es dann geschehn,
Sich vor dem Tode zu entfärben.
Ach selig! wessen großer Geist
Sich über Natur erhebet.  

The “art of dying” can only be understood in terms of death vis-à-vis life; curiously, the same theme prefigured in the legend of *Des trois morts et des trois vifs*.

**“Des trois morts et de trois vifs“**

The *leitmotif* 18 of the legend of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs* (known in German as *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und von den drei Toten*), is conveyed by three reanimated cadavers whom are confronting three wealthy noblemen who are walking, proudly, 19 together through the forest: “Was ihr seid, das waren wir. Was wir sind, das werdet ihr” (As you are, we were. As we are, you will be). The legend originated in five medieval French poems (and one French fragment), the earliest of which is the de Condé poem; in each, the aforementioned scenario/dialogue is presented (Glixelli notes that the fourth poem is exclusively dialogue). 20

In the context of Bach’s life where, prior to the dedication of the score of the Brandenburg Concertos in 1721, three of his first seven children died between 1713 and 1718, followed by his first wife, Maria Barbara in 1720, we can see that his own *Sitz im Leben* was a paradigm for the poetics of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*:

Only six of Anna Magdalena’s children outlived early childhood, as did four of Maria Barbara’s. Infant mortality was then a normal fact of life, and staying alive was considered a godsend. Joy and sorrow always stood side by side, with experiences of hardship, illness, and pain usually prevailing. 21

This clearly echoes the sentiment expressed in Horace, Ode XXVIII (Book I), verses 19-20, another one of the Classical texts read in Bach’s Lüneburg days: 22

mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera, nullum
saeva caput Proserpina fugit.

Without distinction the deaths of old and young follow close on each other’s heels; cruel Proserpine spares no head. 23

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17 The poetry is by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766).
18 Glixelli, TM/TV, pp. 23-24; note on the phrase’s Latin origins as an epitaph; TM/TV, pp. 21-22.
19 Appearing in the epigraph as “orguel marcier.”
20 TM/TV, pp. 16-17.
21 Wolff, TLM, p. 396.
The same lament is reflected in the texts of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*:

Terrible mort, sus tous autres terribles,
On te doit bien par tes œuvres horribles
Dire et clamer, puisque par ta morsure
Et par assaulx soudains imparcectibles
Par coups mortelz, divers, irremissibles
Telle tu fais humaine creature.\(^{24}\)

By the fifteenth century, five other versions of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs* had evolved, three in German (with two described by Glixelli as being in *bas-allemande*, or low-German)\(^{25}\) one in Italian, and one in Latin. Particular to the German and Italian poems is that the three noblemen are described exclusively as *kings*,\(^{26}\) and, unique to the low-German poems is that in both, the three kings are described as being out on the *hunt*.\(^{27}\) In the first low-German and the German poems, the three dead are also kings; representations of “Die Drei Lebenden und die Drei Toten Könige” can be found as early as the late fifteenth-century, as in the depiction, replete with hunting hounds, by an unknown “Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinetts”, from 1485-1490, as seen in the Frontispiece to this chapter.

In the Latin poem, the three dead are not reanimated, but appear as reflections of the three living noblemen, who in effect, as described in da Conde’s poem, “open a mirror of God”, with the same ominous theme from the original French, *Nous fumes ce que vous êtes, vous serez ce que nous sommes*, now appearing in Latin:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cum apertam sepulturam} \\
\text{Viri tres aspicerent} \\
\text{Ac orriblem figuram} \\
\text{Intus esse cernerent.}\quad 28
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
. . . \text{Quod nos sumus hi fuere} \\
\text{Nosque tales erimus (strophe 5)} \\
\text{Hi fuere quod vos estis (strophe 25).}\quad 29
\end{align*}
\]

Phillip Pickett’s describes the sixth Concerto as being an allegory for *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*, where “Three young Princes (2 violas and cello), returning carefree from the chase, meet three cadavers

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\(^{24}\) TM/TV, pp. 92-93.

\(^{25}\) Ibid., pp. 30-33.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., pp. 30-34.

\(^{27}\) Glixelli notes that the German poem consists of only dialogue; *ibid.*, p. 32.

\(^{28}\) TM/TV, p. 35, f.t. 1

\(^{29}\) Ibid., f.t. 2.
(2 viols and violone), who “warn the Princes to repent.”  

Pickett’s description of the use of two groups of low-voice instruments is matched by Wolff’s description of “a six-part score with two contrasting but low register trio formations, 2 violas and cello (the ‘modern’ four-stringers) on the one side and 2 violas da gamba and violone (the ‘old-fashioned’ six-stringers) on the other.”  

Pickett notes, “The repeated quavers played by the viols here represent the relentless passing of time – clocks are an omnipresent reminder of earthly transience in Vanitas paintings, and the same repeated quavers appear in Biber’s Requiem in F minor and Bach’s own Actus Tragicus (BWV 106).

Pickett’s reference to musical poetics here prompts some further discussion. While Bach does use repeated eighths in the Sinfonia to BWV 106, groupings of four or more repetitions of the same note only appear in two and a-half of the Sinfonia’s nineteen bars, and are played Molto Adagio in common time, not like the consistent repeated groupings which characterize the first movement of the Sixth concerto, which are played in cut time. Bach also tends to characterize the “fleeting of time” with running passages of sixteenth notes, or juxtaposing sixteenth and eighth notes, such as found in the opening chorus of Cantata BWV 26, Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig [Figure 6.4]:

![Figure 6.4 – Cantata BWV 26/i, mm. 1-3; from the top: flauto traverso and oboe I, oboe II, oboe III, violin I, violin II, viola, SATB (corno col soprano), continuo [BG, vol. V.1, p. 191; Public Domain].](image-url)

31 TLM, p. 234.
33 Note that Bach’s doubles the soprano line, a cantus firmus melody, with the horn.
Pickett’s reference to the *Dies Irae* of Biber’s *F minor* Requiem raises the question that while the repeated eighths here are played quickly in cut time, they do not appear in more than a single grouping of four of the same notes at once, and are scattered throughout the string and organ parts, rather than consistent, repeated notes in the bass line [Figure 6.5]:

How then is this an effective comparison with Bach’s consistent pedal-point repetitions in the first movement of the Sixth Concerto? I suggest here that Bach’s consistent use of the same note repeated in groups of four eighths (sometimes over six bars at a time), if interpreted in the context of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*, would better represent the *chase* itself, of both of the living (cellos) and underpinned by the deathly figures (violone).

If the theme of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs* represents the ultimate encounter, and the eventual, inevitable triumph of death, then, by the theology of Bach’s time the transience of earthly life must give
way to the Christian promise of salvation. Notes Pickett, “In some triumphal processions, the figure of Death was followed by that of Eternity, a religious allegory depicting the triumph of the Christian faith.”

In the Lutheran sense, this means faith in God’s Word, above all earthly affairs.

This leads to yet another comparison of poetics, between the Sixth Concerto and Bach’s Cantata BWV 18, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*. Just as Bach combines two flutes with two violas da gamba in the Actus Tragicus, in BWV 18 he combines two flutes with four violas, written after the same fashion as the Sixth Concerto, with two instruments written in alto clef and two in tenor clef. In the soprano aria (No. 4), the text reflects on the nature of transience:

My soul’s treasure is God’s Word;
Outside them are all treasures
Such nets, which the world and Satan weave,
Beguile the souls to turn back.
Away with all, away, only away!
My soul’s treasure is God’s Word.

Here, the soprano line is accompanied by an instrumental combination unique in Bach’s works; the two flutes play a unison line which is doubled an octave below by all four violas, also playing in unison (with a perfect instrumental balance of one high woodwind to two low strings), which could be allegorically interpreted as being the heavenly treasures above the earthly ones. If the Sixth Concerto may in any way be interpreted as an allegory of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*, then, according to Lutheran/Christian theology, it must follow that we may also observe yet another allegorical dimension exists in the theme of *mors triumphans / mors devicta*.

**Mors triumphans / mors devicta**

Bach’s Lutheran faith, his theological perception of death and the afterlife, and his ability to express that perspective in music must have been a powerful locus from which to deal with the experience of death, particularly at a personal level. A most tragic example would be the loss of the twins, Maria Sophia and Johann Christoph in 1713; the latter died at birth, and the former a few weeks later. It is interesting to note that many writers have listed the Sixth Concerto as being the earliest of the Brandenburg set; Martin Geck specifically ascribes its composition to the year 1713. Whether the Sixth Concerto is or is not an allegory for *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*, its death poetics; i.e., mid-to-low register instruments, and repeated-notes bass line have much in common with other Baroque works

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35 The score also contains individual parts for fagotto, violoncello, and continuo.
36 Three other children died within a few days of birth; Wolff, TLM, pp. 396-398.
associated with the theme of death, particularly Vivaldi’s *Concerto Funebre, in Si-b maggiore*, RV 579, which makes use of the oboe, corno inglese, and a grouping of violin, viola 1, viola 2, and violoncello *concertante*, in addition to strings and continuo. After an opening *Adagio*, the *Allegro poco poco* section bears a curious structural similarity to Brandenburg Six, with a bass line of steady, repeated eighth notes, and sixteenth-note figurations from the treble instruments.38 And like Brandenburg Six, it also contains passages of alternating instrumental groups, including groupings of the two violas and violoncello [see Figures 6.6 and 6.7]

Death was no less a spectre for the royalty than it was for the commoner, as can be seen in this lament by Frederick the Great:

*Dieux ! Détournez de ma pensée  
L’objet d’un présage effrayant;  
De douleur mon ame oppressée,  
Mon cœur triste & défaillissant,  
Tremblent dans ce péril extrême,  
Que la Mort de son fer tranchant  
Ne me sépare en ce moment  
De cette moitié moi-même.* 39

Bruce Boucher, in *Italian Baroque Art and Sculpture*, notes that:

Death and commemoration lay at the heart of Baroque art, for they touched upon aspects of Christian belief concerning this world and the next as well as the overlapping boundaries between normal existence and what we could call ‘altered states.’ 40 In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, death was much more central to everyone’s experience of life. Poor sanitation, high levels of infant mortality and frequent epidemics meant that the death of close relations occurred often; life expectancy, too, was very short.41

[see example on next page]
Figure 6.6 – Antonio Vivaldi, *Concerto funebre*, RV 579, mm. 16-18; Scoring from the top: oboe, cor inglese, violin, viola I, viola II, cello *concertato*, strings and continuo; Edizioni Ricordi, Tomo 51, p. 4, [Public Domain].

[see next page]
Indeed, the Margrave of Brandenburg, born eight years before Bach, died just thirteen years after the dedication of the Brandenburg score, in 1734, and no evidence exists that he ever played or heard any of the six concertos.

With the figure of death as an ubiquitous, inevitable victor – *mors triumphans* – both deists, such as the royalty, and the Christians of Bach’s time found meaning in death as being a passage, or doorway, to eternal life/immortality. Boucher continues, “. . .The concept of Christian death, arising from the medieval *ars bene moriendi* (art of a good death), was part of a strategy for guiding the soul through the afterlife and ultimately to paradise . . .” 42

The theme of *mors triumphans* – in German, “Der Triumph des Todes” – just like the allegory of *Des trois morts et de trois vifs* – was carried over from the Middle Ages, as was the theme of “Der «Christus triumphans» wird . . . für den Gläubigen zum Sieger über den Tod.” 43 For the Lutheran, the resurrection (*Auferstehung*) meant,

\[
\ldots \text{Weil Christi Person groß, ewig, unendlich und unbegreiflich ist, so ist seine Auferstehung, Sieg und Triumph auch groß, ewig, unendlich und unbegreiflich. Die Auferstehung Christi hat Teufel} \]

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42 Ibid., pp. 113-114.
(through whom the serpent brought sin into the Garden of Eden), Sünde und Tod überwunden. Wenn man das Evangelium predigen will, so muß es kurzum sein von der Auferstehung Christi.\textsuperscript{44}

For the Lutherans of Bach’s time, it was death that brought the resurrection nearer.\textsuperscript{45} Through faith, Death, though a tyrant, is vanquished by his own victory – mors devicta (der besiegte Tod), opening the door/path to eternal life. This sentiment is clearly expressed in Salamo Franck’s poetry for Cantata BWV 161, Komm, du süsse Todesstunde, written for Trinity XVI, 1715:\textsuperscript{46}

\begin{center}
Der blasse Tod ist meine Morgenröte,  
Mit solcher geht mir auf die Sonne  
Der Herrlichkeit und Himmelswonne.  
Drum seufz ich recht von Herzensgrunde  
Nur nach der letzten Todesstunde.\textsuperscript{47}
\end{center}

The royalty also had its own door to immortality, guided by the heroes and warriors of ancient times:

\begin{center}
A ce bruit la vertu du haut de l’Empirée,  
Retrouvant des Héros dignes du tems d’Astrée,  
Retrouvant des Guerriers remplis d’humanité,  
Viendra pour vous guider à l’immortalité, . . .  
\end{center}

\begin{center}
Notre origine est pure, elle nous vient des Cieux,  
Apollon mous plaça vers le haut du Permesse,\textsuperscript{48}  
C’est l’immortalité qui fait notre noblesse.\textsuperscript{49}
\end{center}

Thus, the “Mirror of God” (un mireoir Dieu/un miroir Dieu) of the de Condé poem of Des trois morts et de trois vifs, becomes the doorway, for Christians, to eternal life, and for the deist/royalty, the path to immortality – the grim encounter between the noblemen and the cadavers becomes one of eventual victory: mors triumphans / mors devicta. This concept was often pictured in extravagant detail in Baroque emblematica [see Figure 6.8 ]:

\textsuperscript{44} Luther, HPR, col. 99.  
\textsuperscript{46} This also coincided with the mourning period for Prince Wilhelm Ernst; ref: Wolff, TLM, p. 527.  
\textsuperscript{47} BWV 161/ii, tenor recitative, “Welt! Deine Lust ist Last!”, mm. 8-16.  
\textsuperscript{48} Parnassus.  
\textsuperscript{49} OduSS, vol. II, p. 307 and p. 238, respectively.
I suggest the Sixth Concerto, although easily construed as an allegory for the *Des trois morts et de trois vifs*, with its groupings of low instruments, three “four-stringers” and three “six-stringers” ⁵¹ (and the predominating hunt theme) is, at its deepest level, an allegory for *mors triumphans / mors devicta*. The poetics of the Sixth Concerto correspond with similar death-poetics found in other of Bach’s works. The repeated notes of the first movement can be seen in passages such as no. 18 of the *Matthäus-passion*, BWV 244, where Christ laments, *bis an den Tod* in the garden [see Figure 6.9]:

[see example on next page]

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⁵¹ Wolff, TLM, p. 234.
The dance-like figurations of the last movement of the Sixth Concerto can be seen most prominently in the bass aria (no. 4) from Cantata BWV 8, *Lieber Gott wenn werd ich sterben?* Also written for Trinity XVI (1724) [see Figure 6.10]:
to the text,

Doch weichet, ihr tollen, vergeblichen Sorgen?
Mich rufet mein Jesus: wer sollte nicht gehn?
    Nichts, was mir gefällt,
    Besitzet die Welt.
Erscheine mir, seliger, fröhlicher Morgen,
Verkläret und herrlich vor Jesu zu stehn.

Here we see an example of the “Poetisierung des Glaubens”, whereby “der triumphierende Tod” becomes “der besiegte Tod”:

«Mors certa – hors incerta » [death is certain – the hour uncertain], so lautete über Jahrhunderte die knappste Formulierung für eine Urweisheit vom Tode. Sie wurde zu allen Zeiten in allen Sprachen wiederholt, von der Antike augehend über das europäische Mittelalter bis zum Barock . . . . Die Auferstehung Christi und sein Sieg über Tod verbinden sich zur sichersten Glaubensgewißheit. Die magnetische Kraft des Gottsohnes, die via attractiva Christi, die die Seele eines Verstorbenen zur unio in Sinne einer Geist-Einung nach dem Tod führt . . . .

The Sixth Concerto is now no longer a curious enigma of the smallest-scored concerto at the end, but as we shall see, a completion; a confirmation of the success/victory and glories of the hunt, now projecting the ruler onto the path of immortality. There is yet one more factor that connects the Sixth Concerto with the First, rounding out an overall allegorical and theological programmatik.

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52 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, ibid, p. 147.
A Return to the Numbers and the Cabbala

It is necessary at this point to divert to an explanation of possible number symbolism/Cabbala in the Sixth Concerto in order to give an aesthetic and numerological picture that completes the Brandenburg Bildprogrammatik. In Chapter 1, it was proposed that Bach’s so-called “use” of numerology/number symbolism was a natural outgrowth of the Baroque compositional process, which in Bach’s hands yielded some highly unique results. We have also observed that musical allegory can sometimes be expressed by number (as in the 13 repetitions of the ostinato in the Crucifixus of the B Minor Mass), yet can also be represented by musical gesture/instrumentation, as in the use of the hunting-horn and horn calls in the First Brandenburg Concerto (as an allegory for the royal hunt). The “mystical implications of musical mathematics” such as Cabbala, however, are another matter and, as proposed in Chapter 1, and for Bach, had to signify some type of Messianic prediction from the Hebrew Bible. In Chapter 4, we observed that Bach obviously attached a certain significance to the number 84, having inscribed it himself at the end of the Patrem omnipotentem of the B Minor Mass (84 bars), and that the first movement of the First Brandenburg Concerto also contains 84 bars, and therefore may contain some underlying numerological/cabbalistic symbolism. But the other movements of Brandenburg One, as well as rest of the concertos, while containing much musical allegory, do not seem to contain any further numerological references. If there is indeed some numerological or cabbalistic “thread” that (also) holds the set together, where would it be – and how would one go about finding it?

Another significant example of Bach’s use of the number 84 in the first movement of Cantata BWV 19, Es erhubt sich ein Streit, written for the feast of St. Michael. Hirsch notes that the opening words, “Es erhubt sich ein Streit” (referring to the war arising in heaven between the archangel Michael and the dragon in the Book of Revelation), are repeated 84 times, 42 each in the beginning, and at the da capo. The archangel Michael is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible in Daniel 10:13, 21, and 12:1 (as the deliverer of the people). He also is mentioned in Müller’s Judaismus, in context with the Messiah, prefaced by this passage, which we first saw in Chapter 2: 55

Daraus erzwingen etliche / daß drey in Gott seyn / De(r) bedeut Η den Vater / י bedeut den Sohn / י aber bedeut מ d(en) Geist. Das Wörtlein מ י ein Wort resolvire etliche also Cabbalistici der mittelste Buchstab י bedeutete Messiah / der habe neben und bey sich auff einer Seite י das bedeut 78 / den Vater / auff der andern Seite י das bedeut מ י den Geist. Es versetze auch etliche die Buchstaben

54 Hirsch, ZKB, p. 63.
55 Note: The use of parentheses ( ) indicate the text is corrupt, usually at the end of a line.
56 In other words, the Trinity.
des einen Worts / daß ein ander Wort daraus kommet / welches letzte Wort das erste Wort erklärt  

(Müller’s emphases).

Müller then refers to the passage at Exodus 23:23, where God speaks of "Mein Engel . . . wird für dir hergehö" (Wenn nun mein Engel vor dir hergehen):

\textit{Michael / daraus sie schliessen / es sey gewesen der Engel Michael. Also machen sie aus dem Namen דִּ֫שֶׁ֖ן einen Zunamen Herrn Messia} (Müller’s emphases).

Müller goes on to explain that the three letters (read from right to left) represent, respectively, earth (\textit{die Erde}), sea (\textit{das Meer}), and heaven/sky (\textit{den Himmel}), “\textit{das Messias diese drey Dinge ertrage.”} Luther confirms the identification of Michael with the Messiah:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Der große Fürst Michael bei dem Propheten Daniel ist der Herr Christus selbst, der hienieden auf Erden durch seine Engel, das ist, Prediger, wider den Teufel streitet durch das Evangelium . . . Michael steht zweimal in der Schrift, in Daniel und in der Offenbarung.}
\end{quote}

What Hirsch does not explain in his reference to the words “Es erhübt sich ein Streit” in Cantata 19 is that the passage appears at Revelation 12:7 – and 12 x 7 = 84. Hirsch also does not note that the opening and \textit{da capo} sections where the words “Es erhübt sich ein Streit” occur end exactly on bar 42 each time (counting the \textit{da capo} from m. 1), again equaling 84. This would not be simply musical allegory, since the number 84 does not reflect any particular meaning in the text itself – but as a Messianic prediction, \textit{vis-à-vis} Müller, would qualify as an example of \textit{Cabbala speculativa}.

We know that Bach was also steeped in religious tradition, and had also studied Hebrew as part of the curriculum in Lüneburg. He also owned a copy of Johannes Müller’s \textit{Judaismus} which discusses the \textit{Cabbala}, and the proper Lutheran use thereof, (as well as three other of Müller’s books, all supporting the foundations of his Lutheran faith \textit{61}). But did Bach actually read these books? \textit{62} There is nothing to support any fact that he either personally purchased them, or that they possibly were handed down through the family. It must be remembered that the \textit{Cabbala speculativa} (as a form of \textit{Cabbala} defined by Müller) already existed well before Bach’s time, and was integral to Lutheran thinking of the times –

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{57} Müller, \textit{Judaismus}, p. 52; again note that the text has been left double-spaced here for readability.
\item \textit{58} Ibid.
\item \textit{59} Ibid.
\item \textit{60} Luther, HPR, col. 1178.
\item \textit{62} This question was raised by Prof. Ton Koopman, and is addressed here.
\end{itemize}
the Müller book, as a source of Cabbala, happens to be the only source that we know with which Bach may have actually had some kind of contact, since he owned it. Bach’s library was also highly selective, and was entirely comprised of theological books that all upheld and defended his Lutheran faith. Even an anti-Catholic book such as Franz Kling’s Warnung vor Abfall der Lutherischen Relig., with its polemics against the “papist teachings”, was written to ensure that the Lutheran traditions, both socially, and in terms of family traditions, such as Bach’s, remained intact.\(^{63}\) Bach had also acquired not one, but two sets of Luther’s complete works.\(^{64}\) His extensive knowledge of theology, no doubt supported by use of his own library, was attested by the theological examiner for the Leipzig post D. Johann Schmidt, in the words of Wolff:

[a] notoriously tough examiner known to flunk cantorate candidates, certified in a statement recorded in Latin and German,\(^{65}\) that “Mr. Jo. Sebastian Bach replies to the questions propounded by me in such a wise [manner] that I consider the said person may be admitted to the post of Cantor in the St. Thomas School.\(^{66}\)

And through Bach’s study of Hebrew, and Müller’s book, he was certainly familiar with the arrangement of the Old Testament books known as the Hebrew Bible.

Another important observation from Müller is the Cabbalistic connection between the “beginning” and the “end”, either of words, chapters, etc. Müller, as we have just seen, refers to, “daß ein ander Wort daraus kommet / welches letzte Wort das erste Wort erläret.” \(^{67}\) In the Preface mention was made of Müller’s observation that the Hebrew letter aleph (א) appears six times at the beginning of Genesis (1:1), and six times in the final verse of II Chronicles (36:23), a completion perhaps, of the books of the Old Testament (as well as prophecies of the Messiah) \(^{68}\) as they appear in the Hebrew Bible. If there is numerological significance in the first movement of Brandenburg No. 1 (be it 6 x 14, 7 x 12, Psalm 84, etc.), could there also be a corresponding numerical significance/symbolism in the final movement of Brandenburg No. 6 – and a theological one – especially as the Brandenburg Concertos are a specifically ordered, numbered set?

It must be noted that Müller’s list of Messianic references \(^{69}\) is by no means complete. There are also some errors, such as the reference to Deuteronomy 30:40 (the chapter ends at 30:20), and Messianic references appear well into the text (the Messiah-called-Jehovah reference at p. 547). Psalm 84:10

\(^{63}\) See Leaver, BTB, p. 183.
\(^{64}\) TLM, p. 334.
\(^{65}\) The examination was given in Latin, ibid., p. 240.
\(^{66}\) Ibid.
\(^{67}\) Müller, ibid.
\(^{68}\) It is somewhat unclear exactly to what Müller is referring to here; the text is corrupt at the edge, and refers to “die Welt werde [- so many hundreds of years -] stehen”; ref: Müller, ibid., p. 51; in does in any case, indicate a completion from the first verse of Genesis.
\(^{69}\) Müller, ibid, p. 30.
(Müller’s reference 70), in Luther’s translation, appears, as we have seen in Chapter 4, as “Gott, unser Schild, schaue doch; siehe an das Reich deines Gesalbten” (Luther replacing the word “face/Antlitz” with “kingdom/Reich”). Another highly important Psalm is Psalm 110:4, 71 “Der Herr hat geschworen, und wird ihn nicht gereuen: Du bist ein Priester ewiglich, nach der Weise Melchisideks.” We find the prediction verified in the New Testament, in Hebrews 4:5b-6, “Du bist mein Sohn, heute habe Ich dich gezeuget. Wie er auch am andern Ort spricht: „Du bist ein Priester in Ewigkeit, nach der Ordnung Melchisideks.” And the connection is again verified by Luther:

Durch Melchizidek ist Christus bedeutet . . . Gleichwie von Melchizidek nicht Vater und Mutter, nicht Anfang noch Ende geschrieben wird, so ist Christus ein Priester, der nicht angefangen hat und auch kein Ende haben soll.72

The third movement of Brandenburg No. 6 (the final movement of the set) contains 110 bars.

Again, given the numerological and theological importance of the number 84 (for Bach) and now the final 110 bars as also containing a strong theological/caballistic reference, could this be just coincidence – or a genuine hidden Cabbala by which Bach connects the set, perhaps in a configuration known only to him? That the two numbers added together equal 194, the sum of which (1 + 9 + 4) is 14 (BACH) may be significant, but appears to be more of a coincidence.73 Even more important here, if the Sixth Concerto is indeed an allegory for death poetics, is the association of the number 110 with two other important Old Testament references; the age/death of both Joseph and Joshua (Gen. 50:22, 26, and Joshua 24:29). The number 10 is both the number of the Decalogue and, according to Hirsch, “auch Zeichen des Kreuzes – 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10. Grundlage mittelalterlicher Poesie.”74 From earlier sources, we see that 110 is, “Summanden 10 + 100 bezeichnen den Dekalog und das ewige Leben . . . Jos[h]ua, der im 110 stirbt, ist Typus Christi; das Datum seines Todes zeigt, daß Christi Tod all zum ewigen Leben führt, die das Gesetz beachteln . . .”75

What the precise meanings of 84 and 110 were for Bach, again, can only be conjectured. That we can observe a distinct formula (beginning and end) that corresponds with Müller can easily be seen, as can be the potential theological associations with the numbers. Bach as humanist designed the Brandenburg Concertos to appeal to the deist virtues and philosophy of the nobleman, at the same time not neglecting the very essence of his own Lutheran faith.

70 Ibid.
71 It should be noted that in Psalm 110, at verse 2, Luther replaces the word “strength/Macht” with the word “Reich.”
72 Luther, HPR, col. 1156.
73 That this is more coincidence can be illustrated by the use of the number 14 in Bach’s works. Hirsch notes that in the cantatas, Bach tends to use groupings of 14 (notes, bars, repetitions of words, etc.) in texts which use the words “ich” and “mein”; Hirsch, ZKB, p. 44.
74 Ibid., p. 33.
75 Meyer/Suntrup., Lexicon der Mittelalterlichen Zahlenbeutungen, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, p. 800.
The Sixth Concerto as the Completion of the Bildprogrammatik

The number six, as was first noted in Chapter 1, is the number of completion. Arthur Hirsch describes “Die Zahl 6” as “Tage der Schöpfung, daher in Bachs Zeit Symbol für Schöpfung und Welt.” – 1 + 2 + 3 = 6 “numerus mundanus” (number of the world). Heinz Meyer notes that, “Die Sechs ist die einzige Zahl, deren Deutungen einen so einheitlichen Ursprung haben . . . Die biblische Zahl der operatio Dei in der Schöpfungstage verbindet sich mit der antiken Überlieferung vom numerus perfectus.”

This derived from the passage at Genesis 1:27-31, when God makes his penultimate creation (“in his own image”), on the sixth day:

Gen. 1:27 - Und Gott schuf den Menschen zu seinem Bilde, zum Bilde Gottes schuf er ihn: und schuf sie als Mann und Weib . . . .

Gen. 1:31 - Und Gott sah an alles, war gemacht hatte, und siehe, es war sehr gut. Das ward aus Abend und Morgen der sechste Tag.

We can see by Meyer’s observation that this is not merely a Baroque concept; rather, the Baroque concept stems from the Middle Ages; the number six was perfectio from the beginning of creation. Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup also verify Hirsch’s observation,

Die perfectio der Sechs, wie sie von der Verwendung beim Zählen der Schöpfungstage garantiert wird, resultiert arithmetisch aus dem Faktum, daß die Sechs als erste zu jenen seltenen Zahlen gehört, die Summe der ganzen Zahlen sind, durch die man sie teilen kann (Divisoren: 1 + 2 + 3 = 6 . . . ).

It is not without reason that Bach grouped some of his most important works in collections of six; the cosmological and theological significance of the number far predates the Baroque. Nine of Bach’s collections, including the Brandenburg Concertos, are comprised of six works: the Trio Sonatas and Schübler Chorales for organ (BWV’s 525-530, and 645-650), the English and French Suites, and Partitas for harpsichord (BWV’s 806-811, 812-817, 825-830), the Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin (BWV 1001-1006), the cello Suites (BWV 1007-1012), and the six Sonatas for harpsichord and violin (BWV 1014-1019). Of the latter eight collections, the works are divided nearly evenly into twenty-three major, and twenty-five minor keys. Most of the collections have three works in major and three works in minor keys, excepting the violin sonatas and partitas (4 m / 2 M), and cello suites (4 M / 2 m). This is another aspect that makes the Brandenburg Concertos so unique among any collection of Bach’s works, in that is

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76 See p. 48.
77 Hirsch, ZKB, p. 22.
79 BibRef – BML, Genesis 1:27 (1 Mose); the italicizations are Luther’s.
the only collection where all of the works are in major keys. One also finds a clear correlation between the four principles of Baroque Musiklehre, and the four criterion for defining a Bildprogrammatik as first laid out in Chapter 3:

1. Number (being symbolic) and order (proportion relative to number) must occupy a significant place in the overall design: This corresponds to the cosmological principle of Ordnung, Proportion, numerous, quantitas.\(^{81}\) The Brandenburg Concertos appear in a numbered set, Bach’s only collection of orchestral music to be so ordered, from 1 to 6. The largest of the concertos appears at the beginning, the smallest at the end. The number six as a number of completion and perfection – six as a factor of twelve, the First Concerto being written on 12 staves, and the Sixth on 6 staves in a double system (2 x 6 = 12) – a perfect visual symmetry.

2. The given number and proportions must be relative to the whole, to create an overall design; the nature-philosophy principle: The Third and Sixth Concertos are both for strings and continuo; the First and Second, and Fourth and Fifth all involve a violin solo with winds (brass and woodwind), shifting in emphasis from 5 winds/violin (No. 1); 3 winds/violin (No. 2); full strings (No. 3); 2 winds/violin (No. 4), 1 wind/violin (& cembalo) (No. 5); lower strings (No. 6). And as noted in No. 1 above, the score also has visual proportions. The concertos are also written on hand-ruled staves, adapted to the instrumentation of each one, giving an overall visual design to each concerto.

3. Each individual part must be relative to the whole (just as in rhetoric) so as to contribute to an overall theme: All the concertos are in major keys, F – F – G – G – D - B-flat, the last establishing a dominant with the first. All contain melodies with triadic outlines - the Trias harmonica - and all contain elements of hunting music –as a form of musical speech – conforming to the rhetorical principle.

4. In the case of Baroque works of art or music, it must project something of an intellectual nature, relative to the arts, history/mythology, the sciences, and/or religion: Projecting the theme of the hunt – the hunt as containing the elements of victory, glory, and immortality – also can be shown to contain a Cabbalistic reference (relative to the Cabbala speculativa of Müller’s Judaismus) in the first and third movements of the First Concerto (the 84 bars movement I, and the resumption of Allegro at m. 84 in movement III), and the last movement of the Sixth (110 bars) – both corresponding to Psalms containing Messianic foretellings (Weissagen) – linked by the same principle that governs the Hebrew Bible, where the beginning of Genesis has a correspondence to the end of Chronicles II.

\(^{81}\) Dammann, MdB, p. 84.
According to these criteria, the Sixth Concerto concludes the set, and also serves to complete the Bildprogrammatik, linking it to the First Concerto musically (it’s B-flat major key being cadential to the First Concerto’s F major), and in terms of theological number symbolism. It connects to the rest of the set musically (carrying the themes and techniques of the hunt and the horn), and aesthetically transforming the themes of royal victory and glory into one of sovereign immortality.

Epilogue

Many musicians, scholars, and ministers today still regard the essence of Bach as a primarily religious one. There are performers such as Bernhard Labadie, founder of Les Violins du Roy, who do, and will continue to, promote Bach as the “fifth Evangelist.”

This attitude can be taken to extremes, of course (as my own personal experience can attest) by minister/performers who feel that Bach’s sacred music – the cantatas, passions, and masses – were written as musical sermons, exclusively for Lutheran worship, and – literally – should not even be taken or performed outside of the church!

On another level, many performers seek the essence of Bach in historical performance practice, which over the past half-century has brought us a return to the sounds, instruments and techniques, and tempi that Bach would have known in his own time. As beneficial as this has been to our perceptions of Bach’s music, it is also a curious dichotomy; Jan Chiapusso suggests that Bach himself was no respecter of by-gone traditions:

Bach could be completely indifferent to the integrity of past styles. His arrangement of Palestrina’s Missa sine nomine, for example, is not a cappella but with orchestration. He changed the Palestrinian tonality by adding sharps and flats, to bring the “old-fashioned” modality up to date and to close phrases with the “proper” cadences. He drastically altered the meter by means of bar lines, and arranged the words so that the accentuation would be as much as possible like that in his own works. Today we would consider such treatment a violation of Palestrina’s style. But music for Bach was not a museum of past art, to be kept musicologically and correctly mummified: it was a dynamic activity operating in the present . . .

To this it must be noted that Bach’s attitude and approach was true not only for past styles, but also for the music of his contemporaries, such as Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736). In Bach’s recasting of Pergolesi’s Stabat Mater as Psalm 51, Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden, BWV 1083, written after Pergolesi’s death, he makes even more substantial changes. He divides both Pergolesi’s violin I and violin II parts to include solo and ripieno parts. Bach alters several of Pergolesi’s tempo indications, sometimes slightly, sometimes as far as allegro to andante. He removed all of Pergolesi’s dolce

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83 This observation stems from my experience working on the Johannes-Passion with a Lutheran minister-conductor while a theological student in 2002-2003.
markings, as well as any indications of *segue* between sections (and even the – Catholic – *Laus Deo* at the end of the score). He makes considerable additions to Pergolesi’s figured bass notations throughout the work, and adds extensive rewritings of the viola part in six of the sections. Bach even goes so far as to divide the two sections of No. 5 of the *Stabat Mater* into Versus 5 and Versus 6 of his own setting (making Pergolesi’s No. 6 his Versus 7, No. 7 his Versus 8, and so on). Bach places No. 11 of the *Stabat Mater* after No. 12 (the first half of which becomes his own Versus 12), making No. 11 his Versus 13. Bach then takes second half of No. 12 (the *Amen*), making it Versus 14. He concludes the work by repeating the entire *Amen* section again, in the major key.

Many of these changes were done for practical reasons; i.e., to make the music (such as the Palestrina) useable for Bach’s time, and in the case of Pergolesi, for use in Lutheran (versus Catholic) worship. Bach did not – indeed could not – think in terms of “performance practice”, although societies existed at the time for the study of pre-Baroque works. In creating a new picture of Bach, does this mean that we too should simply disregard the developments of performance practice in favor of modern innovations? Not at all. As has been emphasized repeatedly in this dissertation, there was a conceptual framework according to which Baroque works of art, both musical and visual, were created. And I suggest that Bach, rather than being “indifferent” to past styles, was rather, adapting works of the past to be in harmony with Baroque compositional principles – and the musical and aesthetic needs – of his day. Bach did not have the sense of the musical “past” that we do today; he did not make an art of restoring works from the Renaissance or the Medieval periods. Bach’s own music – even such works as the *Credo in unum deum* from BWV 232, which uses a Gregorian melody – evolved from a purely Baroque tradition.

Today, we see Bach through a completely different lens. A look at the evolution of the Brandenburg Concertos allows us to view the various approaches to the composer’s work as it passed through the hands of the late Romantics, and then through the early-to-mid twentieth century, towards the historical performance practice movement of the present day. The score of the *Six Concertos Avec plusieurs Instruments* was apparently untouched from the time of Bach’s presentation to the Margrave in 1721, until it was rediscovered in 1849 – already well into the Bach revival of the nineteenth century – by the German musicologist Siegfried Dehn, in the library of the Joachimsthaltschen Gymnasium in Berlin. At the time of the Margrave’s death in 1734, the score passed to one of five unknown heirs to his estate, and then to Bach’s former pupil, Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783). Kirnberger, serving in the court of Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (1739-1807) from 1758 onwards, left it, among many other works, to her library, and after her death, it was acquired by the Gymnasium. The first editions of the scores,

85 An example would be the Academy of Ancient Music, established in England in 1726, in part due to the efforts of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752); NG, vol. 19, 325.
86 Boyd, BBC, pp. 18-21.
87 Kirnberger’s signature and the Gymnasium’s acquisition stamp appear on the title page of the score, in the lower
called *Six Concertos*, were “publiés pour le première fois” individually, by C. F. Peters in Leipzig, between 1850-1852, (with realized continuo parts) and edited by Dehn. A later edition of all the concertos together, again published by C. F. Peters, appeared in 1866-1867.\(^8\) The *Bach Gesellschaft* edition of the concertos appeared between 1869-1871, prepared by Wilhelm Rust, (sans realized continuo) with the titles “Concerto I”, “Concerto II”, etc.\(^9\) In Max Reger’s four-hand arrangement of the Concertos (again with titles “Concerto I” “Concerto II”, etc.) published by Peters in 1905-1906, Reger blends a realization of the continuo harmonies into Bach’s original lines, making for extremely thick textures, much after the late Romantic style.\(^9\) Boyd notes that at the time (orchestral) “Performances which did take place were almost invariably in versions that adapted the instrumentation to the orchestras of the day and reinforced the string parts with as many players as the orchestra employed.”\(^9\) The title “Brandenburg Concertos” (*Brandenburgisches Konzerte*) did not appear until Arnold Schering’s study scores of the concertos for Eulenburg in 1927-1929, and then later in the Peters editions of Kurt Soldan, published in 1930-1934.\(^9\)

Thus, up and until the Baroque revival beginning in the 1950’s, no real “Baroque” interpretations of the Brandenburg Concertos existed. The first recording of all the concertos was made by Adolf Busch and the Busch Chamber Players in 1936, using the usual full strings, plus flutes in Concertos 2 and 4, the piano in No. 5, and cellos in No. 6.\(^9\) The concertos were also not popular works on orchestral concert programs in the mid-twentieth century, due to the popularity of orchestral transcriptions of Bach’s organ music, such as those by Stokowski, Respighi, Arnold Schoenberg, and others.\(^9\) Even the noted Austro-German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler performed only two of the concertos in his entire career.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) BBC, pp. viii, and 21.
One notable exception can be found in the recordings of Herbert von Karajan, who recorded the entire set of the Brandenburg Concertos twice; the first recording, in 1965, uses the full contingent of strings, whereas the second recording, from 1980, uses the reduced, “Baroque” forces (still with modern instruments, but with harpsichord) including single instruments in Concertos 3 and 6.  

The founder of the Munich Bach Orchestra, Karl Richter, was one of the first to begin to turn the tide towards a more objective interpretation of Bach’s music, shedding many of the romanticisms (large forces, slow tempi, etc.) of his own teacher Karl Straube (who had been a friend and colleague of Reger) and opening a – then – new view of Baroque aesthetics. Richter even observed that Bach did not discern between sacred and secular; when asked about the Brandenburg Concertos and his approach to performing them, he said,

As regards inspiration, substance and construction, they are among Bach’s greatest creations. They are almost strictly contrapuntal, but are nevertheless sociable, happy music – one might call them gala concertos. This is not to imply that their sociable aspect is all they have to offer – it was merely the external reason for their composition. The expression “secular music” should be used with caution, because Bach never felt obliged to separate sacred from secular works.

I suggest that Richter’s observation about the non-delineation of the sacred-secular in Bach is a purely humanistic one. Although strongly grounded in Bach’s sacred music (“As a young boy and as a student I sang in the Passions and nearly all of the cantatas – treble, alto, tenor and bass” 97), Richter clearly saw that all of Bach’s music emanated from the same humanist outlook, one which he himself shared. 98

From the late 1960’s onward, there has been an extensive array of performance-practice recordings of the Brandenburg Concertos, among them Nikolaus Harnoncourt (1969), Gustav Leonhardt (1976-77), Helmut Rilling (using Baroque instrumental proportions, but with modern instruments, 1979), Trevor Pinnock (1979-1982), Ton Koopman (1983), Christopher Hogwood (1984; Hogwood makes use of Bach’s earlier, 19-bar cadenza in the first movement of Brandenburg No. 5), Philipp Pickett (with Pickett’s allegorical interpretations, 1994), and more recently, Richard Egar (2008), and Jordi Savall (2010).  


97 Ibid.

One of the prime purposes of this dissertation has been to open a new, humanistic dimension from which to view Bach and his music; a humanistic legacy, as it were. So how do we now reconcile this new view of Bach with everything that has transpired in the history of the Brandenburg Concertos, from their creation, dedication and obscurity; to their rediscovery, early performances, and evolution in terms of historical performance practice?

The answer to this, I believe, is found by returning to an understanding of the Baroque Texture of Thought in which the concertos were created. We have seen that Bach could not have conceived the Brandenburg Concertos as simply a collection of his best instrumental efforts. His humanistic education and the aesthetics of court philosophy demanded a much deeper raison d’être in their arrangement as a set; it had to carry some underlying meaning that would resonate with the high-minded philosophy of the royal court. At the same time, as noted by Richter above, he saw no difference between sacred and secular; the multi-dimensional allegorical aspects of the concertos contain both elements, yet do not permit them to be seen exclusively in the light of either one. One can see that Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos meet the definition for the same kind of aesthetic arrangement – a Bildprogrammatik – that defined the art collections of his royal patrons. One can observe parallels between royal philosophy and Bach’s own religious conceptions. And it can be seen how number and order play a distinctive role in the design of the dedication score – even to the extent that it can contain cabalistic references, ones that carried significant meaning for Bach as a Lutheran. All of these elements were part of an interdependent matrix that comprised the Baroque Lightfield of Thought, from Bach’s family religion, through his education, to his work in the royal courts – and in whose service he gave every indication that he wanted to remain. This latter element alone is, I believe, one of the strongest elements from which to understand the Brandenburg Concertos as a carefully designed collection, aimed not only at the musical but also the intellectual and aesthetic ideals of the royalty.

How does this picture fit into practical performance of the Brandenburg set? Here I will offer a new concept of what I will term “communicative practice.” In historical performance practice, we bring about an interpretation of Baroque works based on the use of historical instruments, tunings, and playing techniques to create an overall experience of the works based, ideally, within the resources available to the composer in his own time. In communicative practice, we bring about an interpretation based on the elements of the Texture of Thought of the world wherein the works were conceived.

For example, in my own performances of the Brandenburg Concertos, I emphasized the works as an allegory for the royal hunt, communicating the essence of the hunt in as many ways as possible; the hunt being an integral part of “the world at large”, that Bach would have learned from Comenius’ Orbis [see frontispiece to Chapter 2], and as something which defined the might and status of the royalty. The
concertos were performed on two separate programs,\textsuperscript{99} the first containing Concertos 1, 2, and 3, and the second 4, 5, and 6. Modern instruments were used, with flutes in Concertos 2 and 4; the \textit{violino piccolo} (listed as “concertante” in the program) was played on a 3/4 size violin, tuned up a minor third.

The First Concerto, I believe, speaks strongly for itself in this regard, again, as I have stated in Chapter 4, as the crown of the \textit{Bildprogrammatik} depicting the royal hunt, with its use of genuine hunting horn calls and the \textit{Jagd-Tanzen} which make up the \textit{Menuet}. To accentuate this perspective, I introduced the First Concerto with a fanfare arranged from the music of the fourth movement of Cantata 143, \textit{Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele}; the bass solo, “Der Herr is König”, which contains exactly the same horn-call found in the First Concerto, and played in triple counterpoint. The First Concerto was then followed by the \textit{Jagd-Menuet}, “Dianae verschworen” [which appears in Chapter 4] sung, and scored for the same instrumentation as the First Concerto’s \textit{Menuet}.\textsuperscript{100}

In the Third Concerto, the two outer movements were played as written, with one instrument on a part. The second movement however, was realized with a vocal part, adapting the music of Cantata 200, \textit{Bekennen will ich seinen Namen} to accommodate the words of Boccaccio’s \textit{Caccia di Diana}, Canto 17, and then ending with Bach’s written cadence.

In the Second Concerto, the horn was used in place of the \textit{tromba}, as a continuation the hunt-theme (and, in keeping with the \textit{Texture of Thought}, the sound of which evokes a particular feeling associated with royalty and the hunt \textsuperscript{101}); a short passage containing the horn-theme from the First Concerto – as it now appears in the Second Concerto – was introduced and played immediately beforehand. The Second Concerto concluded the first program.

In the second concert, the Fourth Concerto was introduced with another fanfare, adapted from the music of the third movement of Cantata 16, \textit{Herr Gott, dich loben wir}; the bass aria and chorus, “Laßt und jauchzen, laßt uns freuen”, again containing the hunt-call from the First Concerto, woven into the instrumental lines. This was followed by the \textit{Jägerlied-Menuet}, “Musik und Jägerei”, again sung (the first three verses), and scored after the Brandenburg One \textit{Menuet}. Like the Third Concerto, the first and last movements were played as written. As the middle movement contains the same cadence as the Third Concerto (and, appearing on a separate program, in an effort to connect the hunt theme), a vocal section was again added, derived from the opening recitative of Cantata BWV 210a, \textit{O angenehme Melodei!}, and set to the words of the \textit{Caccia di Diana}, Canto 9, placed between bars 67-68.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{99} The programs were presented on February 3 and 23, 2013, at Smith Hall, at the University of Illinois.
\textsuperscript{100} My thanks to harpsichordist Sonia Lee for her assistance with preparing this arrangement.
\textsuperscript{101} Fitzpatrick, HHP, pp. 19-21.
\textsuperscript{102} This cadenza can also be used for the second movement of the Third Concerto.
The Sixth Concerto was played in a unique arrangement by violist and composer Rudolf Haken \(^{103}\) for four violas, the latter two replacing the viola da gamba parts. To accentuate the death poetics of the work, in the third movement, I added a cadenza at mm. 65-66, based on the music of the fourth movement of Cantata BWV 8, *Lieber Gott, wenn werd ich sterbend?* the bass aria, “Doch weichet ihr tollen, vergeblichen Sorgen”, with its similarities to the Sixth Concerto, scored for the two solo violas and harpsichord continuo. \(^{104}\)

In the Fifth Concerto, the first-movement *cadenza* was recast in an effort to render it more as an improvisation. Sections of Bach’s earlier *cadenza* were interpolated and freely arranged with the music of the later cadenza. The opening of the *cadenza* also incorporates the *Jägerlied*, “Sau tot!”, replacing m. 154 to m. 170 of Bach’s later *cadenza*. Also included is a section from the organ fugue in G major, BWV 541, because of its similarity to certain passages in the cadenza. \(^{105}\) In the third movement, a short cadenza was placed at the abrupt modulation at m. 232, from B minor back to D major, adapted from the Sonata BWV 963, because of its similarity to a hunt-call. The final three verses of “Musik und Jägerei” were played before the Fifth Concerto, which concluded the second program.

Communicative practice such as this allows for interpretative flexibility; liberties are taken, not for their own sake, but in order to project a particular aesthetic concept/theme. Communicative practice considers the world of thought from which a particular work or works evolved, and also opens new conceptual possibilities for interpretation, and in the case of Baroque works such as the Brandenburg Concertos, can inform our use of both historical and modern instruments. Through communicative practice, we access the inner realms of thought, concept (such as the implications of the sound of the hunting-horn), and philosophies of Bach’s world. Communicative practice invites us to open another dimension into our perceptions of historical performance practice and its implications for modern performances. It offers another angle through which we define history in terms of musical performance. This paper has offered a substantial amount of theological insights, so it is fitting to offer a view of history from a theologian. John Dominic Crossan states,

This, then, is my working definition of history: *History is the past reconstructed interactively by the present through argued evidence in public discourse.* There are times we can only get alternative perspectives on the same event. And there are always alternative perspectives even when we do not hear them. But history as argued public reconstruction is possible because it is necessary. We reconstruct our past to project our future. \(^{106}\)

\(^{103}\) Rudolf Haken was also the U of I faculty sponsor for this project.

\(^{104}\) I also made a separate version for harpsichord alone.

\(^{105}\) Again, my thanks to Sonia Lee for her expert help in preparing this cadenza, as well as her help with the score of “Musik und Jägerei.”

So it is with the history and performance of music. As has been noted earlier in this dissertation, various writers have suggested that Bach compiled the Brandenburg Concertos from a purely practical perspective, in the interests of getting a job. At one level, this is true. But underlying this perspective was Bach’s desire for another court position. He already had held brief positions with churches in Arnstadt and Mühlhausen, a total of five years. This was followed by fifteen years in the courts of Weimar and Cöthen. In Chapter 1, we noted Friedrich Blume’s observation that had Bach wanted to stay in the employ of the church, his organ skills could have easily netted him from among the most important positions in Germany. Being the unique collection that it is, the Brandenburg Concertos had to contain, as mentioned above, some special meaning, both for Bach and for the Margrave. The Six Concerts were clearly a conceptual offering, rather than merely a practical one. As noted earlier, Bach sent the Margrave a complete score, rather than a set of performance-ready parts. The concerto are somewhat visionary in that Bach was showing the potential for what he could do – not only musically, but in terms of organizing diverse groups of musicians – perhaps in the hopes of building a substantial orchestra for the Margrave – and for himself.

A new Bach discovery in December of 2013 by Dr. Michael Maul, a researcher for the Bach-Archiv, I believe, gives further evidence of Bach’s desire to in the service of the court, and his increasing irritation over church employment. A document, a letter by one Gottfried Benjamin Fleckeisen, a Thomaner (member of the St. Thomas Choir, which Bach directed), stating that:

. . . he had been ‘required to perform and conduct’ the music of both churches of St. Thomas and St. Nikolai in Leipzig ‘for two whole years’ in place of the conductor and musical director, Bach; according to the letter, he completed these roles ‘successfully throughout’ . . . the claim probably refers to the years 1744-1746 . . . . It has now emerged that Bach almost totally withdrew from his work as Cantor and musical director of church music, although these were the activities for which he was being paid.

The suggestion here is that Bach may have been suffering from “burnout.” I suggest, as noted in Chapter 1, that given Bach’s never ending efforts to acquire court employment and royal titles, his desire to use his artistry to the fullest, his ever-increasing dissatisfaction with the demands of the Leipzig post, show him as a humanist, and not a “Fifth Evangelist”, predestined for a life of church music. In 1746, Bach had reached the age of 61, considered an old man for the Sitz im Leben of his times, yet when he played for Frederick the Great in May of 1747, he was still in full command of his powers, to the

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extent that his impromptu execution of four and six part fugues was such that “all those present were seized with astonishment.” This is hardly the description of a man whose abilities were on the wane – and also whose artistry again came to the fore when performing in royal circles.

The Lightfield of Thought of Bach’s time seems far-removed from our present-day world, with its strict theologies and royal idealisms; a world, in effect, that did not look towards the future. Baroque art and music was the fruition and culmination of everything that had come before. Yet in a contemporary short reflection, author unknown, we can find an interesting connection between Bach’s world and our own. The story begins, “On the first day, God created the cow . . . “ It goes on to tell how God instructs the cow that he will have to toil everyday with the farmer, and gives the cow a lifespan of sixty years. The cow protests at such a long life of struggle, and offers forty years back to God, which is accepted. God makes similar offers to the dog (“sit in front of the house and bark at everyone – for this I will give you twenty years”), and the monkey (“jump up and down and play monkey tricks” – for twenty years); both the dog and the monkey offer back ten years each, which God accepts. When God finally creates man, he is told all he has to do is “live, eat, play in the sun, make love, and sleep” – and is given a lifespan of twenty years. The man protests, saying it is too short a time, asking for “the forty years the cow gave back, the ten the dog gave back, and the ten the monkey gave back – that makes eighty, OK?” God again agrees, and the moral of the story is that “for the first twenty years of our life, we live, eat, play in the sun, etc.”, for the next forty years we “slave to support our families”, for the next ten, we “play monkey tricks for our grandchildren”, and for the last ten, we “sit in front of the house and bark at everyone.”

But if we look to the poet Friedrich von Hagedorn (1708-1754), we find a poem titled, “Jupiter, die Tiere und der Mensch”, written in 1735, when Bach was at the height of his career. In this poem, we find essentially the same story. Here, Jupiter/Zeus offers the donkey thirty years of hard labor, who gives back twenty. Then he offers the dog thirty-five years to watch and bark in front of the house; the dog gives back twenty-five. Then he offers the monkey to serve “aus sechs Olympiaden” 111, and the monkey takes only four, “Die sind genug.” To the man he gives the entire earth – and thirty years to enjoy it. The man protests, asking for the years the donkey, the dog, and the monkey gave back, which Zeus grants him. But the ending is more philosophical; God grants thirty years where “Nur unsre Jugend ist der Sitz der Fröhlichkeiten”, and “. . . unser Leben ist Genuß.” In the coming years, we tire of everything; just as the dog tires of watching the house, we tire of acquiring the burdens of old age. 112 The story is, nevertheless, a humanistic one: a reflection on the brevity of life – so well expressed in the death-poetics of the

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110 TLM, pp. 425-426.
111 “For six Olympiads”, each Olympiad being a period of four years, x 6, or twenty-four years.
112 The full texts of the story and Hagedorn’s poem appear in Appendix I, pp. 247-249.
Baroque – cloaked in Classical philosophies and guises (God as Jupiter/Zeus; one could not have Bach’s Lutheran God speaking in such a fashion) that were such integral elements of Baroque education, and the courtly world of Bach’s time.

This study’s main value lies in that it opens several vistas from which Bach’s music can be explored in new and innovative ways, such as greater in-depth studies of Bach’s early education, and how this education reflects upon specific areas of his musical output; deeper theological and/or allegorical relationships between Bach’s instrumental and vocal music; studies relating Baroque court philosophy and aesthetics to Bach’s music; and more profound – and accurate – interpretations of number symbolism and/or Cabbala discerned in Bach’s music, as well as its implications for studies in Baroque theology.

It is hoped that this dissertation will initiate an approach to Bach’s music today that continues to expand our understanding of this Lightfield of Baroque thought and its meanings for Bach’s music – from the classrooms of Classical rhetoric and intense theological foundations, extending to the royal courts and Frederick the Great’s philosophical flights of imagination and idealism – and allow us to truly experience the Texture of Thought of the world of that preeminent royal court composer, Bach, the Humanist.
Sources for the Epigraphs to each Chapter

Chapter 1:


Chapter 2:


Chapter 3:


Chapter 4:


Epigraph references, con’t
Chapter 5:


Chapter 6:


Sources for the Frontispiece Illustrations to each Chapter


**Chapter 1:** Philip Hainhofer (German, 1578-1647), *maker*; Adam Eck (d. 1630), *carver*, Augsburg Cabinet (c. 1630); Art Institute of Chicago, Gallery 234.

Ebony, ivory, various woods, brass, and iron implements,
160 x 110.5 cm (63 x 43 1/2 in.); Diameter: 64.8 cm (25 1/2 in.).

Information from Gallery 234.

Used by permission of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Thanks to Leslie Fitzpatrick, and Jackie Maman, European Decorative Arts / The Art Institute of Chicago.


**Chapter 3:** Ampulla with Relief of Diana Hunting with Her Dog. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio. Terracotta with red glaze. Gift of Bernhard Grebanier, 1971.20

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Special thanks to Selena Bartlett of the Allen Memorial Art Museum.


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Frontispiece references, con’t
Chapter 5: Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553);

*Apollo and Diana in a Forest Landscape* painting, (1530).

http://www.google.com/search?q=lucas+cranach+the+elder+apollo+diana&rlz=1R2AURU_enUS515&tmb=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=6JyiUtW_DXITqwHW74HgAQ&ved=0CCsQsAQ&biw=1920&bih=953#facrc=&imgref=gzMib_cHOsFtmM%3A%3B3hBMJ5gtRAZPHM%3Bhttp%252F%252Fmedia1.shmoop.com%252Fimages%252Fmythology%252Fcharacters%252Fartemis-apollo.jpg%3Bhttp%252F%252Fwww.shmoop.com%252Fartemis-diana%252Fphoto-artemis-apollo.html%3B407%3B599. Public Domain.

*Adam and Eve in Paradise* (woodcut, 1509).

http://www.google.com/search?q=lucas+cranach+the+elder+adam+eve&rlz=1R2AURU_enUS515&tmb=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=bp2iUfmHK8j9qAHZ1YDACw&ved=0CCsQsAQ&biw=1920&bih=953#facrc=&imgref=8MxGMu1C2NSCaM%3A%3BU2tFxhN32hXezM%3Bhttp%252F%252Ftraumwerk.stanford.edu%252Fphilolog%252Fcranach%252Feden.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Ftraumwerk.stanford.edu%252Fphilolog%252F2009%252F2009%252F2009%252F2009%252Flucas_cranach_the_elder_adam.html%3B458%3B640. Public Domain.


Used by kind permission of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

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Philip Pickett, “Johann Sebastian Bach / Brandenburg Concertos: A New Interpretation.” Available at *The Recorder Homepage,* [http://www.recorderhomepage.net/brandenburgs.html](http://www.recorderhomepage.net/brandenburgs.html): 1994, pp. 1-16 [Note: This is a more extensive version of the liner notes article above, yet each version contains select information exclusive to itself].


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**Scores and Sources for the Six Brandenburg Concertos**


*J. S. Bach: Sinfonia BWV 1046a (Mus. Ms. Bach p 1061)* (Penzel manuscript). From the Westdeutschen Bibliothek, Marburg; courtesy of Eline Holl and Ton Koopman.
Discography


Videography


Leonard, Michael: *J. S. Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos*. Jacobs, Scully, Dee, Lee, Na / Instrumentalists from the University of Illinois / Michael Leonard. Live performance, 02-03 and 02-23, 2013 at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Frank Horger, chief recording technician.


**Additional Scores (non-Brandenburg)**


_____________. *Concerto in Fa Maggiore per 3 Oboi, Fagotto, 2 Corni, Violino, Archi e Cembalo*. F. XII n°. 33. Instituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi, Tomo 249."*: Edizioni Ricordi, 1956.
Appendix A

Full texts of *God and the Cow* and *Jupiter, die Tiere und der Mensch*

*God and the Cow*
(author/date unknown)

On the first day, God created the cow. And God said to the cow, “Every day, you will go into the field with the farmer, slave all day in the sun, bear calves and give milk. For this, I will give you a life span of sixty years.”

“That’s a rough life you want me to live for sixty years”, said the cow. “I’ll tell you what, I’ll take twenty years and give back forty.” And God agreed.

On the second day, God created the monkey. “Jump up and down, play monkey tricks, and entertain people”, God told the monkey. For this, I will give you a life span of twenty years.”

“Twenty years is an awful long time to spend just playing monkey tricks”, said the monkey. “I’ll tell you what, I’ll take ten years, and give back ten.” And God agreed.

On the third day, God created the dog. “Watch the house and back at everyone who comes or goes”, God told the dog. “Twenty years barking at people?” said the dog. “That’s going to get really boring. I’ll tell you what, I’ll take ten years and give back ten.” And God agreed.

On the fourth day, God made man. “Live, eat, sleep, make love, and play in the sun”, God told the man. “For this, I will give you a life span of twenty years.”

“Just live, eat, sleep, make love, and play in the sun, and I only get twenty years?!?” said the man. “That’s too short a time! I’ll tell you what, I’ll take the forty that the cow gave back, the ten that the monkey gave back, and the ten that the dog gave back; that makes eighty, O.K.?” And God agreed.

So that’s why for the first twenty years of our lives we just live, eat, sleep, make love, and play in the sun; the next forty years we spend slaving to support our families; the next ten years we spend doing monkey tricks for our grandchildren; and the next ten years we sit in front of the house and bark at everybody.
Als Jupiter der unbewohnten Erde
Die Menschen und die Tiere schuf,
Bestimmt er je chlichem den künftigen Beruf,
Des Lebens Art und Zeit und Arbeit und Beschwerde.

Zum Esel sagte Zeus: »Dein Schicksal legt dir Last
Und harte Knechtschaft auf; nur Disteln, keine Mast.
Das ist dein Los, Wohlan! so dien, und lebe
So viele Jahr’s, als ich dem Monat Tage gehe.«
Der Esel Erstling schreit: »Zu viel legst du mir bei.
Sonst quäl ich mich zu lang: Es graun mir schon die Haare.«
Der große Zeus erhört sein flehendes Geschrei.

Zum Hunde spricht er: »Wache fleißig!
Hüt eifrig Trift und Haus! Du überkamst von mir
Mut, Treue, Fertigkeit, und du erreichst dafür
An edlen jahren fünfunddreißig . . .«
»Das Wächteramt ist schwer: Ich bitte, Herr, von dir,
Die Dauer meiner Pflicht aus Mitleid einzuschränken
Und fünfundzwanzig mir zu schenken.«
Die Günst gewähret ihm der Gott.

Zum Affen sagt er drauf: »Du Halbmensch, deine Mienen,
Dien ganzes Wesen kann zu nichts als Kurzweil dienen.
Sei nackt, gefesselt, arm, der Kinder Lust und Spott,
Und der Bedienten Spiel, auf sechs Olympiaden.«
»Sechs!« spricht der Aff, »oh, gib mir doch aus Gnaden.
Nur vier. Did sind genug. Nur lächerlich zu sein,
Bedarf ich wenig Zeit.« Zeus räumt die Zeit ihm ein.

Es nähert sich der Mensch. Zeus spricht: »Du, meine Freude,
Du zierst mein neues Weltgebäude.
Du bist mein Meisterstück. Es sei die Erde dein!
Für dich sei sie so schön, so fruchtbar, so voll Schätze.
Versäume nicht, dich zu erfreun,
Weil ich zum leben dir nur dreißig Sommer setze.«

1 This is how the line appears in the original poem; nothing has been cut.
Fast wie beim ersten Blitz, beim ersten Donnerschlag
Erschrak der mensch und sagt: O Zeus, dein »Schöpfungstag
Bereichert mich mit deinen besten Gaben;
Doch, soll mein Dasein nur so wenig Jahre haben?
Das ist bejammernswert! Dafern ich wählen mag,
So wähle ich mir zu meinem länger Leben,
Was Esel, Hund und Aff an ihrem aufgegeben.<
»Es sei!« spricht Jupiter, »doch dies bleibt festgestellt:
Dein längeres Alter soll, nach jenen dreißig Jahren,
Auch jedes tieres Stand erfahren,
Dem ich die Zeit erleibe, die jetzt der Mensch erhält.<

Ganz unveränderlich ist dieser Götterschluß.
Nur unsre Jugend ist der Sitz der Fröhlichkeiten.
Wir spielen dreißig Jahr', ohn' Ernst und Überdruß,
Wir kennen nicht den Zwang der strengern Folgezeiten,
Und unter Leben ist Genüß.
Uns wollte Jupiter nur dieses Alter geben.
Ach hätte doch dieses Flehen nichts erreicht
Und uns kein Wahn verführt, nach fernem Zeil zu streben!
Kaum, daß der Menschen Lenz, die Zeit der Lust, verstreicht,
So überladen uns mit ungewohnten Bürden
Der Haus- und Ehestand, Geschäfte, Pflichten, Würden,
Das daß der Tiere Herr dem trägst Lasttier gleicht.
Der Fünfzigjährige besitzt nur seine Güter,
Vermeidet den Gebrauch, entbehret, was er hat,
Häuft, rechnet, zählt, verschließt, scheut Diebstahl und Verrat,
Ist schlaflos wie sein hund, auch ein so scharfer Hüter,
Der ganz verlähmte Greis, der kümmerlich sich regt,
Sitzt wie der Halbmensch an der Kette.
Noch glücklich, wenn er nicht auch dessen Schicksal hätte,
Daß kind und Knecht und Magd ihn zu belachen pflegt.²

Appendix B

Transcription and Corrections of Müller’s List of Messianic Predictions from *Judaismus* 3

Transcribed and corrected from Chapter 1, p. 47. Biblical chapter titles are given in Latin, German, and English. Müller’s list follows the order of the books as they appear in the Hebrew Bible, not the Old Testament. Müller’s first listings for Isaiah and Hosea appear under individual headings, and Müller lists all Psalms individually. Chapter numbers are printed in underlined bold type. Discrepancies are noted in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Chapter/Verse</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>3:15; 35:21; 49:1, 10, 11, 12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>12:42; 40:9, 11</td>
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<td>Numeri</td>
<td>11:26; 23:21; 24:7, 17, 20, 24</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomium</td>
<td>25:19; 30:40 [Note: Chapter 30 ends at verse 20, not 40]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Samuelis</td>
<td>2:1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>II. Samuelis</td>
<td>[Note: Müller uses the numeral “2”]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Regum</td>
<td>4:33</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jesaia</td>
<td>4:2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jesaia</td>
<td>9:6; 10:27; 11:1, 6; 15:2; 16:1, 5; 28:5; 42:1; 43:10; 45:1; 51:13; 53:10</td>
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<td>Jeremia</td>
<td>23:5; 30:21; 33:13, 15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hosea</td>
<td>3:5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hosea</td>
<td>14:8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micha</td>
<td>4:8; 5:2 [Note: Müller appears to indicate “c[aput] 5. v[ersus] I8”; the Hebrew text ends at verse 15; Luther’s text omits the first line of the Hebrew text and ends on verse 14]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacharia</td>
<td>3:8; 4:7; 6:12; 10:4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalmus</td>
<td>18:32</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Psalmus</td>
<td>20:7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalmus</td>
<td>45:3, 8</td>
<td></td>
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3 *Judaismus*, p. 30.
Psalmus 61:7, 9
Psalmus 72:1
Psalmus 80:18
Psalmus 84:10

Canticum Canticorum (Das Hohelied Salomo’s / Song of Solomon) 1:8; 4:5; 7:14; 8:1, 2, 4

Ruth (Ruth / Ruth) 1:1; 3:15

Threni [Liber Threnorum] (Die Klagelieder Jeremia’s / Lamentations) 2:22; 4:22

Ecclesiastes (Der Prediger Salomo / Ecclesiastes) 1:11; 7:2

Appendix C
Translations of *Jägerlieder* appearing in the text

The Jäger-Lieder, *Diana verschworen* and *Musik und Jägerei*, as well as the *Jäger-Polonaise* are all taken from Clewing, MuJ, pp. 229, 10-11, and 217, respectively. *Diana verschworen* and *Musik und Jägerei* were used as part of my own performances of the Brandenburg Concertos, and scored after the style of the Brandenburg No. 1 *Menuet*, appear following the translations. The *Jäger-Polonaise* and the Jäger-Lied, *Das Jagen, das ist ja mein Leben*[^4] were not used in the performances, thus only the translations are given here.[^5] *Das Jagen, das ist ja mein Leben* is taken from *Der Hamburger Musikant, Teil A, vom 3. – 6. Schuljahr*. Wolfenbüttel: Karl Heinrich Möeseler Verlag, 1952, p. 121.[^6]

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[^5]: Again, I extend my thanks to Prof. John Wagstaff, for his generous assistance in preparing these translations.

[^6]: I would like to extend my thanks to Prof. John Wagstaff of the University of Illinois Music and Performing Arts Library, for his generous assistance in preparing these translations.
Das Jagen, das ist ja mein Leben,
dem hab ich mich gänzlich ergeben in Wald.
Der Stutzen muß knallen, das Hirschlein muß fallen,
mit Pulver und Blei, im Wald sind wir frei.

2.
Die munteren Hörner erklingen,
die freundlichen Hunde, sie springen in den Wald.
Von drüben und drunten, bergauf und bergunten,
bald nahe, bald weit, das Gelaüt mich erfreut.

3.
Die finstre Nacht tut sich einschleichen,
alle Sternlein im Himmel, die leuchten übern Wald.
Gibts nich mehr zu jagen, so legn wir uns schlafen,
begeben uns zur Ruh, mein Stutzen dazu.

Dianae verschworen

Diana sworn
Nun ist der Feste Schluß, Now the [Hunting] Feast is ended,
Dabei es bleiben muß, Yet it must remain,
Diana will ich geben To Diana I will give
Mein frisch und junges Leben; My fresh and young life;
Ein treuer Diener sein dir, A faithful servant to thee,
O Diana mein! O Diana mine!

2.
Du geile Venus geh! You lustful Venus, go!
Dir sag ich’s schon von eh, I told you before,
Laß dich im Wald nit blicken, Do not let yourself be seen in the forest,
Sonst wird es sich g’wiß schicken, Otherwise it will surely happen,
Daß ich mit Pulver und Blei That I with powder and lead
Dir schieß das Herz entzwei. Will shoot your heart in two.

3.
Ha, ha, sa, sa wohlan, Ha, ha, sa, sa, come now,
Ein Hirsch der kommet schon! A stag already comes!
So mußt du nun dein Leben So must you now give your life,
Durch meine Händ‘ aufgeben: By my hands:
Mit dein Schweiß du mußt With your sweat you must
Abkühlen meine Lust. Cool my desire!

Musik und Jägerei            Music and Hunting
1. Der Dichter:            The poet:
Ich setz ein Streit:
Musik und Jägerei,
Welches die schönste
Sei und größte Freud?
Jedes beglück[j]et,
Erquick[j]ert das Herz,
jedes Melancholy vertriebt und Schmerz.

I pose an argument:
Of music and hunting,
Which is the most fair
And brings the greatest joy?
Each one brings happiness,
Quickens the heart,
Drives away all melancholy and pain.

2. Der Jäger:
Seht die Begierd!
Die stets der Waidmann trägt,
Wann er dem Wild nachjagt,
Das er gespürt.
Er acht’r kein Laufen,
Kein Schnaufen;
Nur fort,
Bis er das Wild ertappt an seinem Ort.

The hunter:
See the desire!
That the huntsman always carries,
When he hunts the wild game,
That he is tracking.
He minds no pursuit,
No panting.
He only goes forward,
Until he traps the game in its lair.

3. Der Musikus:
Wie manche Nacht
Mit Serenaden-Sang
Und süßem Lauten-Klang
Wird zugebracht.
Das Frauenzimmer
Wird immer
Verführt,
Wenn ein Arion das Saitenspiel rührt.

The musician:
As on some night
The serenade-song
And the sweet sound of the lute
Comes forth.
The women’s room
Is always
Seductive,
When any Arion disturbs the strings.

Musik und Jägerei (con’t)

4. Der Jäger:
The hunter:
Ein Fuchs, ein Has’,
Hirsch, Reh und hauend’ Schwein
Soll’n meine Beute sein:
Ein Freud, ein G’spaß
Wenn, ohn’ Verhoffen
Gestroffen
Im Wald,
Durch Waidmanns Pulverknall zu boden fällt.

5. Der Musikus:
Was soll das mir ?!
Zähmte nicht Orphe-us
Fels, Wald und Rauschenfluß,
All wild Getier?
Fama wird können
Bekennen
Dir frei,
Daß d’Musik schöner sei als d’Jägerei.

6. Der Dichter
Das ist gewiß:
Daß jenem d’Musik sei,
Diesem die Jägerei
Wie Zucker süß.
Jedes beglücket,
Erquicket
Die Brust.
Wer beide liebt und übt, hat Götterlust.

Jäger-Polonaise
The Hunter’s-Polonaise
1.

Lieben mag, wer selbst sich haßt!  
May he love who hates himself!

Aber wer sein gutes Leben  
But whoever surrenders his good life

Will der freien Ruh ergeben,  
To the freedom of the open air,

Reißt sich von der weichen Last,  
Tears himself from his soft burden,

Suchet für das süße Leiden  
Seeking for the sweet pains

Felder, Wald, Gebüsch und Heiden:  
Of fields, wood, bush and heath:

Lieben mag, wer selbst sich haßt!  
May he love who hates himself!

Lieben mag, wer selbst sich haßt!  
May he love who hates himself!

2.

Seine Lust, die er begehrt,  
His pleasure that he so desires,

Die ihm kürzt so manche Stunde,  
That for him shortens so many hours,

Sind die schnaubend-wilden Hunde  
Is the wild-sniffing hounds

Und ein ritterliches Pferd.  
And a gallant steed.

Oft will sein Gemüt sich letzen  
Often will his feelings carry him

An dem adligen Ergötzen:  
To his noble delight:

Seiner Lust, die er begehrt,  
To his pleasure that he so desires,

Seiner Lust, die er begehrt.  
To his pleasure that he so desires.

Jäger- Polonaise, con’t
3.

Wenn der Reif das Feld betaut                               When the frost bedews the field
Und die Vögel sich mit Singen                               And the birds take flight, singing
In die Morgenröte schwingen,                                In the red-morning,
Sitzt er munter auf und schaut,                               He sits cheerfully and observes,
Ob er mit der schnellen Winden                             If, on the fast winds
Kann das Wild im Walde finden:                           He can sense the game in the forest:
Wenn der Reif das Feld betaut,                               When the frost bedews the field,
Wenn der Reif das Feld betaut.                               When the frost bedews the field.

4.

So dringt Amors grimme Pein                                Thus will Love’s grim pain
In das frohe Herz ihm nimmer,                                Never press on his cheerful heart,
So vor weicher Lust kann immer                               Thus in body and life, he can
Sicher Leib und Leben sein;                                  Always be secure in soft delight;
Nichts von Freuden will er wissen,                           Nothing of joy would he want to know,
Die Gemüt und Leib muß büßen.                               Feeling and body must give way.
Er lacht Amors grimmer Pein,                                He laughs at Love’s grim pain,
Er lacht Amors grimmer Pein.                                He laughs at Love’s grim pain.

Das Waldhorn                                            The Waldhorn
1.

Wie lieblich schallt durch Busch und Wald
des Waldhorns süßer Klang!
Der Widerhall im Eichental
hallt’s so lang, so lang.

How lovely sounds through shrub and forest
the Waldhorn’s sweet sound!
The echo resounds in the valley of oaks
so long, so long.

2.

Und jeder Baum im weiten Raum
dünkt uns wohl noch so grün,
es wallt der Quell wohl noch so hell
durch’s Tal dahin, dahin.

And every tree in the wide-stretching space
seems to us yet so green,
it makes the spring bubble yet so brightly
through the valley down there, down there.

3.

Und jede Brust fühlt neue Luft
beim frohen Zwillings-ton,
es flieht der Schmerz aus jede Herz
sogleich davon, davon.

And every breast feels a new breath
when [they hear] the cheerful twin-tone;
the sorrow from every heart
instantly flies away, away.


Gams tot! Chamois dead and gone!
Der Schutz tut noch hall’n,
the shot still resounds,
der Gams, der ist g’fall’n.
the chamois has fallen.
Sprich richtig an, mein Jägersmann!
Act rightly, my huntsman!
Das Ansprechen, ds mußt du sein gründlich verstehn;
This procedure you must understand well and thoroughly;
du mußt zuvor den Pinsel sehn:
you need to see the dick first:
sonst liegt eppa a Goatz (Geitz) da, und
or else a she-goat will be lying there, and
Unglück is g’schehn.
bad luck along with it.
Ha-la-li, hal-la, li!
Ha-la-li, hal-la, li!

Sau tot!
Sow dead and gone!

Diese sau da Mutter vieler Kinder war,
This sow was the mother of many children,
dieser Basse hat nun ausgegrimmt,
this old wild boar has now ceased his fury,
seht gestreckt der frechen Überläufer Schar!
see lying prone the cocky, runaway herd!
„Sau tot”sei nun fröhlich angestimmt.
„Sow dead and gone” is now happily intoned.
Ha-la-li, hal-la, li!
Ha-la-li, hal-la, li!

7 The word “Pinsel”, colloquial for a “dimwit” (Dummkopf), in this instance something of a slang for, literally, the male organ.
Der anfang rechtmessiger vnd Gott wollgefelliger jagten jst beschriben genesis am ersten capittel da stehet: vnd Gott sprach, laß vnß Menschen erschaffen, ein bildt daß vnß gleich sey, die da herschen vber fisch jhm meer vnd vber die vögel vnder dem himel vnd alle thirr vf erden. dar auß ab zue nemen, das strackhs Adam der erst mit seinen nachkommen sich der jagten vnderfangen.

Albrecht Retz Jäger, 1604
[Lindner, pp. 78-79].

*Finis Coronat Opus*