

A New Look at the Sources of Schütz's Christmas History

by

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The 'Historia der Freuden- und Gnadenreichen Geburth Gottes und Marien Sohnes, Jesu Christi, unsers Einigen Mitlers, Erlösers und Seeligmachers' belongs to a group of works Schütz composed in his seventies. It is among the largest in scope considering Schütz's total output, requiring a diversity in instrumentation which had never been employed in German church music before.

After his father's death in 1656 Johann Georg II took over as the new Saxon elector. He combined his own chapel, in which he employed various Italian musicians like Bontempi and Albrici, with that of his father. One can imagine that in merging the two chapels the performing forces increased tremendously and offered new possibilities for the execution of music. It was after 1656 that Schütz composed his 'Historia der [...] Geburth [...] Jesu Christi', SWV 435, with the favorable performance forces of the court chapel in mind. From the title page of the 1664 print we learn that it was Johann Georg II who commissioned the work. The Dresden court diary lists a performance of "die Geburth Christi in stylo recitativo" for the Christmas Vespers 1660. The composer's name is not mentioned. Since the preface to the 1664 print states that this is the first time in Germany that the Evangelist's part is sung in "stylo recitativo" rather than in traditional unaccompanied chant, the court diary undoubtedly refers to the Historia by Schütz¹.

We can assume with reasonable certainty that the date mentioned in the court-diary was the first performance of Schütz's work because this document constitutes the earliest reference to this composition. A listing in the Capellordnung of May 7, 1664 might refer to a later performance of the Christmas History: "Am hlg. Christtage in der Vesper Die Geburt unsers Herrn und Heilands Jesu Christi figuraliter"². Thus it is possible to date the work between the year 1656 and 1660, most likely, though, closer to its first documented date of performance.

Today we know of three sources:

- A) the so-called Frühfassung, SWV 435a,
- B) the original print from 1664, SWV 435,
- C) the so-called "Berliner Fassung," SWV 435b.

The original print, SWV 435, source B, is now in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. It contains only the Evangelist's recitatives. Of the three "Abdrücke" mentioned by the publisher as belonging to the Evangelist's chorus, only the one for the "Baß-Geige oder Violon" is extant. But since it contains the voice- and the figured bass part the other two Abdrücke must have looked just the same. The publisher – probably A. Hering – explained in an afterword that the author withheld the ten more richly scored concerted movements (introduction, final chorus, and eight intermedia)

... because he has observed that outside of well-appointed princely chapels these inventions of his would hardly achieve their proper effect. But he leaves it to the discretion of any who may wish to acquire a copy of them to apply either to the Cantor in Leipzig or else to Alexander Hering, organist of the Creutz-Kirche in Dresden, where they may be had, together with these three printed copies for the Evangelist's group, for a reasonable price.

Spitta already remarked upon the handwritten additions on the title page:

1 See Eberhard SCHMIDT, *Der Gottesdienst am kurfürstlichen Hofe zu Dresden – Ein Beitrag zur liturgischen Traditionsgeschichte von Johann Walter bis zu Heinrich Schütz*, Göttingen (1961), p. 207.

2 See MOSER Sch, p. 193.

On the title page the letters 'RAHZBUL' are written which can be interpreted as 'Rudolph August Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg'. Below 'Luchaw (Lüchow) 1671'. If this interpretation is correct Rudolph August would have received the print before June 1671, since he left Lüchow that month to Georg Wilhelm, Duke of Celle. Maybe Schütz had sent him his work³.

This print also shows manuscript revisions which occur mainly in the basso continuo (Bc): namely the transitional measures between the Evangelist's phrases are shortened. The revisions encountered involve the deletion of some notes, the adding of a stem to a semibreve, the change from a breve- into a semibreve rest, and a printed collette. In the recitative following the shepherds the necessary emendations to accommodate the revisions are missing. On the basis of these rather insubstantial revisions it is impossible to identify the hand of the person who undertook them.

In this collection it is worth mentioning Schütz's long association with the court of Braunschweig-Lüneburg⁴. Duke August of Wolfenbüttel received a collection of Schütz's compositions in 1664 – both manuscripts and prints – which have been kept since in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek. Several prints contain revisions which can be clearly identified as autograph revisions⁵. Thus these copies contained in the Wolfenbüttel library are probably Schütz's "Handexemplare". Since only one copy of the original print of SWV 435 is extant, we are unable to conjecture that these emendations were entered by the printer in all existing copies and consisted of corrections rather than Schütz's revisions in his own exemplar. Given the fact that Schütz did send a collection of his private copies of his compositions to the court of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, it is, though, highly possible that we can add SWV 435 to the list of Schütz's Handexemplare. August, Duke of Wolfenbüttel, was married to Sophie Elisabeth. After the duke's death in 1666 his widow, whom Schütz had given occasional advice on her compositions, returned to her residence in Lüchow. It was probably because of the duchess that Schütz kept up his connection with the court of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and sent his copy of the 1664 print not to Wolfenbüttel but rather to the ducal court at Lüchow.

SWV 435b, source C, was discovered by Max Schneider in 1933⁶. He refers to it as the so-called Berliner Fassung. The manuscript without author attribution consists of a particell with instrumental incipits for the intermedia. It was found in a collection of works copied into various volumes in the seventeenth century. This collection came into the possession of the Berliner Singakademie. The library of the Singakademie suffered great losses during the war. Its total content is missing at the moment. Fortunately Max Schneider copied the Schütz manuscript. This copy was used by Friedrich Schöneich in his short comparative study of the different versions of the Christmas History in the NSA vol. 1, 1955⁷. The particell incorporates the revisions of the 1664 print. The outer movements of the ten concerted pieces are missing, although empty staves are provided for their entrance. A marginalia reading "Biss hierher zum Ersten mahl gesungen" shows that this was a performing part – probably for the organist. Schöneich compares the "Berliner Fassung" with the version found in the only extant manuscript and shows different degrees of revisions in the ensemble and the solo movements. Unless all the other parts for the SWV 435b version turn up, we are unable to reconstruct its readings. Since the original source of SWV 435b is lost, we even lack any physical evidence in favor of supporting the hypothesis that this work without author attribution constituted yet another version of the Schütz composition undertaken by Schütz himself. We have to consider the possibility that the concerted movements represent an arrangement by another composer based

3 See SGA 1 (1885), p. XXVIII.

4 See Hans HAASE, Nachtrag zu einer Schütz-Ausstellung, in: *Sagittarius* 4 (1973), p. 85; also Jost Harro SCHMIDT, Heinrich Schützens Beziehungen zu Celle – Ein Beitrag zur Schütz-Biographie, in: *AfMw* 24 (1966), p. 274 (also in: *Sagittarius* 2 [1969], p. 36).

5 Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) in seinen Beziehungen zum Wolfenbütteler Hof – Ausstellung [...] in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (Ausstellung und Katalog: Hans HAASE), Wolfenbüttel 1972. Haase gives a description of the works in possession of the library. See also Horst WALTER, Ein unbekanntes Schütz-Autograph in Wolfenbüttel, in: *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea – Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Köln (1973), p. 621.

6 Max SCHNEIDER, Zum Weihnachtsoratorium von Heinrich Schütz, in: *Theodor Kroyer – Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstage*, Regensburg (1933), p. 140.

7 NSA 1, ed. by Friedrich SCHÖNEICH (1954).

on Schütz's work. Because of the fragmentary state of SWV 435b and the uncertainty surrounding its authorship I shall turn my attention to the problems inherent in the source which contains nearly all the parts necessary to perform the work in its entirety and which leaves no doubt about its authorship.

Source A is located in the Universitetsbibliothek, Uppsala, and listed under the call number Vok. mus. i hdsk. Caps. 71. It forms part of Gustaf Düben's private collection which was given in 1732 by Anders von Düben – his son – to the library in Uppsala⁸. This manuscript was discovered by Arnold Schering in 1908⁹. In his edition Schering already points out the deviation of the Evangelist's part in the organ scores from that in the 1664 print¹⁰. The recitatives in the Uppsala manuscript are clearly simpler and less animated. See ex. 1:

Uppsala, manuscript

1664 print

Ex. 1, from the recitative before Intermedium VII

At the ends of phrases both voice and Bc sustain the cadential note, whereas in the 1664 print the Bc embellishes the cadence with an ornamental figuration. This reduces the weight of the caesura at phrase endings.

Another kind of revision is encountered in ex. 2:

Uppsala, manuscript

1664 print

Ex. 2, from the recitative before Intermedium VII

⁸ See Bruno GRUSNICK, *Die Dübensammlung – Ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnung*, in: *STMf* 46 (1964), p. 27.

⁹ Arnold SCHERING, *Ein wiederaufgefundenes Werk von Heinrich Schütz*, in: *ZIMG* 10 (1908/09), p. 68.

¹⁰ SGA 17 (1909).

In order to set off the narrative from the special moment of the angel's appearance Schütz increases our wonder not only through animating the rhythm, as it can be seen already in the Uppsala source, but also by inflecting the modality from minor to major.

These two examples suffice to demonstrate the order of composition. The version in the Uppsala manuscript is clearly the older one. In recognizing the different chronological layers Werner Bittinger called the manuscript version of the Christmas History, SWV 435a, a *Frühfassung*¹¹.

In order to establish a chronological relationship between the Uppsala manuscript and the original print we have to examine the total content of the Uppsala source. *Vok. mus. i hdk. Caps. 71* contains:

- a) four separate Bc parts which divide into
 - 1) a figured organ part for all movements including the score for the recitatives, copied out continuously – referred to as Organum I,
 - 2) a second figured organ part with the same properties as the one above – referred to as Organum II,
 - 3) a figured Cembalo part, written out continuously, including only the opening chorus and the recitatives,
 - 4) an unfigured Bc part for all movements with the designation "Viola";
- b) also a set of parts – each including its own Bc/organo part – for Intermedium I through VIII and the final chorus, with a duplicate set for Intermedia III, IV, and VI–VIII. Duplicates also exist for Intermedia I and II and the last chorus. They are not kept in *Caps. 71*, but are to be found in *Caps. 41:13, 41:3, and 40:2*¹².

Missing are the parts from the opening chorus and the second trombone part from Intermedium V, which is the only Intermedium surviving without a duplicate.

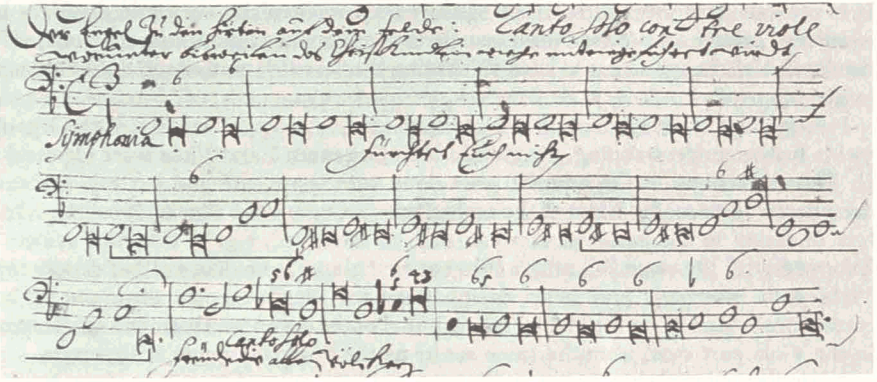
The content of this manuscript raises the question of how we can account for the fact that some parts are copied through and others exist in closed sets ordered by movement. A comparison between the three continuously copied-out Bc parts and the organ parts from the sets proves itself most revealing. Major discrepancies can be found between the readings for some of the movements. The most striking difference we encounter in Intermedium I, see examples 3 and 4. Ex. 3 shows the reading of the organ part from the set on the upper staff, the one from the Organum II version on the lower one (the measure numbers correspond to those in the NSA):

Ex. 3, from Intermedium I

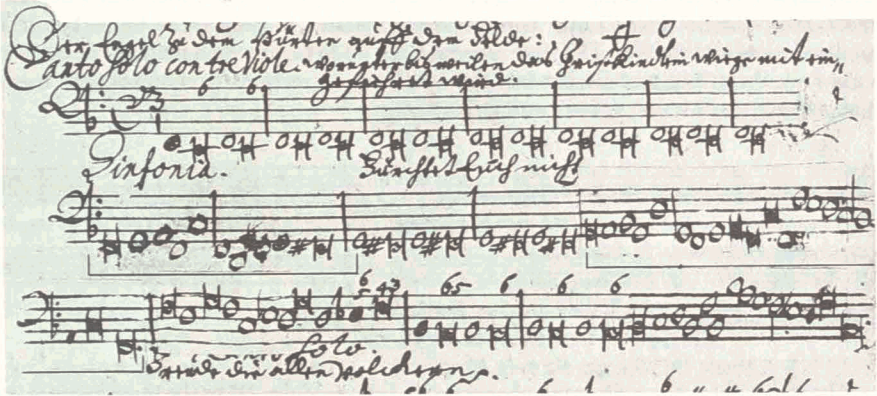
¹¹ SWV, p. 94ff.

¹² See GRUSNICK, *Die Dübensammlung* [. . .], in: *STMf* 48 (1966), p. 85.

Organum II,
uncorrected
early version

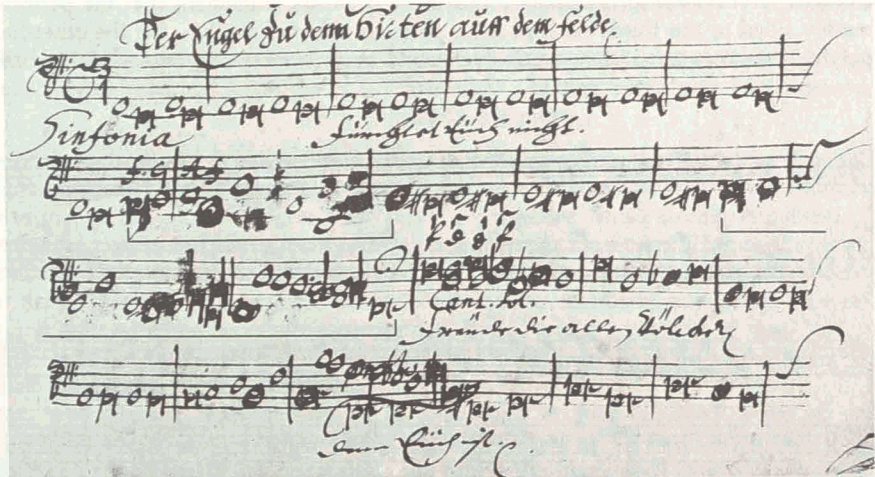


Organum I,
corrected
version



collette

Viola,
corrected
version



Ex. 4, opening of the different Bc parts from Intermedium I

It is obvious that Organum II and the organ part from the set could not have been performed together. Differences between these two parts continue throughout Intermedium II. The characteristic element of change seems to lie in shortening the "cradle" motive and tightening up the movement in general.

In Organum II we have an absolutely clean copy. A comparison of it with Organum I and Viola yields further understanding. Originally both Organum I and Viola were identical with Organum II. The corrections in Organum I were done with some care and left a Notentext which can be deciphered quite easily. Most of the corrections in Organum I consist of collettes. In some cases the text underlay to the early version can still be identified, e.g. in the third system of Organum I/ Intermedium I the word "Cantus". What at first glance looks like a rather sloppy copying job in the Viola with insertions and letter designations for illegible notes turns out to be a number of corrections which bring the text in line with that of the organ part from the set. The corrections made in the Viola part stem from the same scribe as the original copyist of that part.

A similar relationship between Bc parts and separate organ is evident from the source for Intermedium II, see ex. 5. In m. 51 Organum II cadences on great G and stays on this note for five measures. Here the readings of Organum II and Organum I are identical whereas the Viola leaps from the cadential low G into the octave. It restates G only three times before it moves down scallically and cadences on D before leaping back up to G, at which point all Bc parts coincide. In this case only the string part underwent the necessary corrections to conform with the organ part from the set.

Ex. 5, from Intermedium II

The only other major discrepancy occurs in Intermedium III in the instrumental introduction; see example 6. The organ part from the set fills in the thirds with a standard ornamental figure of the period which here gets notated explicitly. The Viola scribe seems to have started to incorporate the changes. The reason for stopping might have been his judgement that the performer could have readily filled in the thirds with passing notes in a dotted rhythm. On the other hand, even when playing the notes as written, no clashes would occur between organ and string bass.

* The notes in small type in m. 2 represent the corrections made in the viola part.

Ex. 6: Sinfonia of Intermedium III

The examples given show an original independence of the parts of the sets from those of the through-copied Bc parts. The results from the above examination can best be exemplified in a table showing the different chronological layers of revision. SWV 435a is a composite of at least three, possibly four different versions. This manuscript should be renumbered in the Große Ausgabe of the Schütz-Werke-Verzeichnis which is being prepared by Werner Breig, in order to show the source's patchwork.

Suggested numbering:

Remarks:

1st version, SWV 435a I/II (Roman numerals I and II refer to the part with the recitatives and that with the concerted movements respectively):

as represented by Organum II, ca. 1660.

2nd version, SWV 435 II:

as represented by the sets of concerted movements. The recitatives belonging to a common compositional layer with these concerted movements are most likely to be found in SWV 435, the 1664 print. Date: ca. 1664, possibly before 1664, since the print might not yet have been available.

3rd version, SWV 435a I/SWV 435a II, incorporating corrections from SWV 435 II:

as represented in the corrected Viola part. The corrections in Viola and Organum I serve the purpose of adjusting the concerted movements of the "Frühfassung" (SWV 435a II) to its revised version SWV 435 II. Date: possibly before 1664, as in SWV 435 II. It should also be considered that Gustaf Düben never requested the 1664 print and that the performance of the Schütz work in Stockholm was never based on the Composer's revised version as it existed by 1664.

4th version, SWV 435 II with inauthentic additional parts:

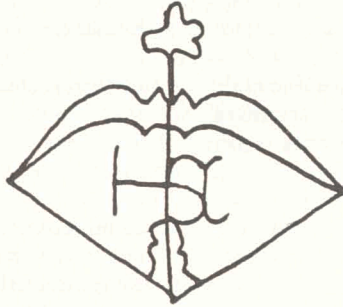
as represented by the trombone parts in the "Beschluß". (These parts will be discussed later in this paper.)

How was the work transmitted? It is most unusual to perform from parts that are not written out consecutively. Even given the fact that every "concert" requires a different scoring, parts for each individual voice or instrument could still have been copied out together. Music usually circulated in continuously written-out parts and not in parts ordered movement by movement. The peculiarity of transmission is due to the rather special condition under which Schütz's composition was publicly made available: the Evangelist's part in print, the ten concerted movements in manuscript form on special request and only with the composer's permission. Both Hering – organist at the Creutz-Kirche in Dresden – and Knüpfer – Thomaskantor in Leipzig – must have had a package of ten sets with the concerted movements in their possession.

Gustaf Düben, who became Hofkapellmeister in Stockholm in 1663, acquired a set of ten "concerts" for his collection. It cannot be determined if he brought the music back from one of his trips to Germany¹³ or if it was sent to him on request. The date of this acquisition is not documented.

¹³ See GRUSNICK, *ibid.*, for some biographical information on Gustaf Düben. Grusnick points out that the dates of Düben's visits to Germany cannot be firmly established for lack of documentary evidence.

Grusnick found an anonymous litany in the Düben collection copied by a scribe who is otherwise only represented as one of the scribes in Schütz's Christmas History¹⁴. The scribe of this manuscript with the call number Vok. mus. i hdsk 69:7 is identical with scribe F of the Christmas History (see appendix). Grusnick had already conjectured that Schütz might be the composer of this litany. The identification of the watermark proves to be of great importance: It is a bow and arrow with the initials "HSC".



The initials stand for Heinrich Schütz Capellmeister¹⁵. This means that Schütz had his own paper. We can be nearly certain that a work copied onto his paper must be one of his own compositions. Apart from supporting Grusnick's hypothesis about the litany being one of Schütz's compositions, this watermark identification also adds an informative factor concerning the Christmas History and its transmission. Scribe F who is represented as one of the major scribes in the Christmas History must have been associated with Schütz in Dresden. This shows that the transmission of at least some parts of the Christmas History, as it is found in the Uppsala manuscript, is tied to the court of Dresden. According to Grusnick the manuscript of the litany had been in Düben's possession by the year 1663. Using this indirect evidence, we can postulate that also the Christmas History had reached Düben's hand by 1663.

Thus by 1663 the revised version of the concerted movements must have already existed in the form in which it was mentioned in the 1664 publication. Since the printed material had yet to come out, Düben needed to complement the "concerts" with some music that incorporated the "Evangelistenchor". The set of continuo parts from an earlier performance must have been made available to him at the same time.

Watermark identification of all paper used in the Uppsala manuscript unmistakably determines the Saxon origin of the entire performance material (as it appears in the left hand side column of the appendix). The papers show the following three watermarks:

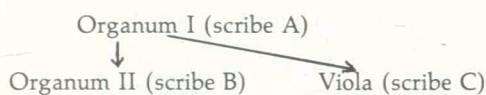


14 See Bruno GRUSNICK, *Litania Upsaliensis – Eine unbekannte Litanei von Heinrich Schütz*, in: *Sagittarius* 2 (1969), p. 39.

15 Wolfram Steude identified and discussed this very watermark, which he found in various Schütz sources in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, in a paper given at the Schütz festival in Karlsruhe, May 1981 (see STEUDE's article in the present volume of *SJb*). I am grateful to Joshua Rifkin who mentioned Steude's paper to me.

The three through-copied Bc parts: Organum I, Organum II, and Viola might be analogous to the three "Abdrücke" mentioned in the 1664 print. Surprising is the Cembalo doublet copied by the same scribe as the Viola part, and therefore added to the performance material already in Saxony. It is difficult to determine the function this part might have played. Was it meant to constitute an alternative performance possibility for the Evangelist's part with a tacet for the organ, but was it supposed to double the "Eingangschor" as a tutti continuo instrument? The inconsistency of this part, being copied for only one concerted movement and all recitatives, raises questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered. The fact that it was copied by one of the main scribes (scribe C) of the source, excludes the possibility of viewing it as a later "corrupt" addition.

Having established earlier on in this paper that scribe F was associated with Dresden and belonged to the Schütz circle, we can conclude that most of the Uppsala material originated in Dresden, since scribe F appears in conjunction with scribes C, D, and E – scribes who copied different sections of the Schütz composition (see appendix). A stemma for the copying relationship of the continuo parts can be set up:



This stemma shows then the association of also copyist A and B with Dresden. The corrections in the Viola part were undertaken by scribe C, thus already on homegrounds. The partial adaptation of Organum I appears in a different hand. These corrections are not substantial enough to allow a secure identification of their scribe, although they bear some similarity with the hand of a scribe turning up in various Pohle manuscripts.

The authenticity of the trombone parts in the "Beschluss" can be denied. Hofmann has shown through an analysis of compositional technique that trombone 2 violates the rules of counterpoint and behaves illogically in certain sequential passages. He calls trombone 2 an additional part not composed by Schütz¹⁶. Numerous erasures in trombone 2 raise suspicion. On the basis of scribal evidence we can eliminate both trombones from the set of parts. As can be seen from the appendix the complete set of parts was copied by scribe C with doublets for Cantus and Altus by scribes which are represented throughout the manuscript. Both trombone parts belong to a hand not otherwise found. The trombone parts lack the designation "chori instrumentalis a 4" which are found in all other instrumental parts. By virtue of including the trombones in the count of the instrumental choir the specification "a 4" would, of course, no longer apply. The scribe also shows inconsistency with all other parts in using the time signature 3/2 – others indicate just a "3". This scribe can be identified through one of Grusnick's scribal examples as being a "mitteldeutscher Schreiber"¹⁷; see ex. 7 on the next two pages. C clefs, custodes, and number "1" after the instrumental designation, and also the mensural sign "C" at the end of trombone 1 are identical with Grusnick's Saxony scribe. Thus the corruption of the source occurred before the music got to Stockholm. The origin of this corruption cannot be determined with certainty. The copyist of the trombone parts, scribe G, is represented in various other manuscripts in Uppsala, frequently in connection with other compositions by David Pohle. Since it is difficult to imagine that corrupt parts could have been added in Schütz's presence in Dresden, the hypothesis lies on hand that the performance material for the Christmas History was sent from Dresden to Halle where scribe G, who possibly belonged to the circle of Kapellmeister Pohle, "composed" one additional voice and doubled another. Thus the route of transmission of the Uppsala manuscript might have been from Dresden via Halle to Stockholm.

It is difficult to explain the existence of most intermedia in two complete sets. At some point a copy was probably made of all ten concerted movements. It is unthinkable that the duplicates would

16 Klaus HOFMANN, Zwei Abhandlungen zur Weihnachtshistorie von Heinrich Schütz, in: MuK 40 (1970), p. 325.

17 GRUSNICK, Die Dübensammlung [...], STMf 48 (1966), p. 78.

Bassett 260

Trombon 1^o.

Sambucus - vis alla

Violino 1^o. 41:16.

Sinfonia

Canção

Sinfonia *Soll: sempre di nuovo* *2. Stück*

„*Immer leicht - dem großen großen mit, die und hof - für sich die und*“

Besluß

Handwritten musical score for voice and lute. The top staff is for the voice, with lyrics: "Gott ist unsre Zuversicht in der großen Not, die uns bedrückt". The bottom staff is for the lute, with lyrics: "Lauf - - - zu troffen haben die uns bedrückt -". The score is written in a historical style with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score for Trombone 2. The score is titled "Besluß Trombon 2." and is numbered "259". It is written in a historical style with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "Danck sagen wir alle". The score consists of six staves of music, showing a melodic line with various rhythmic values and some complex passages.

Ex. 7: "Mitteldeutscher Schreiber" (scribe G in appendix) from Besluß: Trombone 1 (p. 28 top) and Trombone 2 (p. 29 bottom) and from Anonymus, 'Gott ist unsre Zuversicht'. Vok. mus. i hdskr. Caps. 41:16.

have been used as doublet parts. Since the duplicate set was in all cases copied by a Stockholm scribe (see the appendix) it might be conceivable that the original Saxon copies were intended to be returned, but that Dübén never got around to sending them back.

The fact that the Uppsala source possibly represents as many as four versions, does not mean that Schütz himself prepared four different versions of his Christmas History. The existence of only two versions can be securely established. (The "Berliner Fassung" must be discarded here, since its authenticity cannot be proven.) It is most likely that Schütz composed his first version ca. 1660 and revised this version ca. 1663/1664, prior to the publication of the recitatives. Neither of these two versions is available to us now. We can hypothesize, though, that SWV 435 (print) and SWV 435 II (manuscript) belong to one compositional layer after having abandoned the inauthentic trombone parts from the "Beschluss". An edition representing Schütz's work in its revised version by the composer himself should therefore be exclusively based on the above two sources.

In reconsidering the scoring for the Christmas History I am trying to be as faithful to the set of concerted movements in the Uppsala manuscript and to the original print with its information given in the afterword and the attached "Specification, a publication", though probably not supervised by Schütz, undertaken with his knowledge and presumably his approval.

General Questions of Scoring

1. *Recitatives*

No doubt exists about the performance forces used. The three "Abdrücke" provide organist, Evangelist, and Bassgeiger or Violonist¹⁸ with a performing part. Schöneich, though, has the viola da gamba double the organ part. It is likely that Schütz originally had a viola da gamba in mind, which explains the "viola" designation in the unfigured Bc part of the earliest manuscript version in Uppsala. In changing the designation to "Bassgeige" in the 1664 print, Schütz might have conformed to the more modern continuo scoring with a string instrument equalling a type of a violoncello.

2. *"Eingang" and "Beschluss"*

There is a discrepancy between the title of the print and that of the concerted movements. The print mentions "A 9" for the opening chorus and requires, without specification, the same scoring for the final chorus. The manuscript version reads for the final chorus "ab 8. Cum 4 Instrumentis." The opening chorus is missing. The Leipzig inventory of the Thomaskirche lists a work without attribution as "Introduction zu der Geburt, a 9"¹⁹. This work was found in Knüpfer's Nachlass. Since Knüpfer was one of the distributors of SWV 435 – the Thomaskantor referred to in the appendix to the print – it is likely that the inventory entry refers to the opening chorus of Schütz's Christmas History. The manuscript provides instrumental parts for violin 1, violin 2, viola, trombone 1, trombone 2, and bassoon, which brings the count up to six instruments. (The Bc part is never counted in the scoring indication.)

After discarding the trombone parts we are left with four instruments playing the "Beschluss": violino 1, 2, viola, and fagotto. Since there are four voice parts all titled "Choro quatuor vocum", we now have accounted for the "Beschluss ab 8". The problem of different scoring "ab 8" versus "ab 9" cannot be satisfactorily solved. Hofmann suggests that probably a mistake crept into Hering's print – which consequently appeared in the piece listed in the inventory – and that both "Eingangschor" and "Beschluss" should conform in their instrumentation ab 8²⁰.

Another interpretation must not be overlooked. The Cembalo part specifies for the introduction a scoring a 8. It is possible that Schütz kept the scoring for "Eingangschor" and "Beschluss" ab 8 right

18 Stephen BONTA, From Violone to Violoncello – A Question of Strings?, in: Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 3 (1977), p. 64.

19 Arnold SCHERING, Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule Leipzig, in: AfMw 1 (1918/19), p. 275.

20 HOFMANN, Zwei Abhandlungen [. . .], in: MuK 41 (1971), p. 15.

up to the date of publication of the print. The concerted movements in the Uppsala manuscript might not have coincided in every detail with those advertised by Hering in the 1664 print. Schütz could have decided to add a fifth instrumental part to the outside choruses of the most recent sets of concerted movements. It is tantalizing that the trombone II part in the "Beschluss" actually represents such an added voice. Unless another set of the concerted pieces were to turn up, the conflicting specifications from the 1664 print and the Uppsala manuscript shall remain an unsolvable problem.

Since the print mentions "starke Chore", we can assume that both choruses of four vocal and four instrumental lines were supposed to be doubled. It would be reasonable to suggest that all performers might have joined in for the "Eingangschor" and the "Beschluss".

3. *Intermedium II*

The untexted Cantus I part most likely represents the top voice of the "Complemento di Viole si placet". Schering prints this part with a designation for Viola. No instrument is specified in the source. It is misleading to add this part in the text, since it accounts for only one of the six complemento parts. Cantus I would probably have been doubled by a violetta, certainly not by a viola.

Being aware of Schütz's concern for scoring and his pictorial usage of instruments, one has to ask, why he used a fagotto here as the violins' complementary bass rather than a violone. There might be two reasons for this:

1. The string bass was one of the viole used for the "complemento di viole".
2. The fagotto does not participate in the violins' imitation of the word "Ehre". It imitates the word "Friede" which is set syllabically and moves in larger intervallic leaps. This style of writing fits the bassoon perfectly.

4. *Intermedium IV*

Hofmann suggests an instrumentation with two horns, bassoon, and organ²¹. The function of the instruments throughout the Christmas History is to emphasize the dramatic action. Each persona dramatis or group of people is accompanied by those instruments which come closest to underlining their characters: e.g. angels by "heavenly" strings (upper pair: gambas), shepherds by recorders (pipes), Herod by "kingly" trumpets, etc. The function of the strings used to accompany the angel (violins to accompany the chorus of angels) would be undermined if they were employed also in the accompaniment of the three kings. This music is written idiomatically for wind instruments and not for strings. Just as an example we might consider the very beginning. The instruments pre-imitate the phrase of the kings. The opening motive consists of a leap of a fifth depicting the question "wo ist". The phrase continues syllabically with "der neugeborne König". It is impossible to imitate the rather jolting phrase, initially stated by the fagotto, with a violin, without creating a somewhat comic effect. The contrast between the two instruments is too great. This phrase which is not meant to be elegant can be much more effectively imitated on wind instruments. The characteristic property of a wind instrument lies in its tonguing which produces a natural articulation for the syllabic style. Which wind instrument Schütz would have employed is impossible to determine. I am not convinced, though, by Hofmann's notion that Schütz had conceived the upper instrumental parts for two horns. As partial evidence for the usage of horns in art music by the middle of the 17th century Hofmann points to Italian opera and French opera and ballet music. The court at Dresden was at that time highly influenced by Italian musicians. Hofmann lists Rossi's "Erminia sul Giordano" from 1633 and Cavalli's "Nozze di Teti e Peleo" from 1639. The fact is, that the horn writing in both these compositions is quite simple and cannot possibly be compared with the obbligato parts in Intermedium VI of the Christmas History. I also disagree that the instrumentation for this movement of two violins instead of two horns came about as a kind of makeshift solution in order to accommodate chapels and churches which could not have counted on two horn

21 HOFMANN, *ibid.*

players. The whole idea behind withholding the work from print was not to have it performed with a substitute orchestration. But even if Schütz had been forced into giving in to less than ideal instrumentation, it would be hard to believe in his choice of two violins over two cornettos or clarinos, keeping in mind their ready availability. I suggest that in the instrumentation for Intermedium IV we have to acknowledge a mistake which crept into Hering's publication either through his own oversight or possibly that of a scribe.

Specific Problems of Continuo Scoring

Neither the 1664 print nor the set of concerted movements provides any indication that a string bass might have doubled the organ throughout the composition. Doubling throughout did exist for the early version. Düben must have acquired his music with the "Viola" doublet included, since it is copied by the same scribe as the "Beschluß". This points to an early performance of the Christmas History in Saxony with a viola da gamba doubling the organ all the way through. The 1664 print specifies a Violone, doubling only the recitatives. None of the concerted movements includes an unfigured bass part. It would have been unlikely for all the Violone parts to get lost, had Schütz provided them. Maybe the clue to the problem can be found on the title page of the print where it is mentioned "mit denen zu diesen Werken gehörigen Zehn Concerten in ein still Orgelwerk". It is probable that Schütz had with "ein still Orgelwerk" only the organ as Bc instrument in mind.

In the NSA Schöneich indicates at the beginning three Bc instruments: Cembalo, organo, and viola di gamba. He then continues to simplify the continuo specification and refers to the Bc as the "Generalbaß". This scoring is misleading. It is based on the continuously copied out Bc parts in Uppsala. Since those belong to an early compositional layer, we have to disregard them in an edition of the version from around 1664.

The instrumental bass part is, though, a problem throughout the intermedia.

1. *Intermedia I, VII, VIII*

	1664 print	Vok. mus. i hnsk. Caps. 71
Intermedium I	2. Violetten und 1. Violon	con due Viole da gamba
Intermedium VII	2. Violen	cum tribus Violis
Intermedium VIII	3. Violen	cum tribus Violis

In all three movements the instruments accompany a solo soprano representing the angel. They are also related through the corresponding time signature of 3/2 setting a similar mood, and through the melodic material of the "cradle motive" in the Bc part. Thus we should assume the same scoring for all three of them. The inconsistency in instrument specification can be seen from the table above. Since the requirement of three string instruments is proportionally greater, and since at least one of the sources mentions three strings for each of these movements, we can safely assume the participation of a Violone²². But what is the nature of this part and what does the violonist play from? If he had doubled the figured organ part he would have been counted as a Bc and would not have received special mention. My guess is that the violone would have played the same notes as the organ continuo in the ensemble sections and dropped out for the solo voice passages. In the ensemble sections the bass functions as an independent voice contributing motivic material, whereas in the solo sections the bass part functions as a harmonic bass. Analogous situations are found in Intermedia II, III and IV. In these cases a fagotto part is included in the set. With few exceptions the fagotto is identical with the Bc part but plays only in the ensemble sections. (See also the fagotto

²² See BONTA, From Violone to Violoncello [...].

part in the final chorus.) The question: what did the violonist play from? cannot be answered with certainty. We must consider two possibilities:

1. the string bass parts for Intermedia I, VII, and VIII got lost, as did trombone 2 for Intermedium V, or

2. the copyist neglected to supply a separate part since the string bass player could have remembered to drop out at the appropriate places while playing from the organ continuo.

I myself consider the second possibility as the more probable one because it seems unlikely that bass parts of the nature I described above got lost with such consistency.

2. *Intermedia V, VI*

Although there is no indication in the source of an added fagotto part a strong case can be made for such an addition on grounds of consistency (see the following table). Its reconstruction should follow the principle which I suggested for creating a string bass part in Intermedia I, VII, and VIII.

Table of Suggested Continuo Scoring

No. 1	Introduction:	Fagotto and Bc (organ) accommodating "2 starke Chore" with a Violone
No. 3	Intermedium I:	Violone and Bc (organ)
No. 5	Intermedium II:	Fagotto and Bc (organ), maybe also violone used in complementum
No. 7	Intermedium III:	Fagotto and Bc (organ) The fagotto acts as an independent voice in the Sinfonia, engaging in points of imitation. Later in the movement it is "taken out" of the organ part analogous to the Violone in Intermedium I.
No. 9	Intermedium IV:	Fagotto and Bc (organ)
No. 11	Intermedium V:	Fagotto suggested and Bc (organ)
No. 13	Intermedium VI:	Fagotto suggested and Bc (organ)
No. 15	Intermedium VII:	Violone and Bc (organ)
No. 17	Intermedium VIII:	Violone and Bc (organ)
No. 19	Beschluß:	Fagotto and Bc (organ) possibly adding a Violone – see No. 1 Introduction

The sources for the Christmas History expose a lot of new problems, some of which can be solved as I have tried to show in this paper. The major problem with the edition in the NSA is that Schöneich, without being aware of it, based his edition on a conflation of two manuscript versions which date from different periods, but happen to be preserved together in the "Düben" collection.

This work which is one of the large scale compositions by Schütz and with its new style of accompanied recitatives revolutionary in its own time, seems to have occupied Schütz's mind during a whole decade, between ca. 1660 and 1671. The undertaken emendations in the recitatives and the concerted movements show a concern for improvement which must often have been stimulated by subsequent performances. I am involved with a new edition which will adhere strictly to the print and the set of concerted movements, thus trying to represent a text which will reflect Schütz's final version of the Christmas History.

APPENDIX

Scribes of the Uppsala Source Vok. mus. i hdsk. Caps. 71

Saxony (probably Dresden)			Stockholm	
Grusnick: mitteldeutscher Schreiber				
Organum I	complete	A		
Organum II	complete	B		
Viola	complete	} C		
Cembalo	Eingangschor and recitatives			
<i>Intermedium I</i>			<i>Intermedium I</i> not in Caps. 71, but in 41:1	
Violetta 1	}	D probably Saxony, watermark invisible	scribe: Gustaf Düben	
Violetta 2				
Canto solo				
Organum		D		
<i>Intermedium II</i>			<i>Intermedium II</i> not in Caps. 71, but in 41:3	
Violino 1	}	E	Stockholm scribe	
Violino 2				
Cantus 1 untexted				
Cantus 1				
Cantus 2				
Altus				
Tenor 1				
Tenor 2				
Bassus				
Fagotto				
Organo				
<i>Intermedium III, 2nd set</i>			<i>Intermedium III, 1st set</i>	
Flauto 1	}	E	Flauto 1	} X
Flauto 2				
Altus 1	}	F	Altus 1	
Altus 2				
Altus 3 vel Tenore				
Fagotto	}	E	Fagotto	
Organo				
			Organum	

Saxony	Stockholm
<p><i>Intermedium IV, 2nd set</i></p> <p>Violino 1 } Violino 2 } E Tenor 1 } Tenor 2 } F Tenor 3 } Fagotto } Organum } E</p>	<p><i>Intermedium IV, 1st set</i></p> <p>Violino 1 } "vide" – correction Violino 2 } on Hilfssystem by Tenor 1 } Gustaf Düben? Tenor 2 } X Tenor 3 } Fagotto } Organum }</p>
<p><i>Intermedium V</i></p> <p>Basso 1 } Basso 2 } Basso 3 } F Basso 4 } Trombone 1 } Organum } Trombone 2 missing</p>	<p><i>Intermedium V</i></p> <p>does not exist in Stockholm</p>
<p><i>Intermedium VI, 1st set</i></p> <p>Clarino 1 } Clarino 2 } F Basso solo } Organum }</p>	<p><i>Intermedium VI, 2nd set</i></p> <p>Clarinol 1 } Clarinol 2 } Y Basso solo } Organum }</p>
<p><i>Intermedium VII, 2nd set</i></p> <p>Violetta 1 } Violetta 2 } D Cantus } Organum }</p>	<p><i>Intermedium VII, 1st set</i></p> <p>Violetta 1 } Violetta 2 } Y Cantus } Organum }</p>
<p><i>Intermedium VIII, 2nd set</i></p> <p>Violetta 1 } Violetta 2 } D Cantus } Organum }</p>	<p><i>Intermedium VIII, 1st set</i></p> <p>Violetta 1 } Violetta 2 } Y Cantus } Organum }</p>

Saxony	Stockholm	
<i>Beschluß</i>	<i>Beschluß</i>	
Violino 1 } Violino 2 } Viola } Trombone 1 } Trombone 2 }	not in Caps. 71, but in 40:2	
Cantus		
Cantus, doublet		
Altus		
Altus, doublet		
Tenore		
Bassus } Fagotto } Organum }		