The Sources of the Christmas Interpolations in J. S. Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat Major (BWV 243a)*

By Robert M. Cammarota

Apart from changes in tonality and instrumentation, the two versions of J. S. Bach’s Magnificat differ from each other mainly in the presence of four Christmas interpolations in the earlier E-flat major setting (BWV 243a). These include newly composed settings of the first strophe of Luther’s lied “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her” (1539); the last four verses of “Freut euch und jubiliert,” a celebrated lied whose origin is unknown; “Gloria in excelsis Deo” (Luke 2:14); and the last four verses and Alleluia of “Virga Jesse floruit,” attributed to Paul Eber (1570).

The custom of troping the Magnificat at vespers on major feasts, particularly Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, was cultivated in German-speaking lands of central and eastern Europe from the 14th through the 17th centuries; it continued to be observed in Leipzig during the first quarter of the 18th century. The procedure involved the interpolation of hymns and popular songs (lieder) appropriate to the feast into a polyphonic or, later, a concerted setting of the Magnificat. The texts of these interpolations were in Latin, German, or macaronic Latin–German.

Although the origin of troping the Magnificat is unknown, the practice has been traced back to the mid–14th century. The earliest examples of Magnificat tropes occur in the Seckauer Cantional of 1345. These include “Magnificat Pater ingenitus a quo sunt omnia” and “Magnificat Stella nova radiat.” Both are designated for the Feast of the Nativity.

The tropes to the Magnificat were known by different names during the 16th, 17th, and early 18th centuries. The term Rotulae occurs in 16th-century sources to indicate the interpolated hymns and lieder, while the term Laudes is found in 17th- and early 18th-century sources. Appearing concurrently with these designations, and sometimes in place of them, a third term, Kindleinwiegen, is found in sources from the 16th through the early 18th centuries.

Although the precise origin of the term is not known, Kindleinwiegen customarily refers to the popular Christmas songs (Weihnachtslieder) and hymns long associated with the Christmas Eve liturgy: the office of compline, the procession with the Christ Child to the manger, the manger play, and the office of matins.

The earliest source for Kindleinwiegen is, again, the Seckauer Cantional (1345), in which three Christmas lieder (“Magnum nomen domini,” “Resonet in laudibus,” and “Novae lucis hodie”) trope the Nunc Dimitis during compline. (The second lied, “Resonet in laudibus,” is the Latin version of “Joseph, lieber Joseph mein,” perhaps the most celebrated of all Kindleinwiegen; the German version is thought to antedate the Latin version [14th century]. This lied, a congregational song for the liturgical events of Christmas Eve, was sung to the pantomime of cradle rocking.) The Seckauer Can-
tional documents that the earliest known evidence of *Kindleinwiegen* was rooted in a local Catholic custom stemming from Seckau in the Steiermark region of Austria; its popularity spread throughout the German-speaking lands of eastern and central Europe during the late 14th and 15th centuries. As part of this custom, “lullabies” or “cradle songs” (hence the name *Kindleinwiegen*) were sung by the congregation while in procession with the Christ Child to the manger, while venerating Him there, and while reenacting the dramatic events of the Christmas story in the manger play. Moreover, Friedrich Blume has pointed out that Luther’s lied “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her,” a contrafactum based on the old village song “Ich komm aus fremden Landen her,” was intended as a round dance for the Christmas manger play. The close relationship of the *Kindleinwiegen* to the manger play suggests their origin in religious drama.

In keeping with the liturgical reforms first set forth in Luther’s *Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeine* (1523), the Evangelical church discontinued the office of compline. The hymns and *Kindleinwiegen* that originally interpolated the Nunc Dimittis canticle and accompanied the manger drama were transferred to the afternoon vespers service and became attached to the Magnificat canticle. Exactly how this occurred is not known. In keeping with the spirit of the new liturgical reforms, 16th-century Protestant composers made no distinction between Latin hymns, popular Christmas songs (*Weihnachtslieder*), and *Kindleinwiegen* when interpolating the Magnificat. To aid in the understanding of the Latin texts and to encourage participation by the congregation, composers alternated the Latin hymn stanzas with the vernacular.

This practice of singing hymns was still being used in many German-speaking regions during the early 18th century. Christian Gerber, a contemporary of J. S. Bach, cites three examples of hymns performed in this manner: “Puer natus in Bethlehem” at Christmas, “Surrexit Christus hodie” at Easter, and “Spiritus sancti gratia” at Pentecost.

By the end of the 16th century, composers interpolated the Magnificat in three different ways: (1) by alternating the verses of the Magnificat with polyphonic settings of the interpolations (*Rotulae*); this occurred in Orlando Lasso’s Magnificat à 5 on the 5th tone, for which there were two different sets of *Rotulae* available, one by Martin Agricola and Johann Hermann and a second by Gregor Lange and Johann Walter; (2) by troping the Magnificat text: this occurs in the fourth verse, “Denn er hat grosse Ding an mir getan / Ein Kindelein so zart / der da machtig ist und des Name heilig ist,” of the ninth work (a German Magnificat, “Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn”), printed in Wolfgang Figulus’s *Vetera nova* (1575); or (3) by using the quodlibet technique: (a) within a polyphonic setting of the Magnificat, one voice (e.g., tenor) sings the *Rotula* while the other voices sing the text of the Magnificat; (b) conversely, in a polyphonic setting, one voice (e.g., tenor) sings the Magnificat plainsong in long note values as a cantus firmus while the other voices sing the *Rotula*; or (c) by combining the three basic techniques cited above (*Rotulae*, trope, and quodlibet) within a setting of the Magnificat. A contrast in musical styles resulted, no matter which technique a composer used.
In the 17th century composers chose most frequently to alternate verses, or groups of verses, of the Magnificat text with Laudes. The verses of the Magnificat could be sung by the congregation or by a smaller choir, perhaps situated in another part of the church, to create an antiphonal effect. The congregation could participate directly in the singing of the Laudes or listen to the choir’s singing of the text in the vernacular.

Examples of troped Magnificats from the 16th and 17th centuries indicate that composers drew their Rotulae, or Laudes, from a repertory of Christmas hymns and lieder that had grown quite large by the end of the 16th century. (Martin Geck cites one source, actually a set of seven partbooks [not a choirbook] formerly in Breslau [Stadtbibliothek: Ms. 31], in which four-fifths of the approximately one hundred pieces were Christmas songs.) The diversity of Laudes occurring in these Magnificat settings suggests that there were no prescribed texts, nor were there a fixed number or a specific order of Laudes per setting; the division of the text of the canticle and the interpolation of the Laudes were left to the discretion of the composer or Kantor. However, toward the end of the 17th century, certain texts begin to recur with greater frequency. The Laudes printed in Natalitia Sacra (1682)—the texts of the music for Christmas, New Year’s Day, and the Epiphany at St. Mariens in Lübeck—exemplify this trend.

Six Laudes, interpolations to the Magnificat at vespers on the first Feastday of Christmas (Feria I), are printed in Natalitia Sacra; they include “Vom Himmel hoch,” “Freut euch und jubiliert,” “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” “Virga Jesse floruit,” “Joseph, lieber Joseph mein,” and “Psallite unigenito Christo.” It appears that these six Laudes occur together for the first time here, although the first five Laudes recur frequently, albeit individually, in 17th-century Magnificat settings. Four of them, excluding “Virga Jesse floruit,” are found together as early as 1603 in Seth Calvisius’s motet settings published in Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum. The sixth Laud, “Psallite unigenito Christo,” occurs less frequently in 17th-century sources, though it is found in a Magnificat with five different Laudes in Samuel Scheidt’s Geistliche Konzerte, Part III (1635).

Of the six Laudes present in Natalitia Sacra (1682), the first four recur in three manuscript sources that stem from Leipzig and date from the first quarter of the 18th century. They include (1) the so-called cantata “Vom Himmel hoch” attributed to Johann Kuhnau and preserved as “Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest” at the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig; (2) the anonymous Magnificat à 4 in D major first mentioned by Spitta and relocated in March 1980 at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin; and (3) J. S. Bach’s E-flat major Magnificat (P 38). These three examples are the only extant manuscript sources with Laudes that date from the 18th century. (Printed editions of 18th-century Magnificats lie outside the scope of this study; nevertheless, I am not aware of any containing interpolations.) Although they bear witness to the tradition of troping the Magnificat in the 18th century, the small number of extant manuscript sources indicates that the practice was, in fact, declining.
The decline may be due, in part, to changes in the worship service in Leipzig that took place during the early part of the 18th century. Among a number of reforms decreed by the Leipzig town council on 13 February 1702 was the abolishment from the vesper service of the practice of interpolating the Magnificat with *Laudes* and *Kindleinwiegen*, specifically “Joseph, lieber Joseph mein.” However, the presence of the above-mentioned four *Laudes* in three sources from Leipzig indicates that the decree was sometimes ignored and that only “Joseph, lieber Joseph mein,” of the *Kindleinwiegen*, was immediately affected. Although the *Laudes* appear to have retained their traditional position within the vesper service through the first quarter of the century, they do not appear in Magnificat manuscripts composed or copied during the second quarter of the century, or thereafter. Late 17th- and early 18th-century inventories, in particular those of Johann Schelle and Johann Kuhnau—Bach’s predecessors at the Thomasschule—list two manuscripts with *Laudes*. They include a set of “*Laudes* for six voices and instruments to be sung between the verses of the Magnificat at Christmas” and an anonymous “Magnificat con *Vom Himmel hoch da komm.*” Both sources stem from the 17th century; neither is preserved, however.

Excepting the three 18th-century manuscripts cited above, not a single Magnificat manuscript from the first half of the 18th century presently preserved in the libraries at Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig includes any indication for the performance of *Laudes*. Nor have the RISM catalogues for collections of manuscripts in the Federal Republic of Germany or in the German Democratic Republic provided any clues to additional sources. J. S. Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat major appears to be the last setting in a long liturgical tradition to have the *Laudes* notated within the manuscript itself.

Apart from the liturgical reforms by the Leipzig town council in 1702, there was a practical consideration: the use of *Laudes*, whether for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, or any other major feast, limited the performance of the Magnificat to a particular occasion. This might explain why interpolated Magnificat settings from the 18th century are so rare; without the *Laudes* a Magnificat could be performed on any occasion. There were numerous feasts during the year demanding concerted performances of Latin Magnificats. These included the feasts of New Year’s Day, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension, Trinity, St. John the Baptist, Visitation of the Virgin, St. Michael, and Reformation Day, as well as the first and second feastdays of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost—a minimum of sixteen occasions. The vast, readily available repertory of occasional hymns and lieder offered the Kantor manifold possibilities to interpolate a Magnificat setting; the notation of particular *Laudes* within a manuscript suggests that a work was prepared for a specific performance. The three extant 18th-century manuscripts with *Laudes* are all works intended for Christmas.

“Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest”

The manuscript catalogued as “Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest” at the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig (Ms. Becker III.2.124) consists of four inde-
pendent choral settings on "Vom Himmel hoch," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Virga Jesse floruit." The work, preserved without attribution or title, has traditionally been ascribed to Johann Kuhnau and is often, though incorrectly, cited as Kuhnau's cantata "Vom Himmel hoch." The four choral settings actually do not form a cantata: they lack the textual and musical means necessary to unify four distinct pieces. Furthermore, Albrecht Tunge has observed correctly that as a unit the work lacks the instructional element (docere) inherent in the Baroque cantata. Preserved independently of a Magnificat setting, these four well-known Christmas lieder are Laudes; as such they were intended to be performed not as an autonomous work but rather as interpolations in a Magnificat setting.

The manuscript of these Laudes consists of seventeen parts copied by five different scribes (see Table I); each part is written on one half-sheet of paper (upright format as in Bach's cantata manuscripts). Scribe 1 copied a complete set of parts in C major that includes the canto, alto, tenor, bass, violin 1 and 2, viola, trumpet 1 and 2, timpani, and continuo. Scribe 2 copied the second set of violin parts and the violone, all three in C major. Scribe 3 copied the continuo in B-flat major; scribe 4, the continuo in B-flat; and scribe 5, whom I have been able to identify as Johann Andreas Kuhnau, the continuo in D major (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Incipits of the four Laudes in the continuo in D major copied in the early hand of Johann Andreas Kuhnau. (Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Ms. Becker III.2.124)
The scoring of the first Laud, "Vom Himmel hoch," consists of two violins, viola, CATB, violone, and continuo; that of the remaining Laudes includes two trumpets and timpani in addition to the above instruments. Solo and tutti passages are differentiated in the vocal parts, and dynamics are indicated. The parts, nonetheless, contain numerous mistakes and corrections both in the text underlay and in the notation of the music, which suggests that they were copied by non-professional scribes. Because they stem from Leipzig and since J. A. Kuhnau's early hand can be identified in one of the continuo parts, it is fair to assume that these parts were copied by students at

Table I
The Performing Parts to "Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest"
(MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

[Score: not preserved]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parts:</th>
<th>Watermark</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Canto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Alto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tenore</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Basso</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Violino 1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Violino 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Viola</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clarino 1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Clarino 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tamburi</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Continuo\textsuperscript{b} (C major)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Violino 1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Violino 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Violone</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Continuo\textsuperscript{a} (B-flat major)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Continuo\textsuperscript{d} (B-flat major)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Continuo\textsuperscript{c} (D major)</td>
<td>[?]\textsuperscript{*}</td>
<td>J. A. Kuhnau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Parts:**
Numbers, lightly written in the upper right-hand corner of the parts, identify each of the seventeen parts. The four continuo parts are distinguished by superscripts a–d.

**Watermark:**
X = Adler auf Stegen, belegt mit H (oder A?)
Y = Buchstaben: AW in Schild auf Stegen

(I am indebted to Ellen Roeser, director of the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, for providing me with a microfilm of this manuscript and with information regarding the watermarks [letter of 8 October 1981].)

\textsuperscript{*}According to Ellen Roeser the watermark for the Continuo\textsuperscript{c} (D major) is so faint that its definite identification without additional help is not possible, though it could be the same watermark as Y.
Hans-Joachim Schulze has noted in passing that sometime around 1720 Johann Kuhnau partially revised the set of parts with text cues [Textmarken] for performance in various keys. A comparison of Kuhnau’s writing in these parts with that, for example, in his autograph score of cantata “Nicht nur allein am frohen Morgen” (1718) reveals that the directions “solo” and “tutti,” the affect marking “affettuoso,” the dynamic markings “piano” and “forte,” as well as the textual corrections in the four vocal parts (particularly in the repetition of words and phrases), all stem from the hand of Johann Kuhnau. One of the more significant corrections occurs in the tenor part of “Freut euch und jubiliert”; the text “zu Bethlehem ... gebohren wird” is corrected to read “zu Bethlehem ... [ge]fund[en] wird,” though only in its repetition (see Figure 2). A major correction occurs in the third Laud, “Gloria in excelsis Deo.” Here scribe 1 writes “Gloria ejus,” which Kuhnau corrects in all four voices to read “Gloria in excelsis Deo” (see Figure 3).

Figure 2
Johann Kuhnau’s correction of the word “gebohren” to “[ge]fund[en]” in the tenor of “Freut euch und jubiliert,” m. 12. (Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

Figure 3
Johann Kuhnau’s correction of “Gloria ejus” to “Gloria in excelsis Deo” in the canto of “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” mm. 13–18. (Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

As noted in Table I, all the parts, with the possible exception of the continuo in D major, have one of two watermarks: the eagle [“X”] or the letters...
AW ["Y"]]. This implies that two types of paper were used by the four main scribes, perhaps even by the fifth scribe, J. A. Kuhnau. There is evidence to suggest, however, that these single sheets were formerly double sheets which had been cut in half and that the sixteen original parts (excluding the continuo in D major) actually contain either the watermark or the countermark of the pair of watermarks: (1) Each of the sixteen original parts is written on both sides (recto and verso) of one half-sheet of paper (upright format). Eight of the parts contain watermark "X"; the remaining eight, watermark "Y." (2) Scribes 1 and 2 write on paper with watermark "X," as well as on paper with watermark "Y"; scribe 3 uses a sheet with watermark "Y," while scribe 4 uses one with "X." These four scribes, therefore, appear to be using two halves of the same full sheet of paper. From the watermarks we can conclude that all of the parts, excluding the continuo in D major, were copied at the same time and were probably intended for the same performance. The presence of Johann Kuhnau’s corrections confirms that this set of parts was copied before June 1722.

Two extra parts are included within this complete set: (a) two continuo parts (instead of one) transposed to B-flat major and (b) a continuo part transposed to D major. Although it was standard practice in Leipzig to transpose the continuo part a tone lower (Chorton) for the organ, it was not general practice to do so in duplicate. A comparison of both B-flat major parts copied by scribes 3 and 4 with the original C-major part copied by scribe 1 reveals a number of differences between the transposed parts. These differences can be described briefly as follows: Continuo^d in B-flat major contains many incorrect notes in Laudes one, two, and four, particularly in “Virga Jesse floruit,” where the E flats should all be corrected to E naturals (mm. 50, 52, and 54). In the “Gloria” the marking of “tasto solo” (m. 26) and the fermata (m. 30, beat 3) are omitted. Thorough-bass figures are often omitted, as in “Virga Jesse floruit” (mm. 25 and 58). In general, the notation of this part is inaccurate and difficult to read. (Music writing that is difficult to read and inaccurate positioning of the note heads on the staff are also characteristics of the writing of scribe 1, particularly in the continuo in C major. Here the notes are placed ambiguously on the staff.) On the other hand, the continuo^a in B-flat major, copied by scribe 3, is flawlessly copied; not only does it compare perfectly with the continuo^b in C major copied by scribe 1, but it is even easier to read. Scribe 3 appears to have been the most experienced of the five copyists involved in this manuscript. The continuo^d copied by scribe 4 contained too many mistakes to be used in a performance without prior correction. However, it is not clear why scribe 3 copied a completely new part (continuo^a) instead of simply correcting the defective one (continuo^d). (Perhaps he considered it easier to copy an entirely new part than to correct an inaccurate and ambiguous copy.) Nor is it clear why the defective copy was preserved once a corrected part was available.

Judging from the complete set of parts in C major (Cammerton) and the organ part in B-flat major (Chorton)—as was customary in Leipzig—it appears that these Laudes were originally intended to be interpolated into a
Magnificat setting in C major. Johann Kuhnau's Magnificat à 5 in C major is the obvious choice. However, there is no evidence at present to confirm that these four Laudes were indeed interpolated into Kuhnau's or any other C-major setting of the Magnificat. Neither the score from which these Laudes were copied nor the autograph score and original set of performing parts to Kuhnau's Magnificat are preserved. Nonetheless, the custom of performing the Magnificat at Christmas in Leipzig called for the interpolation of Laudes. These four Laudes, unattached to a specific Magnificat setting—perhaps as a reaction to the ban on interpolations into the Magnificat by the town council in 1702—could very well have been intended originally for Kuhnau's Magnificat. Johann Kuhnau's corrections confirm that he was preparing the set of Laudes for performance; his corrections suggest, moreover, that he might very well be the composer of these four Laudes. The set of Laudes could have been performed subsequently in Leipzig with any number of the Magnificat settings, including Christoph Graupner's Magnificat à 4 in C major when it was first performed in Leipzig during Christmas of 1722. Although Graupner's autograph score lacks any indication for the performance of Laudes, the set of performing parts to the Kuhnau Laudes was copied before June 1722 (at the very latest) and was, theoretically, also available to Graupner. Only the decision as to where to interpolate these Laudes within his setting needed to be made.

The presence of a continuo part transposed to D major within a complete set of parts in C major indicates that the Laudes were also used to interpolate a Magnificat setting in that key. This was easily effected by having the trumpets and timpani read from the original set of parts, notated in C major, but sound a tone higher in D major, the new Cammerton. The strings retuned to the new pitch (D) but read from the original set of parts in C; the voices simply sang their parts a tone higher. The organ, which in Leipzig had its parts notated in Chorton but sounded in Cammerton, was performed from the continuo part in C major. Therefore, all the C-major parts could be reused in a performance of the work in D major; only a continuo part in the new Cammerton needed to be copied. It is ironic that a performance of these Laudes with a Magnificat setting in C major cannot be documented, though one in D major can. As noted in Table I, J. A. Kuhnau copied the continuo in D major; as I have explained elsewhere, this was done to facilitate a performance of these Laudes with the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535).

Anonymous, Magnificat à 4 in D major

The second example of an 18th-century manuscript with Laudes is the anonymous Magnificat à 4 in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535). This work, first mentioned by Spitta as an anonymous Magnificat into which Bach inserted the same four Christmas hymns as in his own setting, was relocated at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in 1980. Just as Spitta noted, only "Freut euch und jubiliert" occupies the same position in this manuscript as in Bach's setting, occurring between (4) "Quia fecit mihi magna"
and (5) “Et misericordia” (see Table II). The other Laudes are interpolated as follows: “Vom Himmel hoch” occurs between (3) “Quia respexit” and (4) “Quia fecit mihi magna”; “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” between (8) “Esurientes” and (9) “Suscepit Israel”; and “Virga Jesse floruit,” between (10) “Sicut locutus est” and (11) “Gloria.”

The manuscript consists of fourteen parts derived from two different performances; the score is not extant. Three of the parts derive from the earlier performance. These include the first and second violin parts and the continuo part, written in the early hands of Anon. Ip, Anon. Ib, and J. A. Kuhnau, respectively. All three parts, measuring 36 × 21.5 cm., have the same watermark, “IMK/half moon.” The form of the watermark in the continuo compares exactly with that in the manuscript of Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat major (P 38); this suggests a performance sometime before, but not later than, Christmas of 1723. The four interpolations occur in these three parts alone; they are written in red ink in the early hand of J. A. Kuhnau, not in the hand of J. S. Bach as Spitta stated.

A comparison of J. A. Kuhnau’s handwriting in the three earlier parts of this Magnificat with that in the D-major continuo of the “Cantate zum

Table II
Position of the Four Christmas Laudes in the Anonymous Magnificat in D Major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535) and in J. S. Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat Major (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mus. ms. anon. 1535</th>
<th>Laudes</th>
<th>P 38</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Magnificat</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Magnificat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Et exultavit</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Et exultavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Quia respexit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Vom Himmel hoch</td>
<td>3. Quia respexit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Freut euch und jubiliert</td>
<td>4. Omnes generationes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Gloria in excelsis Deo</td>
<td>5. Quia fecit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Quia fecit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Et misericordia</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Et misericordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fecit potentiam</td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Fecit potentiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Deposuit</td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Deposuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Suscepit Israel</td>
<td></td>
<td>10. Suscepit Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sicut locutus est</td>
<td></td>
<td>11. Sicut locutus est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sicut erat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88
Johann Andreas Kuhnau’s early writing of “Von Himel hoch” in the second violin part of the Anonymous Magnificat in D major. The part is written in the hand of Anon. Ib. (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek: Mus. ms. anon. 1535)

Weihnachtsfest” indicates that Kuhnau’s early script is found in both sources. This is most noticeable in each part where Kuhnau writes “Von Himel hoch” (cf. Figures 1 and 4), instead of “Vom Himel hoch” (or “Vom Himmel hoch”). From the comparison of his writing in the two sources, we can infer that J. A. Kuhnau copied both parts at approximately the same time in order to make possible a performance of the Laudes with the anonymous Magnificat in D major. The presence of the early writing of Anon. Ib, Anon. Ip, and J. A. Kuhnau in the earlier set of parts to this Magnificat suggests that this work was intended for performance in Leipzig before Christmas of 1723, perhaps as early as Christmas of 1718. The “IMK/half moon” watermark supports this dating, though the details surrounding the performance of this work are not clear.

J. S. Bach, Magnificat à 5 in E-flat major

The last example of an 18th-century manuscript with Laudes is J. S. Bach’s Magnificat à 5 in E-flat major (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 38). The four interpolations that occur in this work are the same texts as those that are present in the two preceding manuscripts; the music, however, is newly composed.

The choice, order, and number of interpolations present in this setting indicate Bach’s awareness and observance of the custom of performing the Magnificat on festive occasions in Leipzig. Bach may have wanted to celebrate his first Christmas as Kantor in Leipzig with a festive Magnificat composition. Instead of borrowing a preexistent set of interpolations for his Magnificat, he composed an entirely new set.

As Alfred Dürr states, Bach notated his set of interpolations only after he completed the composition of the Magnificat. A number of features confirm this observation: (1) The interpolations are not integrated into the manuscript; instead, they are grouped together at the end. Bach used the bottom margins of folios 12r and 13v–15r and the entire sides of folios 15v–16v to notate his interpolations. (2) Reference marks pertaining to the perfor-
mance of the interpolations were subsequently written into the manuscript. Dürr observes that "the reference on folio 7r was squeezed between the two movements clearly at a later date; moreover, Bach found no room between the two movements on folio 10r, and so he wrote the indication laterally after the conclusion of 'Fecit potentiam.' Had he, however, put in the indication earlier, in all likelihood more space would have been found at the end of that movement. . . ."53 The interpolations show no evidence that they were composed at a significantly later date than the score to the Magnificat, only that they were written down subsequently.

Bach scored "Vom Himmel hoch" for four unaccompanied voices (SSATB), treating the hymn melody as a cantus firmus in the sopranos. He scored "Freut euch und jubiliert" for four voices (SSAT) and continuo; "Gloria in excelsis Deo," for five voices (SSATB) and orchestra (two violins, two oboes, viola, and continuo); "Virga Jesse floruit," for two voices (S/B) and continuo. Only the beginning of "Virga Jesse floruit" has been preserved; the ending (folio 17) is missing. Accordingly, Dürr includes only the preserved half of this interpolation in his edition of the Magnificat for the NBA; the section breaks off in the middle of m. 30. Because Bach reused this music in 1725 in the duet "Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe" from his cantata "Unser Mund sei voll Lachens" (BWV 110), Dürr was able to reconstruct the missing fifteen bars of the Laud and complete an edition.55 The reconstructed bars are not included in the NBA volume. The original set of parts for these Laudes is not extant.

Spitta notes that the choice and order of interpolations in Bach's Magnificat are the same as in the set of Laudes attributed to Johann Kuhnau (MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124).56 Elsewhere he observes that they are the same four, and in the same order, that are inserted in the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535); though with the exception of "Freut euch und jubiliert," they occur in different positions.57 Spitta indicates two points of detail that convince him that Bach took his text directly from the Kuhnau setting: both settings use the corrupted Lutheran translation "bona voluntas" [from "bonae voluntatis"] in the Laud beginning "Gloria in excelsis Deo" instead of "bonae voluntatis" as found in the Vulgate and in all settings of the "Gloria" in Bach's Latin masses; both use only the last four verses and Alleluia of the Laud "Virga Jesse floruit."58

In the 75 years between the publications of Spitta's study and Dürr's critical report accompanying his edition of Bach's Magnificat for the NBA, writers have traditionally upheld Spitta's conclusion that Bach based his interpolations on the set of Laudes attributed to Johann Kuhnau. Dürr was no exception. However, during the early 1950s when he was preparing his critical report, the aforementioned manuscript of the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535) could not be located. Spitta had not cited a call number for this manuscript;59 moreover, the catalogue card for it was not among the cards of the anonymous manuscripts in the catalogues of the DStB. Dürr notes that his attempts to locate this manuscript in 1950 and again in 1953 proved unsuccessful.60
During the time the manuscript could not be located, two writers attempted to offer new evidence challenging Spitta’s findings. Spitta’s position was first disputed by Geck in “J. S. Bachs Weihnachts-Magnificat und sein Traditionszusammenhang,” in which he discussed the historical tradition of the Laudes in the 16th and 17th centuries. Among the numerous examples cited, Geck mentioned a newly found source, Natalitia Sacra, the printed texts of the Christmas, New Year, and Epiphany music in Lübeck for 1682–83, which contains a Magnificat interpolated with six Laudes (see Table III). The first four Laudes are the same four, and in the same order, that occur in the set of Laudes attributed to Johann Kuhnau and in Bach’s Magnificat. Because the phrase “bona voluntas” is found in the third Laud (“Gloria in excelsis Deo”) of Natalitia Sacra, as well as in the corresponding settings by Kuhnau and by Bach, Geck concluded that Bach did not depend directly on the Kuhnau setting for the source of his Laudes. He contended that these particular Laudes did not occur arbitrarily, but represented a prescribed liturgical formula [Formular] common to Lübeck and to Leipzig, of which the Kuhnau setting is but one example.

The presence of these same four Laudes in a third source from the 18th century, the newly relocated anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535), further strengthens Geck’s argument concerning the liturgical tradition from which these particular Laudes may derive. However, in

**Table III**

Position of the Six Laudes in the Magnificat for Christmas Vespers (Feria I) in Natalitia Sacra (1682)*

1. Magnificat anima mea Dominum
2. Et exultavit Spiritus meus
   A. Vom Himmel hoch da kom ich her
3. Quia respexit humilitatem
4. Quia fecit mihi magna
   B. Freut Euch und jubiliert
5. Et misericordia ejus
6. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo
   C. Gloria in excelsis Deo
7. Deposuit potentes de sede
8. Esurientes implevit bonis
   D. Virga Jessae floruit
9. Suscepit Israel puerum suum
10. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros
    E. Joseph lieber Joseph mein
11. Gloria Patri & Filio & Spiritui sancto, ... Amen
    F. Psallite unigenito Christo

limiting his argument to the textual comparison of these sources, specifically to the phrase “bona voluntas,” Geck overlooks a number of features of the Kuhnau manuscript that clarify the relationship of the set of Laudes to Bach’s Magnificat.

As discussed above, the Kuhnau set of Laudes was copied in Leipzig and contains a continuo part written in the early hand of Johann Andreas Kuhnau. Active (as early as 1718) as copyist for his uncle, Johann Kuhnau, as well as for Bach, J. A. Kuhnau witnessed the end of one Thomaskantor’s career and the beginning of another. The undisputed provenance of the manuscript, the use of the same four texts, the identification of Johann Kuhnau’s textual corrections and dynamic markings in the vocal parts, and the identification of the hand of Bach’s main copyist, J. A. Kuhnau, in the continuo in D major demonstrate a common, if not direct, connection between these Laudes and Bach’s set. This connection is firmly established despite the missing score to the Kuhnau set of Laudes and the missing parts to Bach’s set.

A direct connection can also be determined between the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535) and the Kuhnau set of Laudes (MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124): the presence of J. A. Kuhnau’s early handwriting in both manuscripts indicates with certainty that this anonymous Magnificat setting was interpolated with the Kuhnau set of Laudes. By demonstrating the connection between these two manuscripts, we can fully support Spitta’s conclusion that Bach knew the Kuhnau set of Laudes and based his interpolations on it, even though Bach’s writing does not occur in the parts to the anonymous Magnificat as Spitta claimed.

In his article entitled “Johann Sebastian Bachs Einlagesätze zum Magnificat,” Tunger traces the texts of Bach’s first three Laudes back to those of Seth Calvisius published in Erhard Bodenschatz’s motet collection, Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum (1603). He argues that Bach must have known Bodenschatz’s edition of these settings because (1) the order of the first three interpolations in Bach’s Magnificat follows the order of Calvisius’s motets in Florilegium (1603), as well as that of the printed texts in Natalitia Sacra (1682) and the Kuhnau set of Laudes; (2) there is a similarity of melodic contour in Bach’s setting of “Freut euch und jubiliert” and in Calvisius’s setting; and (3) the phrase “bona voluntas” occurs in Bach’s setting of the Laud “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” as well as in the settings by Calvisius and by Kuhnau.

It cannot be denied that the occurrence of these three Laudes in the same order in works composed 120 years apart suggests a century-old liturgical tradition—a “Laudes-formula”—that may have been observed in Leipzig, as well as in other locales during the 17th and early 18th centuries. However, there is no documentary evidence at present to support Tunger’s conclusion that Bach must have had access to a copy of Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum (1603). On the contrary, the second edition of Bodenschatz’s motet collection, Florilegium Portense (1618), which is cited by Johann Schelle in his catalogue of music in the library of the Thomasschule (1678) and confirmed by Johann Kuhnau in his inventory of the music in the library (1701), is the edition that was used by Kuhnau and, apparently, by Bach. There is no
confusion over which edition was used at the Thomasschule during the tenures of Johann Schelle and his successor, Johann Kuhnau: Schelle identifies the second edition by its correct title (Florilegium Portense) and by its corresponding number of partbooks ("9 Stimmen"). It appears that by 1729 the copy had become so worn that it was necessary to purchase a new one for Bach’s use.

Neither Geck nor Tunger mentions that Bach would probably have used the score (missing), and not the set of parts, of these interpolations as the model for his own set. Moreover, having learned these Christmas lieder as a schoolboy, Bach could have texted them from memory; there was no need for him to copy corrupted texts from a carelessly prepared set of parts. All he needed to know was which hymns or lieder were customarily interpolated into the Magnificat at Christmas in Leipzig. This information, provided in the set of Laudes attributed to Kuhnau, was readily available to him in the library of the Thomasschule.

We have seen that the custom of interpolating the Magnificat with Rotulae or Laudes can be documented from the mid-14th century. As part of the liturgical reforms of the Evangelical church during the 16th century, Rotulae, along with Kindleinwiegen—which earlier interpolated the Nunc Dimittis at compline (Seckauer Cantional)—were transferred to the afternoon vespers service and became attached to the Magnificat. By the late 17th century, however, the custom was on the decline. J. S. Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat major (P 38) is the last known setting, in a long historical tradition, to have the interpolations notated directly into the manuscript.

Four Laudes ("Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Virga Jesse foruit") recur in three early 18th-century manuscripts from Leipzig. These include the set of Laudes attributed to Johann Kuhnau (MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124), the newly relocated anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535), and J. S. Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat major (P 38). The recurrence of these same four Laudes in all three early 18th-century sources strongly suggests that they were particularly favored by composers from Leipzig, perhaps even part of a "prescribed liturgical formula" in common use when interpolating the Magnificat at Christmas. This custom, still observed in Leipzig during the first quarter of the 18th century, can be traced back to the cantorship of Seth Calvisius in the early 17th century.

The reemergence of the anonymous Magnificat in D major and the identification of J. A. Kuhnau as the copyist of the Laudes and the continuo part firmly establish the connection of this manuscript with Leipzig. We have seen, moreover, that this Magnificat was interpolated with the set of Laudes attributed to Johann Kuhnau. The occurrence of these same four Laudes in Bach’s Magnificat in E-flat major testifies to Bach’s awareness and observance of the Leipzig custom of interpolating the Magnificat at Christmas and strengthens the belief that he not only knew the set of Laudes attributed to Johann Kuhnau but also based his own set on them—as Spitta rightly observed over one hundred years ago.
NOTES

*This study is based on a chapter of my Ph.D. dissertation, "The Repertoire of Magnificats in Leipzig at the Time of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Manuscript Sources," New York University, in preparation. The research for this study was made possible through grants from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst [DAAD]. I should like to thank Dr. Wolfgang Goldhan, Eveline Bartlitz, and other members of the staff of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), and Ellen Roeser, director of the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, for their kind assistance. Dr. Goldhan and Ellen Roeser provided me with microfilms of the manuscripts from their collections and gave me permission to reproduce excerpts in facsimile.

My interest in J. S. Bach's Magnificat stems from Professor William B. Kimmel's Bach seminar at Hunter College, CUNY. Prof. Kimmel read an earlier draft of this study. It is with profound thanks that I offer it in his memory.

8 Folio 187v-187v: See Irtenkauf, "Das Seckauer Cantionarium vom Jahre 1345," p. 119. The procedure for troping the Nunc Dimittis is discussed in Irtenkauf's "Die Weihnachtskomplet im Jahre 1345 in Seckau," pp. 257-62. Irtenkauf notes that the texts of "Magnum nomen domini" and "Resonet in laudibus" are actually better suited to the text of the Magnificat than that of the Nunc Dimittis (p. 258, n. 10).
11 Spitta implies that the custom developed out of the dramatic reenactment of the nativity story (J. S. Bach, vol. 2, pp. 372-73).
12 Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 30.
13 One characteristic feature of the services in the early Evangelical church was the flexibility with which Latin and the vernacular were mixed. See Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 63.
14 "Es werden auch noch an viel Orten zu Weihnachten: Puer natus in Bethlehem &c. zu Pfingsten: Spiritus sancti gratia, und andere mehr gesungen: Dieweil aber die teutschen Versicul darzwischen gesungen werden, so kann doch die gantzte Gemeinde alsdenn mitsingen, und also verstehen, was die lateinischen Worte bedeutet.


16 Breslau, Stadtbibliothek: Ms. 8, no. 53. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (1890; reprint ed. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1970), p. 30. (The works cited in this catalogue were destroyed during World War II.)

17 Breslau, Stadtbibliothek: Ms. 12, no. 67. Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften... zu Breslau*, p. 38.


19 Magnificat settings exemplifying these three quodlibet techniques may be found in Winfried Kirsch's edition, *Drei Weihnachtsmagnificat* [Christmas settings of the Magnificat by Johannes Händel (Galliculus) and anonymous composers], in Das Chorwerk, vol. 85 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1961).

20 Spitta suggests that the interpolations in Bach's Magnificat were first sung antiphonally from the organ loft above the choir of the Thomaskirche (J. S. Bach, vol. 2, pp. 373–74). Dürr, however, does not support Spitta's hypothesis (Kritischer Bericht, NBA, II/3, p. 38).


25 Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig (hereafter MBLpz): Ms. Becker III.2.124. The manuscript consists of seventeen parts, fourteen of which are in C major: trumpet 1, 2; timpani; violin 1, 2 (each doubled); viola; canto; alto; tenor; bass; violone; and four continuo parts (in C, two in B-flat, and in D major). I have seen only a microfilm of this manuscript.

26 DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535. The manuscript, consisting of fourteen parts, is mentioned briefly by Spitta (J. S. Bach, vol. 3, p. 29). The rediscovery and description of this work was first announced in my paper, "Newly Rediscovered Anonymous Magnificats and Their Relationship to J. S. Bach," presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, November, 1981. A detailed description of this manuscript and the circumstances surrounding its rediscovery are discussed in my dissertation.

27 This excludes 18th-century copies of the above *Laudes*, such as H. Michel's copy of J. S. Bach's first two interpolations, "Vom Himmel hoch" and "Freut euch und jubiliert" (Berlin, Staatssbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [hereafter SPK]: Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 37). This manuscript is discussed in Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht, NBA*, II/3, pp. 15–17. The motet, "Kindlich gross ist das gottselige Geheimnis" (BWV Anhang 161), attributed to Carl Heinrich Graun, also includes the first two of Bach's interpolations, "Vom Himmel hoch" and "Freut euch und jubil-
foreign composers performed at Weissenfels. Thirty-two Magnificats performed on 21 different
ing the liturgical year is further confirmed by Johann
pp.liii-ix.

32 The retention of the Kindleinwiegen “Virga Jesse floruit” in the 18th-century settings, including
Bach’s E-flat major Magnificat, is probably the result of the use of only the four last verses
(plus Alleluia) of the text and not the lullaby passage in German, “Sause, liebes Kindlein, Eya,
Eya, zu Bethlehem Juda.” An anonymous setting of this Kindleinwiegen for CATB and continuo
is printed in Voppelius’s Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch (1682) on p. 77f. See Jürgen Grimm, Das Neu
Leipziger Gesangbuch des Gottfried Voppelius (Leipzig 1682), Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft,
14 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1969), pp. 192-95, 379. The full text is printed in Spitta, J. S. Bach, vol. 2,
p. 372, n. 364.

33 The catalogue is located in the music division of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
34 The catalogue is located in the music division of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
35 Spitta restricts the performance of Latin figural music, including concerted settings of the
Magnificat, in Leipzig, to the three major feasts of the liturgical year, namely Christmas, Easter,
and Pentecost (J. S. Bach, vol. 2, pp. 369, 374, and vol. 3, p. 25). Günther Stiller, however, cites
early 18th-century documentary evidence that Latin figural music, including Latin settings of the
Magnificat, was not restricted to the three main feasts of the church year in Leipzig, but was
performed on Sundays and on the major feastdays. In addition to the three main feasts of
Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost—each of which was celebrated on three consecutive days, a
tradition that lasted well into the 19th century—there were at least the ten other major feasts
listed above. See Stiller, Johann Sebastian Bach und das Leipziger gottesdienstliche Leben seiner Zeit
(Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), pp. 63-83, and 93, especially pp. 65, 80-81. The documents pertain-
ting to the order of worship, liturgical practice, and performance of music at the main
churches in Leipzig are discussed in Stiller’s study. The most important sources include “Leip-
ziger Kirchen-Staat” (1710), “Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten” (1694), Christoph Ernst Sicul’s
“Neo annalium Lipsiensium Continuatio II” (1717), and Johann Christoph Rost’s “Nachricht”
(1716). These and other documents are discussed by Stiller on pp. 25-29; full citations may be
found in his bibliography on pp. 249-51. Not one of the above documents is presently available
for study either in facsimile or on microfilm.

That concerted settings of the Latin Magnificat were performed on numerous occasions during
the liturgical year is further confirmed by Johann Philipp Krieger’s catalogue of works of
foreign composers performed at Weissenfels. Thirty-two Magnificats performed on 21 different
occasions during the church year are cited. See the “Verzeichniss der von J. Ph. Krieger in
Weissenfels aufgeführten Werke fremder Komponisten,” in Johann Philipp Krieger: 21 Ausgewählte
reprinted Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958),
pp. lii–lx.

36 The manuscript is omitted in the following listings of Kuhnau’s works: Bernh[ard] Fried-
1721,” Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte 34 (1902), pp. 176–81; Robert Eitner, “Kuhnau, Jo-
Johann Georg Hand des Capellmeisters that in the autographs of watermarks performing parts is not extant. The handwriting is identified on the bottom of the first folio by D Dur BWV Stolzel formed during Christmas 1722. Evangeline Rimbach, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 34 (Madison: AR Editions, 1980).

Kuhnau," Die Kirchenkantaten Johann Kuhnaus, (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Kuhnau, J., I); the set of performing parts is not extant. Friedrich Noack states that the work was composed for Leipzig and was probably performed during Christmas 1722. See "Johann Seb. Bachs und Christoph Graupners Komposi-

Noack’s position is supported by the fact that Graupner spent Christmas 1722 in Leipzig and had the parts to his audition cantatas, “Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden” and “Aus der Tiefen rufen wir” (performed on 17 January 1723), copied by Johann Andreas Kuhnau and Christian Gottlob Meissner (Dürr’s Anon. B), both students at the Thomasschule. Concerning the copyists of these parts, see Dürr, *Chronologie*, p. 163, nn. 3, 4; and Christoph Wolff, “Bachs Leipzigzer Kantortatsprobe und die Aufführungs geschichte der Kantate ‘Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn’ BWV 23,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978), pp. 83, 93 (Tabelle 2). Because the parts to Graupner’s Magnificat are not extant, it is not possible to determine whether J. A. Kuhnau or C. G. Meissner helped in their copying. A discussion of Graupner’s Magnificat and copies of the watermark/countermark (“TB on a plaque/Lion”) are included in my dissertation.

**45** “Newly Rediscovered Anonymous Magnificats and Their Relationship to J. S. Bach,” p. 12.

**46** Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 3, p. 29.

**47** In March 1980, a catalogue drawer containing cards to numerous anonymous works was found at the DStB. Among the cards was one for the anonymous Magnificat in D major (Mus. ms. anon. 1535). I am indebted to Eveline Bartlitz for presenting me with these cards when they were found.

**48** I have identified the scribes after Dürr’s *Chronologie*. I should like to thank Paula Morgan, music librarian at Princeton University, for allowing me to study the photocopies of the Bach manuscripts in the collection of the music library.

**49** The remaining eleven parts, measuring 34.5 × 22 cm., were copied at a later date; they do not contain indications for Laudes. This suggests that the Laudes were performed only at the earlier performance and that the second set of parts was copied for performance at a time other than Christmas. An analogous situation occurs with Bach’s E-flat major setting of the Magnificat and D major revision. See Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, p. 36.

The remaining eleven parts are copied in the hands of three scribes. The three clarino parts, timpani, oboe I (“Quia respexit” and “Suscepit”), violin I (“Deposuit potentes”), viola, and all four vocal parts are copied by J. A. Kuhnau in his late script. Oboes I and II (fol. 1’) are copied by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach in his late script. Folio 1’ of the second oboe is copied by an unidentified scribe whose handwriting I have found in four other contemporaneous manuscripts from Leipzig: (1) Francesco Mancini, Magnificat (score: first 32 bars of “Quia fecit mihi magna”), DStB: Mus. ms. 30 185; (2) Gianettini [= Johann Adolph Scheibe], Magnificat (canto: fol. 1’; violin I and II; viola; violonc: fol. 1’), SPK: Mus. ms. 7491; (3) Georg Philipp Telemann, *Meine Seele* (score), SPK: Mus. ms. 21 745; (4) Anonymous, Magnificat (organo: fol. 2’*). DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1536.

Oboe II has the “BISTRIZ/MF” watermark; the remaining ten parts have the “WELEN/NAV/S” watermark. Facsimile copies of each scribe’s handwriting and samples of the watermarks, along with a detailed discussion of this manuscript, may be found in my dissertation.

**50** The Laudes are included in Alfred Dürr’s edition of J. S. Bach’s *Magnificat* for the NBA, II/3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955) and are discussed in his *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, pp. 33, 37–38.


**52** Ibid., pp. 14–15.

**53** Ibid., p. 37, n. 29. (My translation.)

**54** Sopranos I and 2 are in unison.

**55** The reconstruction of this interpolation may be found in the following editions: Johann Sebastian Bach, *Virga Jesse jioruit*, ed. Alfred Dürr, Hortus Musicus, 80 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951); idem, *Magnificat Es-dur BWV 243a*, ed. A. Dürr, Miniature Score, 58 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

**56** Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 369–70.

**57** Ibid., vol. 3, p. 29. Spitta mistook the writing of these Laudes to be that of J. S. Bach; in fact, the writing is that of his main copyist, J. A. Kuhnau.

**58** Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 369–72.

**59** Ibid., vol. 3, p. 29.

**60** Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, p. 24. As discussed above (see n. 47), the catalogue
drawer containing the card for this particular manuscript, as well as for numerous anonymous manuscripts, lay hidden in a closet at the DStB from 1952, the year the music division was renovated, until its rediscovery in March 1980. Since the music division was closed from the winter of 1943–44 until its official reopening in 1952, the manuscript actually was inaccessible for some 37 years.

62 Ibid., pp. 265–66. A few observations should be made here concerning the settings of the Magnificat included in this libretto. The instrumentation for each section of the Magnificat is indicated in the right-hand column of Geck’s edition. See Geck, Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes, Anhang III, pp. 230–37. The setting for vespers on the first Feastday of Christmas (Feria I) is scored (pp. 232–33) for ten instruments (including four violas) and eight voices: four soloists, “Vocalisten,” (CATB) and four ripienists, “Capell[e],” (CATB). The Laudes are designated “tutti.” A second setting of a Magnificat, though without Laudes (“absque laudibus”), is cited (p. 234) for vespers on the second Feastday of Christmas (Feria II). This Magnificat is scored for ten instruments with five soloists and five ripienists. No Magnificat is listed for vespers on the Feast of the New Year; instead, there occurs a full program of music texted in German. On the Feast of the Epiphany, a Magnificat for six instruments with eight soloists (CCATTBB) and six ripienists (unidentified) is cited (p. 237); no Laudes are listed, indicating that the Magnificat was not interpolated. Although none of these Magnificats has been identified, the different instrumentation for each work indicates that three distinct concerted settings of the Magnificat were sung in Latin during the Christmas season.

64 Ibid., p. 266.
67 Calvisius’s four Christmas motets are printed at the end of Bodenschatz’s collection of 89 motets that comprise Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum (1603). These Laudes, each scored à 6, include settings of “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her,” “Freut euch und jubiliert,” “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” and “Joseph, lieber Joseph mein.” Because they lay outside the context of the collection, the Laudes were omitted from Bodenschatz’s revised editions of Florilegium Portense (1618) and Florilegium musici Portensis (1621). See n. 72 below.
69 Ibid., pp. 33–34.
70 Prautzsch suggests that the anonymous set of “Laudes” for six voices and instruments to be sung between the verses of the Magnificat at Christmas” (see n. 31 above) that is cited in Johann Schelle’s catalogue of music in the library of the Thomasschule (1678) could possibly have been settings by Calvisius. Although this seems unlikely (the anonymous set of Laudes is scored for six voices and six instruments, while Calvisius’s settings are scored for six unaccompanied voices), Prautzsch has a point when he states that Bach could have become aware of Calvisius’s settings from a manuscript source and not necessarily from the printed edition of Florilegium (1603). See “Die Echo-Arie und andere symbolische und volkstümliche Züge in Bachs Weihnachtsoratorium,” pp. 224–25.
72 Bodenschatz’s first edition of Florilegium (1603) was published in eight partbooks; both subsequent editions (1618 and 1621) were published in nine partbooks—the additional partbook containing the basso continuo. See RISM B/lIl 1603, 1618, and 1621; and Schering, “Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig,” pp. 278, 280.
73 Complete sets of Florilegium Portense (1618) and Florilegii musici Portensis (1621) are extant in the Special Collections of the Music Research Division at the New York Public Library under the call number: Mus. Res. *MRH.