"CHRIST IST ERSTANDEN:" STUDY OF A GERMAN CHORALE TRADITION

by

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Chapter One: From "Ruf" to "Lied"

The German chorale "Christ ist erstanden" has a long, complex historical development and tradition in the German church. Evolved long before the Reformation, it was known and loved by Catholic and Protestant alike. References to "Christ ist erstanden," whether under the label of "chorale", "hymn", "Leise", or "Rufe" reach as far back into church records as the twelfth-century.[1] Always a possession of the people -- or as Germans would say "Volk" -- "Christ ist erstanden" has come to be cherished by German musicians as one of the oldest church songs to originate in the German vernacular.[2]

To trace the growth of "Christ ist erstanden" into a chorale, we must examine various professional opinions of researchers, outright references to "Christ ist erstanden" in a wide variety of resources, and vague notations of traditions which may or may not actually refer to "Christ ist erstanden" which appear in the oldest sources. The first scholar to begin serious study on "Christ ist erstanden" was Hoffmann von Fallersleben; he was most instrumental in beginning the research of the chorale and publicizing it in 1832. His work, combined with that of C. Lange and K. Young, was synthesized and capsulized by Philipp Wackernagel into a catalogue of variant melodic and textual forms of the chorale.[3] Wackernagel published this catalogue from about twenty sources in a series of chorale histories in 1867.[4]

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[1] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music: a History trans. by F. Ellsworth Peterson (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), p.20.

[2] Franz M. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925), p. 660.

After this publication, several theories concerning the genesis of "Christ ist erstanden" have been put forth by scholars, some of which are now considered to be definitely incorrect. The first scholar, W. Baumker, theorized that the chorale melody began in an older sequence --"Victimae paschali laudes."[5] H. Teuscher, on the other hand, claimed that the chorale or "Lied" already existed before the sequence was written.[6] A third scholarly hypothesis by Müller-Blatteau proposes that the Lied actually developed from a double-lined "Ruf" as the melody was originally only two lines long. Finally, a last scholar, W. Wiora, contends that the Lied simply originated as a four-lined European folksong[7]. Other scholars have, of course, accepted one or more of these proffered ideas on the chorale's origin and furthered research in various directions to support their preferred stances. Probably the most knowledgeable recent scholar in this area is Walther Lipphardt from whom a good deal of my background material has been gathered.[8]

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[3] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, V (1960),96.

[4] Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch, p. 662.

[5] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 96.

[6] Ibid. Gives references to articles by Teuscher.

[7] Ibid.

Before dealing specifically with a first real reference to "Christ ist erstanden," I would like to outline a couple of traditions surrounding Easter ceremonies in the middle ages. (No question about the fact that "Christ ist erstanden" is an Easter song or "Osterlied" have been raised by any scholars.) First of all, the Easter season, of course, was a time of great festivals in the full catholic sense of the term. Special services were held at this time which were not repeated in the rest of the year. One such special event included the liturgical play. Both the liturgical plays and the actual Easter sermon were marked by a more pronounced effort to involve the laity in the services than might happen in an ordinary weekend worship service. To this end, a tradition of singing hymns in the vernacular during processionals, and on high holy days began as early as the ninth century in Germany.[9] Whether or not "Christ ist erstanden " was one of these hymns may never be known because the hymns were not often recorded. Certainly the possibility cannot at this time be ruled out.[10]

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[8] Ibid.

[9] See bibliographical listing.

[10] Konrad Ameln, The Roots of German Hymnology of the Reformation Era No. 1: Hymnology (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 14.

A second tradition also further involved the Volk in the ceremonial services. This tradition led to the development of the "Ruf." At certain times in the services -- especially at the end of the Easter sermon -- the congregation was called upon to respond in some way to the message they heard. Often their response came in the form of a "Ruf." Actually translated as "cry" or "shout," a "Ruf" was a short, two-lined, congregational response sung in the vernacular at the end of a sermon.[11] The "Ruf" served one of two purposes. It either acted as a confirmation to the sermon or as an invocation resulting from the words of the sermon. The original form of the "Ruf" fills the role of affirmation and is still in use today as "Amen."[12] It must be clear from the outset that a "Ruf" was not a trope; it made no statement of belief nor proclaimed any salvation-mystery.[13] On the contrary, it was usually a simple repetition of a previously stated concept.

The oldest "Rufe" were connected with the concluding "Kyrie eleison" of the service. Their two-line structures most likely evolved from the practice of assigning an antecedent phrase to a choir leader and the consequent phrase to the "Volk" in a question-answer style.[14] The "Rufe" do not seem to develop into any other forms for the most part, although they may be extended to a four-lined or "double Ruf" form. Only one certain example of such development is at this time thoroughly documented.[15] The development consists of an extension of the pithy two-line "Ruf" into a series of four-line strophes. The resulting text of the first strophe says no more than the original text had; the third line is a variation of the second, and the fourth an amplification of it. Melodically the strophe is organized as follows: a b c (with an extension of range) b.[16] The successive strophes are not sung to the same melodic pattern.

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[11] David Fallows, "Ruf," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, XVI, 38.

[12] V. Mertens, "Der Ruf -- eine Gatung des deutschen geistlichen Liedes im Mittelalter," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsches Literatur, CIV (1975), 82.

[13] V. Mertens, "Der Ruf," p.82.

[14] V. Mertens, "Der Ruf," p. 83.

At the end of the traditional Easter festival was a marvelous opportunity for a "Ruf" to be heard since the festival ended with "Kyrie eleison." It was here that the words "Christ ist erstanden" -- "Christ is arisen" first appeared in the spirit of acclamation.[17] In the oldest sources which refer to this "Ruf," comments about its use are clear. Two of these are: from Seckau (12th century) "Hie helft man den ruf: Xre der istanden," ["Here one helps {with} the 'Ruf:' 'Christ ist erstanden,"] and from St. Lambrecht (12th century) "Te Deum: plebe conclamante: Christ ist erstanden."[18] In Salzburg, also of the

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[15] For greater detail, see V. Mertens, "Der Ruf."

[16] V. Mertens, "Der Ruf," pp. 83-4.

[17] V. Mertens, "Der Ruf," p. 85.

[18] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 102.

12th century, the direction "populus" is added in connection with the "Ruf."[19] In each case, the "Volk" begin to sing without a previous intonation by a Cantor which accounts for the spontaneous character implied by words such as "conclamare" or "acclamore."[20]

Now, since we have determined that "Christ ist erstanden was indeed a "Ruf," we can also concede that the original simple "Ruf" may have been one of the "Rufe" to extend into four lines. In one sense, this would seem to be the case. "Christ ist erstanden" is generally believed to have been at one time in the class of "Leise" or four-lined "Rufe," but not necessarily as a development out of the one or two-lined "Rufe." "Leise" is a term which refers to those four-lined "Rufe" which have ending cries of "Kyrioleis" or at times " Alleluia."[21] "Leise" thrived prolifically in the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries,[22] but the oldest known one dates from the ninth century.[23] "Leise" can be found in dramatic literature in connection with the Psalms, the "Te Deum," and later on in connection with Latin hymns and sequences in which "Kyrieleison" was heard.[24] In fact, the name

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 103.

[21] John Julian, D.D., ed., A Dictionary of Hymnology Vol. I (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957). p.663.

[22] Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, IV, 313.

[23] It is called, "Unser trothin hat farsalt." See David Fallows, "Leise," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, X, 642.

[24] Walther Lipphardt, "Leise und Rufe," MGG Supplement, No. 150-55, Col 105.

"Leise" is said to come from "Kyrie eleison"[25] since almost all of the "Leise" are connected with the Kyrie not of the Ordinary of the mass but of the Kyrie of the litanies.[26] Although "Christ ist erstanden" is referred to as a "Leise" dating from the 12th century by Lipphardt, by Marshall, and by Fallows[27] none of these authors attempt to clarify the difference between "Leise" and "Lied." (The latter term is also applied to "Christ ist erstanden from the 1160 setting on.) The implication I perceive personally is that the "Lied" can only be called "Leise" when it is limited to a single strophe, as the 1160 setting is, and when it is connected with an emphasis on the "Kyrieleis" or "Alleluia" acclamation.

Here, let us recall the fact that a "Ruf" which in our case served an acclamatory function, did not seem to develop into another form. It is generally believed by scholars of the "Ruf" that the "Lied" became a total replacement for the "Ruf" since the Lied served the same function but could not take over the form of the "Ruf."[28] (This fact is of great importance in understanding the relation between the Lied and the sequence "Victimae paschali laudes" and will be discussed shortly.) At the same time, Lipphardt claims that a "Leise" always appeared with the "Ruf" "Kyrie eleison" and was used in alternation with Latin hymns and antiphons.[29] To my knowledge, only one certain writing to support this comment is extant in relation to "Christ ist erstanden." The comment appears in an Easter festival of the 15th century from Regensburg and retains the "Ruf" as a preface to the "Lied" as follows[30]: "Deinde cantoris incipiant Te Deum laudamus: et populus, Kyrie Christeleyson, Christ ist erstanden. Et fit compulsacio cum omnibus campanis clare sonantibus."[31] So, let us presume that the "Leise" served as an intermediary step between the total textual dependency of the "Ruf" and the relatively independent text of the Lied.

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[25] David Fallows, "Leise," p. 642.

[26] Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959),p. 633.

[27] Walther Lipphardt, "Leise und Rufe," col. 106; Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale," p.314; David Fallows, "Leise," p. 642; Grstave Reese also refers to "Christ ist erstanden" as a "Leise" in Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 633 but does not use the 12th century date.

[28] V. Mertens, "Der Ruf," p. 85.

This brings us to the much-argued connection between the Lied, beginning with its appearance in one stanza in 1160, and the Latin sequence "Victimae paschali laudes." As mentioned earlier. the German scholar W. Baumker began the theory that the Lied melody was taken from the sequence, but Teuscher declared that the Lied existed before the sequence did so the opposite was true.[32] In any case, the opening phrase of the two works immediately points up the most obvious similarity in melody:

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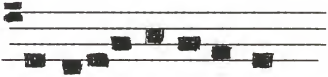
[29] Walther Lipphardt, "Leise und Rufe," p. 105.

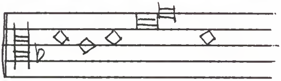
[30] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p.110.

[31] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 110.

"Victimae paschali" --
(form Liber Usualis
p. 780)[33]



"Christ ist erstanden"--
(Munich Codex; 15th
century)[34]



In support of Baumker, a study of other "Leise," according to Marshal, shows that most of the "leise" appear in older liturgical medieval manuscripts along with a corrupted Latin sequence.[35] Naturally, this discovery of the common pairing of "Leise" and sequence has led to the assumption that many "Leise" developed as abbreviated forms of Latin sequences.[36] To give Teuscher some credit, he probably did not realize when he made his statement in the 1930's that two versions of the "Victimae paschali" were introduced at different times into Germany. Since this has been proven, Teuscher's theory about the Lied preceding the sequence has been discarded.[37]

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[32] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 96.

[33] Konrad Ameln, "Das Achterliederbuch vom Jahre 1523/24," Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, II (1966), p. 780.

[34] Franz M. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch,p. 658.

[35] Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale," p. 314.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 105.

"Victimae paschali" was used in several Easter plays beginning in about the twelfth century and is itself thought connected to the Byzantine-descended antiphon "Dicant nunc Judei."[38] Most of the sources of the "Victimae paschalis" at this time were Easter plays. Depending on the version of the sequence used in the play, "Christ ist erstanden" may then also be used in the celebration. In about 1120, the sequence was introduced in the "Peregrinus" Easter plays of Normandy and Sicily and it was likewise assimilated into the other plays, "Visitatio sepulchri" and "Ludus paschalis" in France in the 12th century.[39] However, when the sequence was similarly assimilated into the German Easter plays, it was rarely adapted in its entirety except by some cathedrals highly influenced by Normandy.[40] These plays in which the entire sequence is heard in the French version probably began in Germany in about 1130 and do not have the Lied in them.[41] Consequently, it is the slightly later partial versions of the sequence that crept into German plays which are of interest in connection with "Christ ist erstanden."

The version of the sequence that was assimilated slightly later and more uniformly than the French version, is also the version of the sequence now in the Liber Usualis. This version leaves out a rather apologetic versicle with these words,

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[38] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 113.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 106.

[41] Ibid., pp. 106,112.

"Credendum ist magis Mariae veraci quam Judaeorum turbae fallaci."[42] This slightly shorter "Victimae" dates from at least the 12th century and is always used in connection with "Christ ist erstanden" in German plays.[43]

Before further explaining the connection between the "Victimae" sequence and "Christ ist erstanden," a functional clarification must be made. When "Christ ist erstanden" was used as a short "Ruf," it was simply a responsorial acclamation of the people, not a trope. However, when "Christ ist erstanden" was actually used as a four-line stanza under the term of "Lied" or "Leise," it was always used as a trope as was the "Victimae" sequence itself. Terminology connected with "Christ ist erstanden" thus changed from words like "acclamore" or "conclamare" to words such as "succineri" or "interponeri,"[44] pointing up the change from spontaneity to interpolation.

Since the Lied was used as a trope in the ceremony, it interrupted the sequence "Victimae paschali." The Lied customarily broke into the sequence versicle which reads "Scimus Christum surrexisae a mortius vere, tu nobis victor rex miserere."[45] Freely translated, this versicle represents the same text as that of "Christ ist erstanden von der marter alle, des soln wir alle fro sein. Christ sol unser Trost sein," ["Christ is arisen from all His agony, therefore we should all joyful be. Christ will our Comfort be."] the text of the first and at this time only strophe of "Christ ist erstanden." The effect of the trope then is to give the congregation a chance to repeat part of the sequence -- the most basic part -- in the German vernacular.

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[42] Ibid., p. 106.

[43] Ibid., p. 109. At least 64 MSS are extant from the 12th and 13th centuries which have the two bound up together. Three play versions from near the same time contain the Lied without the sequence, but these are all from places where the "Victimae" and "Christ ist erstanden" connection had already been firmly established.

[44] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 103.

Lipphardt also gives a justification for contending that the actual melody of "Christ ist erstanden" is taken from various parts of the sequence creating a melodic as well as a textual interdependence between the Lied and the sequence.[46] This relationship may be debatable, since many cadential formulas and other melodic patterns were common to particular modes at this time and some of the similarities which Lipphardt uses may simply be some of these formulas (other than the similarity of the opening phrases of the two works already noted). To enable one to draw his own conclusions to this question, here are the sequence and the Lied side by side.

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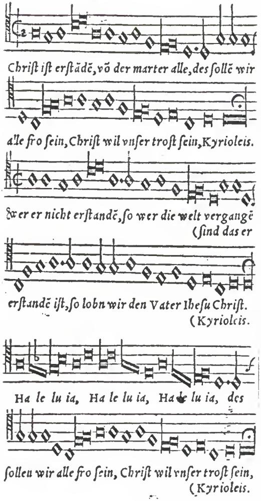
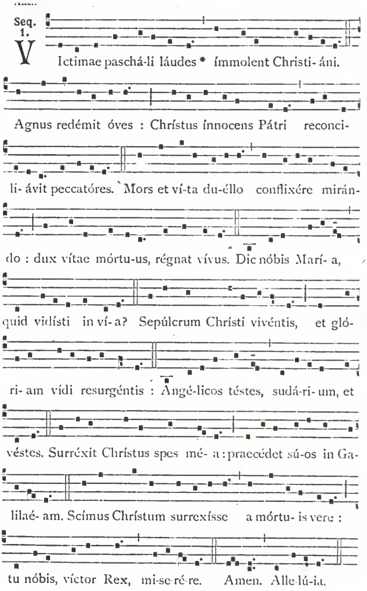
[45] Ibid., p.112.

[46] Ibid.


Chriſt iſt erſtãdẽ, võ der marter alle, des ſollẽ wir
alle fro ſein, Chriſt wil vnſer troſt ſein, Kyrioleis.
Wer er nicht erſtandẽ, ſo wer die welt vergangẽ (ſind das er
erſtandẽ iſt, ſo lobn wir den Vater Iheſu Chriſt. (Kyrioleis.
Ha le lu ia, Ha le lu ia, Ha le lu ia, des
ſollen wir alle fro ſein, Chriſt wil vnſer troſt ſein, (Kyrioleis.


Seq. 1.
Victimae paschá-li láudes * ímmolent Christi- áni.
Agnus redémit óves : Chrístus ínnocens Pátri reconci-
li- ávit peccatóres. Mors et ví-ta du-éllo conflixére mirán-
do : dux vítae mórtu-us, régnat vívus. Dic nóbis Marí- a,
quid vidísti in ví- a? Sepúlcrum Chrísti vivéntis, et gló-
ri- am vídi resurgéntis : Angé-licos téstes, sudá-ri- um, et
véstes. Surréxit Chrístus spes mé- a : praecédet sú-os in Ga-
lilaé- am. Scímus Chrístum surrexísse a mórtu- is vere :
tu nóbis, víctor Rex, mi-se-ré-re. Amen. Alle-lú-ia.

"Christ ist erstanden" became popular almost from the moment of its conception in the Augustinian branches of Catholicism, for it was generally the Augustinians who were responsible for its dissemination into Germany.[47] By the mid-fourteenth century, the Lied was transported to Prague, where a series of important developments in its history occurred. From about 1363-1369, an Augustinian preacher named Konrad Waldhauer rose to high public esteem in Prague especially in connection with his work among university students there. While Waldhauer was preaching in Prague at that time, he wrote a book of prayers and sermons entitled *Postilla studentium sanctae Pragensis universitatis*.[48] This book is important to our Lied history because it shows documentation of the use of "Christ ist erstanden," which became widespread as Waldhauer's university students spread throughout the land taking the *Postilla* with them.

The *Postilla* shows that "Christ ist erstanden" was by this time sung in several different languages in areas of mixed nationality but that all of the different texts were still sung to the same melody.[49] A direct quote from Waldhauer to this effect shows clearly a procedure in use at Prague.

> Deus eum exaltavit ut omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Ihesus Christus est in gloria patris. Unde theutunice et bohemice cantate sicut nos cantamus latine Cryst yst erstanden.

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[47] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 112.

[48] František Mužík, "Christ ist erstanden -- Buóh všemohúcí," *Miscellanea Musicologica* XXI-XXII (1970), 38.

[49] Ibid.

> Item Bohemis Boh wssemohuczy [sic] quia plures linguas nescimus Prage.50

As can be seen here,"Christ ist erstanden" was sung in Latin and Czech. Eventually six different text settings were used to the melody of the original German "Christ ist erstanden." The first to develop was the Czech setting mentioned in the quote above,"Buóh všemohúcí." The oldest record of the setting, apart from brief references such as the one in the Postilla, is extant in a setting of 1380 in which the "Lied" has expanded to ten strophes none of which could be construed to be translations of the original German text.[51] (It should be noted here that a second strophe is not known to have been added to the German "Lied" version until the fifteenth century when one appeared in a 1474 version included in a publication of 1529.[52]

The second version of "Christ ist erstanden " to develop in a different language was "Chrystus z martwych wstal jest." This setting is a Polish one with a direct textual link to the Czech version. The oldest surviving record of the Polish song is a single strophe dating from 1365 which is a literal translation of the third stanza of "Buóh všemohúcí." Unfortunately, most of this song version's history of development has been forgotten and few records of it are still extant. Two survive from the beginning of the fifteenth century which contain Polish versions

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50 František Mužík, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 38.

51 Ibid., p. 39.

52 Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 102.

of the Czech Lied's first two strophes. More importantly, a liturgy from Breslau of the end of the seventeenth century confirms the use of the Lied in a multiple language text environment.[53] It reads,

> Finaliter, canitur sequentia seu prosa: Victimae paschali laudes etc. Post quamlibet versum populus in vulgari suo canit canticum laetittae de resurrectione Domini: Christ ist erstanden etc. vel polonice Chrystus zmartwych wstal iest etc.[54]

This multiple-language singing of "Christ ist erstanden" seems to have been so popular and so well grounded that as early as 1329 German clergymen faced a massive uproar when they briefly attempted to ban the singing of even the Czech version in the worship services.[55]

Settings of "Christ ist erstanden" now found in German, Czech, and Polish were to find their way into one more language before the Reformation. This fourth language was Latin. Three Latin parallels to "Christ ist erstanden" can be isolated. The first of these versions,"Christus surrexit" dates from the fourteenth century.[56] It seems to have begun in Bohemia using the original Lied melody and the Lied's first strophe of text.[57] Later it developed into an independent cantio[58] with more strophes, a different melody, and more than one vocal part.[59] The second Latin version was "Deus omnipotens" which probably developed when the use of vernacular folksongs in church services was questioned. Begun in about 1400, also in Bohemia, this Latin version consisted of a literal translation of the oldest four strophes of the Czech "Buóh všemohúcí."[60] It would in fact be sung in alternation with the Czech version as "clerus literatur -- populus vulgaritur"[61] until it too branched off on its own in the beginning of the 16th century as an independent cantio.[62] The third and final (as far as I know) Latin version of "Christ ist erstanden" is "Resurrexit Cristus." The descent of this version is not yet conclusively known,[63] but it appeared in Bohemia in about 1480 as probably only a single-strophe Latin cantio. It does not seem to have enjoyed a wide circulation.[64]

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[53] František Mužík, "Christ ist erstanden," pp. 39-40.

[54] Ibid., p. 40.

[55] Ibid., p. 38.

[56] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 100.

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[57] František Mužík, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 41.

[58] A "cantio" was a non-liturgical but sacred Latin song from the fourteenth century which was sung in unison. Originally it was sung on festival days such as Easter or Christmas. See Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale," p. 314.

[59] František Mužík, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 41.

[60] Ibid., p. 40.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., p. 41.

[64] Ibid., p. 43.

The spread of "Christ ist erstanden" and its widely proclaimed popularity was certainly evidenced in its translation into other languages, but the translation process itself may be said to have had an important effect on the actual "Lied" as well. As the Lied was translated into other languages -- especially Latin -- it became universal enough to work its way into the liturgy. By 1480, it was in the Mainz liturgy, by 1491 the Bamberg, by 1497 the Magdeburg, etc.[65] With the Latin versions or cantios, it was sung alternately so that Latin verses were separated by German ones.[66] With the Czech version it was sung simultaneously while the clergy also sang the Latin version "Christus surrexit."[67] In any case, it was always considered a trope to the sequence "Victimae paschali" at the end of the Easter service until the Council of Trent abolished tropes. At this time, all tropes which were made within sequences were prohibited, so that in all practicality "Christ ist erstanden" should have been banned along with the Latin cantios which were sung in an interruptive fashion as tropes to the "Victimae" sequence. However, nothing, it seems, could root out the tradition of singing "Christ ist erstanden" by this time, and it retained its place in the service, simply moving outside the sequence. A concession was made to the Council's decree only by calling "Christ ist erstanden" an antiphon instead of a trope.[68] Its continued use is shown in the litany of St. Gallen of 1583, for example, since it was sung after the "Victimae" there at that time.[69]

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[65] Franz M. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch, p. 660.

[66] Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale," p. 314.

[67] František Mužík, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 43.

> Next the antiphon : "Surrexit dominus de sepultura" which is sung three times and ever louder is appended, next the sequence "Victimae paschalis" is sung completely through and after each verse of which "Christ ist erstanden" remains, "Salve festa die," finally "Regina coeli" etc.[70]

In the historical era of the Renaissance, many many versions of "Christ ist erstanden" or one of its six off-shoots described above appeared. It was used by Catholic and Protestant alike as a starting point for numerous types of polyphonic works. Some of these settings will be discussed in detail in chapter three. In the meantime, let us look at what we have discovered thus far in terms of the chorale "Christ ist erstanden" and its pre-Reformation history.

1. As Müller-Blatteau claimed and we found true, "Christ ist erstanden" began as a "Ruf" -- an acclamatory response of the people to the Easter sermon.

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[68] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 112.

[69] Franz M. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch, p. 660.

[70] Ibid. The original quote is

> Darauf wird hinzufugt die Antiphon: "Surrexit dominus de sepultura," welche dreimal gesungenwird und immer lauter, darauf wird gesungen die Prosa "Victimae paschali" ganz auss, und "Christ ist erstanden," nach jedem Verse, wennes beliebt,"Salve festa dies," endlich "Regina coeli" u.s.w.

2. When the text and melody of "Christ ist erstanden" expanded to four lines, it retained its acclamatory function sounded by the Volk but gained also a refrain using the word "Kyrieleis" or sometimes "Alleluia." This refrain causes the song to be classed as a "Leise" since it is taken from the words "Kyrie eleison."

3. The one-stanza form of "Christ ist erstanden" can no longer be called a "Ruf" because its use is that of a trope -- interpolative rather that spontaneous -- and its text is expanded to include a theological statement of belief. At this point, the song can be properly called a "Lied" since its lines rhyme and it is in the form of a strophe and refrain.

4. Teuscher's theory that the Lied "Christ ist erstanden" preceded the sequence "Victimae paschali" and affected the latter's development has been shown to be incorrect, proving Baumker's theory that the opposite is rather the case.

5. Lipphardt has shown that "Christ ist erstanden" came after the versicle of "Victimae" which reads "Scimus Christum surrexius a mortius vere, tu nobis victor rex miserere" and that roughly translated both texts are the same. He also notes a melodic dependency between Lied and sequence involving more than the parallel opening phrases of both, which I consider questionable.

6. Use of "Christ ist erstanden" in both Easter service and Easter play was spread mainly by the Augustinian clergy, most likely radiating originally from Passau. One of these clergymen, Waldhauer, located in Prague, records the use of "Christ ist erstanden" in a multiple language text.

7. The melody of "Christ ist erstanden" was eventually used for six different texts which were either directly related to the original German text or parallel to a separate Czech text,"Buóh všemohúcí." Languages represented by the texts were German, Czech, Polish, and Latin. The different versions were used in conjunction with each other either in alternation or simultaneously as tropes to the "Victimae" sequence.

8. By the Council of Trent in 1545-63, "Christ ist erstanden" was a firm tradition in the Easter celebration not to be uprooted and had worked its way into most contemporary Latin liturgies.

Chorale Variants of Reformation Times

To understand the use of "Christ ist erstanden" in the Protestant community, one must give some consideration to a few of Martin Luther's views on music in the church since Luther was the first central Reformation figure. Many of Luther's reforms grew directly out of his views of the purpose of music. According to him, church music has a three-fold function. First, it is a means of praising God. Second, it is a means of giving offering to God by the congregation. And third, it is a means of educating men comprehensively concerning Christianity.[71]

To achieve his purposes of praise, offering, and education, Luther and his protestant successors made use of several types of music in worship services. Some music they took from the liturgical chants, some from Pre-Reformation sacred German songs, some from German folksongs or fraternal songs, some from Latin cantios, and some from elsewhere.[72] (Of course some was also newly composed.) Often the protestant composer simply "improved in a Christian manner the texts of older popular or even sacred songs -- a practice known as writing "contrafacta."[73]

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[71] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music a History trans. by F. Ellsworth Peterson (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974),p. 14.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

"Christ ist erstanden" was naturally a good candidate for admittance to the protestant repertoire, given its long history of congregational involvement, its strong theological text, and its use as affirmative praise. Consequently, it was among a collection of pre-Reformation hymns which was simply assimilated unaltered into the protestant musical literature. It appeared in a hymnbook of 1529[74] under the translated heading "several hymns by Christians of the long ago."[75] "Christ ist erstanden" appears to be one of the first songs to be adopted whole by the Lutherans, as Blume, the major authority on protestant church music, says that it "occupied a firm place as the nucleus around which the repertory grew, and Luther placed it above all others."[76]

As high a place as "Christ ist erstanden" may have had in the Lutheran literature, it was still subject to the practice of contrafacta writing. Within only a relatively short time (by 1600) the song's one stanza had been joined or replaced by as many as eleven others.[77] In fact, Luther himself wrote a second

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[74] The Wittenberg hymnbook published by Joseph Klug now extant in the second edition of 1533. This version will be dealt with later in this chapter.

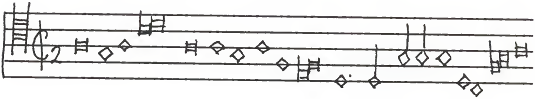
[75] Konrad Ameln, The Roots of ...," p. 17.

[76] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 20.

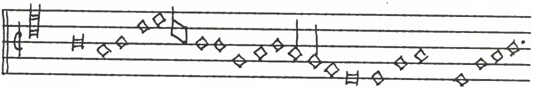
[77] Philipp Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung Heldesheim, 1867), Vol. II, p. 732.

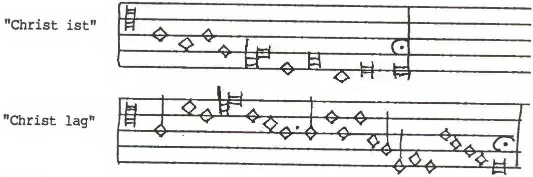
Easter hymn between 1523 and 1524[78] which very closely resembles "Christ ist erstanden." It too was modeled on the sequence "Victimae Paschali laudes" as well as on "Christ ist erstanden," but it saw Christ's death and resurrection as a single event. Luther called this hymn "Christ ist erstanden" also but we now know it as "Christ lag in Todesbanden."[79] The affinity of these two chorales is best noted when they are seen side by side as they are in the following example.

"Christ ist erstanden"[80]



"Christ ist erstanden gebessert"[81] ("Christ lag ...")





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[78] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 41

[79] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 20.

[80] Valentin Babst, ed., "Der Lobgesang/Christ ist

One final note should be sounded on terminology before we move to the music itself. Most musical and non-musical sources concerned with the simple four-part homophonic setting of "Christ ist erstanden" call the song a "chorale." Originally, the word "choral" simply referred to the current style of congregational singing -- in unison and unaccompanied. Later, "chorale" came to refer to the piece being sung -- usually Gregorian chant or its corresponding protestant counterpart -- rather than the style of singing.[82] More modern definitions of "chorale" usually add that the text of the piece is strophic in rhymed metrical verse, and that both text and music are simple and singable.[83] It seems that the Germans only continue to refer to the music alone with the word "choral" and use a different term, "Kirchenlied" to include both tune and text of the song[84]. Throughout this chapter, I shall use the term "chorale" to refer to both the text and the tune of "Christ ist erstanden," in either its monophonic or its simple homophonic four-part setting.

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erstanden," Das Babs'sche Gesangbuch, Facsimile of 1545 publication. (Kassel: Barenreiter Verlag, 1929),No. LIX.

[81] Ibid., No. VIII.

[82] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 65.

[83] Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale," p. 312.

[84] Ibid., p. 313.

Of the approximately 160 sources of "Christ ist erstanden" noted by Lipphardt in his catalogue spanning the 12th-16th centuries,[85] I have of course chosen a relatively small but hopefully representative number of available versions of the song. In addition to this selection, I have added four more recent settings of the song -- the only four that have a full homophonic four-voice harmonization -- simply for the sake of general comparison. In all, I have examined a total of ten chorale versions of "Christ ist erstanden" only two of which are exactly alike. These settings are numbered in the following chart chronologically by the date of the manuscripts or publications in which they appear.

MS/Pub.	Date*	Ed./Arranger	Comments
1. Munich Codex	1479		Oldest version of melody from 12th cen.[86]
2.	1513	Peter Schoffer	in Mainz[87]
3. *Das Klug'sche Gesangbuch*	1533	Martin Luther[88]	
4.	1536	H. Find	Notated first before 1500[89]

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[85] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," pp. 97-99.

[86] Franz M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, p.658. The specific date, 1479, comes from number 34 of Lipphardt's chart -- Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 98.

[87] Franz M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, pp. 659,661.

[88] Klug, ed., *Das Klug'sche Gesangbuch*, Fascimilie of 1533 publication, (Wittenberg: 1975), pp. 93,93b.

[89] Franz M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, p. 659.

MS/Pub.	Date*	Ed./Arranger	Comments
5. Schumanns ev. Glgb.	1539	Schumann	Found in both Cath. and Prt. songbooks fr. 1539 on[90]
6. Das Babst'sche Gesangbuch	1545	Babst	Exactly the same as version 3[91]
7.	1764	Bach[92]	
8.	1906	Percy Dearmer	From Ch. of Eng. hymnal[93]
9.	1956	E. Harold Geer	From non-denominational songbook[94]
10. Lutheran Book of Worship	1978		Luthern version in modern usage which uses 1533 melody.[95]

* Dates listed are publication dates or manuscript dates, not dates of composition or of specific arrangements.

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[90] Ibid., pp. 659,661.

[91] Valentin Babst,ed., Das Babst'sche Gesangbuch, No. LIX.

[92] J.S. Bach, "Christ ist erstanden," 371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies with figured bass (Revised, corrected, and annotated by Albert Riemenschneider.) New York: G. Schirmer, 1941, p. 45.

[93] Percy Dearmer,ed., "Christ ist erstanden," The English Hymnal with Tunes (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press,1958, p. 192.

[94] E. Harold Geer, ed., "Christ is now risen again," Hymnal for Colleges and Schools (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), No. 103.

[95] "Christ Is Arisen," Lutheran Book of Worship (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1978), No. 136.

From this chart, it can be seen that I have examined pre-Reformation versions (numbers 1 and 2), versions from Lutheran songbooks (numbers 3, 6, and 10), versions from both Catholic and protestant sources (numbers 5 and 9), a version from Bach (number 8), and versions with various protestant or Catholic ties that are rather unclear (numbers 4 and 7). The majority of versions are from the 16th century with samplings of earlier and later settings.

The most recent versions, numbers 7-10, as mentioned earlier, are the only ones which are harmonized. I do not intend to compare harmonies of any of the chorale settings, but to examine closely only their melodies. Indeed, these four later settings will be given little more than passing notice. Instead, our comparative study will be limited to considerations of pitch, rhythm, and text as they affect the chorale melody in the earlier chorale versions.

It is interesting to note that even now in the 20th century no one authoritative version of "Christ ist erstanden" is placed above the others;[96] all four post-16th-century versions are slightly different and each may be paired according to pitch with a melodically corresponding 16th-century version. Versions 9 and 10 of the chorale are exactly the same as the 1533 melody of version 3 until the end, where version 9 sets four "Alleluia" statements and version 3 has a single "Kyrioleis" instead. Version 8 of the chorale is the same as the 1539 melody in version 5 but adds one neighboring tone in the last phrase. Bach's version, number 7, is most like the 1513 version of number 2 in melodic contour, but as was his custom, Bach added several passing tones which gave it also the flavor of some of the other versions.

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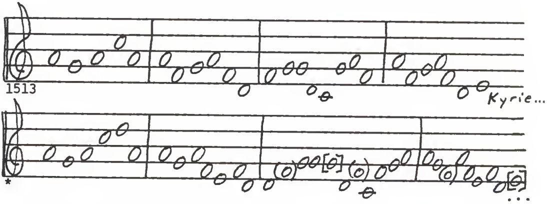
[96] An exception to this statement may be found in the Lutheran denomination which seems to have retained Luther's 1533 version rather consistently.

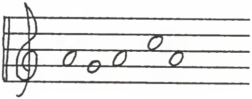
In terms of pitch alone, very few changes seem to have been made in the basic "Christ ist erstanden" melody. (Those changes come into play when dealing with the closing refrain or affirmation which will be discussed separately from the main portion of the melody.) I would say that two basic pitch versions of the chorale melody occur. One is the plain unornamented version of 1513 -- number 2. The other is a slightly more decorative version represented by the other settings of numbers 1 and 3-6. To see the comparison of the two basic versions, examine the renderings of them below. They have been put into modern notation and generic rhythms here for easier comparison of melody. Bar lines will denote phrase changes only.



* Notes in parentheses are notes that appear in place of the notes immediately preceding them in a minority of manuscripts whereas notes in brackets are added notes in some manuscripts which do not appear in all the manuscripts.

It is important to note with this comparison, that the addition of notes in the ornamented version is not due to a change in text and that, indeed, in the 1497 version the ornamented melody first appears with the original one stanza of the chorale alone. (Later, notes are at times added as pick ups or repetitions to accommodate texts of added verses as in version 3. This version has a written-out duplicate of our ornamented melody for verse one and a second written-out melodic rendition which adds such accommodating repeated notes for verse 2.)

As is also evident in this comparison, the basic melody of both versions is the same. It is placed in the Dorian mode (although in versions 1 and 4 the mode is transposed to a one-flat key signature and a finalis on G), and the melody's form may be designated as an abcb formula. The melody's original lack of half-steps gives it a decidedly pentatonic flavor making it sound more like a folk song than a traditional plainchant melody. On the other hand, it uses characteristic modal formulas like the opening phrase. This phrase can be found also in the opening to the sequence "Victimae paschalis laudes" and as a choral response used in the "Te Deum." This response was repeated again and again between solo passages and can be notated as follows,[97]



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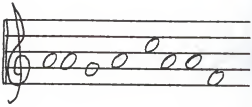
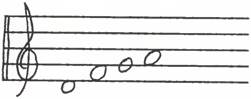
[97] Valentin Babst, ed., Das Babst'sche Gesangbuch, No. XXXVI, sixth " ander Chor." Other choral responses are similar.





The cadential formula used in the third phrase is preponderant in Dorian psalm chants such as Psalm XII of the Babst songbook -- number XXII. Even the pattern at left can be found in other Dorian pieces although using different pitches at times.[98] So, the melody itself is an easy one to grasp due to its pentatonism and would have had a comfortable familiarity to it arising from its use of standard Dorian features.

Aside from pitch considerations, rhythmic variations in the chorale versions are the most striking. Versions 1-3 as the oldest ones are unmetered yet each shows a progressively more complex rhythm. The other 16th-century versions are all in duple meter and although not more rhythmically complex are rhythmically different from each other. (Versions 3 and 6 differ only in that version 6 has a duple meter sign and 3 does not.) The first three versions are good examples of the development of rhythmic notation. They contain the following respective note values.

Version 1 ◇, 𝆷, 𝆸
Version 2 ◇, 𝆷, 𝆸, 𝆹𝅥
Version 3 ◇, 𝆷, 𝆸, 𝆹𝅥, ◇·

See how version 2 adds the short minima note (𝆹𝅥) and version 3 offers a new way of using the semibrevis-minima (◇ - 𝆹𝅥) combination by adding a dot to the semibreve (◇·).

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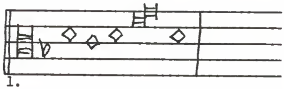
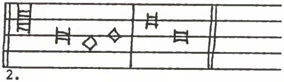
[98] Valentine Babst,ed., Das Babst'sche Gesangbuch, Nos. XXII, XVII, XIII, XXX, XXXI, etc.

Versions 4-6 add no new note values and versions 7-10 are of course in modern and different rhythmic notations.

Let us look first at the opening phrase of the melody in each of the five different versions to be discussed. Already only two are alike.


1.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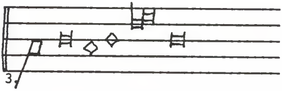
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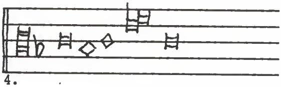
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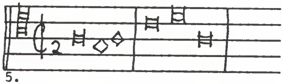
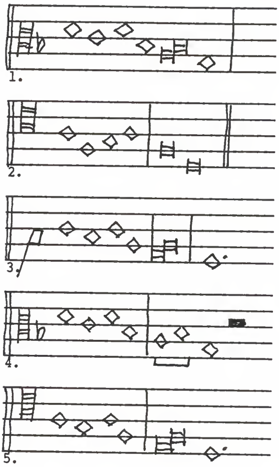
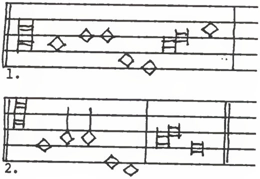

5.

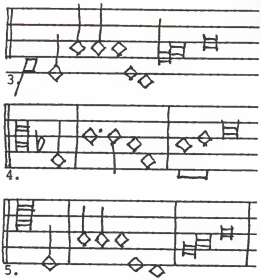
Version 1 is the only version to begin with a semibrevis (◇). Virtually all of the others begin with a brevis (⊟) which accentuates the word"Christ" instead of putting it on equal rhythmic footing with "ist er-." The next difference in rhythm occurs in the last three notes of the phrase (two notes for version 2). Version 1 is alone in ending the phrase with a semibrevis (◇). This shows that when the song was later metered, a syncopation connecting the phrases would not be appropriate here if it were to be effective as a cadence point. As a result, either or in one case became standard.

The second phrase offers no less variation than the first. Here, the only real rhythmic variation is again connected with the cadence of the phrase. Each version handles the cadence differently, but the majority end with a preparation for a pick-up note to begin the next phrase. The last note of the cadence is not prolonged more than the penultimate one because it occurs on the last syllable of "alle" which is almost a dropped syllable in German and cannot afford to be stressed.



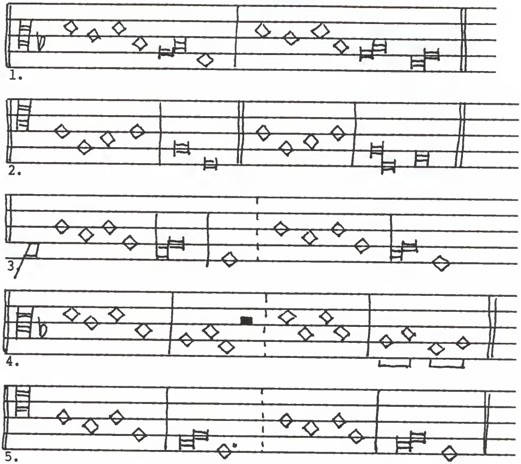
The third phrase is rather lively in one or two places where dotted rhythms come into play. The first major rhythmic difference in this phrase can be traced to minor text modifications. In versions 1,2, and 4 the second note of the phrase is only sounded twice to go with the text "sol wir," "solln wir," or "soln





wir." A rather natural progression of rhythmic variation then occurs in the first three notes of the phrase in these versions since the "sol" is accented in speaking this phrase. A three-semibrevis-repetition (𝆹 𝆹 𝆹) puts no inherent accent on "sol," whereas 𝆹 𝆹𝅥 𝆹𝅥 puts a slight emphasis on "sol wir," since this is the only place in this version where the minima (𝆹𝅥) appears, but 𝆹𝅥 𝆹· 𝆹𝅥 puts a definite accent on "sol" both by de-emphasizing the preceding "des" in a pick-up and by prolonging the note for "sol." The other versions 3, 5, and 6 (the last which is the duplicate of 3) use the more grammatically correct "sollen wir" -- hence the extra repeated pitch and the common method of placing a rhythmic accent on "soll-." As was true in the other phrases, the cadence of the third phrase varies considerably from version to version with no immediately apparent cause.

The fourth phrase, as may be expected, ties in rhythmically to the second phrase of each version as it does melodically. Again no apparent textual differences create the rhythmic differences, for all of the versions have the same text for this phrase of stanza one.



A third component of the chorale's makeup besides pitch and rhythm has been touched upon briefly but deserves more consideration at this point. As was mentioned in chapter one, many verses were added to the original stanza of "Christ ist erstanden" after the Reformation began. The original verse was,

> Christ ist erstanden,
> von der marter alle,
> des sollen wir alle fro seyn,
> Christ will unser Trost sein.[99]

After the verse was sung, a final affirmative phrase always followed it -- perhaps as a remnant of the old "Ruf." The form that this phrase would take shall be discussed shortly. In the meantime, a second stanza was added to the chorale at least by 1531, as Wackernagel prints this verse from an Erfurt manuscript of that date.

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[99] This 1513 version comes from Franz M. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch, p. 659. Several other manuscripts have differences in spel as well as a substitute for the line "von der marter alle," which reads "judas ist derhangen." As mentioned earlier, some later sources also change "solln" to "sollen." See Wackernagel for details on text variants.

> Wer er nicht erstanden,
> die welt die wer vergangen:
> Seid das er erstanden ist,
> So lob wir den vater Jesu Christ.[100]

Because this second verse has a different number of syllables on each line of text than the first verse, settings of the chorale came to have two written-out melodic stanzas. This is the case with versions 3 and 6, the first of my versions to contain fermatas which separate the verses. Version 6 in its entirety will be reproduced on the the following page to point up these modifications.

Along with the modifications made for the second stanza, this version adds an entire third stanza combining the praise mentioned in stanza two with a reprise of stanza one. This three- verse variation seems to be a peculiarly Lutheran one and was the one accepted by Bach for his chorale harmonization and his organ chorale prelude on "Christ ist erstanden."[101] It seems that the Catholic versions of the song and some other protestant versions varied immensely from the single stanza to three

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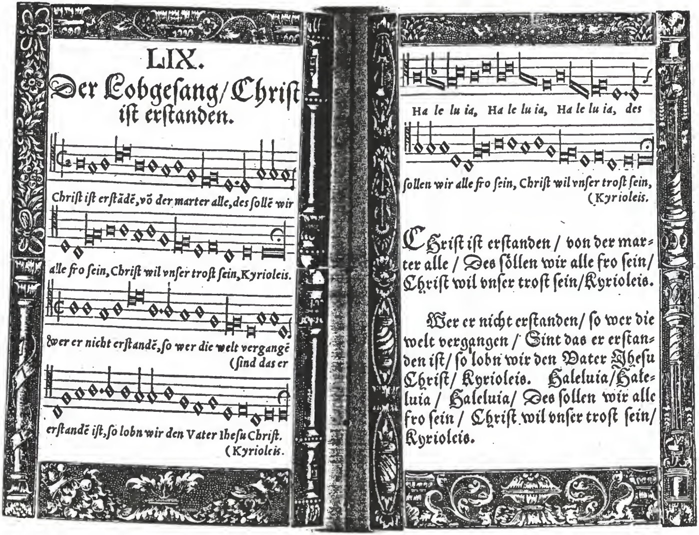
[100] Philipp Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied,Vol, II, p. 726, No. 935.

[101] See J.S. Bach, 371 Harmonized Chorales..., p. 45. It labels the three verses "Christ ist erstanden," "War er nicht erstanden," and "Alleluja."



LIX.

Der Lobgeſang/ Chriſt iſt erſtanden.

Chriſt iſt erſtādē, vō der marter alle, des ſollē wir
alle fro ſein, Chriſt wil vnſer troſt ſein, Kyrioleis.
Wer er nicht erſtandē, ſo wer die welt vergangē
(ſind das er
erſtandē iſt, ſo lobn wir den Vater Iheſu Chriſt.
(Kyrioleis.

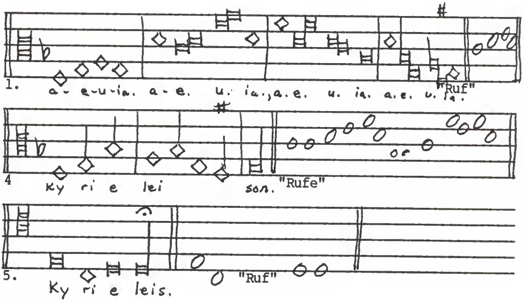
Ha le lu ia, Ha le lu ia, Ha le lu ia, des
ſollen wir alle fro ſein, Chriſt wil vnſer troſt ſein,
(Kyrioleis.

CHriſt iſt erſtanden / von der marter alle / Des ſöllen wir alle fro ſein/ Chriſt wil vnſer troſt ſein/Kyrioleis.

Wer er nicht erſtanden/ ſo wer die welt vergangen / Sint das er erſtanden iſt/ ſo lobn wir den Vater Jheſu Chriſt/ Kyrioleis. Haleluia/Haleluia / Haleluia/ Des ſollen wir alle fro ſein / Chriſt wil vnſer troſt ſein/ Kyrioleis.

stanzas, to 4, 5, 8, or practically any number up to 11.[102] Unfortunately, this is not the place to go into detail on text variants, as they could fill a volume easily by themselves.

Now, however, as promised, the various affirmation statements found at the close of "Christ ist erstanden" -- or the close of each stanza of it as the case may be -- must be dealt with. I have not been able to determine that any of these affirmation phrases ever became a standard one. The phrases fall into three categories -- the "Kyrie eleison" "Kyrioleis," and "Alleluia." Each of these conforms to old "Rufe" formulas listed by Lipphardt,[103] and each appears at the end of a different one-stanza version of the chorale taken from our list of six. Below are the chorale phrases with their corresponding "Rufe."



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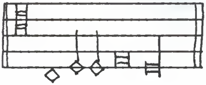
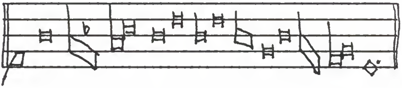
[102] Philipp Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied..., Vol. II has an amazing variety of these different texts.

[103] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 114. He also gives three other formulas: CCCD, FFFD, and CCDDD.

When other verses were added to the original, in each case including an "Alleluia" stanza, no one of these three phrases is consistently left out. Version 2 uses the "Kyrieleyson" of version 4 without any melismas, so it becomes as follows.



Versions 3 and 6 adopt the "Kyrioleis" of version 5. And versions 3 and 6 adapt much of the "Aeuia" of version 1 for use in the third "Alleluia" stanza so that the stanza begins and ends with version 5's "Kyrioleis."[104]



Certainly other, more detailed examinations of variant chorale forms of "Christ ist erstanden" would prove to be profitable. A short discussion of the melody in terms of pitch, rhythm, and minor text variations as has been attempted here only grazes the surface of the analytical possibilities that a comprehensive study of the many other "Christ ist erstanden" sources would reveal. However, as this short probe has shown, "Christ ist erstanden" has remained remarkably stable in melodic outline throughout the centuries, and such modifications as have occurred in melody and rhythm were largely due to changes or additions in text. Only the closing affirmation phrases directly descended from "Rufe" seem to be subject to constant variation, helping the chorale to retain its original role -- a depth of expression by the lay worshiper proclaiming the mystery of the resurrection.

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[104] The 1956 version from E. Harold Geer, ed., Hymnal for Colleges and Schools, No. 103 uses version one's "aeuia" ending verbatim as a refrain to a three verse text so it is still in visible use today in some congregations.

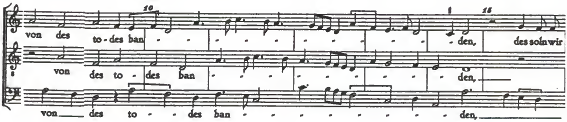
Renaissance Polyphonic Settings

In previous chapters, we examined the development of "Christ ist erstanden into and as a chorale. This chapter will turn our focal point toward its use in polyphonic music of the Renaissance. Being both a sacred and a popular song, "Christ ist erstanden" was a natural choice for use as a spring board for composition. After all, in this age, showing favor to a song meant composing a new work around it. As may be expected, all works of the Renaissance which use "Christ ist erstanden" are too numerous to include in this chapter. Some ten works have been chosen to show different techniques, genres, and styles into which various composers cast the chorale. All of these works come from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and all use some version of the chorale melody whether or not they include its words. The works fall into three categories -- motets, masses, and miscellaneous. (The miscellaneous group includes three unique settings.)

The first of these categories to warrant discussion is that of the motet. I have examined five motets based on "Christ ist erstanden." Obviously, this genre represents the larger part of the "Christ ist erstanden" polyphonic repertoire. The motets also span both the 15th and 16th centuries. The first two of them are both anonymous settings and have been taken from the

Glogauer Liederbuch -- a partbook dating from approximately 1470 that includes an amazing variety of sacred and secular compositions alike.[105] The settings may well have been used for liturgical plays, as they both appear as number 49 in Lipphardt's catalogue of sources.[106]

The first motet appears as the first piece in the *Glogauer Liederbuch*. It is a three -voice motet in the Burgundian style. Written for cantus and two tenor voices, the motet could easily be played on instruments as well as sung. The two upper parts lie well for alto and tenor recorders, and the second tenor part would be particularly effective on a gamba, since its octave and a sixth range is rather too wide for the tenor or bass recorders, Typical Burgundian features of the motet include frequent writing in parallel thirds or sixths, melodic movement and figures revolving on the interval of a third, clearly defined cadences, and the melody appearing consistently only in one part which is accompanied by the others. Examples of each of these features can be seen in the excerpt below.


10
15
von des to-des ban - - - - - - - - - - - - - den, des soln wir
von des to - des ban - - - - - - - - - den,
von des to - - des ban - - - - - - - - - den,

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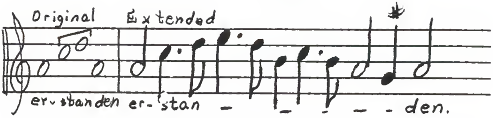
[105] Heribert Ringmann, "Vorwort" to *Das Glogauer Liederbuch* (Kassel: Barenreiter-Verlag, 1954), p. V.

[106] Walther Lipphardt, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 98.

The words to our chorale are placed with all three voices of the motet, but its melody is claimed only by the uppermost voice. (The opening motive, heard alone in the contratenor, is from the first phrase of the chorale, but only the cantus completes this phrase and states all of the others.) The version of the chorale melody used is comparable to the earliest variant discussed in chapter two (version 1 of about 1479). A few minor changes in the basic melody do occur. First, the second phrase of the 1479 version -- besides having the words "judas ist der hangen" instead of the motet's "von des todes banden" -- has an initial descending interval of a major second while the motet has a descending interval of a major third. Second, the 1479 version's third phrase begins with the pitches "F" "G" (if transposed to the same key signature) while the motet reverses them to "G" "F". Finally, although the motet uses the word "alleluja" for its ending, it also inserts "alleluja" repeated twice between the third and fourth phrases of the chorale tune. None of these repetitions of "alleluja" use the melody underlying that word in the 1479 chorale version.

The method of putting the chorale tune into use as the basis of a motet, as this unknown composer did, necessarily had effects upon how the motet was put together. In this instance, the composer retained the verbatim pitches of the entire chorale, but expanded each phrase by means of melismatic extensions -- at least one word of each of three phrases and an addition of text to the other phrase. In the first phrase, for example, the word "erstanden" was lengthened by the following melisma.



In like manner, the words "banden" in phrase two, and "unser" and "Trost," both in phrase four, were lengthened by melismas. The addition of "alleluja" already mentioned between phrases three and four also had the effect of lengthening the third chorale phrase.

Other aspects of style could be discussed in relation to this setting. .The rhythmic element is of importance as a distinguishing mark for the work. First it makes use of imperfect meter (4/4)[107] for the entire chorale stanza but changes to 3/4 for the ending "alleluja" section. Such a change in meter is emphasized by a drastic change in rhythmic style. The 4/4 section contains several short rhythmic motives such as ♩.♪♫♩ or ♩♩♩𝅗𝅥 which are passed from the cantus voice to the two tenors. It also makes use of a generous amount of syncopation -- which is evident in the short excerpts already quoted above -- in every voice producing overall a rather complex composite rhythm. The predominantly homorhythmic 3/4 section, on the other hand, seems to be a throw-back to the 13th century use of the rhythmic modes. It is dominated by a movement of 𝅗𝅥♩ both in individual and composite voices (what had been known as rhythmic mode I.) In only one isolated measure, bar 35, is this feeling of a rhythmic mode broken momentarily. Could this combination of new and old styles have symbolized the timelessness of the chorale and the perfect truth revealed in its words?

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[107] Original meter was ○2 but this edition marks it 4/4. "Christ ist erstanden," *Das Glogauer Liederbuch* (Kassel: Barenreiter-Verlag, 1954), p. 3. This paper has not the scope for a discourse on mensural notation, so it will hereafter only ba alluded to.

Other symbolism in the work suggests that this idea is not far-fetched. Note the words which were chosen for embellishment. First "erstanden" -- this melody was extended upward in all three voices and "erstanden" means " arisen." Second,"banden" -- the melisma on this word is the longest impediment to the forward progression of text and is the only place in the motet that a phrase uses more than one note below the contratenor "D" and "banden" means "bonds [of death]." Third, "unser Trost" -- this melisma provides the transition from 4/4 meter to 3/4 meter, from imperfection to perfection and these words mean "our Comfort" [in reference to Christ.] Finally, the placement of the three added "allelujas" after "des soln wir alle fro sein" or "wherefore let us joyful be" is significant not only in that the "alleluja" is a response to the mention of joy, but also in that "alleluja" was sounded three times -- a Biblical symbol of completeness and medieval symbol of perfection or the Trinity.

Our second motet setting of "Christ ist erstanden" found in the Glogauer Liederbuch is also anonymous and appears as the third motet in the collection.[108] This motet setting provides a contrast to the first one discussed. Although this motet is also for three voices, the third voice is not a contratenor but a bass. The melody of the chorale is not in the highest voice as in the other motet either. Instead, it is used as a cantus firmus in the middle (tenor) voice. The setting itself is very brief consisting of a mere three systems as opposed to the first motet's five. The words of the chorale text also appear only with the tenor line and the two outside parts appear more suited for instruments than voices as far as filling in a text is concerned.

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[108] "Christ ist erstanden," Das Glogauer Leiderbuch (Kassel: Barenreiter-Verlag, 1954), p. 4.

Also in the Burgundian tradition, this second motet is basically homophonic, makes use of full triad sonorities rather consistently, has clear cadential figures, and is by no means imitative, but consists rather of melody (cantus firmus) and accompaniment. A suggestion that this work is late Burgundian can be made because of the use of a bass part which was not a common early Burgundian trait but rather a Franco-Flemish one. Cadences are also approached by a leap in the bass part as was more characteristic of Franco-Flemish composers than Burgundian composers.

The particular treatment of the chorale as a cantus firmus in this motet not only causes elimination of the extended melismas found in the first motet but also causes simplification of the actual melody itself. First the four phrase original ("a" "b" "c" "b") was cut to three phrases ("a" "b" "c"). Then the three phrases were simplified. the following comparison of a version 3 of the original chorale melody[109] and the motet cantus firmus will clarify the simplification process.

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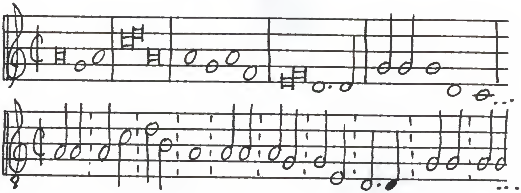
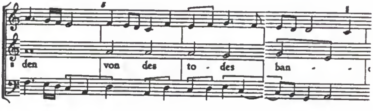
[109] 1539 version from Franz M. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch, p. 659.



At the end of the third phrase of the cantus firmus, the motet composer then adds a single melismatic -- although still mostly white note -- "alleluja."

Against the slower moving cantus firmus tenor, the two outer voices move together at a moderately faster pace -- mainly quarter notes with occasional eighths and sixteenths as opposed to the basic half notes of the tenor. These two outer voices are the ones most likely to move in parallel thirds, as the following four-bar excerpt will show, with the tenor completing triadic sonorities.



(measures 4-7)

The overall effect produced is homophonic and simple. This setting would seem particularly fitting for participation by the Volk at the Easter play, or better yet, as a processional hymn to be played and sung while walking.

The other three motets to be studied all come from a collection of works published by Georg Rhau in Wittenberg in 1544 called Newe deutsche geistliche Gesenge fur die gemeinen Schulen. As the title of the publication indicates, the collection was organized to be used by the citizen-supported Latin schools of the time. These schools were largely located in sizable cities, Wittenberg being one of them, where Protestantism flourished. The pieces in the collection would most likely have been used both in the schools and in churches.[110] That the collection was published by Rhau comes as no surprise since he was the major publisher of Protestant music at the time and was known as a musician himself.[111] That the collection includes the breadth of composers that it does may be a little more of a surprise. Composers represented include Isaac, Senfl, von Bruck, Mahu, Dieterich, Dicis, Stoltzer, and others.[112]

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[110] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, pp. 89,95.

[111] Victor H. Mattfeild, "Rhau [Rhaw], Georg" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Vol. XV, p. 787.

[112] Denkmäler deutsches Tonkunst (Wiesbaden: Breitkopft & Hartel, 1958), Vol. 34, p. VI. Also included in the collection are several anonymous works which are thought to have been composed by Rhau himself. (See the Grove article on Rhaw in Vol. XV also.)

The first of these three motets, by Arnoldus de Bruck,[113] is quite complex and shows Bruck's great mastery of style. Bruck, who lived from approximately 1500-1554, was a Franco-Flemish composer. He succeeded Heinrich Finck to the post of court Kapellmeister to Archduke Ferdinand from 1527-45. While there he taught, among others, Stephen Mahu whose work also appears in the Newe Gesenge. The bulk of Bruck's extant work is focused on sacred and secular Lieder many of which are prime examples of the movement toward setting chorales in polyphonic motet style[114] as will be seen in his motet "Christ ist erstanden."

Bruck's motet is divided into three parts corresponding to the three verses of the chorale in our versions 3 or 6. Each section is in alla breve in the Dorian mode and makes use of a cantus firmus technique. The prima pars for four voices uses the bass line as the cantus firmus. This line states each phrase of the chorale once and uses a plain, unadorned version of the chorale. Bruck's setting is quite different from the settings previously discussed however. In his motet the voices are all equally important and all use at least one melodic phrase of the chorale. The cantus and tenor voices, in fact, each state the complete chorale melody but make use of melismatic ornamentations within nearly each phrase. The altus voice as well has complete statements of the first two chorale phrases and a modified version of the third phrase. The overall result of the motet gives the unmistakable flavor of the Franco-Flemish style as opposed to the Burgundian style. Rather than the three-voice texture of the previous anonymous settings, Bruck uses a four-voice texture for two of his motets with three sections. Instead of the immediate contrast in material found in the three-voice motets, a more homogeneous sound is produced by Bruck's Franco-Flemish desire for continuous melody and overlapping restatements of common chorale-based material in the various vocal lines. Likewise, the clear, for all practical purposes homophonic, cadences of the Burgundian era are replaced by Bruck by overlapping cadences in which at least one voice simultaneously ignores a cadence in other voices. Finally, the parallel thirds and sixths often found in the Burgundian motets are nearly absent in Bruck. In fact, no more than two consecutive beats in the prima pars of the motet contain parallel intervals. These stylistic features can be seen in the following example from the prima pars of Bruck's motet.[115] Note the use of the chorale phrase in all parts either plain or ornamented and the use of overlapping phrases.

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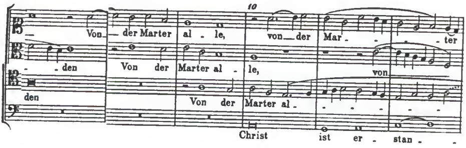
[113] Other spellings of this composer's name are Arnold von Bruck, Pruck, and Brugensis. Othmar Wessely, "Bruck, Arnold von," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. III, p. 351.

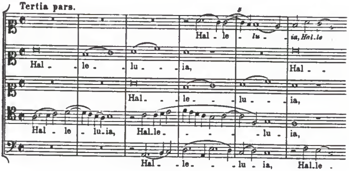
[114] Ibid.


10
Von - der Marter al - le, von der Mar - - ter
- den Von der Marter al - le, von
den Von der Marter al -
Christ ist er - stan -

---

117 Arnoldus de Bruck, "Christ ist erstanden," in Newe Deudsche Geistliche Gesenge für die gemeinen Schulen from DDT

Bruck makes some changes in texture in the secunda pars by changing the placement of the cantus firmus. Here, he places it in the cantus rather than the bassus. Again in this part all voices contain melodic as well as textual material from the chorale, but this time all voices -- the cantus cantus firmus included -- use melismatic ornamentation. (Yet only the cantus has the complete, unrepeated text and melody.) The third part of the motet changes to a five-voice texture, CCCTB, with a core cantus firmus in two voices instead of one voice. The second and third cantus lines constitute the cantus firmus. They are in the relationship of a strict canon with a consistent time interval of four beats between them. Like the bass cantus firmus of the prima pars, the cantus firmus in the two voices is unornamented. Unlike the other two parts, though, the three voices not participating in the canon are free -- at least until they have a text other than "Halleluia." The relationship of the voices is exemplified in the opening of the tertia pars below.[116]


Tertia pars.
Hal - le - lu - ia, Hal-le
Hal - le - lu - ia, Hal -
Hal - le - lu - ia,
Hal - le - lu-ia, Hal-le - - lu - ia,
Hal - le - lu - ia, Hal-le -

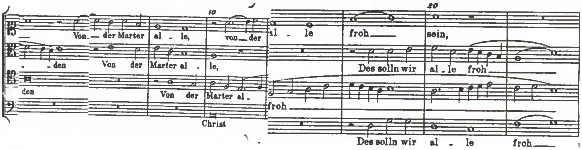
Vol. 34, p. 23.

[116] Arnoldus de Bruck, "Christ ist erstanden," p. 25.

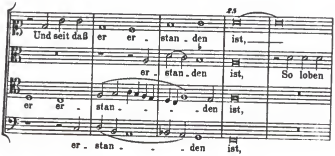
Before leaving the beautiful Bruck motet, a mention should be made of the relationship between chorale text and musical setting. Like the earlier Burgundian composers, Bruck did paint strokes of symbolism on his vocal canvas. His symbolism, however, did not tend toward the mystic numerology of the Burgundian symbolism. Instead, while remaining subtle, his symbolism was more readily grasped by the amateur listener within the vocal lines themselves. In the first verse (the prima pars), the text is immediately given importance by the placement of the most conclusive cadences. The closing effect of the cadence is strongest at the ends of statements of the chorale phrases completed by the last voice to enter with that text. For example, no strong, full cadence occurs in this section until the last statement of "Christ ist erstanden" (phrase "a") is concluded in the bass. More in the way of text painting is accomplished by Bruck in the secunda pars. The overall mood of the verse is dealt with most by the music. The text

War er nicht erstanden,	[Were He not arisen,]
So war die Welt zergangen,	[The world would melt away]
Und seit dass er erstanden ist,	[And since He is arisen]
So loben wir der Herren Jesum Christ.	[Therefore we praise the Son Jesus Christ.]

conveys initial uncertainty and empty foreboding followed by an affirmation of faith and its resultant joy. These two contrasting moods are depicted clearly by the overall harmonic sound of the verse. Accompanying the text of the first two lines is a very hazy definition of mode (in contrast to the clear Dorian modality of the first verse.) Instead of entering on the pitch "A" and cadencing only on "D" or "A," as in the original chorale and the prima pars of the motet, the secunda pars begins with entries on "D" (a perfect fifth lower than the original) and cadences on "E" weakly twice before ending the second phrase on a cadence on "D." The effect of this change in textual setting is first one of darkness due to the lower tessitura of the melody, and second one of insecurity due to the weak use of Phrygian cadences on "E" along with a Dorian melody emphasizing "D" and "A." A turning point, however, appears harmonically to accompany the phrase, "Und seit dass er erstanden ist." Even though the first statement of this text ends in a Phrygian cadence on "E," this cadence is in contrast to earlier internal cadences in terms of strength. Compare the rhythmic preparation especially of the following two cadences at the end of the fourth statement of phrase one and the end of the first statement of phrase three. The latter cadence is already as strong as the one at the end of all phrase one statements (five altogether).


10
20
Von — der Marter al - le, von — der al - le froh — sein,
- den Von der Marter al - le, Des solln wir al - le froh —
den Von der Marter al - froh —
Christ
Des solln wir al - le froh —

Not only did the first phrase require five statements, but it cadences no better than the first two-voice statement of phrase three. (The Phrygian cadence on "E" here may be explained by the ending of the last statement of phrase two in the cantus which occurs in bar 10 -- too close in proximity to move key centers yet.) The cadence at the end of the last statement of phrase three "And since He is arisen," represents the climactic turning point in the secunda pars and also the entire motet. For the brightest possible sounding cadence in the entire work, Bruck uses a double cadence on "F" and on "A." At the exact same time that the cantus and altus voices sound a Phrygian cadence on "A," the tenor and bassus voices ground the harmony on "F" by means of a leading tone cadence. So, not only does Bruck lead back into the Dorian mode here for clear "D" cadences during the remainder of the section, but he also adds the sudden brightness afforded by the -- in our terms -- "F major" sound. (The overall sound of the cadence is a full first inversion diminished chord quality resolving to a major third. See the example below to follow this movement.


25
Und seit daß er er - stan - den ist,
er - stan - den ist, So loben
er er - stan - - - den ist,
er - stan - - - den ist,

Thus, with this aurally drastic change of mood, the final phrase of the chorale,"So loben wir der Herren Jesum Christ" [Therefore we praise the Son, Jesus Christ] becomes firmly afixed in the Dorian mode with certain rooted cadences on "D."

The third and final section of the chorale, the tertia pars, develops directly from the secunda pars. The initial three "Halleluia" statements in the canonic voices begin as in the original chorale on "A" and the last one cadences firmly on "A," but the first two statements of "Halleluia" are underlaid by distinct though weak leading tone cadences on "F." (I consider them weak because they do not involve the bassus, and either do not involve enough of the sounding voices or do not involve much rhythmic cadential preparation.) Again, as in the secunda pars, the Dorian mode is therefore made clear, yet brightened by the "F major" tonal tinge. Again, the total effect of the sound is a sound of brightness in reflection of the mood of the text. When the entire motet ends with the repetition of the final two phrases of the chorale's first stanzas, "Therefore should we all joyful be," and "Christ will our Comfort be," it ends in a solid Dorian modal harmony (with cadences only on "D" and "A") and a full five-voice statement of faith in these two lines to gain a determined, weighty, yet expansive majesty.

The second motet from the Newe Gesenge (the fourth of this chapter) is shorter than the one by Bruck just discussed. This motet was composed by Stephanus Mahu, the same Mahu who studied under Anton de Bruck. Born sometime between 1480 and 90,[117] Mahu served as assistant Kapellmeister to Bruck and played trombone[118] in Ferdinand's court chapel from 1530 to 1539. He died approximately two years later in 1541. His musical output was mainly in the area of sacred music using cantus firmi taken from Gregorian chant. Mahu was a Catholic, but his religious denomination did not keep him from setting German texts,[119] among them this motet on "Christ ist erstanden."

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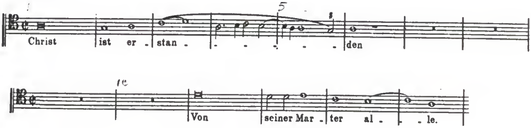
[117] Othmar Wessely, "Mahu [Machu], Stephan" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. XI, p. 534.

[118] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 94.

[119] Othmar Wessely, "Mahu [Machu], Stephan," Vol. XI, p. 534.

Mahu's motet is for five voices (ATTTB) and, as may be expected from a student of Bruck, is in the Franco-Flemish style. At first glance, it would seem that Mahu places the cantus firmus (the chorale melody) in the third tenor part because this vocal line states each chorale phrase just once and only embellishes two words of the text -- "erstanden" and "froh." On closer inspection, however, one sees that the third tenor part does not always state a chorale phrase in correct relation to its preceding phrase. The second phrase, for example, is placed a perfect fifth above where it is expected after hearing the opening phrase. This can be illustrated by the following short excerpt.[120]



Similar versions of the third tenor "near cantus firmus" occur in other vocal parts as well producing a highly imitative style. (Only the second tenor part is freely composed without any melodic material from the chorale.) The combined melodic writing of the two lowest voices containing chorale phrases produces a complete consistent cantus firmus of the chorale that migrates from one voice to another and back again. The first phrase occurs in the third tenor part in bars 1-6. The second phrase is the last entry of text in the bass in bars 16-20. This phrase is eclipsed in bar 20 by the third phrase taken up once more by the third tenor (through bar 27) which also states the fourth phrase.

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[120] Stephanus Mahu, "Christ ist erstanden," in Newe Deudsche Geistliche Gesenge füir die gemeinen Schulen DDT Vol. 34, p. 34.

Other aspects of Mahu's style in this motet may be briefly mentioned here, as no real innovations occur besides the slightly migratory cantus firmus. Like Bruck before him, Mahu uses a very coherent Dorian modal framework. None of his cadences are out of the ordinary, although occasionally he makes use of the later Franco-Flemish characteristic of a cadential leap of a perfect fourth or fifth in the bassus part or a prolonged suspension on the final cadence. His cadences overlap one another and he uses many full triadic sonorities without employing the techniques of fauxbourdon or falsobourdon; he often even adds thirds to the cadences which give them more of a tonic-dominant sound. The text of the motet is not treated very differently from that of other composers. Melismas occur when expected -- on words such as "erstanden" and "froh," and one textual phrase is heard in all voices before a strong cadence occurs amid a statement or two of the next phrase.

The third and final motet setting from the Newe Gesenge has been attributed to Thomas Stoltzer. Authoritative scholars such as Blume[121] and Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht[122] consider Stoltzer's authorship doubtful. They seem to think that attributions to

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[121] Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music, p. 89.

[122] Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Stoltzer [Stolczer, Scholczer], Thomas" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. XVIII, p. 172.

Heinrich Isaac found in sources other than Rhau are more accurate. Both Isaac, who lived from about 1450 to 1517,[123] and Stoltzer, who lived from about 1480 to 1520,[124] were Franco-Flemish composers of great repute who influenced German music to a wide extent. Isaac spent a large portion of his life in Florence partially in the service of the powerful Medici family. He also was court composer for Maximilian I beginning in 1497, where he is linked to his student Senfl. Stoltzer, in contrast, was located in Breslau in 1519, where he was a priest, and later at the court in Ofen for Ludwig II, where he was "mahester capellae." Both men composed several motets.

The motet itself is yet another in the Franco-Flemish style. Written for four voices (CTTB), the motet uses a highly imitative polyphonic style. The tenor can be said to be the cantus firmus voice, since it is the only voice to state each phrase of the chorale with its complete text and with its original melody. Interesting to note here is a small textual difference between the motet's tenor and its other parts. All parts but the tenor have "seiner Marter" in the second phrase as appears in some 16th-century versions of the chorale as opposed to the tenor's "der Marter" which occurs in the older chorale version. The tenor's chorale version, by the way, comes closest to the 1539 version 5 of chapter two.[125] The tenor part is kept from the strictest cantus firmus, though, because it has two repetitions of text. The partial phrase "froh sein" is repeated with the addition of a melisma on "froh" [joyful] that emphasizes these words. The entire phrase "Christ will unser Trost sein" [Christ will our Comfort be] is also repeated a perfect fifth lower with an added melisma on "Trost" to reinforce the firmness of such a statement of faith.

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[123] Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Isaac, Heinrich" in _The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians_, Vol. 9, pp. 329-332.

[124] Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Stoltzer, Thomas," in _The New Grove Dictionay of Music and Musicians_, Vol. XVIII, pp. 170-172.

Other voices of the motet also use complete statements of the chorale phrases but add free melodic filler material to the line as well. The overall fabric of sound then is strongly Franco-Flemish. Of the four motets hitherto mentioned, it comes closest to Bruck's style of writing, since it has the continuous melody, overlapping cadences, strong Dorian harmonic foundation, and full sonorous texture typical of the Franco-Flemish school but without the migrating cantus firmus of Mahu. This motet is to some extent more conservative than Bruck's in that it places the cantus firmus in the central tenor part -- the traditional line for the cantus firmus in the preceding generations of musicians. (It may be recalled that Bruck placed the cantus firmus in the bassus for one section, the cantus for another section, and the canonically-related cantus II and III for the last section of his motet.)

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[125] Only one note of the melody is changed as in the third phrase the fourth note in the motet descends a third rather than repeating the pitch just before it.

Although the five motets now discussed all are based on the chorale "Christ ist erstanden" and all are members of the genre "motet," several differences among the various settings have been noted. Two of the settings, both anonymous, were in the Burgundian style while the other three were in the Franco-Flemish style. Each setting used the chorale a little differently. One of the two three-part motets in the Burgundian style used the chorale as an embellished cantus firmus in the uppermost line while the other used a simplified cantus firmus in the middle line (tenor). Both seemed well suited for a mixture of instrumental timbres (perhaps recorders and gamba) with one seeming to be suited for a capella singing but not the other. Both also were basically non-imitative in a melody-accompaniment style. The three Franco-Flemish motets, although all highly imitative, each again treated the chorale material differently. The setting by Bruck included three large sections which varied according to their texts in harmonic fabric and placement of the cantus firmus -- first in the bassus, then in the cantus, then as a canonic interplay between two cantus parts. Other voices either imitated the phrases or filled in free material. The setting by Mahu used a migrating cantus firmus (found in the tenor III and bassus) along with the highly imitative style. Finally, the setting most probably by Isaac used a cantus firmus in the tenor which repeated segments of text.

Other ways of using the chorale as foundational material for composition can be found in genres other than the motet. I have examined two 16th-century masses which each employ "Christ ist erstanden" in a different way. One of these masses, written before 1539[126] by Johannes Hähnel, was the first to use a German text and tune in a distinctly Lutheran mass.[127] The composer Hähnel, also known as Alectorius or Galliculus, was born about 1480 and flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century. He was active as a musician in Leipzig and was closely tied to the early protestant church in Wittenberg. All of his known compositions are sacred with mostly Latin texts, but some of them incorporate German texts into the Latin settings in a quodlibet style.[128]

Hähnel's four-voice Ostermesse [Easter Mass] is unique in that it incorporates both the German text and the melody of "Christ ist erstanden" into the otherwise entirely Latin setting. In the Lutheran format of the Proper, Hahnel's mass included an Introit, Kyrie, a shortened Gloria, an Alleluja with a verse, an Easter sermon, an Evangelicum from Mark 161-7, a Sanctus without the Osana, an Agnus Dei, and a Communion. The chorale, "Christ ist erstanden" was inserted into two movements of the mass -- the sermon and the Agnus. In these two movements, Hähnel uses the chorale in three different ways -- as a cantus firmus in the tenor, as an ostinato in the bassus, and as a simulated motet in all four voices.

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[126] It was printed by Rhaw at this date in a collection of Proper and Ordinary settings called Officia paschali. See Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 681.

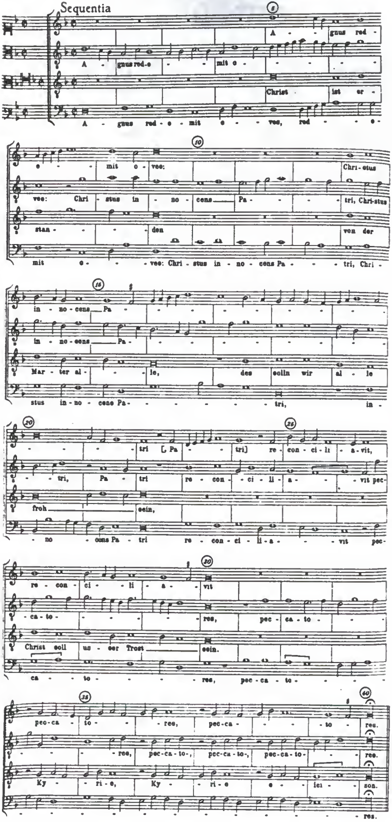
[127] Johannes Hähnel, "Ostermesse über der Leid 'Christ ist erstanden'," in Die Chorwerk No. 44, pp. 1-36.

[128] Victor H. Mattfeld, "Galliculus [Alectorius, Hähnel], Johannes" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. VII, p. 125.

Let us look first at Hähnel's treatment of the chorale in the sermon movement of the mass. Of great importance here is the Latin setting into which the chorale is integrated. The sermon is taken from the Easter sequence "Victimae paschali laudes." As may be recalled from chapter one, this sequence has been paired with the chorale as long as written record of the chorale has been available. What better musical and textual place could be found for an insertion of the German chorale than into its companion sequence?

The movement is clearly divided into three sections. The first section uses one full verse of "Christ ist erstanden" as a cantus firmus in the tenor line. (This section will be shown on the following page.) A few melismatic extensions of phrases of the chorale occur on the appropriate words "erstanden," "alle," "froh," and "Trost." In the same section, the second versicle of the sequence is used in the other verses. Although only the bassus combines both the tune and the text of the sequence, even it separates the phrases of the sequence by inserting text repetitions with free melodic material between the phrases. (The cantus and altus voices use the text of the sequence, but use free melodic material.) When the tenor and bass lines are put together, the sequence tune and text are alternated with the chorale tune and text. The final result is similar to the then common Lutheran practice of alternating a vocal chorale stanza with an organ setting.

Prosa de Resurrectione

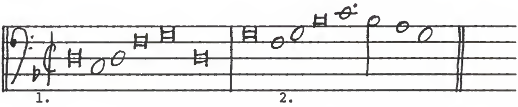

Sequentia
5
A - - gnus red -
A - gnus red-e - - mit o - - - - -
Christ - ist er -
A - gnus red - e - mit o - - ves, red - - - e -
10
e - - mit o - ves: Chri-stus
ves: Chri - stus in - no - cens Pa - - - tri, Chri-stus
stan - - - den von der
mit o - - - ves: Chri - stus in - no - cens Pa - - - tri, Chri -
15
in - no - cens Pa - - - - - - - - - -
in - no - cens Pa - - - - - - - -
Mar - ter al - - le, des solln wir al - le
stus in - no - cens Pa - - - - - - - tri, in -
20
25
- - - tri [Pa - tri] re - con - ci - li - a - vit,
- tri, Pa - tri re - con - ci - li - a - - vit pec-
froh sein,
- no - cens Pa - tri re - con - ci - li - a - - vit pec-
30
re - con - ci - li - a - vit
- ca - to - - - - res, pec - ca - to - -
Christ soll un - ser Trost sein.
ca - to - - - - res, pec - ca - to - - - - -
35
40
pec-ca - to - - res, pec-ca - - - to - res.
- - - res, pec-ca - to-, pec-ca - to-, pec-ca - to - - res.
Ky - - ri - e, Ky - - ri - e e - lei - son.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - res.

Other facets of Hähnel's style also imprint the textual meaning of both chorale and sequence upon the listener. His cadences fall into two distinct categories in relation to the text. In one category are the typical overlapping Franco-Flemish style cadences. These occur at the ends of single statements of either a sequence phrase or a choral phrase and do not stop the forward motion of the vocal lines. They usually involve only two voices and a bass voice movement of a step instead of a leap. They can be located in mm. 4-5, 12-13, 15-16*, and 25-26. (* represents an exception to the previous statement.) In the second cadence category are cadences which occur at the ends of combined sequence and chorale phrase statements. These cadences involve all four voices and cause at least a momentary pause in the forward motion of the music. They closely resemble either authentic or half cadences to the modern ear and three times out of four a bass leap of a perfect fourth or perfect fifth -- common cadence types for a mature Franco-Flemish style. These cadences occur in mm. 8-9, 21-22, 29-30, and 39-40.

Other details of the setting also emphasize the text. The word "reconciliavit," for example can be singled out as having special treatment. Instead of appearing with the appropriate sequence tune in the bass alone, this word occurs with the sequence tune in the first tenor and is followed by the bass a note later and a perfect fourth lower. Up until this point, the first tenor and bass lines were paired consistently but never shared the same material, but now the text and music express reconciliation which is further rounded out by the addition of the other two voices proclaiming that Christ will be our comfort.

It is at the end of this chorale phrase that a cadence occurs that is exactly like the one at the end of the section except that a minor third is used instead of the final, bare, perfect fifth. The effect is one of stability mixed with warmth -- or comfort.

The second section of the sermon movement also uses both sequence and chorale material. This time, however, the sequence text and melody of versicle 4 and half of versicle 5 appear in the cantus voice. The altus ond the tenor are both using free material while the bassus takes the chorale's first phrase of text and melody for use as an ostinato figure. The figure occurs a total of four times. The first and last statements begin on "D" as they would if the Dorian mode was not transposed and they are unadorned. The two statements in between them, on the other hand, are exact replicas of the same phrase from the opening section of the sermon; they begin on "G" (the finalis of the transposed Dorian), slightly alter the original rhythm, and add two passing tones to the melody. The two figures are contrasted below.



This section is closely allied to the first section by more than the one version of the chorale phrase. The altus and tenor parts begin, in this section, in imitation using the same free material which the tenor used to begin the opening section. Voice pairing is also common between the cantus and tenor, and, as in the previous section, between the altus and bassus. Cadences are again similar but only fail to overlap at the end. Finally, full triad sonorities are common in this section -- even in the form of fauxbourdon in measures 62-3.

The third section of the sermon does not use the chorale, but uses the text of the sequence versicle discussed in the first chapter that does not appear in the Liber Usualis.[129] The section is more imitative -- using simple motives in all voices. It also has one short passage of fauxbourdon in bars 98-9, but it does not make use of voice pairing.

The only other movement of the mass to use "Christ ist erstanden" is the Agnus Dei. In this movement, Hähnel begins with the Agnus Dei text with no melodic hint of the fact that he will end the movement with the German chorale. Textually, the movement makes an interesting statement of faith if the two texts are connected as follows. "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere" ["Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world."] "Des sollen wir alle froh sein, Christ soll unser Trost sein, Kyrieleison" [Therefore should we all joyful be, Christ should our comfort be, Kyrieeleison]. Such a fusion of texts would be certain to bring the Easter message closer to the German people. The style of the chorale section is that of a motet with all four voices participating in the interweaving of the texts. Two of the voices, the cantus and the tenor have imitative statements using the chorale melody. The other voices are free but make some use of imitation. No two voices sing the same words at the same time when singing of joy, but when the text claims twice that Christ should be our comfort, two voices together proclaim the words to emphasize and clarify them. In both cases, the cantus has the melody along with the text. And first the bass then the tenor accompany that melody while stating the text simultaneously. The difference between the joy phrase and the comfort phrase can be seen below.

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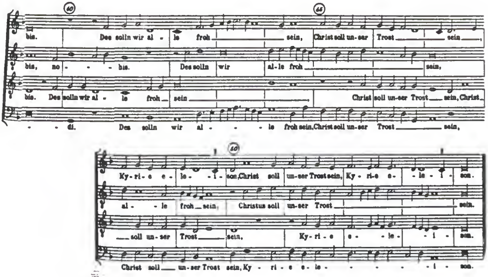
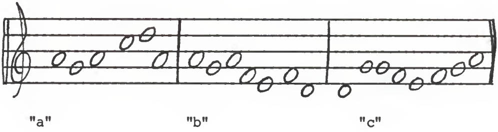
[129] I was not able to locate a source of this versicle's melody but its text appears in Lipphardt as mentioned in chapter 1.


(40)
(45)
bis. Des solln wir al - le froh sein, Christ soll un-ser Trost sein,
bis, no - - - bis. Des solln wir al-le froh sein,
bis. Des solln wir al - le froh sein Christ soll un-ser Trost sein, Christ
- - di. Des solln wir al - - - le froh sein, Christ soll un-ser Trost sein,
(50)
Ky-ri-e e - le - - i - son, Christ soll un-ser Trost sein, Ky - ri-e e- - le - i - son.
al - - le froh sein, Christus soll un-ser Trost sein.
soll un-ser Trost sein, Ky-ri-e e - - le - - i - son.
Christ soll un-ser Trost sein, Ky - ri - e e- le - - - - - i - son.

The second mass to use "Christ ist erstanden" uses the chorale in an entirely different way. This second mass uses only the chorale melody along with a wholly Latin text. The mass was composed by Jacob Regnart — a Franco-Flemish composer who lived from the early 1540's to 1599. Regnart studied in Italy and taught for a time in Vienna where some of his work was first published. He also served under Emperor Rudolf I of Prague beginning in 1576 and was considered a noteworthy composer of sacred music during his day. This mass setting is one of about twenty masses composed by him.[130]

Each of the five movements of the lengthy mass are based on the chorale either loosely or obviously. The first movement, Kyrie, is divided into three separate sections corresponding to the usual text divisions "Kyrie eleison," "Christe eleison," "Kyrie eleison." Each section treats the chorale melody a little differently. For the sake of facilitating discussion on the use of the chorale tune, I will refer to phrases of the melody by letter as indicated below.



(Remember that the "b" phrase is repeated after the "c" phrase to round out the song's four-line stanza.) The first section of the Kyrie is written for five voices (CATTB) each of which makes use of chorale material at some point. This section is based entirely on the "a" phrase of the melody. This phrase is used in its original six-note form continually with only occasional minor rhythmic changes. Literally every measure of the section has this phrase in at least one voice part while the other voices continue

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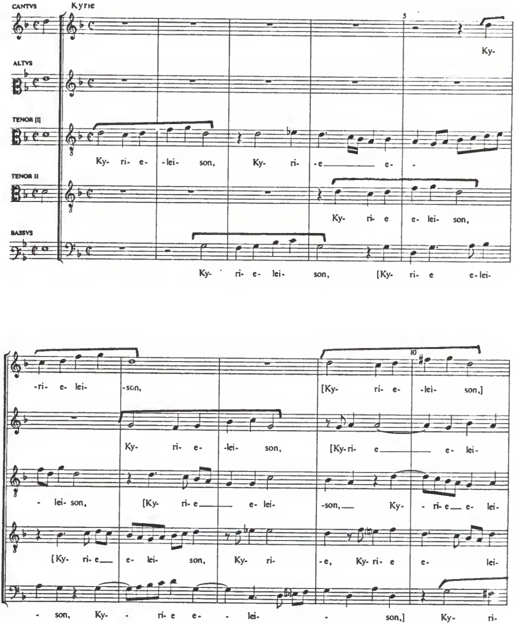
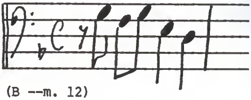
133 Walter Pass, "Regnart, Jacob [Jaques]" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. XV, pp. 691-2.

with contrasting material. The overall style of the section, and the entire mass for that matter, is Franco-Flemish and may be compared to other works in that vein already discussed. A sampling of the passing of the "a" motive can be seen in the highlighted excerpt below.

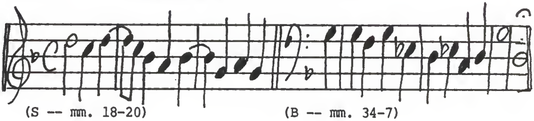

CANTVS
ALTVS
TENOR [I]
TENOR II
BASSVS
Kyrie
5
10
Ky- ri- e- lei- son, Ky- ri- e- e-
Ky- ri- e e- lei- son,
Ky- ri- e- lei- son, [Ky- ri- e e- lei-
Ky- -ri- e- lei- -son, [Ky- ri- e- -lei- son,]
Ky- ri- e- -lei- son, [Ky-ri- e e- lei-
lei- son, [Ky- ri- e e- lei- -son, Ky- ri- e e- lei-
[Ky- ri- e e- lei- son, Ky- ri- -e, Ky- ri- e e- lei-
son, Ky- ri- e e- lei- son,] Ky- ri-

Only one fleeting measure in the bass line alludes to any chorale phrase but "a." This easily overlooked phrase segment nearly

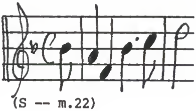

(B --m. 12)

completes a statement of a "b" phrase foreshadowing the next section.

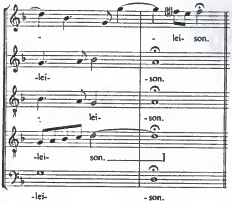
As may be imagined, the second part of the Kyrie, to the "Christe eleison" text, takes up the same basic techniques as the first section in use of the chorale melody. This section, however, concentrates on the "b" phrase which is at times treated more freely than the "a" phrase was. At times the "b" phrase is not only varied in rhythm, but is also lightly embellished. Two examples of such embellishment are as follows.


(S -- mm. 18-20) (B -- mm. 34-7)

As in the previous Kyrie section, the key melodic material -- in this case the "b" phrase -- is heard in literally every measure of the section in at least one vocal line. Also in this section a subtle quote of the "c" phrase appears briefly in the soprano line.


(S -- m.22)

Two interesting cadential flourishes used quite regularly by Regnart also appear in this section. One seems normally to occur after the actual cadence to add a third to the bare open sound of the final perfect fifth or octave as shown in the cantus voice on the following page.



The other cadential flourish consists of an escape tone embellishment added to cadential voices in m. 27 in the altus and first tenor. (See p. 69 m. 27.)

The third and last section of the Kyrie uses the chorale's "c" phrase but not to the extent that the "a" and "b" phrases were used in the preceding sections. Instead, this section is used as a summary section which pulls all three chorale phrases together. The section begins by introducing the "c" phrase consecutively in two of four sounding voices so that the listener expects a continuation of the one-phrase per section style, but before any other voices can state the "c" phrase, the bass and altus voices cut off the "c" domination with overlapping "b" statements (m. 44-6). Immediately after the "b" interruption, the two tenor voices resume "c" statements (mm. 46-50). In the remainder of the movement, the melodic material is treated more freely and phrases reminiscent of "a," "b," and "c" can be heard in various voices so that it seems that the chorale has been capsulized but not directly stated.

The second movement of the mass, the Gloria, treats the chorale tune more freely than the Kyrie did., The movement is in two sections very roughly corresponding to the division of the chorale melody into two phrase parts -- "ab" and "cb." The interplay of phrases in the various voices is easiest to see in chart form. Each section of the Gloria is graphed below according to measure number, appropriate voice, and chorale phrase. Vertical lines represent major cadences effected by all sounding voices to punctuate textual phrases. An asterisk next to a phrase letter indicates a liberal phrase idea rather than a literal melodic statement.

Section 1

	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45
C	"a"							"a"	
A	"a"		"b"*						
T-1			"b"*			"b"			
T-2		"a"	"b"*	"c"		"a"		"b"	"cb"*
B	"a"	"b"*	"c"				"b"		

Section 2

	47-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-82
C							"b"	
A								
T-1		"b"				$\underline{\text{"a"}}$	"c"	
T-2					"b"		"bc"	
B	"c" "b"	"c"		"cb"				"c"

From these charts, it can be noted that the Gloria's first section of text is linked to "a," but "b" is implicated in the cadence and succeeding short four-word textual phrase. "C" is used for the third text phrase but is eclipsed by a bridge "a" statement for the fourth phrase of text and a concentration on "a" and "b" in the last textual segment. The second Gloria section on the other hand, seems to place far less emphasis on "a" since it contains only one "a" statement. This "a" statement, however, (which is underlined) is the focal point of the entire movement. It occurs in the first tenor part in mm. 72-5 as an old cantus firmus would appear in an earlier mass -- it is in white notes that are significantly longer than the notes in other voices.[131] It occurs in perfect sequence to end the section with an ordered "abc" "stanza." And it occurs on the words "Jesu Christi." At the end of this section's full "stanza" quote are twelve more bars of material. These measures contain the melody that is coupled with the Alleluia refrain found in some of the chorale versions such as version 1.

The third mass movement, the Credo, is the largest and most complex movement. It is broken into five sections four of which again contain unique treatments of particular chorale phrases. Again, this treatment is easiest to describe in graph form. Four of the five sections then are shown here.

Section 1

```
C
A      "a"*--
T-1            "b"--"b"--"c"---      "b"---
T-2              "b"---            "b"---
B  "a"--      "b"----"c"---  "c"---"b"---                  "c"---
    1  3  5  7  9  11  13  15  17  19  21  23  25  27  29  31  33
```

Section 2

```
C
A
T-1                              "a"-----
T-2 "a"-----       "a"*-------            "a"-----------
B            "a"-----"a"---------   "a"--------
    56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73
```

Section 3

```
C  "b"--                         "c"*-
A    "b"-                              "c"*--
T-1        "c"-                                       "c"--------
T-2   "b"--    "b"--                      "c"----
B                                           "c"--------
    74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100 102 104 106 108 110
```

---

[131] This technique is known as "cantus planus" and similar uses of the technique will be denoted by this term in the following discussion.

Section 5

```
C        "b"--"c"
A       "b"--
T-1       "b"--      "b"-
T-2"a"---                                     "a"-----
B       "b"-  "c"--"b"-                             "a"------
   135    140    145     150     155      160     165     170
```

With these sectional graphs, Regnart's overall melodic plan for this movement becomes clear. The first section presents a migrating cantus firmus in the lower four parts only that would make up one full chorale stanza. An added "c" phrase at the end keeps the section from sounding final. (The cadence there is also on the dominant instead of he final of the mode.) In the second section, not only the cantus fails to make "a" statements, but the altus makes none as well. Only the bottom voices use the "a" phrase much as they did in the first section of the Kyrie so that only one measure of this section is without an "a" statement.

The third section of the Credo is of course the central one. It begins as if it will continue to take up the "b" chorale phrase only in all voices with a "c" phrase reminder. However, the bass voice does not participate and no clear chorale phrases appear at all for nearly a third of the section. The final chorale material in the section consists of "c" phrases in all the voices with an especially firmly stated "c" phrase in the bass. This "c" phrase warrants special attention since it is in the cantus planus style similar to the presentation of the "a" phrase in the Gloria in the first tenor earlier. This time the text to the phrase is "sedet ad dexteram Patris."

The fourth Credo section is not mapped out because it is the only part of the entire mass which is freely composed. This section has a reduced three-voice texture (CAT) which begins with a four-measure canon. It provides a welcome relief both in terms of texture and melody.

The fifth and final Credo movement moves back to the full five-part texture with all voices participating in the rendering of the chorale. In this section, as in the opening section of the Credo, Regnart fits together a complete chorale stanza. This time, it can be found complete in the bass line alone but with "a" following the second "b" instead of beginning the section so that a cantus firmus in the bass is approached but not realized.

The Credo movement then as a whole is set up much like a musical sermon as well as a textual one. It opens with an introduction to the sermon topic using all three chorale phrases. The next two sections analyze the introductory material by taking the material point by point and explaining the depth of each phrase. Special emphasis is placed on the "c" phrase as the key to the sermon -- not surprising since this phrase of the chorale is the one requiring a response to the other phrases. (Remember the text. "Therefore should we all joyful be.") The fourth section provides a breathing space for an anecdote or an illustration and the final section provides the summary of the sermon that leaves the audience a little uneasy because not all of the sermon's points are in order to them.

The Sanctus of the mass is again divided into two sections which shall be graphed on the following page.

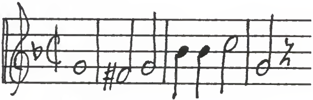
Section 1

```
C       "a"-----"b"-"c"-    "b"-----
A                                              "b"-
T-1   "a"           "b"-----"c"---      "b"---     "b"-------
T-2          "c"*---                 "b"---    "b"---
B      "a"--   "c"--"b"-----
   1  3  5  7  9 11  13  15  17  19  21  23  25  27  29  30
```

Section 2

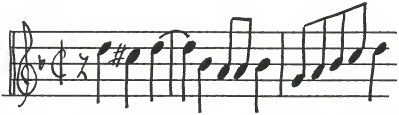
```
C
A         "a"-------
T-1                      "a"-------
T-2              "a"-------
B    "a"-------                           "c"-------
     32   34   36   38   40   42   44   46   48   50
```

Note that the cantus gives a full rendition of the chorale stanza. These phrases are used as a cantus firmus and have no free material between them. The first tenor is the only other voice to have all statements in order in this section, but it treats the phrases more freely than the cantus and has added filler material. The second section of the Sanctus reverts to the free treatment of material and again dwells mainly on "a." In this section "a" receives a new rhythmic expression appearing in the middle three parts.



(A -- mm. 34-6)

The Agnus Dei movement concludes the mass with flowing statements of chorale phrases that move uninhibited in ascending scale patterns. Both the soprano and the bass lines have complete statements of all three phrases in order which are simply decorated with the eighth notes either filling in intervals or extending the phrases. An example of this decoration of an "a" phrase can be found in the cantus line at mm. 13-15.



The total effect of this movement is an effortless show of grace in basically ascending lines. What more effective way to describe the resurrection of which the familiar chorale tune's text speaks?

Regnart's mass, if taken as a single musical unit, shows an originality of form. It seems to be a cross between a motto mass -- which uses a motive or phrase as a unifying device (in this case from a precomposed work and as the basis of the composition) -- and a migrating cantus firmus mass -- which uses a single precomposed melody as basis for the work but passes the various melodic phrases between at least two polyphonic voices (at times in a paraphrase style.) Some sections of Regnart's mass use as a motto one chorale phrase such as the second section of the Credo which uses "a." Other sections use a nearly strict cantus firmus technique where one voice, usually the tenor, gives one full statement of the precomposed melody without adding extra material. Section one of the Sanctus closely simulates this style in the cantus line for the first half of the section. Finally, other sections, like section one of the Credo use a migrating cantus firmus. In all of the movements, the majority of the melodic material in all of the voices is in some way derived from the chorale and treated in a fantasy style. Often, different variations of chorale phrases appear so that the entire mass is fresh and alive and does not seem overly repetitive and dull.

From the motets and the masses, we move to some smaller miscellaneous settings which use "Christ ist erstanden." One of these settings is a quodlibet -- a polyphonic work that simultaneously uses two or more different songs. This genre is largely made up of German arrangements. A famous arrangement of "Christ ist erstanden" in quodlibet form is an arrangement by Ludwig Senfl, the same composer active in the early 16th century in the court of Maximilian I and later the Hofkapelle of Duke Wilhelm in Munich.[132]

Senfl's quodlibet is for six voices (CCAAAB) and uses three different precomposed melodies as cantus firmi in the altus voices. Each of these melodies were popular Easter songs of the 16th century and are treated in the Franco-Flemish motet style. (The other three voices are freely composed.) The uppermost melody used is our "Christ ist erstanden" version 5. The other two cantus firmi are two different melodies which were commonly used with text variants of "Christ ist erstanden." They are most easily distinguished by the use of the word "der" in the chorale title: "Christ der ist erstanden." One of these texts is

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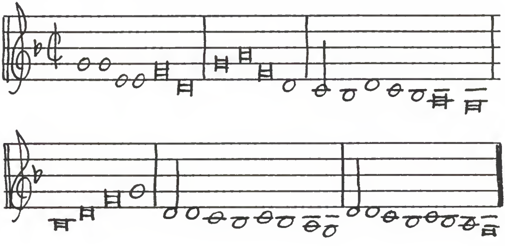
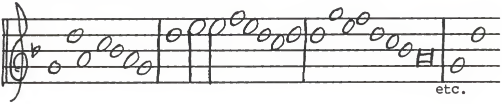
[132] Martin Bente, "Senfl, Ludwig" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. XVII, pp. 131-4.

Christ der ist erstanden, Halleluia
Von seiner Marter alle Halleluia
Des sollen wir alle froh sein,
Christ will unser Trost sein.

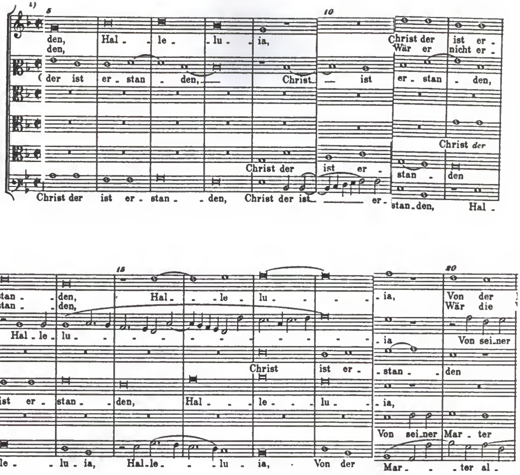
Its melody is notably different from "Christ ist erstanden."



The second text to "Christ der ist erstanden" is the same as the first but places only one "Halleluia" at the end of the stanza instead of after each of its phrases. Its tune is very different, however,



A sample of how Senfl put the three melodies together is taken from mm. 9-20 which introduce the cantus firmus phrases of each tune. Note that the free voices imitate any and all of the cantus firmi. (The second cantus even states "a" of "Christ ist erstanden" before the first altus gets a chance.


1)
5
10
den, Hal - le - lu - ia, Christ der ist er -
den, Wär er nicht er -
der ist er - stan - den, Christ ist er - stan - den,
Christ der
Christ der ist er - stan - den
Christ der ist er - stan - den, Christ der ist er - stan-den, Hal -
15
20
stan - den, Hal - le lu - ia, Von der
stan - den, Wär die
Hal - le - lu - ia Von sei-ner
Christ ist er - stan - den
ist er - stan - den, Hal - le - lu - ia,
Von sei-ner Mar - ter
le - lu - ia, Hal-le - lu - ia, Von der Mar - ter al -

A second miscellaneous work was written by Max Greiter, an early 16th-century German composer who worked in Leipzig and Strasbourg.[133] This work is on a smaller scale than Senfl's. It is for four voices (CATB) and uses only the "Christ ist erstanden" melody for a cantus firmus, but uses two different texts simultaneously. In the cantus voice only, "Christ ist erstanden" is sung in German. Each of the other three voices sing the Latin translation of "Christ ist erstanden" called "Christus surrexit." In both languages, each phrase of the chorale can be found melodically and textually in a single voice

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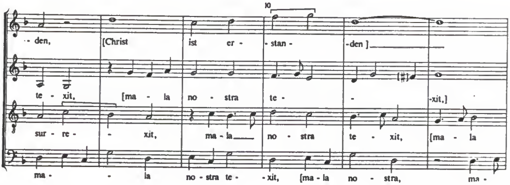
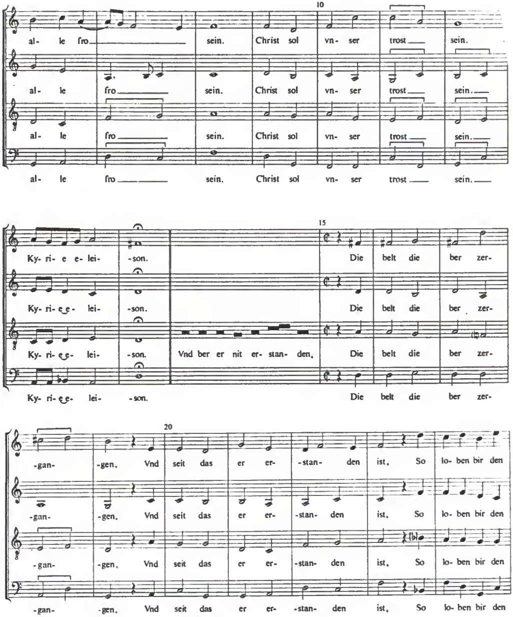
[133] Hans-Christian Müller, "Greiter, Matthias" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. VII, pp. 700-1.

-- in the cantus for the German and in the tenor for the Latin. Various text repetitions may be found between phrases in either voice used with different melodic material and in one instance (mm. 26-8) the tenor even repeats the end of the German phrase "c." The other voices are free but do participate at times in the imitative phrase statements. Some interesting characteristics of this piece are cadential decorations using escape tones as was seen in Regnart and a persistent use of an ostinato type figure in any voice but the cantus such as the one in the bass in bars 7-11.


10
-- den, [Christ ist er - - stan - -den]
te - xit, [ma - la no - stra te - - -xit,]
sur - re - - xit, ma - la no - stra te - xit, [ma - la
ma - - la no - stra te - -xit, [ma - la no - stra, ma -

One final unique setting will complete our miscellaneous category. This setting is by an anonymous composer. It is perhaps the best written-out example of how a chorale was used in congregational singing that can be found from the 16th century. The chorale melody is found in the tenor part of the four-part setting and the other parts are molded around the tenor in a homophonic falsobourdon style. Each stanza of the chorale is begun with a tenor incipit of the opening "a" phrase. All three main chorale stanzas appear with a completely different song called "Es gingen drey Frauen" (about the three women who went to Christ's tomb but were told by the angel there that He had risen) inserted between the first two stanzas. This new song's melody also is introduced and carried on in the tenor part and has a dance-like folksong flavor in triple meter. An example of the work's style can be seen below.


10
al- le fro sein. Christ sol vn- ser trost sein.
al- le fro sein. Christ sol vn- ser trost sein.
al- le fro sein. Christ sol vn- ser trost sein.
al- le fro sein. Christ sol vn- ser trost sein.
15
Ky- ri- e e- lei- -son. Die belt die ber zer-
Ky- ri- e e- lei- -son. Die belt die ber zer-
Ky- ri- e e- lei- -son. Vnd ber er nit er- stan- den, Die belt die ber zer-
Ky- ri- e e- lei- -son. Die belt die ber zer-
20
-gan- -gen, Vnd seit das er er- -stan- den ist, So lo- ben bir den
-gan- -gen, Vnd seit das er er- -stan- den ist, So lo- ben bir den
-gan- -gen, Vnd seit das er er- -stan- den ist, So lo- ben bir den
-gan- -gen, Vnd seit das er er- -stan- den ist, So lo- ben bir den

All of the works analyzed in this chapter: motets, masses, and other musical genres, are but a sampling of the polyphonic works of the Renaissance based on "Christ ist erstanden" or on other chorales. As can be seen in this study, a multitude of different techniques have been used to set the melody by a multitude of different composers. Yet the most common characteristic of each of these compositions is an overwhelming emphasis on the meaning of the text that has become wed to the melody. Every one of these works has been striving to express in a new way what the chorale says. This tradition of driving toward the chorale's meaning does not stop with the end of the Renaissance but continues on with new settings of "Christ ist erstanden" by composers even up to the present day[134] and presumably will continue until the German chorale's text ceases to offer hope to a world of hopeless men.

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[134] See Erich Valentin, Handbuch der Chormusik (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1953).

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"CHRIST IST ERSTANDEN:" STUDY OF A GERMAN CHORALE TRADITION

BY

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B. A., Sterling College, Sterling, KS, 1983

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1986

In this report, "Christ ist erstanden" is traced historically as it developed from "Ruf" to "Leise" to "Lied"/chorale. Offshoot settings in Czech, Polish, and Latin are mentioned in relation to the original "Christ ist erstanden" text and tune. Some six different Reformation era settings of the chorale are compared and are contrasted with four more modern settings. Finally, the bulk of this work is devoted to analyses of ten polyphonic Rennaisance settings which use "Christ ist erstanden" in various ways. Settings examined include five motets — two by anonymous composers, one by Bruck, one by Mahu, and one by Isaac; two masses,by Hähnel and Regnart; and three miscellaneous settings by Senfl (a quodlibet), by Greiter, and by one other anonymous composer.