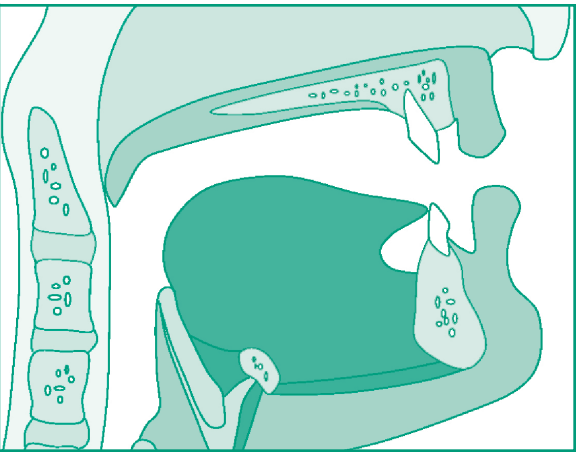
Volume 77 | No. 4 March/April 2021



JOURNAL OF SINGING

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL
OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF TEACHERS OF SINGING, INC.

WORLD VOICE DAY
April 16, 2021
"One World, Many Voices"

J. S. Bach Cantata 51: *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*—Who Might Have Sung It?

David Friddle

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Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen is one of four cantatas for solo soprano: BWV 51, 52, 84, and 199. It is exhilarating, virtuosic, enigmatic; and even though a beautiful manuscript exists that specifies the Sunday for which it is written, there are surprisingly few uncontested facts about its genesis. Using archaeological research, careful analysis, and empirical observation, I will demonstrate how the age of male onset puberty has dropped since the eighteenth century—and how that impacted Bach's sopranos; with the help of the Bach-Archiv in Leipzig, we will examine the daily life of a boy in the Thomasschule, as well as the makeup of Bach's choirs in the four Leipzig churches he oversaw; finally, we will probe the identity of who—adult female, castrato, or prepubescent male—actually sang its first performance.

WHEN MIGHT HAVE BACH COMPOSED BWV 51?

Among the scholarly community one finds widespread disagreement about when *Jauchzet Gott* was composed and first performed.

Adam Friedrich Geisler, der Jüngere, *Ansichten der Stadt Leipzig; III. Suite vom Leipzig; II. Auf dem Thomas-Kirchhofe mit Blick zur Thomas-kirche* ("Views of the city of Leipzig; III. Leipzig Suite; II. On the Thomaskirche plaza with a view of Thomaskirche"), colored sketch on paper, 1790. Note the choirboys in their tricornes and capes walking toward the Thomasschule on the left. [Source: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig, S0005154, by permission.]

Journal of Singing, March/April 2021
Volume 77, No. 4, pp. 471–484
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> In the case of Cantata 51, the music could have been performed at special Nikolaikirche services that opened the three annual 1730 Leipzig Fairs: [1] Winter, New Year's Day, or the Feast of Epiphany (January 6); [2] Spring, Jubilate (Third Sunday after Easter); and [3] Fall—St. Michael and All-Angels, September 29. Cantata 51 was conceived for the Italian interests of the Saxe-Weißenfels Court in 1729 or its authority at the Dresden Court in Saxony in 1731 and then for the 15th Sunday after Trinity in Leipzig. Bach added the specific sacred service designation and a few textual changes in the 1730s.[1]

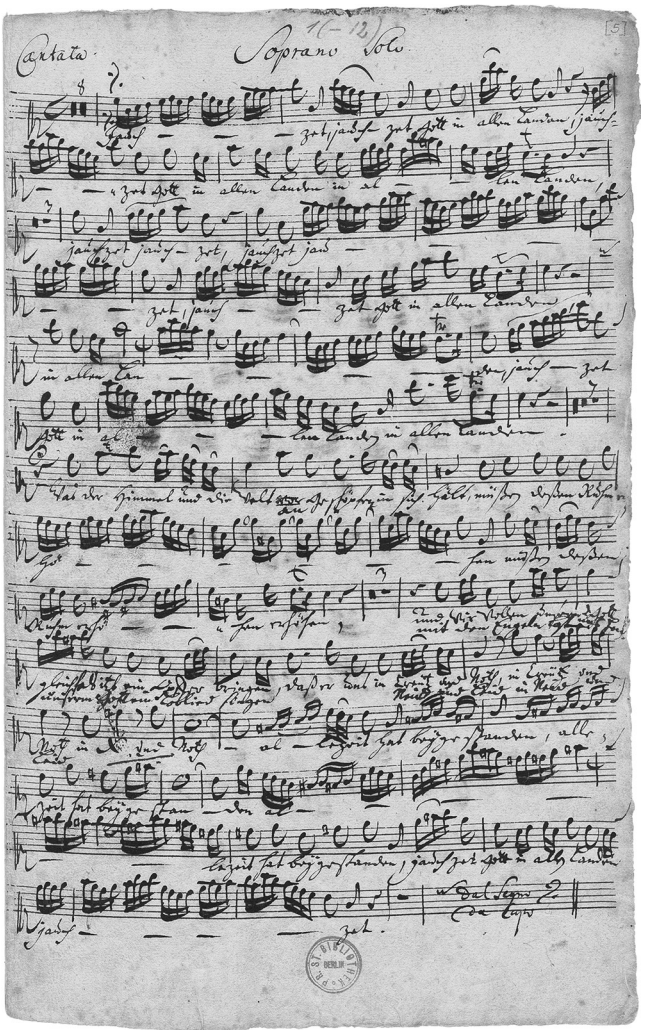
Moreover, the demands of the vocal part go beyond anything that Bach asked of his soprano solos—which in Leipzig could be sung only by boys—and suggest instead that the part was intended for a professional female singer or castrato and thus indicate different performance conditions, probably at court (Example 1). More recent considerations have suggested that Bach might have written the piece for the Weißenfels court, where this type of cantata for solo voice and trumpet enjoyed particular popularity, especially on the birthdays of Duke Christian of Sachsen-Weißenfels and his wife. For the Duke's birthdays in 1713 and 1725, respectively, Bach had composed his *Jagdkantate* (Hunting Cantata) BWV 208, and *Schäferkantate* (Shepherd Cantata) BWV 249a. He was also invited to the Duke's birthday celebrations in 1729 (repeat of BWV 208), and he returned from this journey with the title of "Hofkapellmeister of Sachsen-Weißenfels." A link between these events and the cantata is therefore highly probable.[2]

Oddly, the verifiable information contained in the score and performing parts offer little help.

> The surviving original sources (score and performing parts) unfortunately offer no further clues as to the work's history, except the information that after 1730 at least one further performance took place. And the work probably originated somewhat earlier, for an unknown occasion not long before 1730.[3]

Sean Burton, conductor of the Boston Orpheus Ensemble, ventures that it "may even have been intended to serve as music for New Year's . . . or other celebrations in the ecclesiastical year such as Michaelmas Day or even an election of the Council in Leipzig."[4]

Robert L. Marshall, Sachar Professor of Music at Brandeis University, has yet another theory that proposes a possible date based on stylistic characteristics in BWV 51 that were common at the Dresden court. He writes that,



Example 1. J. S. Bach, *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, BWV 51, 1730. mvt. 1. [D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 107, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, by permission.] Notice the coloratura runs and skips; keep in mind the score is in soprano clef.

> BWV 51 represents a new fresh element in Bach's music—a stylistic trait, then, and a manner of vocal writing one would surely have associated at the time with nothing so much as the Italian opera—of the kind cultivated in Dresden. It is therefore an irresistible temptation to suggest that Bach wrote Cantata 51 for a singer at the Dresden court, perhaps one of the five sopranos who finally arrived, amid much eager anticipation, in the summer of 1730 after six years of training in Italy.

> Perhaps, more specifically, the soprano part was intended for the castrato
>
> Giovanni Bindi, one of the newcomers, who rapidly became a favorite of the Dresdeners and for whom [Kapellmeister Johann Adolph] Hasse [1699–1783] liked to write up to high c', the highest note, incidentally, in our cantata. Bach could have had occasion to hear Bindi in the three months between the singer's arrival and the presumed date of the cantata, and familiarized himself with his voice, at that time.
>
> It is even conceivable that Bach wrote the cantata exactly one year later—a possibility not excluded by the external evidence—for none other than the divine Faustina Bordoni Hasse [1700–1781] herself. She made her Dresden debut on September 13, 1731, in Hasse's opera *Cleofide* at a performance that Bach undoubtedly heard, since on the following afternoon, in the presence of "the assembled musicians and virtuosi of the court," he gave an organ recital in the Sophienkirche. Bach would surely have known in advance about Faustina's arrival, would have been familiar with her reputation as a brilliant virtuosa, and could have prepared the handsome autograph to present to her as a welcoming gift upon her debut in Dresden.[5]

These suppositions are based on written sources and known facts about Bach's travels and his association with courts and municipalities.

Dr. Reinmar Emans of the Universität Hamburg Institut für Historische Musikwissenschaft suggests a possible time period by examining Bach's treatment of texts.

> In a cantata written before his Leipzig period, Bach re-uses the text in a different context, without any attention to the senses rhetoric-us [rhetorical sense] as defined by Johann Mattheson [in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* . . . (The Consummate Choirmaster . . .)][6]
>
> However, in the cantata *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, BWV 51/3 (whose premiere is dated by [German musicologist Alfred] Dürr as "17.9.1730"), Bach treats the text in like manner when he pulls it apart and rearranges it as follows: Höchster, mache seine Güte ferner alle Morgen [Lord, show your kindness all morning] now becomes mache ferner deine Güte alle Morgen [and show your kindness every morning], by means of which the fundamental statement, das NEUmachen (renewal) is suppressed. Such division and rearrangement are no longer in evidence in the Leipzig cantatas.[7]

This idea is appealing for a few reasons: As he matured as a vocal composer, Bach's settings of texts became more sophisticated, moving away from the strictures he may have learned by copying the scores of older composers. Another observation that "speaks for BWV 51/3 as being of an earlier date is the fact that, in it, Bach hardly makes use of those freedoms of text setting that became more strongly evidenced in his work after about 1725."[8]

> Yet another indicator for allotting an earlier date to this movement is to be found in its treatment of the continuo parts. In very few of the continuo movements written after 1725, the continuo part either repeats the previous ritornello (a practice that is more the hallmark of the cantatas pre-1725) upon the entry of the other vocal parts or states new thematic material. Bach equally enjoys taking over the motives for the vocal parts and incorporating them into the introductory ritornellos. In BWV 51/3, however, he extends the continuo as an ostinato over the beginning of the vocal parts—a method in which he pays no attention to the correspondence of the two parts—a practice no longer found in his music after 1725. For the reasons discussed above, we should be able to limit the composition of BWV 51/3 to the years between 1719 and 1723.[9]

Renowned Bach scholar Christoph Wolff's only mention of BWV 51 in his extensive and exhaustively researched entry on Bach in *New Grove* is in the table of cantatas at the very end; the data provided does not include a possible composition date. Julian Mincham writes that "This work is known to have been performed around 1730 but was probably composed some time earlier."[10] But Wolff makes a different assertion in liner notes to a recording of BWV 51 conducted by Ton Koopman.

> The cantata Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen, BWV 51, was performed on 17 September 1730, the 15th Sunday after Trinity—the only surviving cantata of Bach for this liturgical date. However, the work probably originated somewhat earlier, for an unknown occasion not long before 1730. Moreover, the express indication "et in ogni tempo" (for any season) shows that Bach did not consider the work's liturgical function to be restricted to Trinity Sunday. Also, there is no close connection to the Sunday Gospel (Matthew 6:24–34, from the Sermon on the Mount). The author of the text is unknown; the concluding movement uses a strophe from Johann Gramann's Lied "Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren" (1548).

> The surviving original sources (score and performing parts) unfortunately offer no further clues as to the work's history, except the information that after 1730 at least one further performance took place. This extraordinarily attractive work requires two virtuoso soloists, soprano and trumpet, accompanied by strings and continuo. The sober chorale arrangement in movement 4 prepares for the impressive finale (movement 5) on the final word of the chorale strophe, "Alleluja."[11]

Bärenreiter, which publishes Bach's complete works in the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*, is willing to date BWV 51 only as having been composed around 1730; thus, it seems that an absolute date of composition cannot be deduced from the information that is available today.

HOW THE AGE OF ONSET MALE PUBERTY HAS DECREASED

Collective wisdom among choral professionals is that the onset of puberty is sooner in children living in twenty-first century developed countries than earlier in history. Various explanations are bandied about: increased dietary protein, improved sanitation, advanced healthcare, among others. As it happens, some of these suppositions are accurate guesses—as a study of skeletal remains in Roman Britain reveals.

> The timing of pubertal development is highly variable between individuals and populations, as a consequence of genetic and environmental factors. The environment is broadly defined as external influences and can relate to features of the physical environment (e.g., high prevalence of infectious disease as a consequence of living conditions) and also the social environment (e.g., socioeconomic status).[12]

Moreover, "in Western countries, where reliable written records are available, there is evidence that over the last 200 years a decrease in the age of puberty onset has paralleled improvements in socioeconomic conditions and nutrition."[13] In 2016, three research scientists in England completed a groundbreaking study into the historical onset of puberty in three urban areas: York, Barton-upon Humber, and London.

> Today, "adolescence" is a term used to cover the unique human period that falls between childhood and adulthood . . . In the medieval period, this transition was often defined by the individual leaving home for work and gaining economic autonomy . . . In the 12th century, Cluniac orders placed "adolesencia" at 15 years, and considered this the time at which boys entered puberty.
>
> Adolescents began puberty at a similar age to modern children at around 10–12 years, but the onset of menarche in girls was delayed by up to 3 years, occurring around 15 for most in the study sample and 17 years for females living in London. Modern European males usually complete their maturation by 16–18 years; medieval males took longer with the deceleration stage of the growth spurt extending as late as 21 years.[14]

The study was comprehensive and far-reaching: "In total, 994 adolescent skeletons (10–25 years) from three urban sites in medieval England (AD 900–1550) were analyzed for evidence of pubertal stage using new osteological techniques developed from the clinical literature . . ."[15] The conclusions of the medieval study are telling: "This research provides the first attempt to directly assess the age of pubertal development in adolescents during the tenth to seventeenth centuries. Poor diet, infections, and physical exertion may have contributed to delayed development in the medieval adolescents, particularly for those living in the city of London."[16]

So it appears that the onset—and halt—of puberty was greatly advanced in pre-1800 societies. Indeed, boys' voices sometimes didn't change until the age of eighteen (e.g., Haydn). This is not a modern puzzlement.

> In the nineteenth century, the age at which voice mutation occurred declined first among the well-to-do, whose diet and general health care were above average. In the second decade of that century, von Kiigelgen, the son of a high-society portrait painter, experienced his vocal change at the unusually early age of fourteen-and-one-half, and he reported in his autobiography that he sang the bass part in a choir at age seventeen.[17]

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, when many boys experienced an earlier mutation of their voices than what their elders considered normal, anxious educators found a deep voice in a teenager disturbing. The German educator Johann Friedrich Oest (1755–1815) was convinced that early voice change was a sure sign of masturbation.

> In the towns where so-called choirs are located, the children are particularly attentive to their treble voice. If

their voice breaks noticeably before the age of seventeen, and they otherwise observe the dietary rules of a soprano, the break could occur because of complaints about their lung and breast, or from the same night-time evil from other known causes.[18]

Happily for us, the British conductor and researcher Prof. Stephen F. Daw of Worcester College, Oxford, studied the choir rosters of the Thomasschule during Bach's time. The results are so remarkable that I reprint them in their entirety.

Though the trend towards earlier maturation in children in Europe during the last 100 years is well established, data which would fix the average age of puberty for earlier times are very scarce. Our knowledge of J. S. Bach's singers is sufficient to enable us to carry out an analysis which throws some light on the situation in Leipzig in the mid-eighteenth century.

Bach was employed in Leipzig from 1723 until his death in 1750 and was responsible for three choirs. The singers in each of these were all male, and each choir included a number of sopranos (trebles), altos, tenors and basses. Nearly all the singers were drawn from the Thomasschule, where they were musical boarding scholars.

We do not know for certain the voices of the individual scholars except for the year 1744, for which a separate list survives. However, it is possible to estimate composition of the choirs with varying degrees of certainty for most of Bach's time in Leipzig, and the ratios of the voices recorded in 1744 were very probably constant throughout this time.

From what we know of the practice of Bach's day and from the evidence of 1744, it is accepted by most musicians that Bach's alto singers were those whose voices were in the transitional stage of breaking, when the upper notes became inaccessible to them, and when they would also become able to descend to the lower notes of the alto range. Tenors and basses were those whose voices had broken completely and sopranos were those whose voices were still unbroken.

There were 57 persons in the 1744 choir and the proportion of unbroken alto to broken voices was 8 : 5 : 16.

These proportions applied in strict ascendency of age to the estimated numbers in the choirs in the other years (which vary from seventeen to forty-seven) results in a graph, showing the possible maximum and minimum ages of the alto fraction at the close of each year [Figure 1]. To assume the graph is entirely accurate would be dangerous; even in 1744 the presence of some exceptionally old sopranos makes the actual minimum age of the altos lower than the ratio-based graph would lead us to expect; for this year, the true maximum and minimum ages are marked to demonstrate this. The most obvious feature of this graph is the steep rise in the average age of the altos in the 1740s. One explanation of this would appear to be the poverty caused in Saxony by the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Leipzig, the second largest town in the principality, suffered the imposition of crippling taxes, and in 1745, the town was occupied for about three weeks by a Prussian army, which forced the citizens to supply it with provisions. All this must have affected the diet and possibly the health of the Thomasschule scholars. Deaths at the school increased markedly during those years.

Regarding the general average development of the singers' voices, the following conclusions may be drawn from the material outlined above:

- Few voices began to break before 16 years;
- Hardly any had completely broken by 17 years;
- Most voices had begun to break by 18 years;
- Most voices completed breaking between 17½ and 18½—the length of time that the change took would vary from one singer to another;
- Unusually, the late development resulted in sopranos and altos of 19 and even 20 years.

Probably the average age of midbreaks was between 17 and 17¼ years. This may be contrasted with the value for London boys in 1959, which was 13.3 years. This figure is obtained by subtracting 6 months from the value for 50% fully broken given by Scott (1961), on the basis that the whole process of voice-breaking on average takes about a year. Thus, the secular trend from 1740 to 1959 is about 4 years.

To summarize: the average age for breaking of the voice in members of J. S. Bach's choirs in Leipzig in 1727–1749 was probably about 18.0 years.[19]

Remembering that voices then broke at the age of 17 or 18, it is clear that Bach could count on solo trebles who already had some ten years' practical singing experience—an ideal situation that is impossible to reproduce in boys' choirs of today. Indeed, Christian Friedrich Schemelli seems to have entered the Thomasschule as a 17-year-old soprano.[20]

Furthermore, "Bach's sopranos and (boy) altos were significantly older than their counterparts today. Much thinking about the liturgical music of the past is unconsciously colored by the quintessentially 'ethereal,' soft-edged, floated tones of Anglican choirboys,

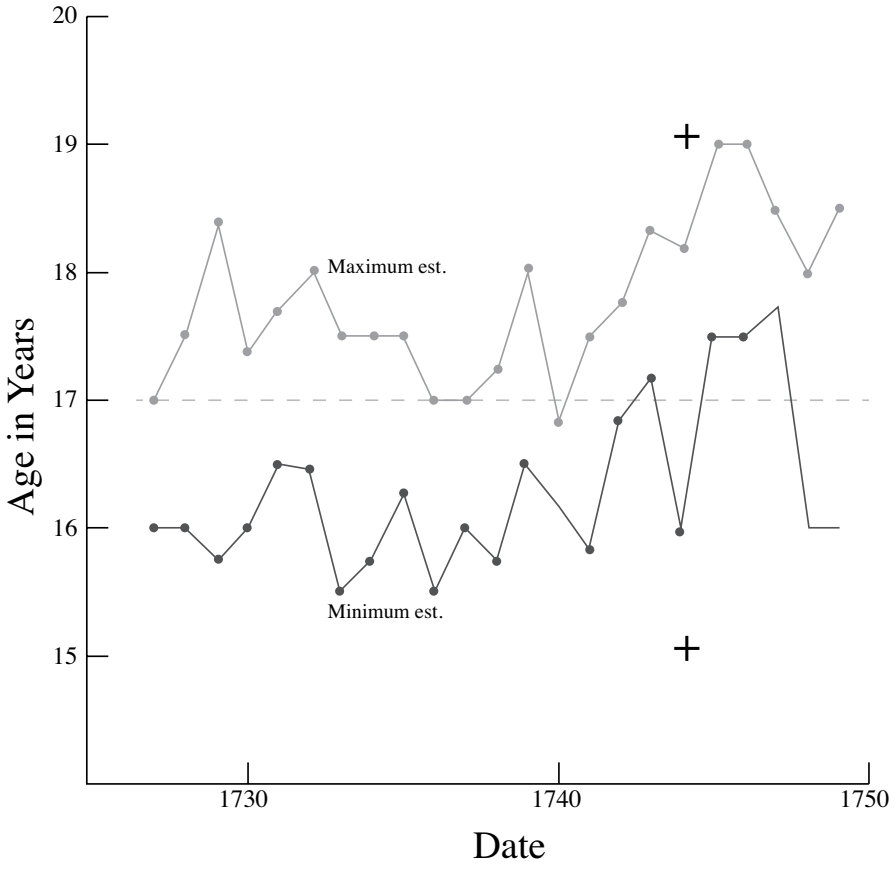


Figure 1. Graph showing the maximum and minimum estimates of ages of Altos in Bach's choirs. The crosses represent actual maximum and minimum for 1744.

yet such sounds are unlikely to have been cultivated in eighteenth-century Germany (Bach several times commends particular voices as 'eine (ziemlich) starcke Stimme' [strong or quite strong])."[21]

There is no way to verify or disprove any reasoned speculation of performances that might have taken place either before or after that Sunday; an adult female or castrato may well have sung it, and, given the quality of opera singers in the eighteenth century, the performances were likely outstanding. That being said, any such performances are irrelevant to this premise, for in the German Lutheran church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries neither females nor castrati were permitted to sing in choirs during services.

Accordingly, we can safely assume that, because of the delayed onset of puberty, combined with the presumably excellent voice training the boys received from Bach himself—he was once a paid soprano, after all—it doesn't seem an unreasonable stretch to conclude that there would have been at least one boy who was able to sing BWV 51 in September 1730; there simply is no other option.

LIFE AS AN "ALUMNÆ" IN THE THOMANERCHOR

Thomasschule was founded in 1212 by Margrave Dietrich von Meißen, making it among the oldest schools in Europe. It was run as schola pauperum, a free school intended to benefit the poor, by the Canons Regular of St. Augustine; the monks founded the Thomaskirche the same year.[22]

In 1539, the city of Leipzig took over ownership of the school, after which the council issued regulations about fees, grades, and conduct. In one such document, *The Rules Established for the Thomasschule by a Noble and*

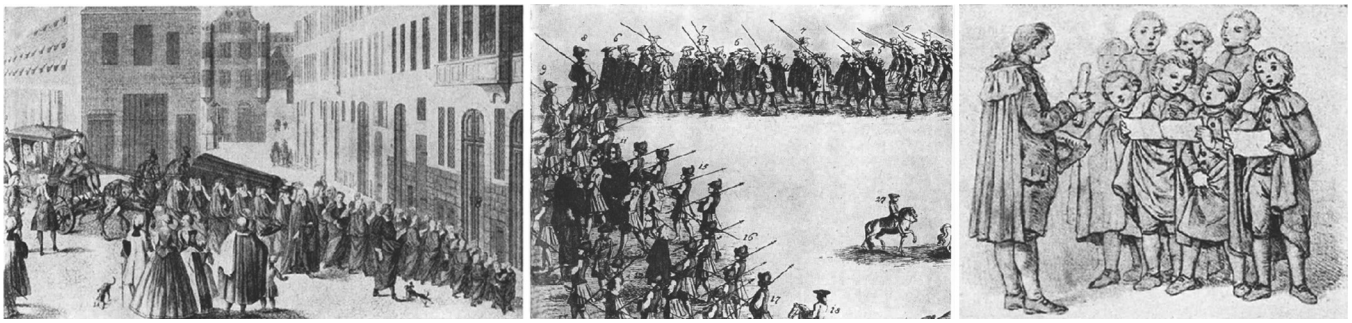


Figure 2. These rare images of Thomasschule alumnæ are found in Eduard Crass's book *Die Thomaner. Kommentierter Bildbericht Über Ihre 750 jährige Geschichte 1212–1962* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1962). Clockwise from upper right: Leichenzug im 18. Jahrhundert mit Kantorei und Kantor (Eighteenth-century funeral procession with church choir and director), 24; Thomaner in Dreispitz und "Schalaune" (Umhang) singen die Kurrende (St. Thomas School students in tricorners and (shaving) capes singing carols), 34; Thomaner (6) geleiten, Choräle singend, einen Verbrecher (10) zur Richtstätte, 1721 (Six Thomasschule students sing chorales while guiding a criminal to the place of execution, 1721), 25.

Very Wise Leipzig City Council, in Part 1: "About Piety," the first paragraph contains this rejoinder:

> Since the ultimate purpose of these rules is to make them wise and blissfully happy, the obedience which is required of them is founded upon the virtues just mentioned here. If this type of instruction takes place, then it will hardly be necessary to issue a strict order or punishment; and yet this set of rules must include them so that no one should gain an advantage from a malicious act or that such an act might remain unpunished.

And just to be certain the boys know their place, the final page reads, "The primary rule is: Promote the well-being of this school."[23] In exchange for taking direct control of the school, one would hope that the Leipzig City Council would maintain the building, ensure cleanliness, and provide nutritious meals. Regrettably, however, this was not the reality. "Life wasn't very nice for those boys in the Thomasschule. There was dirt and rats everywhere. So, it seems to be a wonder they could sing like angels."[24] Indeed, in addition to the demands of their classroom education, hours and hours of rehearsals, and multiple Sunday services, the boys also had to contribute to the cost of their room and board. As these rare images demonstrate, the boys were overworked in every aspect of their lives (Figure 2).

In his entry in *New Grove*, Wolff writes that

> Musical aptitude was a decisive factor in the selection of pupils for the Thomasschule, and it was the Kantor's responsibility to assess and train them. This was furthered by the daily singing lessons, mostly given by the Kantor. There was also instrumental instruction for the ablest pupils, which Bach had to provide free of charge but was thus enabled to make good any shortage of instrumentalists for his performances. Indeed, the number of professional musicians employed by the town (four Stadtpfeifer [city pipers], three fiddlers and one apprentice) was held throughout his period of office at the same level as had obtained during the seventeenth century. For further instrumentalists Bach drew on the university students. In general, the age of the Thomasschule pupils ranged between twelve and twenty-three.[25]

During Bach's tenure as Thomaskantor, more than 300 boys aged between 9 and 20 were enrolled in the Thomasschule. Their school fees were financed by singing services for the people of Leipzig—weddings, funerals, but also, and especially, during the services in the city churches. They sang not only in Thomaskirche, but also had to provide music for early services in the Nikolaikirche every other week. Smaller groups of the choir were sent by Bach to the two secondary churches—the Neuekirche and the Peterskirche—in parallel with their singing services. Bach's cantatas were reserved for the services of the two main churches, Thomaskirche and Nikolaikirche.[26]

> The normal forces for Bach's cantata performances would have included three St Thomas students plus one university student as a bass. This leads to new questions: were three St Thomas pupils enough, bearing in mind the student bass, or would we have to imagine that a falset-

> tist [teenagers whose voices had broken and could sing falsetto into upper tessituras] and alto and tenor singers were also employed?
>
> At any rate, he seems to have had difficulties in counting on eight choral singers in Leipzig . . . [and] from the beginning of September 1723 to May 1724—he clearly avoided difficult soprano solos. That Bach would from time to time have singled out individual St Thomas students to train them to become proficient singers, ideally these boys would have been identical to his copyists, for that would have greatly relieved the rehearsal work.
>
> Yet if this assumption is plausible, it must also include the possibility of years in which Bach, in spite of all his efforts, had no single capable soprano singer at his disposal and thus was committed to using falsettists. At least until 1730 Bach clearly had to rely on the services of St Thomas students for his performances.[27]

On Sundays "The normal performing forces consisted of some 16 singers and 18 instrumentalists; the precise number varied according to the work, but it was rare for the total number of singers and players to fall below 25 or to exceed 40."[28] Bach's forces were not inconsiderable, but, as we all know, it is better to have too many singers than too few.

One of Bach's daily duties—apparently for him an onerous one—was to give private voice lessons to the singing schoolboys. "Bach trained his St Thomas students systematically to become qualified singers, so that the situation might have improved from year to year."[29] Furthermore, "From Bach's later Leipzig years, we might recall the matter of performance questions in the arguments between Johann Adolph Scheibe and Johann Abraham Birnbaum. Scheibe's claim that Bach's vocal compositions practically defied performance is rejected by Birnbaum; he points out that technical difficulties are indeed mastered in court chapels, as shown by the court chapel of Dresden."[30]

As is typical in collegiate campuses across the nation, where junior faculty members and even graduate students direct the less advanced ensembles,

> [t]he Kantor himself conducted the most highly skilled group, the first Kantorei, consisting of the school's best singers. They were accompanied by eight professional instrumentalists on the municipal payroll: four Stadtpfeifer (literally, town pipers); the city's top-ranked musicians whose leader was the extraordinary trumpeter, Gottfried Reiche; three Kunstgeiger (trained violinists, also professionals); and a journeyman. This ensemble was augmented as necessary by university students, who received honoraria. The instrumentalists performed the "concerted," or "figural" music, that is, the cantata.
>
> While Bach was conducting the first chorus, the singers of the second chorus, under the direction of one of the student "prefects" (that is, an assistant chosen by Bach) performed a less-demanding work, normally a motet, in the other main church. The third and fourth choruses were deployed at the New Church and St. Peter's and led by student prefects, as well.[31]

In 1729, Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, Rector of the Thomasschule, sent a petition to the Leipzig Council known as "Die Einteilung des Thomaner-chores in 4 Chöre Leipzig, vor dem 18.5.1729" (The division of the Thomanerchor into 4 choirs in Leipzig, before 18.5.1729). In it, Stieglitz remarked that Bach needed "44 boys for singing the services in all five churches. Bach indicated that twelve alumni (3 discantists [male soprano or falsettist], 3 altos, 3 tenors, and 3 basses) would be necessary for singing in each of the two main churches (St. Nikolas and St. Thomas) as well as in the Neue Kirche (New Church). An additional eight Thomas scholars (but only two per voice part) would be necessary for the less demanding choral singing in St. Peter's."[32]

Bach's relations with the town council were frequently testy; the school and churches provided no financial support, only the town of Leipzig did. If he required extra singers or instrumentalists or a new harpsichord or—presumably—maintenance of the organs and other instruments, he had to ask the Council. Bach wasn't much for authority; he had defied the authorities in Arnstadt by overstaying his leave by three months, and let us not forget the month in the Duke of Weimar's jail.

It is evident that by 1730, after six years of torrid composition, Bach was exhausted, bitter, and perhaps depressed. He had not received the proper sort of appreciation, support, and reward for his great labors that he expected. Never one to back down from a fight, he had to respond to accusations made by Councilman Christian Ludwig Stieglitz that the "Der Cantor tuet nichts!" [The Cantor does nothing!][33] The extent of his disillusionment can be seen in a remarkable document that he submitted to the Leipzig Council on August 23, 1730.[34]

In *Kurtzer; iedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen*

Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben [Short But Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music; along with a few modest thoughts regarding its decline], he states the reasons why he is unable to perform his cantonal duties.[35]

> Vocalists and instrumentalists are necessary to well-maintained church music. The vocalists in this place are formed by the pupils of St. Thomas, and indeed are four sorts of sopranos [male discants], altos, tenors, and basses. So that the choral pieces of this church be performed as is fitting, the vocalists should be further divided into two sorts: concertists [soloists] and ripienists [the chorus]. The soloists are usually 4 in number, although 5, 6, 7, or 8 are necessary when double choirs are required. The choruses should have at least eight, namely two for each voice.[36]

It does not seem to be true that these statistics applied to the First Choir, which sang the cantatas and can be deduced from the recorded names and ages of this choir, which were actually noted down in 1744, and which are also apparently listed by Bach himself in the 1730 memorandum. From the names and ages available, it is clear that the First Choir contained about 17 members; in the two lists, the singers named were of the ages indicated in Figure 3.

AGE AT TRINITY	1730	1744
Under 15	3	5
15	1	1
16	2	1
17	2	3
18	0	1 or 2
19	2	2, 3 or 4
20 or older	6	3 or 4
Total number in choir	**16**	**17**

Figure 3. ***Kurtzer; iedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff. [Short but Most Necessary Draft]*, Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Bach-Dokumente: Schriftstücke Von Der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs*, vol. I, 9 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreter, 1963), 154.**

BWV 51: THE TIP-OFF THAT CLEARS UP THE CONUNDRUM

One of the arguments made in favor of only an adult female voice being suitable for the admittedly demanding technical challenges is that adolescent boys were incapable of overcoming them. The ideas that BWV 51 could not have been written for a boy because it is just too difficult are silly.[37] The ideas challenging BWV 51 as being written for a boy were not seriously raised until the 1950s. Indeed, the 1940s Berlin edition of Bach's Cantata BWV 51 still noted in the preface that it was probably some highly skilled boy or a young countertenor who was the lucky recipient of Bach's musical challenge.[38]

Musicologists have occasionally identified the performers of particular works during Bach's lifetime by examining payment records, Bach's own notes, and contemporaneous verbal or written descriptions. It is well known, for instance, that Bach's favorite trumpeter was Gottfried Reiche (1667–1734); in fact, many of his trumpet solos were written for Reiche, including BWV 51. Meanwhile, in addition to Bindi and Bordoni, already mentioned as possibilities for singers who premiered BWV 51,

> [i]n the realm of pure fantasy could be young castrato Farinelli [Carlo Borschi, 1705–82] singing the Cantata 51's opening aria in Carlsbad, Bohemia, in the early summer of 1720 where Bach was visiting the spa with his Köthen prince Leopold. Meanwhile, Duke Christian from Saxe-Weißenfels could have been taking the baths, bringing in tow his court trumpeter, Johann Caspar Wilcken (c. 1662–1731) with talented young daughter Anna Magdalena (1701–1760).[39]

Renowned musicologist/performer Joshua Rifkin suggests that Christoph Nichelmann (1717–1762) is a possible candidate because Bach, being aware of his capabilities, accepted him willingly to the Thomasschule and Nichelmann matriculated into the school three weeks before the first performance.[40]

> In his early years he was taught by two teachers named Vogel. His first teacher of music, especially in playing the piano [*sic*] was Andreas Schweinitz. After Schweinitz died Christoph studied with Matthias Christoph Lippe; both Schweinitz and Lippe were organists in Treuenbrietzen. Mister Johann Peter Bubel, the not-awkward cantor who is still alive now [1754], taught him singing.[41]

This lad's reputation preceded him, for on the basis of his musical education, Bach accepted the young

Christoph into the ranks of the Thomasschule students—now including Nichelmann.[42]

As any choir director will attest, having a boy with his reputation suddenly appear is a godsend; however, there are five things about Rifkin's conjecture that do not sit well.

1. It is difficult to know if the boy's singing teacher, Johann Peter Bubel, described as "not-awkward," could have built the solid and fluent technique Nichelmann would have required to negotiate the rapid passage-work and wide leaps.
2. Assuming the boy arrived in Leipzig in August 1730, he would have had only about three weeks to learn this exceedingly difficult cantata.
3. *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* states that "Since Oct. 6, 1730, he [Nichelmann] attended Thomas School in Leipzig as a student, where he participated as a soprano in performances and became a pupil of J. S. Bach."[43] If so, Nichelmann entered the school after the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity in September 1730.
4. Nichelmann biographer Dr. Michael Harald Krebs notes in an email that, "Nichelmann was not really one of Johann Sebastian Bachs students. There is a good case to believe he was a student of one of the Bach sons."[44]
5. Christoph would have been thirteen years old when he matriculated into the Thomasschule, making him simply too young to master this challenging work.

While researching this article, I was simultaneously dumbstruck and exceedingly grateful to uncover Daw's astounding work and the resulting data drawn therefrom. It is the digital equivalent of discovering previously unknown choral works of Hans von Bülow inside a box sitting on a dusty shelf in the Leipzig Stadtarchiv. (It actually happened to me.) One simply cannot hope for more.

And then, unbelievably, another resource appeared. In 2012, Dr. Michael Maul, Research Institute Unit Head I, in the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, discovered a register of the students at the Thomasschule enrolled between 1723–1750.[45] Germans are noted as meticulous record keepers, so the register Maul found not only includes the name, birthdates, and the year each boy entered Thomasschule; it also includes biographic information such as his father's name and occupation, if known. The records also report any advanced education the boy may have received, as well as the name of the university; additionally, entries frequently mention what kinds of careers the boy might have pursued after university.

Based on all the data presented thus far, I hereby nominate five boys who might have sung BWV 51 on Sunday, September 17, 1730—winnowed from the 300+ students in the Thomasschule register. Kindly remember that I am guessing just as much as any scholar, performer, or online commentator. I use the following criteria to select each:

- he was one of Bach's copyists, meaning he had exceptional ability and would have received supplemental instruction from Bach himself;
- he entered Thomasschule early enough to have studied voice with Bach;
- he was admitted early enough to allow him the necessary time to learn the piece;
- he went on to university and earned advanced degrees;
- he subsequently had a successful career;
- his father's occupation;
- and, perhaps most importantly, his age in 1730.

1. Johann Ludwig Krebs. Enrolled 1726, aged thirteen; his father was an organist; he received a degree from the University of Leipzig; he was also harpsichordist in the Leipzig Collegium musicum then organist in Zwickau from 1737–1744; he was seventeen in 1730.
2. Johann Tobias Krebs. Enrolled July 1729, aged thirteen; his father was an organist; he received a degree from the University of Leipzig—his dissertation was submitted in 1740 and he received a Baccalaureate in 1742, and PhD in 1743; he was vice principal then principal in Grimma from 1751–1769; he was fourteen in 1730.
3. Samuel Gottlieb Heder. Enrolled 1725, aged twelve; his father was a minister; he was one of Bach's main copyists; he received a degree from the University of Leipzig; he became court musician in Merseburg (1739); he was seventeen in 1730.
4. Johann August Stein. Enrolled 1727, aged fourteen; his father was a music director; he received a degree from the University of Leipzig; he was interim schoolmaster in Schönefeld where he was unsuccessful in his application to become permanent schoolmaster (1738),

and he was substitute music director for his father in Taucha (1748–1757); he was eighteen in 1730.

5. Johann Ludwig Dietel. Enrolled June 1727, aged fourteen; his father was a music director; he was one of Bach's main copyists; he received a degree from the University of Leipzig; he worked as a music director in Falkenhain from 1741–1773; he was seventeen in 1730.

In *Kurtzer; iedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff* [Short but Most Necessary Draft], Bach names the boys of the first choir—the most skilled ensemble that sang in Thomaskirche and Nikolaikirche: "Therefore the following are useful (1) Pezold, Lange, Stoll, Præfecti (Pezold, Lange and Stoll were prefects) Frick, Krause, Kittler, Pohlreüter, Stein, Burckhard, Siegler, Nitzer, Reichhard, Krebs major u. minor (older and younger), Schöneman, Heder und Dietel."[46] Perhaps unsurprisingly all five boys I put forth are included in his list.

It is easy to fantasize that every performance in the Thomaskirche was stunning—filled with passion and technical bravura; in reality, though, there would have certainly been off-days: boys caught colds; hungover violinists did not show up; or Bach's famously foul temper could have caused widespread anxiety and have had a deleterious effect on all assembled.

Yet, it's equally possible to envision a sixteen or seventeen year old boy standing in the choir loft and, after the lengthy sermon, singing his heart out. After he sighed with relief at having nailed the high C, and the last notes of the *ripieno* died away, in my mind's eye I see the workers and burghers and merchants turning in their pews to look up over their shoulders toward the loft to see the angel who made them want to spring up—risking the ire of the stern pastor—and applaud.

NOTES

1. William Hoffmann, "Cantata 51: BCML Bach-ground & Fugitive Notes," *Bach Cantatas Website*, January 5, 2014; http://www.bach-cantatas.com/BWV51-D10.htm (accessed March 2, 2019).
2. Klaus Hofmann, "Jauchzet Gott in Allen Landen! BWV 51," liner notes for The Bach Collegium Japan, *BACH, J. S.: Cantatas, Vol. 30: Solo Cantatas (BWV 51, 1127, 210),* cond. Masaaki Suzuki, recorded September 2005, BIS Records AB, 2006, CD, 5.
3. Christoph Wolff, liner notes for *J. S. Bach: Complete Cantatas, Volume 19*, cond. Ton Koopman, The Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Choir, recorded October 11, 2005, Challenge Classics, CD.
4. Sean Burton, "The Need for Bach: A Discussion of His Life, *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen, BWV 51* and *Ich habe genug, BWV 82*," *Bach Cantatas Website*, 2004, Program Notes to Boston Orpheus Ensemble Concerts, October 8 & 10, 2004; http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Articles/Bach-Notes[Burton].htm (accessed August 14, 2019).
5. Alfred Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. II (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1971), 446, quoted in Robert L. Marshall, "Bach the Progressive: Observations on His Later Works," *The Musical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (July 1976): 325.
6. Johannes Mattheson, "9. Von Den Ab- Und Einschnitten Der Klang-Rede," in *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister Das Ist Gründliche Anzeige Aller Derjenigen Sachen, Die Einer Wissen, Können, u. Vollkommen Inne Haben Muß, Der Einer Capelle Mit Ehren u. Nutzen Vorstehen Will*, translated by Lee Rothfarb, 181–195 (Hamburg: Herold, 1739); http://rothfarb.faculty.music.ucsb.edu/courses/160A/Mattheson.html.
7. Reinmar Emans et al., "Stylistic Analysis and Text Philology in the Service of 'Inner Chronology' Involving Stylistic Analyses of Selected Arias by Johann Sebastian Bach," *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 25, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1995 Fall-Winter 1995): 6. Emans analyzes only the third movement of BWV 51. Bach wasn't above borrowing from himself, so this aria would have been composed at a different time, then incorporated into the final version.
8. The English Baroque Soloists & The Monteverdi Choir, *BACH, J. S.: Cantatas, Vol. 8 (Gardiner)—BWV 8, 27, 51, 95, 99, 100, 138, 161,* cond. John Eliot Gardiner, recorded September 28, 2000, Soli Deo G (Harmonia Mundi), 2005, CD.
9. Emans, 7–8.
10. Julian Mincham, "Chapter 53, BWV 51 Jauchzet Gott in Allen Landen," *The Cantatas of Johan Sebastian Bach*, 2010; http://www.jsbachcantatas.com/documents/chapter-53-bwv-51/ (accessed August 10, 2019).
11. Christoph Wolff, "The Cantatas of the Period 1726–1731 and of the Picander Cycle (1728–29)," liner notes for *The Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra & Choir, BACH, J. S: Cantatas (Complete),* Vol. 19—BWV 51, 72, 88, 117, 129, 145, 159, 171, 174, 188, 193, cond. Ton Koopman, recorded June 21–27, 2001, Naxos Digital Services Ltd., 2008, CD.
12. Nichola A. Arthur, Rebecca L. Gowland, and Rebecca C. Redfern, "Coming of Age in Roman Britain: Osteological

Evidence for Pubertal Timing," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 159, no. 4 (2016): 48.

13. Judy L. Cameron, "Nutritional Determinants of Puberty," *Nutrition Reviews* 54 (May 27, 2009): 18.
14. Mary Lewis, Fiona Shapland, and Rebecca Watts, "On the Threshold of Adulthood: A New Approach for the Use of Maturation Indicators to Assess Puberty in Adolescents from Medieval England," *American Journal of Human Biology* 28, no. 1 (2015): 48–49.
15. Ibid., 48.
16. Ibid., 53.
17. Herbert Moller, "Voice Change in Human Biological Development," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16, no. 2 (September 1985): 241.
18. Johann F. Oest, "Versuch Einer Beantwortung Der Pädagogischen Frage: Wie Man Kinder Und Junge Leute Vor Dem Leib Und Seele Verwüstenden Laster Der Unzucht Überhaupt, Und Der Selbstschwächung Insonderheit Verwahren, Oder, Wofern Sie Schon Davon Angesteckt Waren, Wie Man Sie Davon Heilen Könne?", ed. Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Allgemeine Revision Des Gesammten Schul- Und Erziehungswesens* VI (1787): 165–166. "Besonders sen man auch in den Städten, wo sogenannte Chöre sind, auf die Knaben aufmerksam, welche Diskant singen. Fällt vor dem 17ten Jahre ihre Diskantstimme merklich, und die beobachten sonst in die Diät die Regeln eines Sopranisten, so weiß man, woran man ist. So bemerke man auch die Klagen über Lunge und Brust, wenn die Übel derselben nicht von andern bekannten Ursachen herrühren."
19. S. F. Daw, "Age of Boys' Puberty in Leipzig, 1727–49, as Indicated by Voice Breaking in J. S. Bach's Choir Members," *Human Biology* 42, no. 1 (1970): 87–89.
20. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Bach-Dokumente: Schriftstücke Von Der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs,* vol. I, 9 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreter, 1963), 154.
21. Werner Neumann, *Bach-Dokumente: Schriftstücke Von Der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 131, 134, quoted in Andrew Parrott, "Bachs Chorus: A 'Brief Yet Highly Necessary Reappraisal'," *Early Music* XXIV, no. 4 (1996): 551–580.
22. *Wikipedia*, s.v. Thomasschule zu Leipzig; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomasschule_zu_Leipzig (accessed August 9, 2019); "Ihre Gründung geht auf das Jahr 1212 zurück, womit sie zu den ältesten Schulen im deutschen Sprachraum zählt. Zunächst wurde sie als Stiftsschule der Augustiner-Chorherren geführt und ging im Zuge der Reformation in die Trägerschaft der Stadt Leipzig über. Fortan stand sie unter protestantischem Einfluss."
23. For a detailed look into what life was like for these boys, see the translation of *E[ines] E[hrbaren] Hochw[eisen] Raths der Stadt Leipzig Ordnung der Schule zu S. Thomae. Raths Der Stadt Leipzig verbesserte Ordnung / Wie ein jeder Stand bey Verlöbnissen/ Hochzeiten/ Gastereyen/ Kindtäuffen und Leich-Begängnissen Ingleichen Kleidungen sich zuverhalten*: (Publiciret Leipzigk den 2. Augusti, Anno 1680) [*The Rules Established for the Thomasschule by a Noble and Very Wise Leipzig City Council*, trans. Thomas Braatz, ©2012]; https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Articles/Ordnung1733Translation.pdf.
24. Dr. Michael H. Krebs, "Attached Is My Article, If You Care to Read It," e-mail message to author (August 14, 2019).
25. Christoph Wolff, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, s.v. "Bach, Johann Sebastian: 7. Leipzig, 1723–9;" https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.6002278195 (accessed October 28, 2018).
26. PD Dr. Michael Maul, Unit Head I, and Manuel Bärwald, PhD, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Thomaner / (1710–1760)* (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv, 2014), 3."Während Bachs Amtszeit als Thomaskantor durchliefen über 300 Knaben im Alter zwischen 9 und 20 Jahren seinen Unterricht. Der Thomanerchor bestand im 18. Jahrhundert aus 55 Alumnen, die in der Thomasschule nicht nur sangen und unterrichtet wurden, sondern hier auch lebten und den Großteil ihrer Jugendjahre verbrachten. Ihr Schulgeld finanzierten sie durch Singedienste für die Leipziger Bevölkerung - sie waren zu Hochzeiten, Begräbnissen, aber auch und vor allem während der Gottesdienste in den Stadtkirchen zu hören. So sangen sie nicht nur in der Thomaskirche, sondern hatten auch wöchentlich alternierend die Frühgottesdienste in der Nikolaikirche mit Musik zu versorgen. Kleinere Gruppen des Chores wurden von Bach parallel dazu zu Singediensten in die beiden Nebenkirchen—die Neue Kirche und die Peterskirche—entsandt, wo vor allem Motettengesang erklang. Die Kantaten des Thomaskantors blieben den Gottesdiensten der Hauptkirchen vorbehalten."
27. Martin Geck and Alfred Mann, "Bachs Art of Church Music and His Leipzig Performance Forces: Contradictions in the System," *Early Music* XXXI, no. 4 (2003): 561.
28. Wolff, *The New Grove,* s.v. "Bach, Johann Sebastian: 7. Leipzig, 1723–1729" (accessed October 28, 2018).
29. Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the learned musician,* quoted in Geck, 559–571.
30. Johann Sebastian Bach, *Fremdschriftliche und Gedruckte Dokumente Zur Lebensgeschichte,* ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, vol. II, 9 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 304; see also Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, eds., *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 346.

31. Robert Lewis Marshall and Traute M. Marshall, *Exploring the World of J. S. Bach: A Travelers Guide* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 80.
32. *Bach-Dokumente I*, item 180 (p. 250), in Bach's own hand. "Die Einteilung des Thomanerchores in 4 Chöre Leipzig, vor dem 18.5.1729," Autograph. 1 Blatt, einseitig beschrieben, gut erhaltenes festes Papier Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Stift. VIII. B.2.d (Schuel zu St. Thomas Vol: IV), vol. 520.
33. Peter Bach, "Leben · Brief an Den Leipziger Rat," BACH.de; http://www.bach.de/leben/kirchenmusik.html (accessed August 17, 2019).
34. content/049557273X_wrightSimms/assets/ITOW/7273X_40_ITOW.pdf
35. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Short but Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music" (1730), translated from Neumann, *Bach-Dokumente: Schriftstücke Von Der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 131, 134. "Kurtzer jedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben."
36. Peter Bach, "Leben · Brief an den Leipziger Rat." BACH.de; http://www.bach.de/leben/kirchenmusik.html (accessed August 17, 2019); "Die Vocalisten werden hiesiges Ohrts von denen Thomas Schülern formiert, und zwar von vier Sorten, als Discantisten, Altisten, Tenoristen, und Baßisten. So nun die Chöre derer Kirchen Stücken recht, wie es sich gebühret, bestellt werden sollen, müßen die Vocalisten wiederum in 2erley Sorten eingetheilet werden, als: Concertisten und Ripienisten. Derer Concertisten sind ordinaire 4; auch wohl 5, 6, 7 biß 8; so mann nemlich per Choros musiciren will." For a thorough discussion of this document see https://www.cengage.com/music/book_content/049557273X_wrightSimms/assets/ITOW/7273X_40_ITOW.pdf.
37. Clint van der Linde (a former member of the Drakensburg Boys Choir), recorded the cantata with Transvaal Philharmonic Orchestra (Johannesburg, South Africa) in April 1993, when he was fifteen; https://youtu.be/kyMb2cn8vwA.
38. Boyd Pehrson, "Cantata BWV 51 Jauchzet Gott in Allen Landen! Discussions—Part 2," *Bach Cantatas Website*; http://www.bach-cantatas.com/BWV51-D2.htm (accessed August 10, 2019).
39. William Hoffman, "Cantata 51: BCML Bach-ground & Fugitive Notes," *Bach Cantatas Website*, January 5, 2014; http://www.bach-cantatas.com/BWV51-D10.htm (accessed July 14, 2019).
40. Joshua Rifkin, liner notes for *J. S. Bach: Cantata BWV 140 "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme;" Cantata BWV 51 "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen."* The Bach Ensemble & Joshua Rifkin. L'Oiseau-Lyre. p. 7–8. 417616–2 (1987).
41. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, "III. Lebensläufe Verschiedener Lebenden Tonkünstler," trans. Michael Harald Krebs, in *Historisch-kritische Beyträge Zur Aufnahme Der Musik*, vol. 72 (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schüßens Sel. Wittwe, 1754). "Er wurde in seinen jüngeren Jahren dem Unterricht und der Aufsicht der beyden Hrn. Vogel, dasiger Schul lehrer, übergeben. Sein erster Lehrmeister in der Musik, und besonders in dem Clavierspielen, war Andreas Schweinitz, und nach dessen Absterben Herr Matthias Christoph Lippe, zween aufeinander folgende Organisten in selbiger Stadt. Im Singen ward er von dem nicht ungeschickten Hrn. Joh. Peter Bubel, dem noch itzt lebenden Cantor daselbst, unterrichtet."
42. Michael Krebs, "Christoph Nichelmann—Ein Komponist Aus Treuenbrietzen," *Nichelmann," Christoph Nichelmann—Ein Meister aus der preußischen Provinz*"; http://christoph-nichelmann.de/christoph-nichelmann/biographischer-exkurs/ (accessed February 14, 2019) "Auf der Grundlage seiner musikalischen Vorbildung nahm Johann Sebastian BACH (1685–1750) den jungen Christoph in die Reihen der Thomasschüler auf. Bach hatte seit 1723 die Position des Thomaskantors inne und betreute 54 Sänger, zu denen nunmehr auch Nichelmann gehörte."
43. *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s.v. Nichelmann, Christoph, by Tobias Schwinger; https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg09438&v=1.0&rs=id-931d34a5-b342–6089–17fa-4a7b1ffe0c9f (accessed 8 August 2019). "Seit dem 6. Okt. 1730 besuchte er als Alumne die Thomasschule in Leipzig, wirkte dort als Discantist bei Aufführungen mit und wurde Schüler von J. S. Bach."
44. Michael Krebs, "Portraits of Nichelmann," e-mail message to author (August 12, 2019).
45. Christoph Wolff and Peter Wollny, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Thomaner (1710–1760)," *Dokumentation der Ergebnisse eines von der Gerda Henkel Stiftung finanzierten und vom Bach-Archiv Leipzig durchgeführten Forschungsprojektes* (Leipzig: Bach Archiv, 2015).
46. Peter Bach, "Kurtzer jedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben," BACH.de / *Leben · Brief an den Leipziger Rat*; http://www.bach.de/leben/kirchenmusik.html (accessed September 2019). "Sind demnach die brauchbaren folgende: (1) Pezold, Lange, Stoll, Præfecti, Frick, Krause, Kittler, Pohlreüter, Stein, Burckhard, Siegler, Nitzer, Reichhard, Krebs major u. minor, Schöneman, Heder und Dietel."

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O world, I cannot hold thee close enough!
Thy winds, thy wide grey skies!
Thy mists, that roll and rise!
Thy woods, this autumn day, that ache and sag
And all by cry with colour! That gaunt crag
To crust! To lift the lean of that black bluff!
World, World, I cannot get thee close enough!

Edna St. Vincent Millay, from "God's World"