

## **Cantatas for the Eighth Sunday after Trinity**

### **Christkirche, Rendsburg**

A mood of dire warning against hypocrites and false prophets, one that derives from the Gospel reading (Matthew 7:15-23), permeates BWV 178 **Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält**, first performed in Leipzig on 30th July 1724. Basing his cantata on a hymn by Justus Jonas from 1524, a free translation of Psalm 124, Bach constructs an opening chorus of immense power, sustained energy and astonishing compositional prowess with which to box his listeners' ears. Of its 115 bars only two complete bars and thirteen beats stand outside the continuous stream of semiquavers trafficking to and fro from instrument to instrument and voice to voice, against a backdrop of pounding dotted rhythms and bellicose syllabic punctuation – quite astonishing! Perhaps it was this chorus that led Bach's first biographer Johann Nikolaus Forkel to choose *Wo Gott der Herr* as one of only two cantatas he himself copied out from the (lost) autograph score he borrowed from Bach's eldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann.

The defiant mood of sibyl-like warnings continues in the second movement, marked *presto*, in which the altos proclaim the chorale tune while 'troped' solo interjections in secco recitative remind us of God's ability to expose artful plots and to lead His people 'across the sea of suffering to the promised land'. This is the cue for a tone poem describing a gale-lashing and sea-beating worthy of comparison with the tenor aria from BWV 81 *Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen?* (see SDG Vol.19), a magnificent aria for bass with unison violins which conjures up not simply the storm but the enemy's fury as it seeks to capsize 'Christ's frail boat'. One wonders when Bach, a landlocked Thuringian, might have witnessed a maritime storm. It could only have been on the Baltic during his brief stay in Lübeck in 1705, if ever. But somehow he has grasped the queasy, disorienting experience of being

at sea in a gale, and conveys the moods of the storm through the multiple subdivisions of this 9/8 maelstrom of semiquavers, grouped now in sixes, now one-and-five, now paired, now articulated as separate individual 'breakers'. Technically it is merciless for the singer and exhilarating for the string players, while as a listener you do indeed by the end feel appropriately buffeted and chastised.

The grim mood of foreboding is maintained in the chorale statement for tenor (No.4): 'They lie in wait for us, as though we were heretics, they thirst after our blood', and again in the chorale strophe which follows: 'They open wide their jaws and would devour us' – 'as roaring lions do; they bare their murderous fangs', comments the bass in recitative (No.5) over an incessant rhythmic ostinato figure in the continuo. There is something in this reminiscent of Gospel music – a chilling antiphony between chorus and the three commenting soloists: you feel the chorus should precede each of their entrances with shouts of 'Yea, Lord' and a roll of drums! And still there is no let-up in the tension. The tenor aria (No.6) now has 'reeling reason' as its target, the weasel words of rationalists who would bring down the whole Lutheran theological edifice. Bach here restricts himself to the string band and comes up with as gritty a piece of counterpoint as he ever penned. Again, there is huge rhythmic vigour, this time stemming from the broken rhythmic exchanges between the four instrumental voices, as well as bold harmonic gestures to underpin the tenor's injunction to silence, 'Schweig, schweig' – another fascinating parallel here with the equivalent aria for bass in BWV 81. Only the closing two-verse chorale in a rather dull tessitura, A minor, eases up on the brimstone, as Bach is content to supply a more conventional prayer for guidance and strengthened faith.

What on earth was Bach on when he sat down to compose this astonishing cantata? At the end of the Rendsburg concert the continuo players came up to tell me that they found it more technically

demanding and draining than playing an entire St Matthew Passion! What then can have spurred Bach to invent music of such density, vehemence and highly charged originality? It's the kind of question that has exercised Bach scholars from the very beginning, and one that has occurred to me every week as I am confronted by a set of new and challenging cantatas to prepare. Was it genuine religious fervour and the kind of single-minded dedication he exhibits on his title pages and in signing off each cantata with 'S.D.G.', or merely a capacity for brilliant mimicry, coupled with an innate sense of drama and an imagination instantly fired by strong verbal imagery? You feel you know the answer, then along come the advocates of an encoded theological message embedded in the cantatas, and close on their heels the sceptics who recommend that we forget all about religion when we interpret Bach. But even if we assume that Bach's Lutheran zeal was utterly sincere (which I for one believe), does that automatically turn him into a theologian, as some insist, or set the value of these cantatas in predominantly theological terms? Surely not: theology is expressed primarily through words, while Bach's natural form of expression and his musical procedures have their own logic, one that overrides word-driven considerations. They even show themselves to be quite anti-literary at times. We should not allow theologically motivated commentators to treat the cantatas as doctrinal dissertations as opposed to discrete musical compositions. In the final analysis nothing can gainsay or diminish the overwhelming poetic transformative force of Bach's music, the very quality that makes his cantatas so appealing to non-Christian listeners as well.

A cantata of such sustained defiance as BWV 178 also leads one to ask whether Bach's ongoing conflict with the Leipzig Consistory might suddenly have reached boiling point, or whether there had perhaps been a more personal falling-out with one of the resident clerics. There is a fascinating passage in his personal copy of Calov's Bible

commentary, one that he underlined and flagged up with a marginal 'NB', dealing with the subject of anger and score-settling. 'It is true', Calov says, 'that anger must exist, but take care that it occur as is proper and in your command, and that you express anger not for your own sake but for the sake of your office and for God's sake; and that you do not confuse the two, your own cause with that of your office. For yourself, you must show no anger no matter how severe the offence has been. However, where it concerns your office you must show anger, even if you yourself have not been wronged.' At all stages in his career Bach was quick to leap to the defence of his professional rights. How much more satisfying, though, to channel all that frustration and vituperative energy into his music, and then to watch as it rained down from the choir loft onto his chosen targets below.

A year previously, and only eight weeks into his Leipzig Cantorate, Bach came up with BWV 136 **Erforsche mich, Gott, und erfahre mein Herz**. There is something a little suspect about the version of this cantata that has come down to us. Take, for example, the extensive opening choral fugue. Set in the bright key of A major it is part festive – witness the horn call which heralds the main theme – and part pastoral, with its genial semiquaver figuration in 12/8 time. But what does that have to do with the earnest, penitential tone of the verse from Psalm 139, 'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts'? Even the beautifully crafted pleas of 'Prüfe mich' ('Try me') and the stretches of a more stirring polyphony are barely enough to disturb the gentle rotations of this prayer wheel and to propel its music into orbit, let alone to 'paint a picture of an all-powerful but merciful God concerned with the individual being' (Chafe). What is the function of the isolated, advanced statement of the vocal head motif, followed by a bar-and-a-half of extra instrumental music before the fugue gets under way? Does the fact that the fugue subject is assigned more often to the outer than to the middle voices suggest a (lost) earlier original version, one for

fewer voice parts, and (more speculatively) to a different and probably secular text, perhaps in another key and even with a slightly different orchestration? When scoring for just a pair of oboes it is atypical of Bach to label one 'd'amore' and the other a normal oboe, even though its music takes it up into the stratosphere and down off the end of its natural compass. And yet he clearly thought well enough of this opening movement to rework it later as the 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' for his short A major Mass (BWV 234). Then again it could be that he took his prompt from the seasonal context of harvest, just as in last week's alto aria from BWV 157, wresting the metaphor of good fruit struggling to ripen through the 'thorns of sin' and 'thistles of iniquity' – every wine-grower's nightmare.

The alto now predicts a day of reckoning for hypocrites in an aria with oboe d'amore obbligato and a *presto* middle section in 12/8 describing their furious bringing to book. Adam's fall, which led to the stain of sin, is evoked in the B minor tenor/bass duet with unison violins in 12/8: this can be cleansed or purified as a result of 'that merciful stream of [Jesus's] blood', referred to again in the final chorale as 'that noble sap' ('der edle Saft'), with a high-flying violin *faux bourdon*. This got me thinking about the many references in both the *St John* and *St Matthew Passions* to the blood of the Saviour as a stream of grace and mercy emanating from above, and their origin in the medieval legends of the Holy Grail. As Goethe later observes, 'Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft', though this refers to the point when Mephistopheles forces Faust to sign their pact with a drop of his own blood, thus freeing him from the stricture of religion and morality.

In his last surviving cantata for this Sunday Bach's approach was certainly very different. BWV 45 **Es ist dir gesagt, Mensch, was gut ist** opens with an elaborate choral movement in E major with strings, two flutes and two oboes (here again, despite the rubric, one needs to be a d'amore and one a normal oboe, even though it, too, goes outside

and above its range.) The true path of life for the Christian is clear, we are told in the most direct fashion: God has shown us 'what is good'. What strikes me here, as on other occasions, is Bach's happy fusion of fugal technique and a madrigalian approach to word setting. After pairing his voices and even instruments and thereby determining to some extent the dynamics (none is specified), especially in the initial 'Es ist dir gesagt' phrases, he reserves the full tutti for the weighty injunction 'to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God'. The torment and scorn threatening transgressors is spelled out in the first tenor aria in C sharp minor (No.3), with a telling phrase for the sharp reckoning ('scharfe Rechnung') and at the mention of 'Qual und Hohn' a screwing up of the tension in successive phrases that rise by an augmented second against an otherwise placid backcloth – cue for a forest of sharp accidentals, including E sharp and F double sharp.

The second part of the cantata opens with a movement for bass and strings marked *arioso* – deceptively so (it is Bach's way of flagging up utterances by Christ in person as distinct from passages of indirect speech), as in truth this is a full blown, highly virtuosic aria, half Vivaldian concerto, half operatic *scena*. We are back where we started, with the false prophets. Bach conveys with perfect clarity what lies in wait for these lip-servants and contrasts it, in the ensuing aria for alto with flute obbligato, with the destiny of those who acknowledge God from the depths of their hearts. Here the concluding chorale, 'Gib, dass ich tu mit Fleiß', a setting of Johann Heermann, is perfectly apt and conclusive: God accomplishes His work through me, therefore 'Thy will be done', at the appropriate time and 'according to my station' – neat and clear.

Rendsburg is an exceptionally pretty town straddling the Kiel canal in Schleswig-Holstein. Though Bach never came here (the closest he got to it was Lübeck, fifty miles to the southeast, where we performed these same cantatas the day before), one senses that he

would have felt very much at home in this exquisite, wood-vaulted, cruciform church built during Bach's late teens by order of the Danish King Christian V.

## **Cantatas for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity**

### **Braunschweig Cathedral**

Just once in a while in the course of the Trinity season, with its almost unremitting emphasis on the things every good Lutheran should believe, from the Nicene Creed to the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Catechism and so on, comes a vivid shaft of New Testament history and narrative reference to the life of Christ. Here on the tenth Sunday after Trinity the Gospel (Luke 19:41-48) tells us how Jesus predicted the imminent destruction of Jerusalem, tying the event in the listener's mind to his own Passion story. That link would have been strengthened in Bach's day by the practice at the Vesper service on this Sunday of reading aloud Josephus' account of the actual sacking of Jerusalem by the Roman emperor Titus in AD70, one that surely resonated in the minds of those whose families had witnessed the razing of numberless German towns during the Thirty Years War. So with his anonymous librettist choosing to open with a passage from the Old Testament narrative (Lamentations 1:12) for Bach's first Leipzig cantata for this Sunday, BWV 46 **Schauet doch und sehet, ob irgendetwas Schmerz sei**, suddenly the separate eras of Jeremiah, Jesus and Josephus appear braced together, a sign of the potency of this particular story with its vivid, unsettling patterns of destruction and restoration, of God's anger and Christ's mercy. If any of the faithful of Leipzig gathered in church on a warm Sunday morning in August 1723 were experiencing momentary wobbles of belief, they were in for some bombardment! Josephus' harrowing eyewitness account crops up again in a

contemporary Leipzig chorale collection, the preacher was specifically required to fulminate and deliver a strong-tongued lashing, and Bach, never one to be outdone by a purely verbal harangue, came up with a cantata every bit as startling as the previous Sunday's *Herr gehe nicht in Gericht*, BWV 105, with which it shares certain thematic features and its structural outline.

Bach is in a long line of composers from Victoria and Gesualdo who have found moving ways to set the words from Lamentations 'Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow' (including of course Handel, two decades later in *Messiah*). Bach's opening chorus is instantly familiar as the 'Qui tollis' from the *B minor Mass*, of which it is an early draft, but with subtle differences: of key (D minor for B minor), of rhythmic impulsion (no reiterated pulse by the cellos on all three beats of every bar), and of instrumentation (recorders in place of flutes, and the addition of two oboes da caccia and a *corno a tirarsi* to double the vocal lines at their second entry, thus giving rise to an unexpected intensification of the choral utterance and of the overall texture). There is also the bonus of an atmospheric 16-bar instrumental prelude which serves to present the fate of Jerusalem as a symbol of the believer's crumbling faith, with all three of Bach's upper stringed instruments engaged in a persistent sobbing commentary. The next surprise is the way a choral fugue breaks out from this familiar-sounding lament. Starting with just two voice lines and continuo, it fans out to at times as many as nine parts. It is uncompromising in its contrapuntal wildness and grim, dissonant harmony. Christ might weep over Jerusalem, Bach tells us (Prelude), but the Lord has no compunction in inflicting sorrow 'in the day of His fierce anger' (Fugue). Whittaker describes the effect of the fugue as 'one of terrific power and terrible grimness' and concludes that 'chorally [it is] the most difficult work ever written by Bach'. Surely not. I can think of at least half a dozen that we have already tackled this year that are technically more challenging. But it *is* one of the most



powerful and combative fugues in all Bach's church cantatas and at its conclusion it leaves one utterly spent.

The *accompagnato* for tenor (No.2) points to Jerusalem's guilt as the cause of its downfall. Since Jesus's tears (conveyed by the paired recorders in five-note mourning figures) have gone unheeded, a 'tidal wave of zealotry' will soon engulf its sinning citizens, cue for one of Bach's rare *tsunami* arias for bass, trumpet and strings (No.3). Is it just the superior quality and interest of this music that makes it so much more imposing, and indeed more frightening, than any operatic 'rage' aria of the time by, say, Vivaldi or Handel? One could also point to the component of divine vengeance 'gathered from afar', the fact that here the rage is not that of the soloist or 'character', but is objectified by the singer-preacher and encapsulated by the trumpet and strings as his soundtrack, so alerting the listener to his imminent ruin (the brewing storm 'must be more than you can bear'). In total contrast, and staving off this meteorological and retributive assault, there follows an alto aria (No.5) scored as a quartet with two recorders and two unison oboes *da caccia* providing a bass line. The promise of redemption via Jesus' propitiatory role in deflecting God's wrath from harming his 'sheep and chickens' was the lifeline to which Germans of the previous century clung during times of hardship, and just in case anyone was sitting too comfortably now that the storm had passed, back it comes in five dramatic bars as though to underscore the way Jesus 'helps the righteous to dwell in safety'. For his closing chorale Bach brings together both ends of his instrumental spectrum, the trumpet and strings, who up to now have stood for God's wrathful side, and the *flauti dolci* (or recorders) who have symbolised Christ's tears and mercy and are now allotted isolated little episodes between the lines of the chorales. It is only in the last couple of bars that the recorders, who have been exchanging E flats and E naturals in their strange little arabesques, finally agree and settle on E natural. Are we supposed,

then, to hear the final D (major) chord as the tonic, a symbolic return to the tonality (D minor) of the opening movement, or as its dominant, or poised somewhere between the two in deliberate ambiguity? Is this last line 'uns nicht nach Sünden lohne' / 'and do not reward us for our sins' genuinely a part of Meyfart's chorale (1633) or a late addition, Bach's way of suggesting to his listeners that the prospect of God's mercy is not guaranteed but is contingent on His grace? These are just some of the loose ends, including even greater discrepancies of articulation in the surviving instrumental parts than is the norm with Bach's incomplete surviving performing material, that we faced in our preparations.

The antithesis between God's anger and mercy resurfaces in Bach's two later cantatas for this Sunday, yet without direct reference to the Gospel account of Jesus weeping over the fate of Jerusalem. For his second Leipzig offering, BWV 101 **Nimm von uns Herr, du treuer Gott**, Bach and his librettist managed to squeeze in a single passing reference to the city (No.2), but for the rest it is based squarely on the primary hymn for this Sunday, one by Martin Moller (still conceptually related to the Gospel) written during a time of plague in 1584 and sung to the melody of Luther's German version of the Lord's Prayer. The relentlessness of Luther's 'Vater unser', and the way the chorale is a strong audible presence in all but one of the movements of this cantata, including the recitatives, is matched in the opening movement by Bach's use of yet *another* of Luther's hymns as the thematic basis for his chorale fantasia, one associated in the congregation's mind with the Ten Commandments ('Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'). Clearly, the wages of sin, the overwhelming power of retribution visited upon those tempted to stray from the Lord's path, prompted Bach to subject his first listeners to a twin-barrelled doctrinal salvo and to compose what Robert Levin described to me as 'the most crushing work of Bach's career'.

It starts out ruminatively with an independent bass line supporting a trio of oboes exchanging the 'Ten Commandments' theme with the

upper strings. But before long we are given sharply accentuated dissonances over a dominant pedal, the first in a succession of hammer blows which convey the 'schwere Straf und große Not' ('grave punishment and great distress') of the text. They contribute to the unsettling mood of this extraordinary tone poem, at once so archaic-sounding in the doubling of the voice parts by old-fashioned cornett and trombones, as though Bach were intent on reconnecting to Luther's time, and yet modern in the way, for example, that the wrenching harmonies only begin to make sense as passing events in contrapuntal terms at a specific tempo, or Bach's use of a seven-part orchestral texture which he then expands to eleven real parts. Another strange, persistent feature is the three-note 'sighing' figure tossed between the instruments, appoggiaturas that resolve normally but are approached from above and below by a variety of initial preparatory intervals which appear to grow wider and wider. Does it stand for the inescapability of punishment, the fate that we, with countless sins, 'have truly merited' (indeed, 'allzumal' comes in for vehement reiterated protestations by the three lower voices)? Over the final tonic pedal Bach engineers a disturbing intensification of harmony and vocal expression for the words 'für Seuchen, Feur und großem Leid' ('contagion, fire and grievous pain'). It is in a movement such as this that you sense Bach working his chosen motifs as hard as he possibly can, a trait we associate more with Beethoven and Brahms... but guess whom they got it from!

Of the arias, the most arresting is the bass 'fury' aria (No.4) with three oboes (three angry ducks transformed into a latter-day saxophone trio), three prescribed tempi (*vivace* – *andante* – *adagio*) and a single moment midway, enough to strike horror in the listener when Bach makes an abrupt Mahlerian swerve from E minor to C minor on the word 'Warum' [willst du so zornig sein?]. Not even Henry Purcell, with his penchant for a calculated spotlight dissonance, was capable of matching this when setting the same words in his anthem 'Lord, how long wilt

Thou be angry?'. Bach's single chorale-free aria (No.2) is strongly disjunctive, the tenor expressing fear of judgement under the law, a *concertante* flute countering with glimmers of hope for grace and pardon. The flute's eloquence is still more apparent in the soprano/alto duet (No.6), with its imploring gestures in *siciliano* rhythm acting in counterpoint to the chorale tune first assigned to and then exchanged with the oboe da caccia. Was it this (particularly) affecting combination of obbligato instruments and its association with the Saviour's love and compassion shown to the sinner at the moment of 'Jesus' bitter death' which planted the seed in Bach's mind for 'Aus Liebe', the great soprano aria from the *St Matthew Passion*? In the two recitatives (Nos 3 and 5) Bach allots extensively embellished versions of the chorale tune to his individual singers, who then interrupt their own lines with 'tropes' of inserted commentary from relevant biblical passages.

Bach's third cantata, BWV 102 **Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben!**, has, in contrast to the others, neither the Gospel text nor one of the main hymns of the day as its point of departure. What prompted A B Marx to select this and its predecessor, BWV 101, along with *Ihr werdet weinen und heulen* BWV 103, with which it shares a similar ground plan, as the three Bach cantatas to be published in 1830 (the first to appear in print since 1708/9!)? Composed for 25 August 1726 it is one of a series of works that Bach based on librettos written some twenty years earlier and attributed to Duke Ernst Ludwig of Saxe-Meiningen. As so often, it is the opening movement which holds the greatest fascination (Dürr calls it 'one of the great achievements of the mature Bach'). Here is a setting of Jeremiah 5:3, 'Lord, are not Thine eyes upon the truth! Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved; Thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction: they have made their faces harder than a rock, and they have refused to return'. Who could have guessed that Bach would preface this grim text with such a genial orchestral ritornello for two oboes and strings? Is the

understatement a deliberate way to point up the contrast with the third, fugal section, describing the hardened faces and giving Bach a fresh crack at conveying 'Gottes Zorn' – 'God's wrath'? But then Bach in this mood is anything but predictable, even to the extent of blurring the formal divisions of the text, not simply by interpolating instrumental sinfonias but by means of partially disguised textual overlapping. The culminating fugue, for instance, with its dramatic upward hoist of an augmented fourth followed by an exclamatory quaver rest and the more conventional downward slither of its counter subject, then merges into a restatement of the whole text in a truncated musical reprise. One senses that Bach lavishes more care than usual on the construction of his themes, not just to paint the words but to replicate the speech rhythm. This in turn encourages a strongly rhetorical delivery; but then he takes one completely unawares by sculpting a fourteen-bar fugato out of an extremely peculiar vocal subject, splitting the first syllable of 'schlä-gest' with discrete staccato melismatic groupings separated by rests, until one realises that he is intent on depicting some form of godly clonk on a barely sentient head.

There are two fine recitatives, one *secco* for bass (No.2), one for alto with two oboes (No.6), and three arias. First comes a fine lament (No.3) for alto with oboe obbligato: both enter on a long, held, d flat dissonance, a study of a spiritual pariah 'cutting himself off from God's grace'. The second, for bass and strings, is headed 'arioso' (No.4) and gives the impression of starting midstream. Bach has been criticised for his word-setting here. But while the stress on the 'wrong' syllable of 'VERachtest' is 'corrected' by the upwards lurch of a minor seventh, the wrong stress on 'GEdul' is no such thing the moment one interprets it as a hemiola: 'GNA-de, Ge-DULD'. Midway Bach captures the 'frantic impotent battering of the evil-doers against the decrees of the Almighty' (Whittaker) by means of a gripping four-fold repetition of a three-note motif – D flat, C, D flat over a pedal C. As a *da capo* movement this

'arioso' ends part one of this cantata with the rhetorical question 'Do you not know that God's goodness draws you to repent?', so inviting the preacher of the sermon to expatiate on the theme of how not to incur God's anger. Just in case he declines the prompt, Bach, as so often, does the job for him, but in an unusual fashion: he allocates a dislocated figure to the tenor soloist, one that recalls the 'du schlä-gest' fugato theme from the opening chorus, as the first of several ingenious means to startle the presumptuous and errant soul ('du allzu sichre Seele!') with its representative, the flute, and, of course, the listener. But it is not until the middle section that the prospect of God's anger dislodges the flute's serenity, which is now replaced by a flurry of (fear-injected?) semiquavers. Persistent and pleading three-note motifs and a change of instrumentation (a pair of oboes now to replace the flute) characterise the final *accompagnato* (No.6), suggesting penitence and even the chance of an eleventh-hour reprieve, which is formalised as a collective prayer in the final chorale set to the melody 'Vater unser im Himmelreich' ('Our Father, who art in Heaven'). Bach thought highly enough of this cantata to use movements of it again in two of his short Masses (BWV 233 and 235), and Carl Phillip Emanuel revived it several times in Hamburg during the 1770s and 80s.

The first of our two concerts also happened to take place in Hamburg; but Brunswick Cathedral, a true pilgrimage church begun in 1173 on Henry the Lion's return from the Holy Land, turned out to be the worthier setting for these three boldly original cantatas. At dinner after the Brunswick concert one of the sponsors' wives told me that she found 'all those grim Old Testament words of foreboding really off-putting'. As a Roman Catholic she preferred 'just to listen to the wonderful music and blot out the words'. I replied that, on the contrary, Bach to me is at his most persuasive when his musical imagination is fired up by strong verbal imagery and he has a good story to tell – witness the three astonishing cantatas we had been performing earlier,

with their stark juxtapositions of hellfire and salvation, of anger and tenderness. But my neighbour was having none of that, perhaps echoing what the Jesuits feared most about Luther: the dynamite of his hymns with their sturdy tunes, which 'killed more souls than all his works and sermons together'.

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