

Chapter 5

The Zerbstisches Gesangbuch and the Passion chorales

This chapter explores the relationship between the chorales employed in the various Passion settings discussed in this dissertation and the several sources of hymns sung in the *Zerbster Schloßkirche* which have survived. These consist of a manuscript *Cantional* with music for soprano and figured bass, and a number of books of texts. The discussion is preceded by an overview of the various sources which, apart from the *Cantional*, were not previously known by Fasch scholars, all the hymn books having been discovered during the course of this investigation.¹

5.1 The Zerbst Gesangbücher from 1705 to after 1868

5.1.1 Early Zerbst Gesangbücher

The editions used prior to the 1700 edition have proved to be quite elusive. From the title of earliest surviving copy, printed in 1705,² which states that it is the fourth printing of that version of the *Gesangbuch*, it is clear that an edition of *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch* with 356 hymns first appeared sometime in the latter half of the 17th century. This was subsequently expanded by the addition of one appendix by 1705 and a second appendix and further hymns

¹ See Table 5.1 for full list of the known editions of the *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch*. I am indebted to Barbara Reul for forwarding information about the 1705, 1707 and 1757 editions and for her generous help in making it possible to view the other editions in Zerbst and Magdeburg.

² *D-GOI* Signature Cant. Spir. 866. Hymns 1- 356 in the main sequence on 990 pages with items 357-405 *Anhang I* on pp. 991-1140. The 16 pages containing the *Verzeichnis* and alphabetic *Register* are unpaginated, but the concluding section of prayers on 28 pages recommences with page 1.

in later editions up to 1748. The titles of the 1705-1748 editions (which differ very little)³ explain that these early hymn books contain the texts of chorales sung not only in the princely chapel, but also generally in the churches of Anhalt-Zerbst:

*Zerbstisches / Gesang=Buch / In welchem / Nebst des Seel. / 'D. Martin Luthers und / andern schon bekandten lie= / dern noch etliche neue und / niemals gedruckte zu / finden / Auff Hoch-Fürstlich= / gnädigsten Befehl / zusammen getragen und zum / Gebrauch der Evangelisch-Lu= / therischen Kirchen zu Zerbst ausgefertigt. / Mit hoch=Fürstl. Durchl. / gnäd. PRIVILEGIO / Zum vierdten Mahl auffgelegt / und vermehret / Druckts. Joh. Ernst Bezel. - 1705*⁴

The preface of the 1705 edition, which refers to some corrections from previous editions as well as a new pagination, reads:

‘In CHRISTO geliebter Leser

Es ist gegenwärtiges Gesang-Buch zum Gebrauch der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen im Anhaltischen Zerbster Antheil verfertigt worden....werden beyde Register am Ende des Buches... noch geistreiche Gesänge und unter denen viel so noch niemahls in den Druck kommen beliebt worden....Autoris... Nahme, wo man ihn wissen und in den können...zweifelshaffte Redens=Arthen vorkommen sie desto gutiger gedeutet werden wenn man von der Orthodoxie des Autoris anderweit versichert hat... Grab-Liede Nun laß uns den Leib begrabe[n]welches p.891. stehet, der Name unsers seeligen Luther aus versehen weil es in den meisten Gesang-Büchern also zu finden gesetzet worden. Es ist aber nicht sein sondern eines andern...Johannes Weiß (durchgestrichen, unten mit Bleistift Michael geschrieben).⁵

Seiten normal paginiert, beginnt mit 1.’⁶

Evidently, according to the inventory of the Schloßkirche (presumably made sometime in the mid-1720s),⁷ there were at least two differing hymn books in existence in the early 1720s.

This document refers to an ‘old’ edition, the ‘*Zerbstisches Gesangbuch - altes edition*’ (presumably the 1705/7 edition) to distinguish it from the ‘new’ version, the ‘*Neues*

³ See Appendix 4 for full titles and descriptions of all the surviving editions of the *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch*.

⁴ Translated as: ‘Zerbst Hymnal in which, in addition to hymns by Dr. Martin Luther and other already well known hymns, are many new ones that have never [before] been printed, can be found; collected as ordered by most gracious ducal decree, prepared for use in the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Zerbst and expanded and printed with a most gracious ducal and special privilege for the fourth time [by] Joh. Ernst Bezel 1705.’

⁵ This rather odd statement in parentheses translates as: ‘crossed out, someone using a red crayon wrote Michael at the bottom of the page. Michael Weiß (or Weisse) is credited with seven items in the main sequence of hymns and a further two in *Anhang I*. There are none ascribed to Johann Weiß in the 1743 edition.

⁶ A reprint of the 1705 edition appeared in 1707. Copy in *D-GOL* Signature Cant. Spir. 615.

⁷ In *D-ORB Konsistorium Zerbst* Rep. 15a IXa. 340. *Inventarium bey der Hochfürstlich. Schloßkirche allhier*.

Zerbstisches Gesangbuch', which, from the references to the copies in the prince and princess's own collections was produced in 1720.⁸ The prince's copy was bound in leather: '*Zerbstisches Gesangbuch mit einem frantzösischen Band u. vergüldet: die neuste edition 1720*' whilst the princess's copy was bound in corduroy (*Cordewey*). The production of the 1720 edition would also have coincided with the opening of the Schloßkirche and the expansion of liturgical activities. It is most likely that *Anhang II* was added at this time.

5.1.2 The 1730-1748 *Gesangbücher*

The next surviving edition, produced in 1730,⁹ has a very similar title to the 1705 edition.¹⁰ It was then replaced by a slightly expanded version with two extra Christmas hymns (items 512-513) items 506-511 numbered (see Table 5.1 below) and a new format with two columns per page in 1743.¹¹ This edition was further reprinted in 1748 using the original plates (the title page still has the date 1743) but with a new section added at the back of the volume - following the appendices, indexes and special prayers from the 1730 edition - containing 101 pages of daily prayers. This section is given its own title page:

Geistreiche / Gebete, / Oder / Andachten, vor bey und nach Der Beichte und heiligem Abendmahle; / Welchen die in der / Evangelisch=Lutherischen Kirche / Im Fürstenthume Anhalt=Zerbst / Dabey gewöhnliche öffentliche / Vermahnung / nebst einigen andern Gebeten / Wie auch / Morgensegen und Abensegen / Auf alle Tage der Woche / Beygefüget worden. / Mit Hochfürstlichen Special-Privilegio. // Zerbst / Bey Samuel Gottfried Zimmermann / 1748

⁸ The prince and princess each had a leather or corduroy-bound copy of the '*Neueste edition*' of the *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch*, a copy of the 1674 *Zerbstische Kirchen Agende* and a copy of the *Historia des Leidens Christi* The widow princess had a copy of the *Paradiß Gärtlein* (1714), the *Gothaisches vollständige Kirchen Buch* (1689) and the '*Neues Zerbst. Gesang.*'

⁹ *D-MAkon* (KmG 1730/06) and *D-GOI* (Signature Cant. Spir. 615a). The hymns in the main sequence (1 - 356), *Anhang I* (357-405) and *Anhang II* (406-505) are numbered. There follows a further 6 unnumbered hymns (equivalent in the 1743 edition to nos. 506-511), and 14 pages (commencing with page 1) of prayers specific to the area of Anhalt-Zerbst including dedicative prayers to the Prince and his family (pages 8-9). A rather odd feature of the edition is the numbering of pages of hymns where there are two 'column' numbers per page but the page is only wide enough for one column of text.

¹⁰ See Appendix 4 for the full title. The 1705 edition contains not only well-known hymns but also some that are '*noch etliche neue und niemals gedruckte*', whereas the 1730 edition, presumably referring to the items in *Anhang II*, describes them as '*noch viele neue [Liedern]*'

¹¹ In *GB-BL* 3425.K.1.

The hymns in the main body of the 1705-1743/48¹² editions are arranged according to the church calendar: Advent Lieder, Christmas Lieder etc., opening with the Advent Hymn, 'Nun komm der heyden Heyland'. *Anhang I* commences with No. 357, 'Denn die Engel droben' and *Anhang II* commences with No. 406, 'Heylig ist Gott der Vater!', concluding with No. 513, 'Dancksagen wir alle Gott'. There are two indexes in these editions (1. by church calendar and 2. hymns alphabetically) followed by general prayers (pages have independent pagination in the 1705/7 and 1730 editions but are unnumbered in the 1743-48 editions).

A manuscript *Cantional* preserved in Oranienbaum with music (dated 1738)¹³ provides the melody and a figured bass line for hymns contained in the 1705/07, 1730 and 1743/48 *Gesangbücher*. The item numbers and page number reference in the *Cantional* agree with the 1743/48 *Gesangbuch*, a relationship confirmed by the full title of the manuscript:

Hochfürst[liches] Anhalt-Zerbstisches / Schloß=Kirchen Cantional / nach welchen in diesem Cantional / befindlichen Melodien die Lieder, so / in [im] Zerbstischen Gesang-Buch enthalten, / auf Hochfürstlich genädigste Verordnung / in Hochfürstlicher Schloß-Kirche / müs=sen gespielt und gesun=gen werden. / Anno 1738. ¹⁴

Though itself apparently incomplete, the *Cantional* does have 15 extra hymns - the last complete item being No. 528. (The number of item 529 is written in the book but no music follows.) Items 145-150 have also been lost from the book owing to missing pages. The index is also incomplete, only reaching the letter F, but the fact that it was started suggests that there may not have been an intention of adding more hymns to the *Cantional* at that date. The document has been written in several hands, presumably over a period of time. Some of the chorales are pasted on the page which suggests that either 1) possibly the copyists felt that this was the best means of correcting mistakes, or 2) extensive changes were made to the

¹² In *D-MAkon*.

¹³ *Anhaltisches Staatsarchiv Konsistorium Zerbst* Rep 15 A IXa 380 in *D-ORB*. In several hands, the volume is bound in boards (19.4cm by 33cm). This document is referred to by Wäschke (1908) pp. 17-18. Pfeiffer (1987) p. 107 states that the ms. had been lost in the interim period ('dieses handschriftliche ...ist inzwischen verloren').

¹⁴ Translated as: 'Ducal Anhalt-Zerbst Court Chapel Cantional in which are contained the melodies of the chorales that are found in the Zerbst hymnal [that] must be played or sung in the ducal Court Chapel as ordered by a most gracious ducal decree. Anno 1738.' There is also a set of manuscript parts of chorales performed on Sundays during the church year in *D-ORB*, *Zerbster Musikalien* A33.

melodies and bass line that warranted a complete rewrite, or 3) melodies were entirely changed for some hymns (to more popular ones?). This last reason seems the most likely explanation, especially since some melodies are used quite extensively.¹⁵

A closer study of the ordering of the hymns and a comparison with the *Cantional* provides useful insights into the method of the compilation, as well as suggesting a rough date for the original publication of the *Gesangbuch* and the addition of the two appendices. The reprinting of a hymn book with enlarged contents together with a revised order is a lengthy and expensive affair. The item order of the hymns in the 1730 reprint clearly indicates that new hymns were added in two appendices rather than amalgamating them into the pre-existing main sequence - some considerable expense thus being saved by the use of the original plates. While the main sequence of hymns (1 - 356) is arranged by feast in year order followed by general hymns and those for specific times of the day etc., no such ordering seems to have been undertaken for the two appendices, suggesting that the jumbled order in which they appear reflects the order in which they were collected and, presumably, added to the *Cantional*. This is confirmed by a comparison of the 1730 and 1743 editions - the 1730 hymn book had only 505 numbered items, six further unnumbered items commencing again with a Christmas hymn and was further expanded with yet two further Christmas hymns items 512-513 in 1743. Note below on Table 5.1 the addition of Advent, Christmas and Passiontide hymns at the end of *Anhang II* and the number of appearances of hymns for the times of the day. Entries for Christmas hymns have been emboldened to highlight the unsystematic ordering of the hymns in these two sequences. It is possible that the appearance of Christmas hymns at 357, Advent hymns (from 362, further Advent hymns at 406 indicate earlier expansions of the hymn book with each set of hymns added with each new edition. Thus, it can be firmly established that the collection of items 357-529 in the *Cantional* came first, determining the order of item in the Appendices of the printed hymnbooks. Page-number references to the last 12 items in the *Cantional*, which all refer to items in the 1753 *Gesangbuch*, indicate that the volume was still in use in the 1750's. It is also possible that these particular items were added some time after 1738 since they are not included in either the expanded 1743 edition or 1748 reprint suggesting that the date on the title page of the

¹⁵ The most used melody is *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, which appears over nine times. A further 13 hymns tunes appear in the *Cantional* six or seven times.

Cantional indicates not the conclusion of the collection, but the date the production of this volume was commenced.

Table 5.1 Order of items in the 1730-43 Gesangbuch Appendices

<i>Anhang I</i>		<i>Anhang II</i>	
357	Weynacht-Lied	406-7	Advents Lieder
358	Paßions-Lied	408	Weynacht-Lied
359	Witterungs-Lied	409	Neu-Jahres-Lied
360	Morgen-Lied	410	Auf Mariä Reinigung
361	Abend-Lied	411-417	Vom Leyden Christi
362-365	Advents-Lieder	418-419	Auf den Char-freytag
366-367	Weynacht-Lieder	420-421	Oster Lieder
368	Sonntags-Lied	422	...Himmelfahrt Christi
369-370	Paßions-Lieder	423-424	Pfingst-Lieder
371-376	...blutigen Angst-Schweitz des Herrn...	425-429	...Heyligen Drey-Einigkeit
377-379	Buß-Lieder	430-434	Catechisinus-Lieder
380	Von der Rechtfertigung	435-440	Buß-Lieder
381-83	Danck-Lieder	441	Beicht-Lied
384	Geburts-Lied	442-446	Vom h. Abendmahl
385-88	Vom Creutze und Trübsal	447-48	Glaubens Lieder
390	In zweifelhaften Fällen	449-454	Jesus-Lieder
391	Um Schutz wider die Feinde	455-462	Lob- und Danck-Lieder
392	Trost-Lied	463-465	Geburths-Lieder
393	Vom Christlichen Leben und Wandel	466-467	Morgen-Lieder
394-5	(Wenn man an die Arbeit tritt)	468	Vom Ehestande
396-399	Morgen-Lieder	469	Um Friede
400-401	Abend-Lieder	470	Bey Einweyhung eines Predigers
402-405	Vom Tode und Sterben	471-484	Vom Christl. Leben und Wandel
		485-487	Vom der Christl. Kirche
		488	Von Göttl. Vorsorge und Beschürzung
		489-495	Vom Creutz und Verfolgung
		496-500	Vom Tod und Sterben
		501-505	Dancksagung
<i>Items 506-511 added in 1730 edition?: (not numbered in 1730 edition)</i>		{ 506	Weynacht-Lied
		{ 507-8	Danck-Lied
		{ 509	Advents Lied
		{ 510	Buß-Lied
		{ 511	Creutz-Lied
<i>Items 512-513 added in 1743 edition:</i>		{ 512-13	Weynacht-Lieder
<i>Extra items in the Cantional:</i>		{ 514	Passion-Lied
<i>(item 514 is a hymn which uses the melody of of 513. Pg. nos. of items</i>		{ 515-528	
<i>515-528 refer to the 1753 Gesangbuch</i>		{ 529	Empty

5.1.3 The Zerbst Hymn books in the second half of the 18th century

The production of the 1743 hymn book coincides with the inventory made following the death of Prince Johann August. This would appear to be no coincidence: the need for a periodic reprinting of the *Gesangbuch* is indicated in the prayers included at the back of the book after the indexes. Here, references made to named members of the Prince's family would eventually become out-of-date and inappropriate. In the 'Sonn- und Fest=Tages allgemeines Kirchen=Gebet', on pp.8-9 of the special prayers in the 1730 edition, is the following reference to the prince and his family:

'...Wollest auch der weltlichen Obrigkeit, dem Römischen Käyser, allen Christlichen Königen, ChurFürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des Heyligen Römischen Reichs, insonderheit aber Unserm Gnädigsten Landes- Fürsten und **Herrn, Herrn Johann Augusten**, Fürsten zu Anhalt, Seiner Fürstlichen Durchlauchtigkeit Herz=geliebtesten Fürst=lichen Frau Gemahlin, der Fürstlichen Frau Schwester zu Sachsen=Gotha, denen Fürstlichen Herren Vettern, wie auch allen andern lieben hohen Anverwandten langes Leben...'

In the case of the 1743 edition, the reference, contained in the 'Allgemeines Kirchengebet an Sonntagen und Feiertagen Vormittags und nach den Wochenprädigten', is to Prince Johann Ludwig (1688-1746)¹⁶ who reigned jointly with his brother Christian August from 1742:

'...Wollest auch der weltlichen Obrigkeit, dem Römischen Käyser, allen Christlichen Königen, ChurFürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des heyligen Römischen Reichs, insonderheit aber Unserm Gnädigsten Landes- Fürsten und **Herrn, Herrn Johann Ludwigen**, Fürsten zu Anhalt, Seiner Fürstlichen Durchduchtigkeit geliebtesten Herrn Bruder, Dero Fürstlichen Frau Gemahlin Printzen, und Printzeßinnen, der Fürstlichen Frau Wittwe, wie auch der Printzeßin Schwester und allen andern lieben Hohen Anverwandten langes Leben...'

An expanded version of the hymn book with 1263 hymns was produced in 1753,¹⁷ with the dedication changed to the current reigning prince, Friedrich August (1734-1793). Note the reference to the Sophie Auguste Friederike, now Tzarina:

'...Wollest auch der weltlichen Obrigkeit, dem Römischen Kaiser, allen Christlichen

¹⁶ Details of the family trees of the Zerbst princes can be found in Wäschke (1913) pp.562-565 and p. 578. An abbreviated version is reproduced in Appendix 1.

¹⁷ The expansion of the hymn book in 1753 is typical for the time. The hymn book used in Halle, a leading Pietist centre, had very many hymns and other centres followed the lead by greatly expanding their own hymnals. The 1753 edition was introduced in the Schloßkirche in the 1753-54 liturgical year and the chorales from the 1754 Passiontide services are taken from the new book. A copy of the 1753 *Neuvermehrtes Zerbstisches Gesangbuch* can be found in the Museum der Stadt Zerbst (no call number).

Königen, Churfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des heiligen Römischen Reichs, insonderheit aber unserm gnädigsten Landesfürsten und **Herrn, Herr Friedrich August**, regierendem Fürsten zu Anhalt, ingleichen Dero Herzinnigst geliebtester FRAU GEMAHLIN hochfürstlichen Durchlauchtigkeit, wie auch Dero theuerwerther und hochgeliebten Frau Mutter hochfürstlicher Durchlauchtrigkeit, und der durchlauchtigster Frau Schwester, der Frau Großfürstin Kaiserlicher hoheit, ...'

Now entitled the '*Neuvermehrtes Zerbstisches Gesangbuch*', the frontispiece is similar to that of the earlier edition.¹⁸ The greatly increased length of the 1753 edition was, according to the preface written by Dr. Johann Daniel Kluge, designed to bring the Zerbst hymnbook into line with the *Gothaisches Gesangbuch* which had by 24 years earlier (i.e. c1729) as many as 1271 items using many items from the Braunschweig *Gesangbuch*.¹⁹ Indeed, it was felt that the previous editions of the Zerbst hymn books were inadequate. The unsatisfactory division of the book with a main sequence and two appendices (with the result that Christmas hymns recur throughout the book on pages/columns 15, 991, 1013, 1143, 1377, and 1397) is cited as the principal weakness of the editions previously in use. To make the new 1753 hymn book easier to use, a concordance between the 1743 and 1753 editions was included (the 'Drittes Register'). A number of new editions were then produced within a very short space of time: the 1755 edition was a new 'larger print edition' ('*Grösserer Druck*'),²⁰

¹⁸ See appendix 4

¹⁹ Apparently the Gotha hymn book was an important source of hymns for the Zerbst congregation at the turn of the 18th century. According to the inventory of the Schloßkirche (*D-ORB Konsistorium Zerbst* rep.15a IXa. 340.) copies of the *Gothaisches vollständiges Kirchenbuch* (1689) could be found in the collections of the prince, princess and the widow princess as well as in the Sacristy. Importantly, the Gotha hymn book may well have been the source of the forms of the hymn melodies used in Zerbst since, according to the Schloßkirche inventory, a copy of the *Gothaisches Cantional* was also to be found in the Schloßkirche amongst the volumes used by the clergy and musicians:

'1	Zerbstisches Gesangbuch mit deren Anfang dem Cantori'
'4	Zerbstische Gesangbücher / 4 Choral Knaben'
'1	Zerbstisches Gesangbuch Hl. Organiste'
'1	Zerbstisches Gesangbuch Hl. Kirchner'
'1	Gothaisches Cantional'

A further five corduroy-bound and five leather-bound 'new' Zerbst hymn books as well and one copy of the 'old' hymn book could be found in the (Sacristy?) closets (*Den Schränken*). Considering the sometimes large size of the congregation suggested by the collection takings recorded in the *Konsistorium* documents, one must assume that the congregation provided their own copies of the hymn book.

²⁰ A copy of the 1755 edition is preserved in *MAkon* (KmG 1755/03): Contains 1263 hymns on 1327 columns whilst cols. 1328-1348 are prayers. The title indicates that Zimmermann is now the 'publisher': whilst a note on the final page of the book indicates that a different firm was used to print the edition: 'Zerbst / Gedruckt, bey Gottfried Heinrich Berunthen Hochfürstl. Anhaltz. Hofundregierungsbuch-drucker' (Note, the same printer, with same official title, produced the wordbook of the 1750 Passion - see Chapter 9.)

another was produced in 1757 which was reprinted in 1759 and again in 1760.²¹ The dedicative prayer to the Zerbst princely family in these last two volumes was also modified following deaths and marriages since the 1755 edition, notably the omission of *Frau Gemahlin* (Princess Karoline), who died in 1759, and *Frau Mutter* (Johann Elisabeth) who passed away in 1760. The latter occurred in the same year as the production of the edition, very likely at a late stage in its preparation, which is probably the reason for the gap in the text as follows:

‘...Wollest auch der weltlichen Obrigkeit, dem Römischen Kaiser, allen Christlichen Königen, Churfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des heiligen Römischen Reichs, insonderheit aber unserm gnädigsten Landesfürsten und **Herrn, Herr Friedrich August**, regierendem Fürsten zu Anhalt

wie auch Dero durchlauchtigster Frau Schwester, der Frau Großfürstin Kaiserlicher Hoheit, ...’

According to the preface of the 1760 edition, the authorities took advantage of the reprinting of the hymn book in 1755 to make corrections and other minor changes from the 1753 edition including the addition of a *Schlußchoral* (item 1263), the addition of poet’s names, the naming of melodies, the correction of the misprints (*Druckfehler*) and the omission of the concordance table. Since no evidence has yet surfaced about any subsequent versions of the hymn book, it is possible that the 1760 edition may have been in use until the beginning of the 19th century.²² However, considering the number of new editions produced in the first half of the 18th century, it seems most likely that there were others in the period 1760-c1790. There now appears to be ample evidence to suggest that the authorities in Zerbst intended to produce a new edition in 1797. An article on the events of 1797 in *Alt-Zerbst 3* (1906) refers to this.²³ Further research into the church records may well indicate others in the 1760-1790 period.

²¹ A copy of the 1757 edition is in *D-GOL*. A copy of the 1759 edition is in the holdings of *LEu* (Prakt. Theol. 1478-n) (I am indebted to Frau Elena Sawtschenko for bringing this copy to my attention). Five sources of 1760 edition are in: 1) *MAkon*; 2) *Au* 01/BS4780 W842.760 A5 (01); 3) *HAmi* 75 L 23 EXE: 01; 4 and 5) Museum der Stadt Zerbst (where there are no call numbers).

²² The cover of one of the Museum der Stadt Zerbst 1760 hymn books has imprinted in gold leaf (which has since rubbed away) ‘C.S.D.W. 1775’ whilst the second has the legend in red pen on the inside of the front cover: ‘Maria Elisabeth /Thümmlen /1809 / dem 6sten August.’

²³ The Author has not yet had the opportunity to see this article.

5.1.4 Zerbst Hymn books after 1800

The 19th-century hymn book was a much slimmer volume. It was produced, according to the preface of the 1857 edition,²⁴ in four editions dated 1809, 1816, 1846, 1857 with a fifth edition published in 1868.²⁵ No surviving source for the 1809 has yet been found, though it is possible that this first edition had just 509 hymns since the 1816 reprint, entitled:²⁶

Neues / Gesangbuch / für / beide protestantische Confessionen/ in Zerbst- zweite Auflage - / Zerbst, 1816 / Gedruckt und verlegt bei Johann Wilhelm Kramer / (Kostet ungebunden 8 Gr.)

consists of 613 hymns (509 in the main sequence and a further 104 in an appendix). The final re-printing in 1868 has 613 hymns on 436 pages. No further *Zerbstisches Gesangbücher* have come to light and after 1868, it is probable that no more hymn books were printed specifically for use in the area of Anhalt-Zerbst. From this time many centres adopted hymn books designed to be used throughout the country.

5.1.5 A summary of the *Zerbstisches Gesangbücher*

As outlined above, the death of a ruling Prince or Princess in the 18th century normally prompted a new edition of the current hymn book. It is possible that a royal marriage (such as Friedrich August to Karoline von Hessen-Kassel in 1753) may also have required the updating of the family dedication since a new and greatly enlarged hymn book appeared in that year. It may be surmised, therefore, that earlier editions might have been produced in the years 1621 following the death of Prince Rudolph, 1657 (on the death of Magdalene von Oldenburg), very likely in 1667 and 1680 on the deaths of Prince Johann and Princess Sophie Auguste von Holstein-Gottdorp respectively, and possibly in 1699 following death of Eleanore von Zeutsch. Until one of these editions surfaces one cannot be sure whether it was to the 1705 edition or an earlier one that *Anhang I* was added for the first time. However, the reference to 'noch eltiche neue [Liedern]' in the title of the 1705 might suggest that it was, indeed, this edition that was expanded.

²⁴ Written by A. Münich, *Konsistorialrath und Superintendent*, and dated 1846.

²⁵ Copies of the 1816 and 1857 editions survive in the Museum der Stadt Zerbst (no call number - I am grateful to Brian Clark and Dr Barbara Reul for help in the 'discovery' of these items on 17.4.97.). A further copy of the 1816 edition together with a copy of the 1868 edition can be found in *MAkon* (call nos. KmG 1816/05 and KmG 1868/12). The preface of the 1816 edition, written by J.W. Chemnitz - *Superintendent*, is dated 27 September 1808.

²⁶ See Appendix 4 for titles of 1857 and 1868 editions.

Table 5.2**A over-view of the Zerbst Hymn books**

Date of edition	Title	source	No of Hymns	Reason for Printing
c1668	['Alter'] Zerbstisches Gesangbuch	lost?	356	Death of Prince Johann (1621-1667)
c1681	['Alter'] Zerbstisches Gesangbuch	lost?	356 (405?)	Death of Princess Sophie Auguste (1630-1680)
1705	['Alter'] Zerbstisches Gesangbuch (4th ed.)	GOI	405	Death of Prince Johann Ludwig (1656-1704)
1707	['Alter'] Zerbstisches Gesangbuch (reprint of 1705 edition)	GOI	405	For further copies?
1720	['Neues'] Zerbstisches Gesangbuch	lost?	505?	Death of Prince Karl Wilhelm (1652-1718) / setting up of full liturgy in newly completed Schloßkirche
1730	Zerbstisches Gesangbuch	MAkon GOI	511	?
1743	Zerbstisches Gesangbuch (reprint of 1730 edition?)	GB-BL	513	Death of Prince Johann August (1677-1742)
1748	Zerbstisches Gesangbuch (reprint of 1743 edition)	MAkon	513	Death of Prince Christian August (1690-1747)
1753	Neuvermehrtes Zerbstisches Gesangbuch	ZE	1262	expansion of book Marriage of Prince to Karoline?
1755?	Reprint of 1753 edition	MAkon	1263	For corrections
1757	Reprint of 1753? edition	GOI	1263	For further copies?
1759	Reprint of 1757 edition	LEu	1263	Death of Princess Karoline?
1760	Reprint of 1753 edition	Au Hami MAkon ZE	1263	Death of Princess Johanna Elizabeth (1712-1760)
1808	Neues Gesangbuch für beide protestantische Confessionen in Zerbst (1st edition)	lost?	509?	-
1816	Neues Gesangbuch ...in Zerbst (2nd ed.)(reprint of 1808 edition)	MAkon ZE	613	Nos. 510-613 in Appendix 1
1846	Neues Gesangbuch ...in Zerbst (3rd ed.)	lost?	613	Nos. 510-613 in Appendix 1
1857	Neues Gesangbuch ...in Zerbst (4th ed.)(reprint of 1846 edition)	ZE	613	Nos. 510-613 in Appendix 1
1868	Neues Gesangbuch ...in Zerbst (5th ed.)	MAkon	613	No appendix

Without references to a ruling family, the reasons for the production of the various 19th-century editions is not as clear. Table 5.2 above gives a summary of the full sequence of hymn books used in the Schloßkirche from the late-17th century to the mid-19th century, suggesting possible reasons for the production of new edition. (More conjectural reasons are given in italics.)²⁷

5.2 The chorales employed in the Zerbst oratorio Passions and the Passion oratorio *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden*

Tables 5.3- 5.6 list the chorales used in the surviving Zerbst oratorio Passions and in the lyrical Passion that Fasch has been presumed to have composed for Zerbst in 1723. Columns 1 and 2 indicate the item number and text incipit in the work and the subsequent columns give details of the chorale from which the verses are taken, the verses used in the Passion work (with the total number of the chorale indicated in brackets), the author, and the item number of the hymn and page number in the 1743 *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch*.

All the chorale verses in the St Luke Passion and the St Mark Passion (1750) can be found in the Zerbst hymn book. However, two hymns from the St John Passion (J25 and J46) have yet to be identified (it would appear that the texts do not come from the 1743 hymn book), and also one of the *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden* chorales is absent from the 1743 hymn book. Two possible reasons for the lack of concordance between the Zerbst hymn books and these two surviving works might be proposed: firstly *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden* actually predates Fasch's appointment at Zerbst (a point which is discussed further below) and secondly the 1748/52 St John Passion is a work by Fasch derived from the first liturgical Passion he composed for Zerbst in 1723.²⁸ In other words, the unusual hymns and settings were ones Fasch was familiar with in his previous employment and which he included in his first major work of his new appointment (the 1723 St John Passion) and which were then transmitted to the 1748 St John Passion, by which time they were very familiar to the court.

²⁷ ZE = Museum der Stadt, Zerbst.

²⁸ A possibility proposed in Chapter 4 with further evidence given below and in Chapter 8.

movt.	verse incipit	chorale	verse	author	Z.G. No.(col)
1	Ach! Wir armen Sünder	do	1,2 (6)	H. Bonus	36 (89)
3	Deine Demuth hat gebusset	Jesu meines Lebens Leben	7 (8)	E.C Homburg	50 (125)
9	Mein Heyland hat in jener Nacht	Nun giebt mein Jesus gute Nacht	17 (20)	Joh. Rist	414 (1153)
10	Jesu meines Lebens Leben	do	1 (8)	E.C Homburg	50 (125)
16	Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld	do	1 (10)	P. Gerhardt	38 (94)
17	Was die Trauernacht	Jesu, dein ist dieser Tag	6,7 (18)	-	418 (1164)
20	Das Volk, daß nocherst kommen soll	Mein Gott! Mein Gott!	31, 32 (32)	D. Weickmann	374 (1044)
23	Der am Creutz ist meine Liebe	do	5 (6)	J. Hermann	48 (120)
25	Dein Wort laß mich bekennen	?			
26	So gehst du nun, mein Jesu, hin	do	1 (5)	Nachtenhöffer	47 (118)
31	Wenn der Feind mich tut anklagen	Sei gegrüßet, Jesu göltig	6,7 (7)	-	413 (1151)
32	Herr, laß dein bitter Leyden	Wenn meine Sünd mich kräncken	5 (8)	D. Joh. Gerhard	43 (109)
36	Rede durch dein Stilleschweigen	Jesu, der wollen büßen	4 (10)	-	415 (1158)
39	Ach Jammer=Bild! du Friede-Schild	do	1,2 (16)	A.A.v.S	372 (1035)
40	Meine Liebe hängt am Creuz'	do	1,3 (4)	A.Trippechov	412 (1150)
44	Sey mir tausend-mahl begrüßet	do	1 (5)	P. Gerhardt	45 (115)
46	O wer kan doch schönster Fürst	?			
49	Es dient zu meinen Freuden	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	7,8 (10)	P. Gerhardt	358 (994)
50	Auf! mein Herz, geh mit zu Grabe	do	1 (7)	C. Neumann	419 (1170)
52	Erweitre dich, mein Hertzens-Schrein	Ein Lämmlein geht	7 (10)	P. Gerhardt	38 (94)
56	Mein Jesu Christ, auch ich will dich bedenken	Ach! stirbt dann so mein allerliebsten	7 (8)	G.W. Sacer	417 (1162)
59	Warest du, O Held, gestorben?	Lasset uns den Herren preisen	3 (12)	J. Rist	70 (196)

movt.	verse incipit	chorale	verse	author	Z.G. No.(col)
2	Ja deine Sünd, o Menschen=Kind	Ach was vor Pein, mein Jesulein	3 (16)	D. Joh. Maukisch	62 (179)
4	Ach! Liebster Vater	O Edle Wunden!	2	D. J. B. Schuppe	52 (131)
6	O (Ach!) Jammer! muß der grosse Gott	Ach Jammer, Noht und Herzeleyd	2,22 (29)	D. J. B. Schuppe	t. 53 (133) mel. 325
8	O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh,	O Traurigkeit! O Herzeleyd	8	J. Rist	60 (175)
10	Es dient zu meinen Freuden,	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	7,8 (10)	P. Gerhardt	358 (994)
12	Sey mir tausend-mahl begrüßet,	do	1 (5)	P. Gerhardt	45 (115)
13	Erweitre dich, mein Hertzens-Schrein,	Ein Lämmlein geht	7 (10)	P. Gerhardt	38 (94)
15	Warest du, O Held, gestorben?	Lasset uns den Herren preisen	3 (12)	J. Rist	70 (196)

Table 5.5: Markus Passion Chorales

movt.	verse incipit	chorale	verse	author	Z.G. No.(col)
5	Ihr' Anschlag, Herr, zu nichte mach	Erhalt' uns Herr bei deinem Wort	4 (7)	Luther	192 (527)
9	Schmücke dich, o, liebe Seele	do	1 (9)	J. Franck	123 (344)
10	Ich will von deiner Lieblichkeit	Ein Lämmlein geht	6 (10)	P. Gerhardt	38 (94)
18	Und laß mich an dir kleben	Christus der ist mein Leben	7 (7)	Graff	328 (901)
19	Christus der und selig macht	do	1 (8)	Weisse	37 (91)
22	Wer hat dich so geschlagen	O Welt! sieh' hier dein Leben	3,4,15 (16)	P. Gerhardt	370 (1025)
25	Wein', ach wein', jetzt um die Wette	Herr, ich habe mißgehandelt	5 (8)	J. Franck	146 (401)*
30	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	do	1,4 (10)	P. Gerhardt	358 (994)
33	Drum will ich, weil ich lebe noch	Ach! Gott, wie manches Herzeleid	11 (12)	Moller	213 (576)
33a	Herr Jesu Christ wahr Mensch und	do	1 (12)	Paul Eber	39 (98)
39a	Wenn dort, Herr Jesus	Herliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	15 (15)	Joh. Herrmann	40 (101)
<i>Chorales used as cantus firmi</i>					
6d	-	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	-	P. Gerhardt	358 (994)
26	-	O Lamm Gottes unschuldig	-	-	42 (108)
36f	-	Ach Gott! hör, mein Seuffzen	-	Scechsius	230 (628)

Table 5.6: Passio Jesu Christi (Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden) Chorales

movt.	verse incipit	chorale	verse	author	Z.G. No.(col)
6	Ach! wie hungert mein Gemühte	Schmücke dich, o Liebe Seele!	4 (9)	J. Franck	123 (344)
13	Ein Lämmlein geht	do	1 (10)	P. Gerhardt	38 (94)
15	Falsche Zeugniß, Hohn und Spott				-
23	O Menschen-Kind, nur deine Sünd'	O Traurigkeit! O Herzeleyd	3 (8)	J. Rist	60 (175)
25	Jesus gab man bitter Gall	Jesu Leyden, Pein und Tod	24 (28)	Paul Stockmann	55 (152)
28	Ich danke dir von Herzen	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	8,9,10 (10)	P. Gerhardt	358 (994)
29	Herr, laß dein bitter Leyden	Wenn meine Sünd mich kräncken	5 (8)	D. Joh. Gerhard	43 (109)

5.3 The relationship of the Chorale forms in the Cantional and the Passion scores

Since published versions of the melodies and harmonizations of chorales varied from centre to centre, they can sometimes give an indication of the centre for which particular cantata works sung as part of the liturgy were composed - composers would most likely employ versions of the hymns that were familiar to the congregation. In the case of Zerbst, the titles of both the *Gesangbuch* and the *Cantional* indicate that the collection was created upon the 'the decree of the Prince' and represented the versions of the chorales, both text and music, that was acceptable for use in the Schloßkirche and environs, and ruled that court composers were not allowed to modify the melodies to any great extent.²⁹ It must be assumed, therefore, that the melodies and harmonies in the *Cantional* and *Zerbster Musikalien* A33 parts books were those used for chorales specifically sung by the congregation (e.g. the *Gemeindechoräle* or the *Hauptchoral*). It is clear that the forms of the chorales that appear in the *Cantional* had been in use in Zerbst from the earliest years that Fasch was *Kapellmeister* since chorale settings in the surviving cantatas presumed to date from the period 1722-1727³⁰ follow the forms, or a very similar version (apart from the addition of the occasional passing notes), to that found in the *Cantional*. A similar comparison between the chorales of the Passions under consideration in this survey and the versions to be found in the *Cantional* confirms that the three liturgical Passions (according to St Luke, St John and St Mark) were, indeed, also composed for performance in Zerbst.³¹ However, for reasons explored below, such a comparison raises doubts about the connection of the J.F. Fasch Passion oratorio *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünde* to the Zerbst liturgy.

In the following survey, the chorales from all four oratorio works have been divided into three categories depending on the closeness of the version in the oratorio score to that found in the

²⁹ Reul (1996) p. 203. Barbara Reul postulates that Fasch may have been responsible for collecting and cataloguing the chorale melodies, and that he was not allowed to modify melodies to any great extent since the preparation of the *Cantional* had been ordered by 'a most gracious ducal decree'. Quarg (1995) p.65 suggests that Röllig may also have helped to collect the chorale melodies, ie. as one of his first assignments in the court. This suggestion can be discounted since versions of chorale melodies found in the *Cantional* had been previously used by Fasch prior to Röllig's appointment at the court. As suggested above, the influence of the *Gothaisches Cantional* may have been an important source of the melody types. Further research is necessary to ascertain whether a copy of the latter is extant.

³⁰ e.g. *Wir müssen alle offenbar werden* FWV D : W8 (1722)

³¹ No comparison with the Röllig St Matthew Passion is possible since no chorale settings from this work survive.

Cantional. These range from those in category 1 which are more or less identical to the version in the *Cantional*, to category 3 which show enough variation to be considered to have originated from another centre. In categories 1 and 2, the melodies are more or less unchanged apart from added passing notes and some ornamentation at cadential points, and thus these would clearly have been acceptable for performance in the Zerbst liturgy.

It would appear that, as long as the melody corresponded with the version in the *Cantional*, composers of the court were free to create a more elaborate harmonization of the version of the melody in the *Cantional* in concerted works, as can be seen in the majority of surviving examples by Fasch. This would explain the versions found in category 2 below.²⁵

Extended variations in the melodies, such as those found in category 3, seem more difficult to explain. In this case performance practice may be an important factor, especially if the chorales in cantata works were performed solely by the *Kapelle* and not by the congregation. Reports of music performed as part of the service in Zerbst do not comment directly on this, but the suggestion is that the *Kapelle* might well have performed the entire music of cantata works without the congregation joining in for chorales. A factor in the discussion below is the extent of the variation from the *Cantional* version and the number of variant settings.

The number of interpolations of chorale verses in Passions in the Zerbst tradition is dependent on the structure of the Passions (discussed further in the following chapters). The surviving works are probably indicative of the typical frequency of chorales: between 8 for a four-Part work and 22 for a seven-Part work. Typical of the period, the musical settings are simple - and never as complex in texture or harmony as in Bach's harmonizations.

²⁵ Barbara Reul notes [letter to author 20.11.96] that Fasch 'virtually never uses the figured bass line provided in the *Cantional*.'

5.3.1. Chorales more or less identical to the version in the Zerbst Cantional

In these there may only be minor changes, such as addition or subtraction of passing notes and octave transposition of bass notes and a minor change in rhythm as in the L15²⁶ where two minim D's become a single semibreve and another two minims become dotted. (bass part bars 14 and 11). Minor changes might include the change from a harmony note to a passing note in the bass part (bar 7 of M18). The only melodic change is the change in bar two of three minims to the more usual dotted rhythm in 'Mein Heyland hat in jener Nacht' (J9).

Table 5.7 below lists the chorales that fall into this category according to type.

Table 5.7: Chorales more or less identical to version in Zerbst Cantional						
	Melody:		Bass:			
	identical	rhythmic changes	identical	8ve trans.	rhythmic changes	note change
<i>St Luke</i> L15	✓			✓	✓	
<i>St Mark</i> M9	✓			✓		
M18	✓			✓		
<i>St John</i> J9		✓	✓			
J36	✓		✓			
J44	✓		✓			
J50	✓		✓			
J56	✓		✓			
' <i>Mich vom Stricke</i> ' none						

5.3.2 Chorales melodically identical to the Cantional but some re-harmonization

The majority of chorales in the three Zerbst liturgical Passions are in this category (see Table 5.8). These chorales may have a differing bass line with consequent re-harmonization. The melody line has similar alterations to category 1.

²⁶ For clarity, a system of numbering has been adopted to distinguish between the various works referred to in this and following chapters where the prefix denotes the source work e.g., L6 is the 6th item of the St Luke Passion whereas J14, is item 14 of the St John Passion and the prefixes 'M' identifies St Mark Passion items and 'MvS' items from *Mich vom stricke meiner Sünden*.

Table 5.8: Melodies more or less identical to Zerbst Cantional, but with bass line/harmonic changes					
	Melody:			Bass:	
	<i>identical</i>	<i>note change</i>	<i>rhythm changes</i>	<i>8ve trans.</i>	<i>note change</i>
<i>St Luke</i>					
L4	✓				?
L6	✓				✓
L8	✓				✓
L10			✓		✓
<i>St Mark</i>					
M5		(✓)*		✓	✓
M10		(✓)*			✓
M19	✓				✓
M22	✓				✓
M30		✓(2 notes)			✓
<i>St John</i>					
J3	✓				✓(3)
J10		✓(p.n. added)	✓	?	
J16		✓(p.n. added)		✓	✓
J17	✓			?	
J20	✓				✓(2)
J26			✓	?	
J39	✓				✓?
J40	✓				✓?
J49	✓				✓?
J52		✓(p.n. added)			✓?
' <i>Mich vom Stricke</i> '					
Mv S15+25	✓				✓
* See notes. (p.n.= passing note)					

Although the melody in this group is ostensibly identical to the Zerbst *Cantional*, two variants have been included in this category. The first is the abridgement of M5 which as item 192 in the *Cantional* has 60 bars. The variation in this case is restricted to the final cadence of the St Mark version, the rest of which is identical to the *Cantional*. Another variant is M10 which provides an example of a composer ornamenting the version in the *Cantional* by the extension of two of the cadences (examples 5.1a and 5.1b). Apart from these two melodic variations, both melody and harmonization are in the main identical.

Musical Example 5.1: Comparison of M 10 and *Cantional* No.38 (bars 1-10, 36-42)

Musical Example 5.1a

St Mark
Passion
M10

Cantional(soprano)

Cantional
(Bass)

Cantional
(Sop.)

Cantional
(bass)

Musical Example 5.1b

Cantional
(Sop.)

St Mark
Passion
M10

Cantional
(bass)

5.3.3 Chorales showing variations in both melody and harmony

The variants in the melodies of chorales in this category are more extensive than the examples of ornamentation above. In the majority of cases, these make the readings substantially different from the versions in the *Cantional* and *Zerbster Musikalien* A33 part books. They range from minor variants (as seen in example 5.2) to markedly differing forms of the melody suggesting a source other than the *Cantional*. Significantly, none of the chorales in the youngest work (St Mark) fall into this category whilst perhaps the oldest, *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden*, has the most.

a) Minor melodic variants

There are variants in the notes in bars 14 (C# in MvS and C natural in *Cantional*) and 18 of MvS13. The *Cantional* compresses two sets of bars (bars 6-7 and 32-33) into one bar. The added passing notes in the *Mich vom Stricke* version are also to be found in the St John reading (J52).

Musical Example 5.2: Comparison of *Mich vom Stricke* item 13, and *Cantional* No.38

The image displays two systems of musical notation comparing different versions of a chorale. The first system shows three staves: 'Cantional St John' (top), 'Mich vom Stricke' (middle, with treble and bass clefs), and 'Cantional St John' (bottom). The second system shows three staves: 'Cant./St John' (top), 'Mich vom stricke' (middle, with treble and bass clefs), and 'Cant./St John' (bottom). The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various musical symbols like notes, rests, and bar lines. The second system includes bar numbers 10 and 15.

There is also a more extensive variant reading of the melody of MvS28 in bars 18-20 (a) and 25-27 (b) :

Musical Example 5.3:Comparison of *Mich vom Stricke* item 28 and *Cantional* No.337

The musical example consists of two staves at the top. The top staff is labeled 'Cantional (transposed)' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Mich vom stricke'. Below these are two systems of musical notation, labeled (a) and (b). Each system consists of two staves. System (a) shows measures 16-20, and system (b) shows measures 25-30. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various musical symbols like notes, rests, and bar lines.

b) Stylistic and melodic variants

Again a relationship between *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünde* and the St John Passion can be established. Both MvS29 and J32 share the same principal variation from the *Cantional* (item 43) - an augmentation of bars 19-24 in the Passion scores. Though sharing the same source, and much of the harmonization, J32 shows further variant reading of the chorale melody in bars 10-12 ('a').

Musical Example 5.4: Comparison of MvS29, J32 and *Cantional* No.43

The musical score is organized into three systems, each containing three staves. The first system shows the beginning of each chorale. The second system shows the middle section, with measures 10 and 15 marked. The third system shows the end of each chorale, with measure 20 marked. The Cantional is in G major, 4/4 time. The St. John Passion and Mich vom Stricke are in G minor, 4/4 time. The Cantional has a simple melody. The St. John Passion has a more complex melody with a trill (a) in measure 15. The Mich vom Stricke has a simple melody with a trill (a) in measure 15.

System 1:

- Cantional:** Treble clef, G major, 4/4 time. Melody starts on G4, moves to A4, B4, C5, then rests.
- St. John Passion:** Treble and Bass clefs, G minor, 4/4 time. Melody starts on G4, moves to A4, B4, C5, then rests.
- Mich vom Stricke:** Treble and Bass clefs, G minor, 4/4 time. Chordal accompaniment starting on G4.

System 2:

- St. John:** Treble and Bass clefs, G minor, 4/4 time. Melody continues with a trill (a) in measure 15.
- Mich vom Stricke:** Treble and Bass clefs, G minor, 4/4 time. Chordal accompaniment continues.

System 3:

- St. John:** Treble and Bass clefs, G minor, 4/4 time. Melody continues with a trill (a) in measure 20.
- Mich vom Stricke:** Treble and Bass clefs, G minor, 4/4 time. Chordal accompaniment continues.

The image displays a musical score for two parts: 'St. John' and 'Mich vom Stricke'. The score is written in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the 'as written' version of the music. The second system shows a 'suggested realisation' of the same music, with some notes altered to provide a different reading. The lyrics 'St. John' and 'Mich vom Stricke' are written to the left of their respective staves. The number '25' is written above the first staff of the second system.

c) Major melodic variants which affect entire melodic phrases

There is a different reading of the repeated phrase in bars 11-15 of MvS 6 and Cantional 123 (marked 'a') and further variations in bar 23 ('b') and a different selection of passing notes in bars 26-27 (see example 5.5).

For J2 (see example 5.6), the composer adopts the major mode. Apart from this, though the melody is identical and the bass line of L2 is almost identical to the *Cantional*, there is a different reading of bars 9-10, and bars 13-14 represent a contraction of the same phrase in the *Cantional*.

Musical Example 5.5:Comparison of *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden* item 6 and Cantional No.123

The musical score is presented in four systems, each containing three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Cantional' and the bottom staff is also labeled 'Cantional'. The middle staff is labeled 'Mich vom Stricke'. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes measure numbers 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, and 30. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The score is divided into sections by repeat signs and includes markings (a) and (b) above the staves.

Cantional

Mich vom Stricke

Cantional

5

10 (a) 15 (a)

20 (b) 25

30

Musical Example 5.7: Comparison of St Luke No.12 and Cantional No.45

(a)

Cantional

St Luke Passion

Cantional

3 6 5 4 # 6 5 b6 5 4 3

14

Bars 10-13 identical

6 3 3 6

(b)

Cantional

St Luke Passion

Cantional

20 25

6 6 5 4 3

Categories 1-2 are close enough to Cantional to be considered part of the Zerbst tradition.

Those of category 3 show major variations suggesting that they come from a source other than the Zerbst liturgical tradition. Expressed in a tabular form, the relationship of the three Zerbst oratorio Passions and the Zerbst *Cantional* is clear; indeed, the chorales in the St Mark Passion show very few significant variants. What is also made clear is the extent of the variance of the *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden* chorales from the Zerbst *Cantional*; of all seven chorales (nos. 15 and 25 are the same setting), not one follows the harmonization of the Zerbst Cantional, only one follows the version of the melody in *Cantional* and five are

sufficiently different to be considered as originating from a different source.²⁷ If *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünde* was composed for another centre prior to his appointment at Zerbst, (i.e. it is the oldest work of the four), one can perceive yet another pattern - the oldest pre-Zerbst Passion has the most variants from the Zerbst tradition, the two Oranienbaum scores (the St Luke the earlier work), both probably the work of Fasch, show fewer variants, while the most recent work, which probably is the work of Fasch's successor, has the fewest variants as demonstrated in table 5.9:

Table 5.9: Tabular summary of the Passion chorales				
category	'Mich vom stricke'	St Luke	St John	St Mark
1		15	9, 36, 44, 50, 56	9, 18
2	15*, (25)†	4, 6, 8, 10	3, 10, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 39 40, 49, 52	5 (abrgd), 10, 19, 22, 30
3	6,13, 23, 28, 29	2, 12	1, 32	-
* The text of this chorale cannot be found in the Zerbstisches Gesang-Buch				
† item 25 same chorale setting as No.15				

Not only are the chorales of the Zerbst oratorio Passions nearer to the forms found in the *Cantional* than are those in the Passion oratorio *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünde*, but they are also more often in the same key. Expressed as percentages, 62.5% of the St Luke chorales, 65% of the identified St John chorales and between 45.5% and 63% of the St Mark chorales²⁸ are in the same key as in the *Cantional* compared with only 28% of the *Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünde* chorales (i.e. 2 out of 7). Finally, the text of MvS15, 'Falsche Zeugnis, Sohn

²⁷ There seems to be no evidence of J.F. Fasch employing versions of chorales from other centres in works composed specifically for performance in Zerbst. Of the surviving cantata works performed before c1735 known to be associated with Zerbst, all the chorale melodies used follow the version found in the Zerbst *Cantional*. Many are in the same key as in the *Cantional*:

			key: in <i>Cantional</i>	in work
<i>In der Welt habt ihr Angst</i>	FWV D: I 8	c1730	F	F
<i>Niemand kennt den Sohn</i>	FWV D: N2	c1730	Gm	Gm

²⁸ Depending on whether or not M33a and M39a are in Dm and Gm respectively (see discussion in Chapter 9). However, the key of the chorale is less significant in the St Mark Passion since more attention has been given to the tonal scheme of the work than in the two other Zerbst oratorio Passions.

und Spott', cannot be found in the *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch*.²⁹

Falsche Zeugniß, Hohn und Spott
 Speichel auch der Knechte
 leidet der viel fromme Gott
 der allein Gerechte,
 und du sündige Gestalt
 wilt zu Todt dich härmen
 wenn Verfolgung mit Gewalt
 ach, auf dich loß stürmen

This, considered together with the evidence that the chorales themselves are mostly of a form not known in Zerbst, suggests most strongly that this work was not intended for performance in Zerbst as part of the liturgy - a point established in the discussion of the Passion tradition in Chapter 4.³⁰

Further observations can be made concerning the concordance of the Zerbst Passion chorales with the Zerbst *Cantional*. Johann Georg Röllig, a student in Leipzig, came to Zerbst in 1737 only to be promoted first to assistant *Kapellmeister* and finally to full *Kapellmeister* at a much later date. Therefore, one would expect that the relatively inexperienced Röllig would adopt the forms of the chorales to be found in the Court hymn book - we can note that the work with the greatest concordance is the St Mark Passion both in the forms of the melodies, the use of key and, to a great extent, the harmonization. On the other hand, Fasch had previously held two *Kapellmeister* / *Stadtkantor* posts prior to arriving in Zerbst at the beginning of the liturgical year in 1722, and was obliged to immediately set about composing a vast amount of music to satisfy the musical demands of the Court. (As proposed in Chapter

²⁹ However, there are two verses to be found in the 1720-1748 *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch* with similar openings:

No.55 (Jesu Leiden Pein und Tod) vs.9.:

Falsche Zeugen, Speichel, Spott,
 von dem Mord-Geschlechte,
 und der bösen Juden Rott
 leydet der Gerechte;
 Und du sündig's Menschen-Kind
 wilt zu Tod dich grämen,
 wenn Gott durch Verfolgungs-Wind
 dir das Fleisch will zähmen. (Stockman)

No.418 (Jesu, dein ist dieser Tag) vs5:

Falsche Zeugnis dich verklagt,
 daß nach dem Sterben
 meine Schuld werd' angesagt,
 wann ich Gnad soll erben.
 Dich verdammet man zum Tod,
 meinen Tod zu tödten
 und von der Verdammniß=Noht
 meine Seel zu retten

³⁰ It is possible that Fasch intended that the work be performed at a sacred concert in Zerbst, in which case he might not be as restricted as to the forms of the chorales he might adopt as he clearly was for works intended for the liturgy. However, there is no record of such a concert taking place, and the number of chorales and the bi-partite division of the work would indicate a performance within a liturgical context. (This point is explored more fully in Chapter 6.)

4, the St John Passion 1723 was one of Fasch's earliest projects) Thus, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that in the heat of composition Fasch might utilise chorales melodies he was already very familiar with and could commit directly to paper from memory rather than expend time to consult the Court *Cantional*.³⁸ In Chapter 4 it was proposed that the 1748 St John Passion *Ach! Wir armen Sünder* is partly derived from an earlier work, and thus some of the earlier music, including chorale settings, which were by now quite familiar to the court through repeated performances, were utilised in the later work. This would explain the extent of the deviation for the chorale melodies, particularly J1 and J32, with the models in the Zerbst *Cantional*. The lack of concordance between L2 and L12 and the *Cantional* is less straightforward to explain. Perhaps Fasch felt able to utilise versions he was more familiar with since the Passion chorales were performed by the Kapelle and not the congregation, in which case deviation from the forms in the *Cantional* might have been tolerated. However, further research of the *Konsitorium* documents is required to properly gauge the extent of congregational participation in the chorales contained in cantata works performed in the Schloßkirche and other churches in Zerbst.

There is no doubt that the *Cantional*, together with the newly discovered hymn books in London, Zerbst, Leipzig and Magdeburg will provide a most valuable source of material which will shed new light on the the manner of courtly liturgical life and possibly on the dating of Fasch's sacred cantata-works. Further research into the texts as well as the musical links with the *Gothaisches* and *Braunschweig Gesangbücher* and *Cantional* is also required to confirm not only the relationship of the hymn books but also of the musical links in general between the two centres.

³⁸ The discovery of the *Cantional* in use in Greiz during Fasch's tenure as *Stadtkantor* could cast great light on this issue.