

The Significance of the Newly Rediscovered Kittel *Choralbuch*

SUSAN McCORMICK

Almost 200 years after the death of Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809), a manuscript *Choralbuch* bearing his name was purchased from a German antiquarian book-dealer.¹ The manuscript—which, according to the antiquarian, dates from between 1780 and 1810—is unlike any other extant Kittel source in scope and scale. This article offers a description of the manuscript, a discussion of its place among Kittel’s other known chorale collections, and its relationship with other extant multiple bass *Choralbücher*, with a view to clarifying later eighteenth-century organ chorale pedagogy and practice.

Physical description of the newly rediscovered Kittel *Choralbuch*

The manuscript was first described by Robin A. Leaver in an unpublished paper, presented to the Bach Colloquium meeting at Harvard University’s Music Department in May 2009.² The newly rediscovered Kittel manuscript (hereafter referred to as Source A) consists of 215 folios bound within a cardboard cover, with leather lining on the spine and corners.³ It is sewn in signature, with pages gathered in inconsistent groups. All folios up to and including 133v consist of double paper; the remaining sheets are single.

The *Choralbuch* opens with a title page (f.1r) reading *Choralbuch von Johann Christ. Kittel, Organist an der PredigerKirche in Erfurt*—this page also includes the names of two previous owners of the manuscript: ‘Poss: J. G. Anhalt’ (whose name has been crossed out) and ‘Poss Ludwig Christian’ (Figure 1). Folio 2r bears the inscription ‘Herrn Böhm’ and contains remnants of red wax. This page is followed by 189 multiple bass chorale settings (ff. 2v–189r), which are numbered 1–182 (some numbers are repeated). These chorales contain up to six different figured bass settings each (no. 55 contains no music, although the title *Mensch*,

¹ This manuscript is in the private possession of Professor Yo Tomita, Newtownabbey, UK. The antiquarian book-dealer advertised the source as ‘Uraltes Choralbuch von Johann Christ. Kittel, ca. 1780–1810’.

² Robin A. Leaver, ‘Pedagogy, Practice, or Both? A Preliminary Survey of the Significance of the Newly-Discovered Choralbuch of Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809)’.

³ The cover measures 15.8 cm (spine) / 15.6 cm (outer length) by 19.5 cm (top) / 19.2 cm (bottom). The thickness of the cardboard cover is 0.5 cm, and the overall width of the manuscript is 6 cm.

willst du leben seliglich appears along with two pages of ruled staves). The manuscript also contains fifteen chorales with one figured bass setting each (ff. 189v–196v). Folios 197r–204v contain no music; however, all but folio 204v are ruled with staves. An alphabetical index of the chorales appears at the back of the manuscript (ff. 205r–208v), after which empty folios continue to the end (f. 215r).

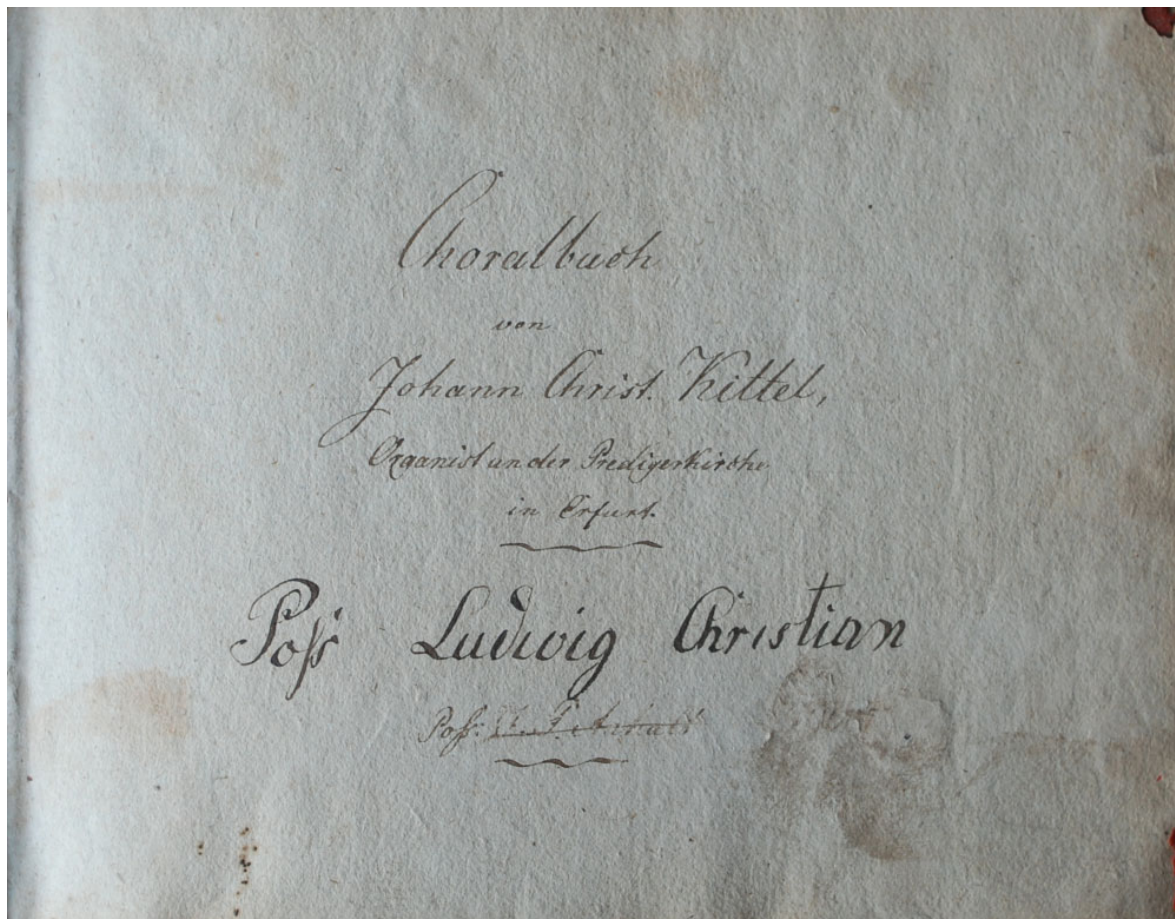


Figure 1: Title page of Source A

Watermarks are visible on a number of folios. Those on the double paper differ from those on the single. The former are difficult to decipher: there are at least three different marks, two of which consist of lettering (only parts of these letters or words are legible).⁴ One of these marks may be 'C BLAW'.⁵ D & C Blauw was a Dutch paper mill that was active approximately between 1750 and 1822.⁶ This watermark is commonly known to be accompanied by a *fleur-de-lis*, but the images found here consist of flowers, or possibly suns, a combination that has not been recorded elsewhere. Furthermore, Andrea Lothe is of the opinion that the

⁴ Sincere thanks to Dr Christine Blanken at the Bach-Archiv Leipzig for the invaluable help given in examining the watermarks of Source A, and for sharing her expertise so kindly.

⁵ The other mark resembles 'C & I Honig', a prominent paper mill in the eighteenth century. However, normally a *fleur-de-lis* appears as a countermark.

⁶ According to the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek's, *Papierhistorische Sammlungen*. Thanks to Ms Andrea Lothe at the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Leipzig, for providing me with this information, and for helping to decipher the watermarks of Source A.

paper in Source A is notably different to that produced by D & C Blauw.⁷ The watermarks on the single paper consist of a crowned double-C emblem between palm leaves, with letters 'S C' (?) as countermark. Crowned double-C emblems between palm leaves were not uncommon in eighteenth-century papers: they are associated with firms such as Sickte, and H.C. Borchardt, although these emblems normally appear alongside countermarks (for example, names or initials). It may be worth mentioning that a c.1769 manuscript of C.P.E. Bach has a very similar double-C watermark to that in Source A, although the shape of the crown differs slightly.⁸ There does not appear to be any known examples of a crowned double-C emblem between palm leaves appearing on the same paper as the letters 'S C'. However, the watermarks on the single paper indicate that the paper originated in Sachsen-Anhalt or Niedersachsen (both of which border Kittel's home state of Thuringia). The watermarks (or at least the combination) of Source A appear somewhat unique, and have yet to reveal any concrete information about the manuscript's origin.

Copyists and provenance

Having compared Source A with other known works in Kittel's hand, it appears that Kittel did not transcribe the former. It is clear that at least two copyists were involved in transcribing Source A (both of whom are, as yet, unknown). The multiple bass chorales and the index seem to have been written in one hand, and the fifteen chorales with one figured bass line each, together with the inscription 'Herrn Böhm' – found on folio 2r – in another.⁹ The notation, particularly of the stem directions, of the fifteen melodies at the back of the collection is more modern than that of the preceding chorales.

Ludwig Christian and J. G. Anhalt – as is evident from the title page – are the only two known owners of Source A prior to the antiquarian book-dealer.¹⁰ The calligraphic style of J. G. Anhalt's signature and the handwriting of the title of the manuscript are extremely similar, suggesting that the same hand was used to inscribe both. This, along with the fact that the name 'J. G. Anhalt' has been crossed out, implies that Anhalt owned the manuscript before Ludwig Christian.

⁷ It is possible that this paper was a forgery of the high quality paper produced by D & C Blauw.

⁸ The cover of this manuscript contains the double-C watermark. C.P.E. Bach, *Oster Musik / Von / C. P. E. Bach. / 69 / 76 / 87 / No. 19*, ca. 1760–1789, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 182, 84 folios. A number of C.P.E. Bach manuscripts contain crowned double-C emblems.

⁹ The bottom one or two bass lines of a number of these chorales appear in a fainter coloured ink than the rest of the notation. This suggests that they were added on a later occasion. On less frequent occasions entire settings (or large sections) appear in this faint ink. These chorales may represent points at which folios were left blank and then returned to at a later date.

¹⁰ A small number of sacred settings by a composer named J. G. Anhalt are housed in the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. These manuscripts date from the eighteenth century, with some recorded to have originated, more specifically, in the last decade of the century. It is possible that this composer was also one of the owners of Source A. The identity of Ludwig Christian is unknown. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia (1772–1806) was also referred to as Prince Ferdinand Ludwig Christian of Prussia. As a talented musician, it is possible that Source A came into his possession. If this suggestion is proved true, it implies that the manuscript was certainly completed before 1806, and as we know Ludwig Christian was not the first owner of the manuscript it implies that the source was likely to have been compiled some years earlier.

From examining the handwriting and layout of Source A it appears plausible that copyist 1 transcribed the multiple bass chorales and the accompanying index and copyist 2 copied the single bass chorales. This second copyist also addressed the manuscript for the attention of Mr Böhm. The manuscript was then passed on to J. G. Anhalt. It is evident that the folio on which Mr Böhm's name appears was once sealed to the previous page. It is possible that Anhalt was responsible for this sealing in order to conceal Mr Böhm's name and to inscribe the title page, to which he added his own name. The manuscript then came into the possession of Ludwig Christian, who crossed out Anhalt's name and signed his own.

Contents of Source A

Source A contains 189 chorale settings consisting of melody and multiple figured basses. Of these settings there are 184 different chorale melodies and 181 different titles. The chorales are ordered in a similar fashion to that of the common *Gesangbuch*; for example, the first section is organised according to the Sundays and feast days of the liturgical calendar. The number of bass settings per chorale varies, with the majority having four different basses each (one chorale has six bass settings, twenty have five, seventy-seven have four, sixty-one have three, twenty-five have two, and five have one). Six chorale titles appear more than once (Table 1). Interestingly, when Kittel sets the same melody in more than one key, he often retains the same basses and figures. This perhaps suggests that he was relating the harmonies to the associated texts.

Of the 184 different chorale melodies with multiple bass settings, fourteen do not appear under the same titles in Zahn's comprehensive collection of chorale melodies.¹¹ Of the fifteen chorale melodies with single bass settings, only one appears. The earliest known sources of three of the chorale melodies in Source A are reported by Zahn to date from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, namely, *Die Nacht ist vor der Thür* (Zahn 2204), *Kommet, kommet spricht der Herr* (Zahn 3328), and *Wer ist der Herr* (Zahn 865).¹² This tallies with the antiquarian's description of the manuscript as dating from between 1780 and 1810. However, the structure and contents of Source A suggest an earlier date of origin. The choice of chorales and their adopted order are comparable with that of other mid-eighteenth-century *Choralbücher* (as shown below). Yet they are

¹¹ Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889–1893; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).

¹² The earliest known source for *Die Nacht ist vor der Thür* is recorded by Zahn to be the 1803 *Gesangbuch* by Georg Peter Weimar (1734–1800) in which Kittel's harmonies are used. Georg Peter Weimar, *Vollständiges, rein und unverfälschtes Choral-Melodienbuch zum Gebrauch der vorzüglichsten protestantischen Gesangbücher in Deutschland mit Johann Christian Kittels harmonischer Begleitung* (Erfurt: J.D. Weimar, 1803). Kittel's setting of *Kommet, kommet spricht der Herr* incorporates a variation that was, according to Zahn's knowledge, first used by Johann Gottfried Vierling (1750–1813) in 1789. Vierling, *Choralbuch auf Vier Stimmen zum Gebrauch bey dem öffentlichen und Privat-Gottesdienst* (Kassel: Waisenhaus-Buchdruckerey, 1789). Zahn credits a 1799 *Choralbuch* by Johann Mathias Rempt (1744–1802) as being the first known source of the melody *Wer ist der Herr*. Rempt, *Vierstimmiges Choralbuch zum Kirchen- und Privatgebrauche von Joh. Matth. Rempt* (Weimar, 1799). This *Choralbuch* was self-published.

Table 1: Titles that appear more than once in Source A

No. in Source A	Title	Key	No. of bass settings	Similarities / differences
63	<i>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	A minor	5	Melody Bass 3 of no. 63 is almost identical to bass 1 of no. 63 lit. a
63 lit. a	<i>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	G minor	2	
49	<i>Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir</i>	G major	3	Melody All three basses almost identical
157	<i>Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir</i>	A major	3	
13	<i>Helft mir Gotts Güte preisen</i>	A minor	5	Different melody and basses
178	<i>Helft mir Gotts Güte, oder: Gott fährt auf gen Himmel</i>	C major	3	
60	<i>Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier</i>	G major	4	Different melody and basses to nos. 152 [a] and [b]
152 [a]	<i>Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier</i>	A minor	2	
152 [b]	<i>[Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier] Ex G mol</i>	G minor	2	Melody Same basses in both
16	<i>Meinen Jesu laß ich nicht</i>	D major	5	
154	<i>Meinen Jesu laß ich nicht</i>	G major	3	Different melody and basses
2	<i>Wir danken dir Herr Jesu Christ</i>	G major	3	
23	<i>Wir danken dir Herr Jesu Christ</i>	C major	3	Melody First two basses almost identical
156b	<i>Wir danken dir Herr Jesu Christ</i>	E _b major	2	

unlike other extant harmonised chorale collections by Kittel, all of which are thought to date from approximately 1780 and later.¹³ In addition to Source A, there are nine extant collections of harmonised chorales by Kittel: three four-part manuscripts, one four-part print, two *Choralbücher* with melody and figured bass line, and three small collections (Table 2).¹⁴ There appears to be a division between the melodies in these *Choralbücher* and those in Source A, with many of the melodies in Source A displaying variants to those in Kittel's other chorale collections. All of the harmonised single bass Kittel *Choralbücher* (with the exception of the 1803 collection, which was compiled for the region of Schleswig-Holstein) contain some melodies that are distinct to Kittel's hometown of Erfurt.

¹³ The dates of the Kittel *Choralbücher* from the Peters' Collection (D-LEM, PM 3884 and D-LEM, PM 3870) are unknown. These two manuscripts are both associated with an Erfurt *Gesangbuch*. It appears that the first official *Gesangbuch* to be published solely in Erfurt was the 1778 *Vollständiges neu aufgelegtes und vermehrtes Evangelisches Gesang-Buch: darinnen 1031. geistreiche alte und neue Lieder und Psalmen des ... Martini Lutheri ...* (Erfurt: Freytag, 1778) – *Gesangbücher* prior to this date were published jointly in Erfurt and Jena, and Erfurt and Langensalza. This, together with the fact that many of the melodies are also included in Kittel's other extant single based manuscript *Choralbücher* suggests that the earliest possible date of origin for these two collections was circa 1780.

¹⁴ Chorale harmonisations by Kittel also appear in the 1803 *Gesangbuch* by Weimar, and individual harmonised chorales are found in a number of other Kittel manuscripts.

Table 2: Kittel harmonised chorale sources

Form	Title	Library sigla/ publication details	Copyist	Date	Pages/ folios
4-part ms	[Choralbuch, without title]	D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 4795	Wetterhan	c. 1780	95 folios
4-part ms	<i>Vollständiges Erfurthl: Choral Buch ausgesetzt von Johann Christian Kittel. Organist an der Evangel. Prediger Kirche in Erfurt</i>	US-NHHub, LM 22	Rinck	1786–89? ^a	146 folios
4-part ms	[Choralbuch, without title]	D-LEm, PM 3884	Scheibner	Late 18 th /early 19 th C?	85 folios
4-part print	<i>Vierstimmige Choräle mit Vorspielen: Zum allgemeinen sowohl als zum besondern Gebrauch für die Schleswig-Hollsteinischen Kirchen</i>	Altona: Hammerich	n/a	1803	205 pages
Mel+fig.bass	<i>Choral Buch von Johann Christian Kittel</i>	D-LEm, II 1 40 69	Kittel ^b	1790	218 pages
Mel+fig.bass	<i>Choralbuch mit Bassen von Kittel nach dem Erfurter Gesangbuche</i>	D-LEm, PM 3870	Scheibner	Late 18 th / early 19 th C?	85 folios
Multiple bass	<i>12 Choräle mit verschieden Bäsens di Christian Kittel</i>	US-NHHub, LM 4133	Rinck	1786–89? ^c	32 folios
Multiple bass ^d	<i>24 Choräle di Christian Kittel Organist in Erfurt an der Prediger Kirche: Letzter Schüler von Sebastian Bach</i>	US-NHHub, LM 4745	Rinck	1787–1789? ^e	40 pages
	<i>24 Choräle mit acht verschiedenen Bässen [?] nebst 11 Chorälen mit Pasagen von Johann Christian Kittel^f</i>	D-DI, Mus. 1-E-794	Unknown	1800	61 pages
	<i>Vier und zwanzig Choräle mit acht verschiedenen Bassen über eine Melodie von J. Ch. Kittel</i>	Offenbach: Joh. Andre	n/a	1811	39 pages
	<i>24 Choräle mit acht verschiedenen Bässen über eine Melodie von J. Ch. Kittel, letztem Schüler von Joh. Seb. Bach</i>	Offenbach: Joh. Andre	n/a	184–?	39 pages
Multiple bass	<i>25 Choräle mit achertleij General Baessen del sigl. Kittel</i>	US-R, M7 K 62C	Unknown	1791	40 pages

^a This date is suggested by John Philip Anthony, 'The Organ Works of Johann Christian Kittel', unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, (1978), p. 334.

^b Carl Ferdinand Becker attributes the handwriting to Kittel: Becker, *Die Choralsammlungen der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchen* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1845), p. 206. A comparison of the handwriting of this source with other works known to have been transcribed by Kittel confirms Becker's suggestion. Zahn also agrees that the handwriting is Kittel's: Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, vol. VI, p. 554.

^c Anthony suggests this date: Anthony, 'The Organ Works of Johann Christian Kittel', p. 337.

^d Printed copies are also held in US-NHHub, Vi12 56; US-R, M7 K 62t; and D-Budka, 2897.

^e Anthony suggests this date: Anthony, 'The Organ Works of Johann Christian Kittel', p. 350.

^f This manuscript also contains a *Choralbuch vor Johann Christoph Bach* and some works by Vogler and Fischer.

Many of the titles of these melodies also appear in Source A. Here, however, Kittel chooses different melodies, such as *Kein Stündlein geht dahin*, and *Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr* (Examples 1a and 1b). Zahn records another *Choralbuch* (c.1760) thought to be by Kittel, which, as far as he was aware at the time of publication, represents the earliest known source of a number of Erfurt melodies.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the present location of this source is unknown. However, a number of these Thuringian melodies are included in the 1803 *Gesangbuch* edited by Georg Peter Weimar, and in the following Kittel manuscripts: D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 4795; US-NHUB, LM 22; D-LEm, PM 3884; D-LEm, II 1 40 69; and D-LEm, PM 3870. None of these melodies appear in Source A.

The contents and melodies of Source A relate closely to a hymnbook published in Gotha in 1715 (see Examples 2a and 2b; 173 of the chorale titles in Source A appear in the Gotha *Gesangbuch*, six of which appear in the index only, and twenty of which have different melodies).¹⁶ This *Gesangbuch* is thought to have been based on an earlier hymnal, the Gotha *Cantional* 1646; a collection that Leaver suggests was familiar to Kittel's teacher Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) from his youth.¹⁷ This further suggests that Source A originated earlier in the eighteenth century. If this is the case, then it would appear that this Kittel manuscript is the earliest known source for the melody *Die Nacht ist vor der Thür*, the variation of the melody *Kommet, kommet spricht der Herr*, and possibly the melody *Wer ist der Herr* (although this is one of the fifteen single bass chorales that appear to have been added to the manuscript at a later stage).¹⁸

The harmonic rhythm of the chorales is generally slow in Source A, with the majority of figures representing suspensions, first inversion and seventh chords. The final settings of many of the chorales consist of continuous quaver or semiquaver movement; however, most of these contain relatively few figures, and are restricted primarily to first inversion and some second inversion chords. The first bass settings of many of the chorales in Source A are comparable in style to Kittel's 1803 published four-part *Choralbuch* – these basses are often comparable even when the melodies contain variants (see Examples 3a and 3b).

¹⁵ Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, vol. VI, p. 546.

¹⁶ Christian Freidrich Witt (ed.), *Psalmodia sacra oder andächtige und schöne Gesänge so wohl des sel. Lutheri, als anderer geistreichen Männer Auf Hochfl. gnädigste Verordnung, in dem Fürstenthum Gotha und Altenburg, auf nachfolgende Art zu singen und zu spielen* (Gotha: Reyher, 1715).

¹⁷ *Cantionale Sacrum, Das ist Geistliche Lieder von Christlichen und Trostreichen Texten Mit 3. 4. 5. oder mehr Stimmen unterschiedlicher Auctorumund zum andernmal gedruckt* (Gotha: Schall, 1651). See also Robin A. Leaver, 'Suggestions for future research into Bach and the chorale: aspects of repertoire, pedagogy, theory, and practice', *Bach*, 42/2 (2011), 40–63, at 47.

¹⁸ Zahn's anthology focuses primarily on published sources. As he did not have access to a huge number of manuscripts, it is possible that these melodies existed elsewhere in handwritten form.

Example 1a: Kittel, *Kein Stündlein geht dahin*, Source A (Zahn 4243b)

Example 1b: Kittel, *Kein Stündlein geht dahin*, D-LEm, II 1 40 69 (Zahn 4245) – This melody also appears, with slight variations, in all of the other extant single bass Kittel *Choralbuch* manuscripts

Example 2a: Kittel, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns*, Source A

Example 2b: *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns*, Gotha Gesangbuch

Example 3a: Kattel, *Jesu, meine Freude*, phrases 4–6 of first bass setting, Source A

Example 3b: Kattel, *Jesu, meine Freude*, phrases 4–6, 1803 *Choralbuch*

The purpose of Source A

The chorale served a number of purposes in the eighteenth century. It played a central role in the Lutheran church service; organists were required to accompany chorale singing and to create suitable preludes and possibly interludes and postludes on the chorale.¹⁹ It was also performed in the home as part of daily worship, with many middle-class families possessing their own private chorale collections. A number of published *Choralbücher* were marketed for use in both church and home, as is evident from their titles (for example, part of the title of Dretzel's 1731 *Choralbuch* reads: 'for public worship on organs and also devotion in the home').²⁰ The chorale also had a strong pedagogical value. It was commonly used as a tool for teaching harmony and composition and was included in a number of eighteenth-century treatises.²¹ We know from the accounts of Kittel's pupils, Johann Wilhelm Hässler (1747–1822) and Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770–1846), that the chorale played a central role in his teaching.²² Furthermore, Kittel's instructional work *Der angehende praktische Organist* (published in three volumes at the beginning of the nineteenth century, hereafter referred to as the APO) is largely devoted to the discussion of chorales, and his *Generalbass Schule* includes numerous chorale exercises.²³

A number of factors suggest that Source A was intended for accompanying congregational singing.²⁴ Firstly, the order adopted follows a similar sequence to that found in the *Gesangbücher* of the day. Secondly, an alternative text is given to one of the chorales. Thirdly, the fast moving final bass lines of many of the chorales imply that the last verse of the hymn should receive a more elaborate

¹⁹ For further information on the use of the chorale in the Lutheran church service, see Martin Blindow, *Die Choralbegleitung des 18. Jahrhunderts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1957); Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Beiträge zur Choralbegleitung und Choralverarbeitung in der Orgelmusik des ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg: Heitz & Co., 1932); and Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁰ Cornelius Heinrich Dretzel, *Des evangelischen Zions musikalische Harmonie oder evangelisches Choral Buch* (Nürnberg: Lorenz Bieling, 1731): 'bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst auf Orgeln auch zu Haus zur Ermunterung'.

²¹ See for example, Michael Johann Friedrich Wiedeberg, *Der sich selbst informirende Clavierspieler*; Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. Ernest C. Harriss (Michigan: UMI Research Press: 1981); and Türk, *Daniel Gottlob Türk On the Role of the Organist in Worship*, trans. Margot Ann Greenlimb Woolard (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2000).

²² Christoph Dohr (ed.), *Rinck, Johann Christian Heinrich: Dokumente zu Leben und Werk*, (Köln: Verlag Christoph Dohr, 2003); and Helga Brück, *Johann Wilhelm und Sophia Hässler: einer Erfurter Musikerfamilie* (Erfurt: Verein für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 2003).

²³ Johann Christian Kittel, *Der angehende praktische Organist, oder Anweisung zum zweckmäßigen Gebrauch der Orgel bei Gottesverehrungen in Beispielen* (Erfurt: Beyer und Maring, 1803–1808; reprint, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1986); Kittel, *Generalbass Schule von meinem Lehrer dem Organisten Kittel Manuscript Rink, 1801–1846*, US-NH, LM 3911, 253p. Other pedagogical works by Kittel include *Noten-Buch* which deals with the fundamentals of music theory: Kittel, *Noten-Buch Dal Signor Kittell*, US-Wc, MT 224.K62, 144 pages. Many thanks to Dr David Ledbetter for alerting me to this source, and to Mr Larry Molinaro for kindly providing me with photographs of this work.

²⁴ If the Prince of Prussia (Ludwig Christian) is discovered to have been one of the owners of Source A it is likely that as a secular musician he utilised the collection privately.

accompaniment.²⁵ Fourthly, the harmonic language is relatively straightforward, appearing particularly suited to congregational accompaniment. This is evident on comparison with the chorale settings in Kittel's other multiple bass chorale collections. On the whole, these basses are quite intricate, often including wide leaps and large ranges, containing numerous chromatic intervals, and displaying active, complex and fast moving harmonic progressions (see Examples 4a and 4b). These more elaborate accompaniments suggest that they were not intended primarily for supporting a congregation: in the APO, for example, Kittel is referring to accompaniment when he advises keeping active or intricate variations to the middle of a hymn, so as not to confuse the congregation.²⁶ Similar advice is given in the forewords to a number of eighteenth-century *Choralbücher*; for example, Johann Balthasar König (1691–1758) recommends in his 1738 collection that the bass of chorales be kept simple so as not to lead the congregation astray.²⁷ As mentioned, Source A shares a similar harmonic style with Kittel's 1803 *Choralbuch*. The fact that the 1803 collection was created fundamentally for use in the churches of Schleswig-Holstein and intended as an aid for novice organists further supports the proposition that Source A was utilised within the church service.

Although a number of factors appear to indicate that Source A was used in the church, an examination of other extant chorale works by Kittel makes clear that he intended many of his works not to serve just one purpose but to be multi-functioning, developing skills in performance, composition and pedagogy. In the preface to his 1803 *Choralbuch*, for example, he remarks that the chorales would be 'useful for practical instruction in harmony and counterpoint' as well as for performance in church.²⁸ In one of the published editions of Kittel's twenty-four melodies with multiple basses, an alternate ending with the inscription 'Zum letzten Verse' is given to the chorale *O Gott, du frommer Gott*, implying that this collection was also used for accompaniment.²⁹ Furthermore, Kittel's works include examples where he employs the same settings for two different purposes. In the first volume of the APO, for example, he opens with a number of different settings of the chorale *Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut* under the following titles: 'Ein kurzes Vorspiel'; 'Vorspiel mit voller Orgel'; 'Choral mit vorigem Thema'; 'Für den Anfänger'. Each of these settings serves a different pedagogical purpose.

²⁵ Herl notes that in the accompaniment of the chorale that was sung directly before the sermon it was customary for the final verse to receive a more boisterous treatment. Herl, *Worship Wars*, p. 147.

²⁶ See APO, vol. III, p. 56: 'Diese Bearbeitung ... darf nur in der Mitte des Liedes angewendet werden'.

²⁷ Johann Balthasar König, *Harmonischer Lieder-Schatz oder allgemeines evangelisches Choral-Buch ...* (Frankfurt a. M.: 1738), Vorbericht, p. [iii]: 'Natürlich: auf daß das Ohr nicht laetiret, noch eine Gemeinde im Singéirre gemacht werde'. This collection was self-published.

²⁸ Kittel, *Vierstimmige Choräle mit Vorspielen*, p. 3: '... zum praktischen Unterricht in der Harmonie und dienen. Um z.B. Eine richtige und melodische Behandlung der Mittelstimmen zu erlernen, kann derjenige ... sich die Choralmelodie nebst dem bezifferten Baß aussetzen, und dann nach den Ziffern dess Generalbasses die Mittelstimmen auszuarbeiten versuchen'.

²⁹ 1811 print: Kittel, *Vier und zwanzig Choräle mit acht verschiedenen Bassen*, p. 33.

Example 4a consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. Each system has a treble and bass staff. The first system includes fingerings such as 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 4, 3, 6, 6, 6, #, 6. The second system includes fingerings such as 6, 6, 4, 3, #, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, #, 6. The third system includes fingerings such as 6, 6, 6, 7, 6, 6, 6, (4), 6, 6.

Example 4a: Kittel, *Das Jesulein soll doch mein Trost*, final bass setting, Source A

Example 4b consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. Each system has a treble and bass staff. The first system includes fingerings such as 4, 6, 0, 6, 5, 5, 8, 6, 4, 6, 4, 6, 5, 6, 5, 6, 8, 7. The second system includes fingerings such as 6, 5, 3, 5, 6, 6, 4, 6, 6, 6, #. The third system includes fingerings such as 8, 5, 6, 4, 6, 6, 9, 8, 4, #, 6, 5, 5, 6, 6, - 6, 4, 8, 7, 8.

Example 4b: Kittel, *Das Jesulein soll doch mein Trost*, final bass setting, 24 Melodies

Identical chorales also appear in a Kittel manuscript entitled *J. Ch. Kittels Sämmtliche Werke für Orgel*.³⁰ This manuscript includes various arrangements of chorale tunes from melody and figured bass settings (with and without *Zwischenspiel*), to four-part harmonised accompaniments, to preludes of varying levels, chorale variations, and fugal chorales. Most of the chorale melodies in this collection receive a number of different treatments.³¹ The majority appear first in various polyphonic forms, then homophonically with interludes, and finally in their most simplistic form (melody with figured bass). This manuscript would have been a useful practical guide for the novice church organist, serving as a model for preluding and accompanying.

Other multiple bass chorale collections

Source A differs from Kittel's other multiple bass chorale collections and is unique among the majority of such collections by other composers. To date, in addition to Kittel's sources, I have found recorded just twenty-one works containing, either solely or partly, chorales with multiple bass settings (Table 3).³² The fact that very few multiple bass collections exist may appear to suggest that they were not commonplace in the eighteenth century.³³ However, chorale accompaniment was traditionally an improvised art.³⁴ Furthermore, it seems

³⁰ Kittel, *J. Ch. Kittels Sämmtliche Werke für Orgel*, 1836, B-Bc, 13807, 31 pages.

³¹ For a detailed discussion of the chorale preludes of Kittel see Ulrich Matyl, *Die Choralbearbeitungen der Schüler Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1996).

³² The following four sources have not yet been assessed: Carl Güntersberg, *Die vorzüglichsten Choräle mit mehrern Bässen*, 2 Theile, 1814–1815; Johann Christian Schärtlich and Rud Lange (eds.), *Evangelisches Choralbuch mit Vor- und Zwischenspielen* (Potsdam: Stein, 1881); Anon., 'Was mein Gott will das g'scheh' alzeit', *Choralbuch*, 1833–1865, D-KSH, KSH 70, 137 folios; Karl Gottlieb Umbreit, *Das Jesulein soll doch mein Trost mit 50 verschiedenen Bässen* (publishing details unknown), which is mentioned in Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1814), vol. IV, p. 414. There is a collection by Christoph Gottlieb Schröter which includes eight chorales with various basses, but the melody is rewritten with each bass line (sometimes with melodic variants): *Choral-Buch bestehend 1 in einigen nach dem Generalbaß gesetzten Chorälen*, 1760, D-B, Mus.ms. 20190, 22 folios. There is also a *Choralbuch* by Georg Bronner, which has two bass settings per chorale; however, the second bass line appears not to have been intended for the organ: *Das von E. Hoch-Edlen und Hoch-Weisen Raht der Stadt Hamburg privilegirt- und vollkommenes Musicalisch-Choral-Buch* (Hamburg: Greflinger, [1715]). Chorales with alternate bass settings are also found in the following treatises: Wiedeburg, *Der sich selbst informirende Clavierspieler*; Franz Joseph Kunkel, *Kleine Musiklehre: Ein Handbuch für höhere Bildungsanstalten, Seminarien, Gymnasien etc.* (Darmstadt: Jonghaus, 1844); Johann Philipp Kimberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik: aus sicheren Grundsätzen hergeleitet und mit deutlichen Beyspielen erläutert* (Berlin and Königsberg: Decker and Hartung, 1776–79).

³³ The chorale has been treated in various ways for hundreds of years. As early as 1601 numerous different settings of individual chorales appear in the *Celle Tablature*, while in 1650 Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654) presents various harmonic settings of the same chorale tune. Bach also arranged individual chorales in a number of different harmonic ways. It is less common, however, to find harmonic variation presented in the form of a chorale melody written above numerous bass staves. The *Celle Tablature* is described in Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, trans. Hans Tischler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 15. Scheidt's chorale arrangements can be found in: *Tabulatur-Buch: hundert geistlicher Lieder und Psalmen* (Görlitz: Martin Herman, 1650).

³⁴ It is viable that more exist which have been overlooked or remain undetected – possibly due to inadequate library cataloguing.

Table 3: Multiple bass chorale collections arranged in chronological order

Date	Composer	Title	Library sigla/publication details	Pages/folios
1690-1699	Anon.	[12 Chorale arrangements without title]	D-Hs, ND VI 2366 (Nr. 1-12)	12 folios
1738-1754	J. S. Reinwald	<i>Choral=Buch In sich haltend, die Melodien des Ansbachischen Gesang=Buchs Wie solche bißher in der Hochfürstl: Residenz gesungen worden. Mit 6. besondern Bässen versehen, und aufgesetzt, von Johann Sebastian Reinwald. Anno 1738</i>	D-WB, Sammlung I.9.23	174 folios
1780s?	J. P. Kirnberger	<i>Allgemeines Choralbuch</i>	D-LEm, III 6 82a	322 pages
1780-1831	J. H. Kirchner	<i>Choräle mit verschiedenen Bässen von Cantor Kirchner</i>	US-NH, Ma21.Y11.K633, LM 3982	6 folios
1784-1785	J. C. G. Gueintzuis	<i>Johann Carl Gottlieb Gueintzuis Anno 1784</i>	D-Hau, Ms 76	87 folios
1790	Anon.	[Chorale arrangements without title]	D-Nla, Musikaliensammlung Rossach 238	191 pages
1805	Schmidt	<i>Für deinen Thron tret' ich hiermit^a</i>	D-F, Mus Hs 911	1 folio
1811	Anon.	<i>Choralbuch für J. C. B Schulze, Wiesenena 1811</i>	In the private possession of Robin A. Leaver, New Hampshire, USA	293 pages
1817	K. G. Umbreit	<i>Zwölf Chormelodien mit mehreren Bässen</i>	Gotha: Beckerschen Buchhandlung	27 pages
1818?	K. G. Umbreit	<i>Fortsetzung von Zwölf Chormelodien mit mehreren Bässen</i>	Gotha: Beckerschen Buchhandlung	23 pages
1838	C. F. Becker	<i>'Christ, der du bist der helle Tag' Choral mit funfzig bezifferten Bässen</i>	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	5 pages
1846	F. W. Markull	<i>Choral-Melodien für den evangelischen Gottesdienst</i>	Danzig: Gerhard'schen Buchhandlung	126 pages
1846-1849	C. F. Becker	<i>Lobt Gott ihr Christen allzugleich mit fünf und dreissig bezifferten Bäsens^b</i>	D-B, Ms. Danzig 4254	13 pages
1872	O. Wermann	<i>60 signierte Choräle mit je 2 Bässen</i>	Dresden: Brauer	42 pages
1883	K. E. Hering	<i>Dreissig gebrauchliche Choral-Melodieen...m 3 bez Bässen</i>	D-B, Mus. G. 1917	24 pages
1889	A. Michaelis (arr.)	<i>Siebzig signierte Choräle m. je 1, 2, 3 u. mehr bezifferten Bässen</i>	Wolfenbuettel: Juljus Zwissler	62 pages

^a This chorale setting was possibly part of a bigger collection of ninety chorales. It is not clear as to whether all of the chorales in this manuscript contain multiple bass settings, or whether it is still in existence.

^b This chorale was also published by G. Schubert about a decade earlier. This publication is mentioned in the following anonymous article: 'Zur Uebung im vierstimmigen Satze', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 39/20 (17 May 1837), p. 320.

impractical to transcribe complete *Choralbücher* where every chorale had numerous bass settings.³⁵ The subject of harmonic variation and its role in congregational accompaniment, although discussed and debated by a number of composers and writers during this period, was not a universally supported practice. Singing practices varied not only from town to town, but often also from church to church.³⁶ Johann Gottlob Werner (1777–1822) noted—as did Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1813)—that in some parishes members of the congregation sang the middle or bass parts of a chorale.³⁷ Jakob Adlung (1699–1762) warned that, if this is the case, altering the harmonic foundations of a chorale could prove detrimental.³⁸ Opponents of harmonic variation in congregational accompaniment, such as Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795), advocated that the same bass line always be kept, while others, such as Kittel, noted that many chorales contain more than one sentiment, therefore requiring different harmonies.³⁹ In the first volume of the APO, Kittel writes: ‘In the accompaniment of many verses strict unity is not possible if the text contains several different sentiments all introduced quickly after one another’.⁴⁰ Similarly Türk remarks that ‘not all hymns convey a uniform sentiment from beginning to end, the organist in such instances must attempt to create an exactly appropriate expression and not play one stanza just like any other’.⁴¹ Of the ten known extant multiple bass chorale collections in manuscript form, four originate in the German state of Thuringia, two in Saxony, two have a connection to Saxony-Anhalt, and two are currently housed in Bavaria (the origins of which are unknown).⁴² These four states all border one another, suggesting that this practice may have been more widely accepted and utilised in this area of Germany than in other regions.

³⁵ For example, a mid-eighteenth-century multiple bass *Choralbuch*, which will be introduced shortly, is recorded as having taken over fifteen years to complete.

³⁶ For example, in 1758 Jakob Adlung wrote: ‘No village of the local area is in all respects like the other; so no two churches in this city [Erfurt] sing the tunes in the same way’ (‘Kein Dorf des hiesigen Gebietes ist in allen Stücken dem andern gleich; ja keine Kirche dieser Stadt [Erfurt] singt die Melodien wie die andere’). Jakob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit theils vor alle Gelehrte, so das Band aller wissenschaften einsehen; theils vor die Liebhaber der edlen Tonkunst überhaupt; theils und sonderlich vor die, so das Clavier vorzüglich lieben; theils vor die Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher* (Erfurt: J. D. Jungnicol, 1758), p. 664.

³⁷ Johann Gottlob Werner, *Anweisung für angehende und ungeübte Orgelspieler Choräle zweckmäßig mit der Orgel zu begleiten nebst Zwischenspielen für mehrere Fälle* (Penig: F. Deinemann und Comp., 1805), p. 2. See also Türk, *On the Role of the Organist in Worship*, p. 52.

³⁸ Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit*, p. 679. In 1713 the Liebfrauenkirche in Halle required the organist ‘to change the other stops at each verse’. This could perhaps have been an alternative to harmonic variation in places where the congregation sang in more than one part. See *NBR*/48, p. 67 and *BDok* II/63, p.50.

³⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden* (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1760), vol. I, p.36: ‘...bei eben demselben Choral allezeit eben denselben Bass und eben dieselbe harmonie beybehält, es mag dieser Choral so vielstrophicht seyn, als er will’.

⁴⁰ Kittel, APO, vol. I, p. 7: ‘In der Begleitung mancher Verse ist strenge Einheit dieser Art nicht möglich, wenn der Text mehrere verschiedene Empfindungen schnell nach einander anzeigt’.

⁴¹ Türk, *On the Role of the Organist in Worship*, p. 10.

⁴² The Reinwald *Choralbuch* may also have a connection to Saxony if a link with Dresden is substantiated. See p. 77 below.

Of all the extant multiple bass collections, two are comparable in size and layout to Source A. The first of these is a *Choralbuch* by Kittel's contemporary, fellow member of the *Bachschule* and Bach devotee Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783).⁴³ The second is a manuscript by the little known composer Johann Sebastian Reinwald (dates unknown), which is currently housed in Weißenburg, Bayern.⁴⁴

Kirnberger's collection is entitled *Allgemeines Choralbuch*. It is an un-autographed score and is attributed to Kirnberger by Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–1877) – the name of whom appears on the title page.⁴⁵ The manuscript is 322 pages in length, and measures 35cm by 21cm (oblong). It contains 245 chorale settings with as many as eleven figured basses each; over 1000 chorale titles are listed in the index.

The title page of Reinwald's manuscript reads: 'Choral-Buch In sich haltend, die Melodien des Ansbachischen Gesang-Buchs Wie solche bißher in der Hochfürstl: Residenz gesungen worden. Mit 6. besondern Bässen versehen, und aufgesetzt, von Johann Sebastian Reinwald. Anno 1738'. The manuscript contains the inscription 'Friedrich Andree, Lehrer', and records its completion date as '20 Abr 1754'. Reinwald's *Choralbuch* measures 10 cm by 16.5 cm (oblong) and has 174 folios. It contains 165 chorale settings with up to six figured basses each; the index includes almost 400 chorale titles.

These two manuscripts share a number of similarities with Source A.⁴⁶ All three are ordered in a similar fashion (the first section of each is structured according to the church year), and there is a high concordance in the contents of each. One hundred and seventy-seven of the chorale titles in Source A appear in the Kirnberger manuscript (twenty-one of which appear in the index only, and fifteen of which have different melodies); 139 of the chorale titles in Source A appear in the Reinwald manuscript (twenty-eight of which appear in the index only, and seventeen of which have different melodies). The harmonic language of the Kirnberger and Reinwald *Choralbücher* is for the most part modest, and the harmonic rhythm is reasonably slow (some of the chorales in the Kirnberger manuscript display slightly more active harmonies). On the whole the number of basses per chorale vary between collections, although they often follow similar harmonic frameworks, as does Source A (see Examples 5–8). Like Source A, there is evidence to suggest that the Kirnberger and Reinwald manuscripts served a practical function. Together with the harmonic language and the order of contents, the following factors point to this: the final bass settings in both collections often consist of quaver or semiquaver movement (the majority of

⁴³ Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Allgemeines Choralbuch*, D-LEm, III 6 82a, 322 pages.

⁴⁴ Johann Sebastian Reinwald, *Choral-Buch In sich haltend, die Melodien des Ansbachischen Gesang-Buchs Wie solche bißher in der Hochfürstl: Residenz gesungen worden. Mit 6. besondern Bässen versehen, und aufgesetzt, von Johann Sebastian Reinwald. Anno 1738, 1738–1754*, D-WB, Sammlung I.9.23, 174 folios.

⁴⁵ Becker, *Die Choralsammlungen*, p. 206: 'Dieses Choralbuch ... dass einer jeder Melodie drei, vier, fünf bis zehn bezifferte Bässe untergelegt sind, soll von Ph. Kirnberger in Berlin ausgearbeitet sein'. The date 1830 appears after Becker's name on the title page of the manuscript.

⁴⁶ A fuller discussion of all the sources examined in this article, including the complete listing of chorales, and the concordance of collections will be given in my forthcoming dissertation.

which contain few figures – often such basses in the Reinwald *Choralbuch* contain no figures whatsoever); a large number of the chorale melodies are assigned more than one chorale title; in the Reinwald manuscript some of the chorales contain instructions for specific verses or present alternate endings, for example, at the end of the first chorale in his collection the following comment is written: ‘der letzte v[er]se!’; in the Kirnberger manuscript *Zwischenspiele* are incorporated into an *alio modo* chorale setting.⁴⁷

Example 5a: Kittel, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, phrase 1 of first bass setting, Source A

Example 5b: Reinwald, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, phrase 1 of first bass setting, *Choral-Buch In sich haltend*

Example 6a: Reinwald, *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, phrase 1 of final bass setting, *Choral-Buch In sich haltend*

Example 6b: Kirnberger, *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, phrase 1 of final bass setting, *Allgemeines Choralbuch*

⁴⁷ *Zwischenspiele* are included in the following harmonised chorales by Bach: *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* BWV 722a, *In dulci jubilo* BWV 729a, *Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich* BWV 732a, and *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her* BWV 738a. For a detailed discussion on the use of *Zwischenspiele* in chorale accompaniment see Blindow, *Die Choralbegleitung des 18. Jahrhunderts*.

Example 7a: Kittel, *Christus, der uns selig macht*, phrases 1-3 of first bass setting, Source A

Example 7b: Reinwald, *Christus, der uns selig macht*, phrases 1-3 of first bass setting, *Choral-Buch In sich haltend*

Example 8a: Kittel, *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*, phrases 1-2 of first bass setting, Source A

Example 8b: Reinwald, *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*, phrases 1-2 of first bass setting, *Choral-Buch In sich haltend*

Unfortunately, no records of Reinwald's life or work have been discovered to date. Therefore nothing is known about his location or activities.⁴⁸ The inclusion of the melody *Warum solt ich mich denn grämen* indicates that the manuscript may have a Dresden connection. Zahn gives the earliest documented date for this tune as 1752 in Dresden. He also refers to Johann Adam Hiller's (1728–1804) love of this chorale tune as a child in Dresden, which suggests that it was sung in this city prior to 1752.⁴⁹ This melody is also included in a manuscript entitled *Sebast. Bach, 4 Stimmiges Choralbuch* (currently held in the Sibley Music Library), which is

⁴⁸ The title page of this manuscript indicates that Reinwald may have worked in Ansbach.

⁴⁹ Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, vol. IV, p. 79.

thought to have stemmed from Bach's circle in Dresden during the 1730s. Leaver discovered that this manuscript source might represent the first known record of this chorale melody.⁵⁰ Reinwald's setting of the chorale tune—copied sometime between 1738 and 1754—represents another early source for this melody, and implies that it may have had a link to Dresden.

The Sibley manuscript shares some other similarities with the Reinwald *Choralbuch*, and also with Source A and the Kirnberger manuscript; while it does not contain multiple bass settings—the chorales consist of melody and one figured bass setting each—the chorales follow a similar order to these three collections, the contents are comparable, and the harmonic language is similarly modest. Like the manuscripts of Kittel, Kirnberger and Reinwald, the Sibley *Choralbuch* contains different harmonic treatments of the same tune (although in this case the variations occur only when a chorale melody is set in more than one key).⁵¹ This is particularly interesting as this manuscript, source A and the Kirnberger *Choralbuch* all have a connection to Bach.

Kittel and Kirnberger were arguably two of Bach's most loyal disciples. Like Kittel, the chorale was fundamental to Kirnberger's philosophy. He believed that the chorale formed the core of music, stating that: 'Every aria is basically nothing more than a chorale composed according to the most correct declamation'.⁵² Kirnberger utilised the chorale in the teaching of composition, and also instructs the readers of his treatise how to harmonise chorale melodies in accordance with the given text, advising them in turn on the art of chorale accompaniment. The value of the chorale was most certainly demonstrated to both Kittel and Kirnberger by their teacher Bach. C. P. E. Bach recalls his father's use of the chorale in the early stages of musical training:

His [Bach's] pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough bass. From this he went to chorales; first he added the basses to them himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses themselves.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Sebast. Bach 4Stimmiges Choralbuch*, US-R, M2138.B118C, 286 folios. This source is examined by Robin A. Leaver in his paper 'What is the significance of the manuscript *Choral-Buch* attributed to Bach in Sibley Library?'. I am grateful to Professor Leaver for allowing me to consult this paper, which was read at the American Bach Society meeting 'Bach and the Organ' held in September 2012 at the Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York. This paper will be published in *Bach Perspectives*, 10.

⁵¹ This contrasts with Source A where, in the majority of cases, when Kittel repeats a melody in a different key he retains the same bass.

⁵² Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, trans. David Beach and Jürgen Thym (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 233.

⁵³ *NBR/395*, p. 399; *BDok III/803*, p. 289. There are also twelve chorales by Bach consisting of melody and bass (which appear to have originated in the Schemelli *Gesangbuch*) preserved in the hand of his pupil Christian Freidrich Penzel (1737–1801). In this manuscript the harmonies have been realised (i.e. alto and tenor voices have been added) by an unknown musician (possibly Penzel); they vary from the chorales discussed in the present article, in that they appear to have been arranged for voice, as opposed to keyboard. Interestingly, Penzel was a contemporary of Kittel, studying with Bach in the late 1740s. If the inner voices of these chorales were added by Penzel, or by a fellow pupil, then it confirms Bach's pedagogical approach as described by C. P. E. Bach. The Penzel source is discussed in *NBA KB* (Frieder Rempp, 2002), pp. 83–93.

Kittel and Kirnberger held Bach's method of teaching in such high regard that Kittel claimed to have framed his own teaching 'entirely according to Bachian principles', and Kirnberger regarded Bach's pedagogical approach as 'the only and best one'.⁵⁴ They also both endeavoured to preserve Bach's pedagogical approach in writing in the form of treatises.⁵⁵ It is certainly evident that Kittel and Kirnberger followed Bach's systematic approach as outlined by C. P. E. Bach. Both composers began teaching four-part writing and then progressed to chorales. They too required their pupils to invent inner voices to a given chorale melody and bass. Examples of this kind are included in Kittel's instructional works, the APO and *Generalbass Schule*. Hässler and Rinck also recall being required to realise figured basses to set chorale melodies in their lessons with Kittel.⁵⁶ Kirnberger presents chorales in this form in the first volume of his treatise from the 1770s, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, where he challenges composers to try and: 'set to the bass and soprano of one of ... [Bach's] chorales an alto and tenor, and to make these voices just as singable and as good in expression as the other two'.⁵⁷

The system of creating and varying bass lines to extant works has long been employed by many composers and is recommended in numerous treatises.⁵⁸ Like Bach, both Kittel and Kirnberger are recorded as having employed this technique in relation to the chorale.⁵⁹ In fact, they advocated the creation of multiple bass settings to chorale melodies. Rinck tells in his *Selbstbiographie* of how Kittel

⁵⁴ Kittel, APO, vol. I, pp. iii-iv: 'ganz nach Bachischen Grundsätzen geformt'. Kirnberger, *Gedanken über die verschiedenen Lehrarten in der Composition, als Vorbereitung zur Fugenkenntnis* (Berlin: George Jacob Decker, 1782), p. 4: '... halte ich die Johann Sebastian Bachsche Methode für die einzige und beste'.

⁵⁵ Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*; Kittel, APO. Their admiration of their teacher is further confirmed in that they both owned oil paintings of Bach.

⁵⁶ Dohr (ed.), *Rinck*, p. 23; Brück, *Johann Wilhelm und Sophia Hässler*, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, p. 172. The setting of inner voices to a given chorale melody and bass was a method also recommended by Michael Johann Friedrich Wiedeburg (1720-1800) and Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) in their treatises. Wiedeburg, *Der sich selbst informierende Clavierspieler*; Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*.

⁵⁸ For example, by Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727) and Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729). Gasparini, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venezia: appresso Antonio Bortoli, 1708); Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition Oder Neue und gründliche Anweisung* (Dresden: 1728). Mattheson writes that there is: 'no better way to advise a beginner than that he first would contrive and experiment with an exercise such as setting a clever bass to an upper voice which has already been composed by someone else'. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, p. 648.

⁵⁹ Mattheson also acknowledges the value of creating basses to chorale tunes. In his 1739 treatise *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part III, Chapter 16 'Von Zwostimmigen Sachen' §3 and §4, pp. 338 and 339, he advises the pupil to plot out on paper a number of staves in order to compose and improve bass settings (sincere thanks to Dr Ruth Tatlow for alerting me to this reference). It is evident from the accounts of Hässler, for example, that Kittel recommended his pupils to invent basses in this same way (i.e. on paper. Hässler was required to 'sketch' chorales. Brück, *Johann Wilhelm und Sophia Hässler*, p. 15). In contrast, Source A represents a practical approach, whereby it would appear the organist was required to realise the figured bass settings at sight. Both Vierling and Türk expected the organist to invent their own basses to chorales spontaneously. Vierling, *Choralbuch auf Vier Stimmen zum Gebrauch bey dem öffentlichen und privat-Gottesdienst* (Cassel: Waisehnhaus-Buchdruckerey, 1789), p. xviii; Türk, *On the Role of the Organist in Worship*, p. 10.

required him to create several different basses (as many as twenty or thirty) to a given chorale tune.⁶⁰ While Kirnberger instructs the readers of his treatise on how to set a bass successfully to a chorale melody, demonstrating this by presenting twenty-six different basses to the first three phrases of the chorale *Ach Gott und Herr*.⁶¹ C. P. E. Bach's description of his father's teaching could be interpreted to read that Bach not only 'taught them [his pupils] to devise the basses' to various different chorales, but also that he 'taught them [his pupils] to devise the basses' (i.e. numerous various basses) to one individual melody.

It is evident from Kittel's works that he used multiple basses not only in the teaching of harmony and in the accompaniment of chorales, but also as a tool for developing ideas, creating variation, and varying textures. In the first volume of the APO, for example, he presents a number of harmonic alternatives to the opening phrase of the chorale *Sei Lob und Ehr*. He creates harmonic variation first by means of inversion; then by introducing chromatic movement into the bass—chromaticism is initially created through the inversion of a fundamental bass, while in a later example the chromatic bass is inverted resulting in modulation (see Examples 9a, 9b and 9c); and finally through the addition of passing notes and suspensions generating a more contrapuntal texture (Example 9d).⁶²



Example 9a: Kittel, *Sei Lob und Ehr*, fundamental bass, phrase 1, APO



Example 9b: Kittel, *Sei Lob und Ehr*, chromatic bass, phrase 1, APO



Example 9c: Kittel, *Sei Lob und Ehr*, inversion of chromatic bass, phrase 1, APO

⁶⁰ Dohr (ed.), *Rinck*, p. 24.

⁶¹ Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, pp. 300–5.

⁶² Similar developments are evident in many of the bass settings of the chorales in Kittel's small multiple bass line collections, whereby the basses often increase in intricacy.



Example 9d: Kittel, *Sei Lob und Ehr*, more active setting, phrase 1, APO

In the second volume of the APO, Kittel's harmonic alternatives progress further in complexity and include imitative writing and bold modulations. Chromatic movement is now utilised in a more advanced manner, to create polyphonic textures. In Example 10, Kittel introduces a chromatic theme in the alto voice, which is first imitated in contrary motion by the tenor, and then imitated in this inverted form by the bass voice. Example 11 demonstrates the systematic advancement of Kittel's bass settings, incorporating the following techniques: inversion, suspensions, modulations, canonic imitations, parallel and contrary motion, and stretto. The final four of these basses display more mature treatment than their precedents.



Example 10: Kittel, *Ich komm o Jesu, hier*, chromatic setting of the third phrase, APO



Example 11: Kittel, *Ich komm o Jesu, hier*, harmonic alternatives to the fifth phrase, APO

The image displays five systems of musical notation for a chorale prelude in G minor, 3/8 time. Each system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/8. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The first system shows a simple harmonic setting. The second system introduces more complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth-note runs. The third system features a more intricate texture with many sixteenth notes. The fourth system continues with complex rhythmic patterns and includes some slurs. The fifth system is similar to the fourth but includes a 2/8 time signature change in the first measure of each staff.

Example 11 (cont.)

After providing numerous alternatives to each phrase of the chorale *Ich komm o Jesu, hier*, Kittel presents some short preludes on the same chorale in which he develops further some of the ideas he offered in the preceding alternatives (Examples 12a and 12b). This implies that Kittel used harmonic variation as a precedent to the polyphonic treatment of a chorale.



Example 12a: Kittel, *Ich komm o Jesu, hier*, harmonic setting, phrase 2, APO



Example 12b: Kittel, *Eine kurze Vorspiel zu Ich komm o Jesu, hier*, b.1, APO

It would appear that Kittel used harmonic variation as a foundation on which to build and develop chorales, starting with simple homophonic chorale accompaniment, increasing with inversions and chromatic movement, progressing to imitative settings, advancing to chorale preludes and fuguetas, and finally influencing the composition of non-chorale-based works (as is displayed in the final volume of the APO). In the APO Kittel is teaching the organist not only how to accompany the congregation homophonically (varying harmonies in accordance with the required meaning), but also how to create variations on the chorale which could then be incorporated into polyphonic preludes, postludes, interludes or fugues. He is training the student not only in the art of composition, but also in the art of improvisation—a fundamental requirement of the eighteenth-century organist.

Kirnberger too incorporates such systematic techniques in his treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, where after treating the chorale in four-part homophony, he advances to simple and double counterpoint, and fugal treatment. This would logically have been the next step in Bach's teaching, not least because Kittel and Kirnberger profess to be following Bach's method, but also because of the systematic nature of Bach's teaching; according to Kirnberger, Bach's teaching proceeded 'steadily, step by step, from the easiest to the most difficult'.⁶³ The fact that Kittel and Kirnberger, the two members of the *Bachschule* who claim full devotion to his teaching methods, produced *Choralbücher* with multiple bass lines

⁶³ *NBR/314*, p. 320; *BDok III/867*, p. 362. An important source for the discussion and instruction of variation is Friedrich Erhardt Niedt's *Musikalische Handleitung oder Gründlicher Unterricht* (Hamburg: B. Schiller, 1710–1721; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 2003). This work was influential for Bach's 1738 pedagogical document on thorough bass and four-part accompaniment, which consists of numerous examples of figured bass exercises both realised and unrealised: *J. S. Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-Bass or Accompanying in Four Parts*, Leipzig, 1738, trans. Pamela L. Poulin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

and included chorales with harmonic variation in their respective treatises – both of which claim to be representative of Bach’s teaching – demonstrates that Bach is likely to have taught his pupils the practical skills required for accompanying a congregation.⁶⁴ The presence of Bach’s harmonised chorales for keyboard in manuscripts of Kittel works (which were transcribed by pupils of Kittel) further supports this, and demonstrates how Kittel – the only member of the *Bachschule* to live into the nineteenth century – used Bach’s examples in his own teaching and imparted their value to his pupils.⁶⁵

One such chorale, *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*, is in the hand of Rinck.⁶⁶ Interestingly, this contains exactly the same harmonies as BWV 288, although set for keyboard (the alto and tenor voices are written so as they will fall easily under the fingers, with the tenor voice moving between the soprano and bass clefs in accordance with the most efficient hand position). It is preceded by a fugal introduction, suggesting it was intended as a model for Rinck’s students in the introduction and accompanying of the chorale within the church service.⁶⁷

Conclusion

Kittel remained almost exclusively in Erfurt from 1756 until his death in 1809 (with the exception of a concert tour through Germany in 1800), during which time a number of single bass manuscript *Choralbücher* attributed to him were compiled. As previously mentioned, all of the extant handwritten single bass collections are thought to date from approximately 1780 onwards, and all contain some melodies unique to Erfurt. Source A, on the other hand, does not contain these melodies, and is notably different in form and layout. The differences from the other Kittel chorale collections and the similarities (for example, the contents, order and harmonic language) to the Kirnberger and Sibley manuscripts, and the Gotha *Gesangbuch* – all of which have connections to Bach – suggest that its creation may have been stimulated by his time studying in Leipzig at the end of the 1740s. This, together with the fact that Erfurt melodies are included in all of the other extant Kittel manuscript *Choralbücher*, could imply that Source A originated some time between c. 1750–1780, during a period when Kittel was still

⁶⁴ George B. Stauffer believes that it was the skills of improvisation and continuo realisation – as opposed to manual dexterity or the performance of set pieces, for example – that were the main goals of Bach’s organ pedagogy. George B. Stauffer, ‘J. S. Bach as Organ Pedagogue’ in Kerala J. Snyder (ed.), *The Organist as Scholar: Essays in Memory of Russell Saunders* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1994), p. 37.

⁶⁵ See *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* (BWV 715) in a manuscript collection of Kittel preludes, which was copied in 1800 by Kittel’s pupil Johann Christoph Bach: *Sammlung von Choral: Vorspielen, Ausgeführten Chorälen und andern Stücken für die Orgel*, 1800, D-DI, Mus 1-U-514, 94 folios. A number of harmonised Bach chorales also appear in the hand of his pupil Johann Tobias Krebs (1690–1762), for example, BWV 722a, 729a, 732a and 738a.

⁶⁶ *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist* in *Samlung [sic] von Prael. und Chorälen mit Zwischenspielen von J.C. Kittel Gesammelt von C.H. Rinck*, 1775–1779. US-NH, LM 4597, 108 folios.

⁶⁷ This introduction is contained in another manuscript from the Rinck collection under the heading ‘Fughetta’: *Orgelstücke verschiedener Art, von mehreren Organisten*, 1800–1810. US-NH, LM 4659, 54 folios. The homophonic settings of *Das alte Jahr* display how the same chorale harmonies were utilised for different purposes. This is similar to the Penzel manuscript source, which displays vocal realisations of what were originally figured keyboard settings.

very much under the influence of Bach (although it is clear that the manuscript received further additions which may date from much later, in accordance with the dates suggested by the antiquarian book-dealer in 2007).

Of the few examples of multiple bass *Choralbücher* which exist, two are connected to members of the *Bachschule*. This suggests that harmonic variation of chorales was a practice both used and supported by Bach. Source A reveals that Kittel accompanied chorales in accordance with the apparent teachings of his master; that is, according to the *Affect* of the text.⁶⁸ It represents in writing a practice that, for Bach, would have been verbal and extemporaneous. Harmonic variation of chorales evidently formed a key component of Kittel's teaching. He also appears to have utilised multiple bass chorale collections in the classroom; two such Kittel manuscripts are in Rinck's hand. It seems likely, therefore, that Source A was copied by one of Kittel's pupils, and that it represents a compilation of examples or models that could have been consulted by his students, possibly before they became proficient in creating impromptu variations.⁶⁹ Kittel's chorale works show that Source A was probably far more than a collection of chorales intended purely for homophonic realisation. It is likely that it was a resource for pupils in all treatments of the chorale, providing ideas which could be built upon and developed into various forms and textures.⁷⁰ If Kittel's teaching was as faithful to Bach's as he claims, it suggests that Bach used harmonic variation not only in chorale accompaniment but also in the teaching of composition and improvisation.

Source A represents an early – possibly the earliest – source for at least three chorale melodies. It highlights the practical use of harmonic variation within the church service, and provides us with a written example of an improvisatory tradition. Source A, together with the other extant multiple bass chorale collections, suggests that harmonic variation in chorale accompaniment was a practice utilised in Saxony, Thuringia, and surrounding areas. As one of few known extant examples of its kind, it presents us with a unique insight into the liturgical practice of the Lutheran church in Germany during the second half of the eighteenth century.

⁶⁸ According to Bach's pupil Johann Gotthilf Ziegler (1688–1747), Bach encouraged his pupils to improvise hymns according to the *Affect* of the words. *NBR/340*, p. 336; *BDok II/542*, p. 423.

⁶⁹ The number of bass settings in the chorales of Source A does not always match the number of verses in the associated text. They provide only possibilities, whereby the organist would be required to choose the most suitable basses in accordance with the words of the verse or, when needed, create more.

⁷⁰ This is displayed in the Kittel manuscript of 24 melodies 'mit Pasagen'. This collection contains chorale melodies with multiple bass settings, some of which are also set in four-parts with *Zwischenspiele*. It is apparent that Kittel incorporated some of the patterns presented in the alternate bass settings into the chorales 'mit Pasagen'.