Johann Rosenmüller and the Rehabilitation of Vocal Fugue in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century

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When in the early 1580s Vincenzo Galilei put down in writing his objections to the classic vocal counterpoint of the day, he singled out fugue, that most sophisticated of compositional tools, for particular blame:

Let us add to the impediments [to good composition] mentioned above [these composers'] fugues, both direct and inverted, as they call them. ... To carry out the fugue, they introduced a variety of rests without caring whether a voice sings the beginning of a text – prose or verse – while another voice sings the middle or end at the same time, or even the beginning, middle, or sometimes the end of another verse or thought. They often pronounce the same words many times over without reason, repeating four and six times the same thing, the syllables of the same word, one in the sky, another on earth, and if there are more, in the abyss. This, they say, properly imitates the thoughts, the words, and the parts. They will often drag one of these syllables under twenty or more different notes, mimicking the warbling of birds and another time the howling of dogs. How much imperfection this causes, and how it

takes away much force from the expression of the affections, which are moved naturally in someone by a similar feeling, it is hardly necessary to argue further.¹

Even before Galilei's critique appeared in print some composers had begun to back off from the focus on fugal writing, amounting almost to fixation, shown by Gombert, Clemens non Papa, and Crecquillon in the second quarter of the century. Cipriano de Rore, for instance, moved mostly into secular genres and more homophonic writing, and Lassus and Victoria used fugue much more judiciously in their sacred works than had the earlier composers, leaving Palestrina as the great standard-bearer for fugal counterpoint in late-Renaissance vocal music. Little wonder, then, that composers of vocal music in the first half of the seventeenth century largely avoided such counterpoint when writing in the modern style. Fugue scarcely makes an appearance in the works of Monteverdi, Schütz, or Carissimi.

Galilei and his colleagues may also have been unenthusiastic about fugue in instrumental music,² but at least in that context there was no problem of text intelligibility, nor necessarily of emotional impact, to take into account, and it was not long before fugue had found its new and enduring home among organists. Eventually every instrumental genre of note aside from dance – ricercar, canzona, capriccio, toccata, praeludium, fantasy, and sonata – incorporated fugue in some way. Writing in 1631, the German Jesuit professor Wolfgang Schonsleder, a former member of Lassus's choir,

- [A]ggiunghiamo in oltra à sopradetti impedimenti, che per frare quelle lor Fughe dritte ò rouerse che se le dichino ... ma hanno per ciò osseruare introdotto la diuersita delle Pose ò pause che dire le vogliamo, senza punto curarsi che nell'istesso tempo cantando vna di esse parti il principio delle parole, ò in prosa ò in versi che elle siano, canti vn'altra non solo ò il mezzo ò il fine del medesimo; ma il principio ò il mezzo, e talhora il fine d'vn altro verso ò concetto. [P]rofferendo molte volte contro à ciascun douere, oltre al replicare quattro & sei fiate l'istesso, le sillabe delle medesima parola, nel cielo vna, nella terra l'altra, & se piu ve ne sono, nell'abisso. & ciò dicono essere ben fatto per l'imitatione de concetti, delle parole, & delle parti; strascinandone bene spesso vna di esse sillabe, sotto venti & piu note diuerse, imitando talhora in quel mentre il garrire degli vccelli, & alta volta il mugolare de cani. [L]a qual cosa di quanta imperfettione sia cause, & quanta forza si leui per ciò all'espressione dell'affetto, nel quale naturalmente si commuoue il simile in chi ode, non è mestiero altramente ragionarne." Vincenco Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581), 82. The translation is from Vincenzo Galilei, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, trans. Claude Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press,
- 2 See remarks attributed by Galilei to Count Bardi in Galilei, *Dialogue*, 218, where the Count takes a swipe at the genre of the imitative ricercar.

made the distinction between instrumental and vocal fugue explicit: for the former, he named as paradigmatic composer his great contemporary Frescobaldi; for the latter, he reached back half a century to Palestrina and Lassus.³ Both the Italian Marco Scacchi in the 1640s and the German Christoph Bernhard in the 1650s continued to write about fugue exclusively in the context of the old late-Renaissance style.⁴

Against this backdrop, the extensive cultivation of fugue in the vocal music of the German composer Johann Rosenmüller, a decade older than Bernhard, stands out. By my count Rosenmüller's approximately 200 vocal works contain over thirty fugues. Most remarkable of all is that eleven of these are so indicated - with the words "Fuga" or "Fuge" - in their manuscripts, all of them in large-scale Latin liturgical works: one Gloria in excelsis, a Credo, a Magnificat, a setting of the Dies irae sequence, and eight Vespers Psalms (one of which includes two fugues). A further nine, undesignated, likewise appear in Latin liturgical works, all in the context of four voices (or eight voices reduced to four) with instruments. Six fugues appear in Latin-texted works for three voices - with or without obbligato instruments - and basso continuo, and one turns up in a Latin setting for solo voice. German-texted works, by contrast, hold few; I find only two. Last of all, Rosenmüller also cultivated the stile antico fugue in two of his Mass settings. (The complete list appears in Table 1.) Few composers of the second half of the century can match this record of engagement with vocal fugue. Before we can place these works in proper historical context, it is first necessary to understand their place in Rosenmüller's compositional output.

In a recent article refining our understanding of the Bokemeyer Collection, where a large number of Rosenmüller's vocal pieces are to be found, Peter Wollny has succeeded in building on the pioneering work offered by Kerala Snyder in her 1971 dissertation and sharpened our understanding of

³ Concerning Schonsleder's writing on fugue, see Paul Mark Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 120–22.

⁴ On Scacchi's pronouncements on fugue, see Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 143ff. For Bernhard's, which focuses on real and tonal answers and appears in his chapters on the modes, see Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 155ff. An edition of Bernhard's writings is available in Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), esp. 98–103. For a translation, see Walter Hilse, "The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard," *Music Forum* 3 (1973): 133–44.

TABLE 1: ROSENMÜLLER VOCAL FUGUES

PRE-VENICE

1. Wahrlich, wahrlich ich sage euch (Kernsprüche II) – mm. 45–64 & 77–95 – "Der hat das ewige Leben"

DURCHFÜHRUNGEN WITH EPISODES

2. Miserere mei Deus (D-Dlb Mus. Ms. 1739/E/520) – fugue on "Et spiritum"

FUGUES à 3 – 3 TOTAL

- 3. Jesu mi amor (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #13, and D-B 18908, #1) fugue on "Alleluia"
- 4. Benedicam Dominum (D-B Mus. Ms. 18881, #3) fugue on "Alleluia" [= Ego te laudo (D-B Mus. Ms. 18881, #13) fugue on final "Amen"]
- 5. In hac misera valle (Organum I/24, orig. lost) fugue on "Alleluia. Amen"

FOUR-VOICE FUGUES WITH REGULAR EXPOSITION, TONAL ANSWER, AND COUNTERSUBJECT - 12 TOTAL

- 6. Beatus vir qui timet Dominum (D-B Mus. Ms. 18887, #2) "Fuga" on "Exortum est"
- 7. Beatus vir qui timet Dominum (D-B Mus. Ms. 18887, #5) "Fuga" on "Beatus vir qui timet," repeated on "Et in secula"
- 8. Gloria in excelsis (D-B Mus. Ms. 18880, #2) "Fuge" on "Cum sancto spiritu"
- 9. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes I (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #4) "Fuga" on "Amen" (Complete Works, vol. II/13, pp. 101-106)
- 10. Magnificat (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #15) "Fuga" on "Sicut erat"
- 11. Confitebor tibi Domine (D-B Mus. Ms. 18886, #8) fuque (unlabeled) on "Amen"
- 12. Gloria in excelsis Deo (D-B Mus. Ms. 18880, #4, and D-B 18901) fugue (unlabeled) on "Cum sancto"
- 13. Laetatus sum in his (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #2) fugue (unlabeled) on "Sicut erat" (Complete Works, vol. II/14, pp. 115-120)
- 14. Laetatus sum in his (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #2) fugue (unlabeled) on "Et in secula" (Complete Works, vol. II/14, pp. 121–126)
- 15. Nunc dimittis (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #17) fugue (unlabeled) on "Sicut erat"
- 16. Nunc dimittis (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #17) fugue (unlabeled) on "Et in secula"
- 17. Das Blut Jesu Christi (D-SWI #4598) fugue on "macht uns rein"

PERMUTATION FUGUE WITH THREE SUBJECTS

18. Beatus vir qui timet Dominum (D-B Mus. Ms. 18887, #2) – "Fuga" on "Sicut erat"

FOUR-VOICE FUGUES WITH TWO SUBJECTS,

ONE VOICE FIRST ENTERS WITH SUBJECT 2 - 5 TOTAL

- 19. Dies irae (D-B Mus. Ms. 18881, #8) "Fuga" on "Amen"
- 20. Lauda Jerusalem Dominum (GB-Lbl 24.a.3.(4) and D-Dlb Mus. Ms. 1739/E/519) "Fuga" on "Amen" (Complete Works, vol. II/16, pp. 178-184)
- 21. Laudate pueri Dominum (D-B Mus. Ms. 18890, #10) "Fuga" on "Et in secula" (occurs twice)
- 22. Confitebor tibi Domine (D-B Mus. Ms. 18886, #4) fugue (unlabeled) on "Et in secula"
- 23. Confitebor tibi Domine (D-B Mus. Ms. 18886, #7) fugue (unlabeled) on "Et in secula"

OSTINATO FUGUES - 3 TOTAL

- 24. Credo (GB-Lbl R.M.24.a.3.(6)) "Fuga" on "Et vitam venturi," pp. 242-245
- 25. Dilexi quoniam exaudiet Dominus (D-B Mus. Ms. 18881, #10) "Fuga" on "Et lux perpetua" (Complete Works, vol. II/13, pp. 66-72)
- 26. Laudate pueri Dominum (D-B Mus. Ms. 18890, #2) fugue on "Et in secula" (Complete Works, vol. II/11, pp. 84-90)

MISCELLANEOUS FUGUES - 3 TOTAL

- 27. In te Domine speravi (D-B Mus. Ms. 18889, #3) fugue on "Enduces me de laqueo"
- 28. Lauda Sion Salvatorem (D-B Mus. Ms. 18882, #3) fugue on "Alleluia"
- 29. Confitebor tibi Domine (D-B Mus. Ms. 18886, #6) fugue on "Et in secula"

STILE ANTICO FUGUES

- 30. Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, & Credo; 18880, #6) fugue in Gloria, on "In gloria Dei Patris"
- 31. Mass (all 5 parts of the Ordinary; mod. ed. Commer, orig. lost) several fugues

the circumstances surrounding the composer's oeuvre. It is of course well known that Rosenmüller had established himself as the leading composer in Leipzig and the designated heir to the Thomascantor of the time, Tobias Michael, when in 1655, at the approximate age of thirty-five, he was found guilty of improper sexual activity with the choirboys and forced to flee Saxony and the Holy Roman Empire. He found a home in Venice, where he can be placed no later than 1658 and where he lived until 1682. Although he held various positions there, including as a trombonist at St. Mark's, he seems mostly to have focused on composition, and from 1678 he served as composer to the Ospedale della Pietà, a position later occupied by Antonio Vivaldi. Rosenmüller was finally able to return to Germany (Wolfenbüttel) only for the last two years of his life.

None of the considerable quantity of vocal works written in Venice were ever published, and scholars have long puzzled over the complete absence of surviving copies in Italian libraries and archives. By contrast, Rosenmüller's music was widely available in Germany, and his reputation there remained formidable, despite his long absence. Christoph Wolff notes that the choir library in Lüneburg, where Bach was a choirboy, held three times as many items by Rosenmüller as by Heinrich Schütz and over twice as many as by Joachim Gerstenbüttel, director of music for the main churches of nearby Hamburg. All four of the major German collections of vocal music from the second half of the seventeenth century – those of

⁵ Peter Wollny, "Zwischen Hamburg, Gottorf, und Wolfenbüttel: Neue Ermittlungen zur Entstehung der 'Sammlung Bokemeyer," Schütz-Jahrbuch 20 (1998): 59–76, and Kerala Snyder, Johann Rosenmüller's Works for Solo Voice (PhD diss, Yale University, 1970).

⁶ For more on this aspect of Rosenmüller's biography, and the possible enticement of Venice for a homosexual, see Kerala J. Snyder, "Life in Venice: Johann Rosenmüller's Vespers Psalms" in *Relazioni musicali tra Italia e Germania nell'età barocca*, ed. Alberto Colzani et al. (Como: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1997), 173–76.

⁷ Concerning Rosenmüller's reputation among contemporary German musicians, see Werner Braun, "Urteile über Johann Rosenmüller," in Von Isaac bis Bach: Studien zur älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte; Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 189–197.

⁸ Christoph Wolff, Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 58. Wolff cites 30 works for Schütz, 41 for Gerstenbüttel, and 96 for Rosenmüller. A complete list of titles in this collection, many of which are lost, appears in Christina Köster, Johann Rosenmüllers lateinische Psalmvertonungen in starker Besetzung: Untersuchungen zu Klang und Struktur (Augsburg: Wißner Verlag, 2002), 1: 307–11.

the Erfurt Michaeliskirche,⁹ Düben,¹⁰ Bokemeyer,¹¹ and Grimma¹² – include Rosenmüller's music, but only the first of these appears to have been amassed during Rosenmüller's lifetime. Nevertheless, the composer's abrupt move from Saxony to Venice provides us with the major clue in distinguishing earlier from later works.

Scholars generally agree that most of Rosenmüller's German-texted vocal works were likely written before 1655. 13 Some of this music appeared in print in the two volumes of Kernsprüche (Leipzig, 1648 and 1652-3), although much remained in manuscript. In his article on Rosenmüller for the most recent edition of MGG, Wollny identifies Heinrich Schütz's Kleine Geistliche Konzerte and parts 2 and 3 of Symphoniae sacrae as the principal influences on Rosenmüller's writing at this time. 14 By contrast, a large percentage of the composer's Latin-texted works treat important components of the Catholic liturgy, especially a great many Vesper Psalms of the sort found in Monteverdi's famous collection of 1610 and extensively cultivated in Venice. One's first and natural assumption, then, is that Rosenmüller wrote these pieces for the Venetian liturgical scene, 15 but Wollny has offered a more plausible hypothesis that accounts for the complete lack of surviving copies in Venetian archives. It is well known that from Venice Rosenmüller established some sort of relationship with the reigning family of the house of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Hanover: his post-1655 publications, both of instrumental music, are dedicated to either Duke Johann Friedrich (the Sonate da camera of 1667) or the duke's cousin Anton Ulrich (the twelve Sonate of 1682), and when the composer was finally able to re-

⁹ Concerning this collection, see Elizabeth Noack, "Die Bibliothek der Michaelis-kirche zu Erfurt," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925): 65–116.

¹⁰ The most thorough study of this collection remains Bruno Grusnick, "Die Dübensammlung," *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 46 (1964): 27–82, and 48 (1966): 63–186.

¹¹ For a complete catalog, see Harald Kümmerling, "Katalog der Sammlung Bokemeyer," *Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft* 18 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

¹² Described in Friedhelm Krummacher, "Zur Sammlung Jacobi der ehemaligen Fürstenschule Grimma," *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963): 324–47.

¹³ See Kerala J. Snyder, "Johann Rosenmüller," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed.

¹⁴ Peter Wollny, "Johann Rosenmüller," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil 14:410. For a fuller explication of this style, see Wollny's liner notes to the CD Johann Rosenmüller, *Weihnachtshistorie*, performed by Cantus Cölln and Concerto Palatino, directed by Konrad Junghänel (Harmonia Mundi, 2004).

¹⁵ Snyder speculates about ways in which these pieces might have been used in Venice in her article "Life in Venice," 176–81.

turn to German soil near the end of his life it was as Kapellmeister to the court of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Wollny also notes the survival of a surprising number of Rosenmüller's works in collected manuscripts in England, with a number of concordances of these to be found in the Bokemeyer Collection. Given that Johann Friedrich had, in part because of enthusiasm for Italian culture, converted to Catholicism already in 1651, that upon his assumption to the Electorship in 1666 he established a Catholic chapel in Hanover and hired the Venetian composer Antonio Sartorio to supply it with music, and that he made semi-annual trips to Venice beginning in 1667, Wollny speculates that many of Rosenmüller's Latin liturgical works were also likely commissioned by the house of Hanover, and that these made their way to England when the Hanoverian Elector became King George I of England in 1714.

The almost complete lack of fugues in Rosenmüller's German-texted works and the plethora of fugues - especially those so identified - in his Latin liturgical works point decisively to a significant engagement with the technique once he had settled in Italy. At first this seems anomalous. Given fugue's long association with keyboard and organ music and the works of Bach, a present-day student of the genre could be forgiven for presuming that Italian cultivation of it died in 1643 with the death of Frescobaldi, from which point on German musicians "owned" fugal writing. But Italian musicians, including organists, remained very much engaged with the compositional technique. One important example of this engagement involves the Roman-born, Warsaw-based Marco Scacchi, who through correspondence with various German colleagues in the context of the famous quarrel between Paul Siefert and Kaspar Förster succeeded in placing the theory of tonal answers at the heart of proper fugal writing, where it remained for the rest of the century and beyond. Then, sometime in the 1650s and 1660s, the Veronese Antonio Bertali, Imperial Kapellmeister in Vienna, wrote the first guide to fugal writing that described something akin to our modern understanding.16 Bertali was a violinist, not an organist, and his manuscript explication describes both instrumental and, somewhat surprisingly, vocal fugue. In fact, it turns out that Italian cultivation of fugue after Frescobaldi found its niche primarily in instrumental ensemble music, where it played a central role. This is likely the primary

¹⁶ For a detailed explication of Bertali's handling of fugue, see Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 166–85.

inspiration behind Rosenmüller's decision to incorporate it into his own multi-movement works for voices.

The seventeenth-century ensemble sonata had its roots in the instrumental canzona, in whose four-voice incarnation fugue had from the beginning played a prominent role despite the genre's lighter, looser character vis-à-vis the serious and ambitious ricercar/fantasy. The new ensemble sonata quickly began to establish its own identity through, among other things, its predilection for the new texture of one or more high parts over a figured bass, represented most typically in the so-called "trio sonata" texture. One might have expected that the elimination of alto and tenor parts would have spelled the end of fugue as a viable compositional strategy, but composers retained a strong interest in it, especially for the type of sonata that Peter Allsop has called the "a3 sonata," scored for two violins and one melodic bass over a fourth part for continuo that largely parallels the latter. ¹⁷ A large percentage of these pieces begin with a fugue of modest length, generally self-contained and ending in a full stop, and it is out of this tradition that Bertali's written description of fugue, mentioned above, must come.

Bertali's manuscript treatise describes fugue as a series of overlapped points of imitation analogous to the structure of a sixteenth-century motet, with the difference that all of the points are based on the same theme. For each point, the theme appears in each voice, following which free counterpoint takes the piece to the next point and its group of thematic entries. In order to avoid monotony, the composer is advised to vary successive points in some way, for instance, by bringing in the voices' thematic statements in a different order or by having the voices swap subject and answer forms of the theme. We can see an example of just such a fugue at the beginning of Sonata No. 11, "La Mont'Albana" a 3, of Giovanni Legrenzi, published in Venice in 1655, the year that Rosenmüller fled Leipzig (see music example 1).¹⁸ The first point of imitation brings in the theme in the order

¹⁷ See Peter Allsop, *The Italian "Trio" Sonata From its Origins Until Corelli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 24–26.

¹⁸ The music examples referred to are found in the appendix. All the editions are my own. Music example 1 is adapted from *The Instrumental Music of Giovanni Legrenzi: Sonate a due e tre Opus 2 (1655)*, ed. by Stephen Bonta, Harvard Publications in Music, 14 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1984), 36–37. Music example 2 is adapted from James Moore, "Vespers at St. Mark's, 1625–1675" (PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1979), 2:131. The remaining music examples are transcribed from the original manuscripts.

violone-violin 1-violin 2 and cadences on B-flat at the downbeat of measure 19. For the second point the thematic entries are violin 2-violin 1-violone. This point cadences in the middle of measure 36, when the third point commences with yet a different order: violin 1-violone-violin 2. Bertali's treatise calls for four or five such points, but Legrenzi's fugue incorporates only three. Otherwise, the match is almost perfect.

Scholars of fugue today would of course describe Legrenzi's fugue somewhat differently: we tend to see it as a series of three sets of thematic statements (measures 1–11, 15–22, and 36–45) separated by episodes. Germans label the sets of entries *Durchführungen*; English terminology is less tidy, since the word "exposition" is generally reserved for only the first set of entries, but sometimes the later sets are labeled with the expression "counter-exposition" as found in the classic fugue of the Paris Conservatory. We would further say that Legrenzi bases his episodes on material from the subject but that the lack of complete thematic statements determines their identity. This is made possible primarily by the nature of the subject itself, which begins with a six-note motive that is expanded into a total of three such units for a 6+6+5 overall structure. Variants of these motives fill the episodes, and Legrenzi even takes advantage of this feature to state the subject in slightly shortened form, as can be seen, for instance, in violin 2, measures 15–17.

The year after Legrenzi's fugue appeared in print, the *maestro di capella* of St. Mark's basilica in Venice, Francesco Cavalli, published a volume entitled *Musiche sacre* that included both Latin liturgical and instrumental works. Fugal expositions appear at the beginning of the canzonas a 3 and a 4 and the sonata a 6, as we would expect, but it is something of a surprise to find a fugal movement in his setting of the Magnificat, on the words "Esurientes implevit bonis" (see music example 2). The surprise arises not just because of the relative rarity of vocal fugue at the time, but also because of the piece's large ensemble of eight real voice parts plus two violins, melodic bass, and continuo. Aside from the number of parts participating in

¹⁹ For the classic explication of the Paris Conservatory fugue, see André Gédalge, «De la fugue d'école,» in *Traité de la fugue* (Paris: Enoch & Companie, 1901). Readers should be advised that the available English translation by Ferdinand Davis, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1965, is not a true translation, but a reworking according to guidelines recommended by Davis's teacher Louis Vierne. The word "counter-exposition" is consistently used, for instance, by Allsop in *The Italian "Trio" Sonata*.

the fugue, the other immediately notable difference between Cavalli's and Legrenzi's fugues is the vocal fugue's total avoidance of episodes. Here we find, in a mere nineteen measures, eight complete statements of the theme, the first four of which form a perfect opening exposition with statements proceeding in orderly fashion from soprano to bass and alternating consistently between subject and answer forms. The instruments play an entirely supporting role, since their only complete statements (melodic bass in meas. 323–325 and 328–331) merely double the sung bass statements. It is not difficult to imagine why a composer would be reluctant to incorporate episodes into a fugue with text. The contrast between Cavalli's and Legrenzi's subjects is immediately obvious. Although the two halves of Cavalli's differ noticeably in their rhythm and melodic motion, the composer has clearly devised his subject to fit the phrase "Esurientes implevit bonis," and any attempt to extract brief motives from it, or to expand and contract it, would distort the sense of the words in ways that would leave Galilei apoplectic.

Within two or three years after these pieces rolled off the Venetian presses, Rosenmüller began to set up his new life in the city. It is a pity that almost all of the copies of the composer's Venetian works date from after his lifetime and therefore that external indicators of chronology are few, but a few of his Latin-texted non-liturgical works are set for three voices, with or without instruments, and five of these include fugues that have the appearance of a composer experimenting with the models offered by Legrenzi and Cavalli. Music example 3 shows a fugue on the text "Et spiritu principali confirma me," Psalm 50:14b in the Vulgate, from Miserere mei Deus (D-Dlb 1739/E/520) found in the Grimma Collection. The piece is scored for the standard vocal trio of ATB with two violins and continuo, and the fugue's structure resembles Legrenzi's series of Durchführungen with episodes. Rosenmüller is working rather freely, however. We find the subject's opening leap of a fourth given a real answer, something Scacchi would have found quite objectionable, and we also see, with the third and fourth entries, a variant of the subject that replaces the opening rising fourth with a mere upward step. These latter two entries are also at the wrong pitch level, or so they seem until it becomes clear that the fugue's mode is ambiguous,

since it begins in G major and ends in e minor.²⁰ Structurally, though, the fugue works like a vocal counterpart to Legrenzi's: the subject itself sets the first three words of the text, while the remaining two words anchor the episode as the instruments and bass singer offer further variants of the subject against them. The counterexposition brings in thematic statements in a different order from that of the exposition, and the second episode follows the example of the first. The piece's relative lack of sophistication recalls the similarly unsophisticated fugal imitation given the words "Der hat das ewige Leben" in *Wahrlich, wahrlich ich sage euch* from *Kernsprüche II* of 1652–3.²¹

No other fugue of Rosenmüller's is constructed in this way. Reminiscent of Italian models in a different way, however, are three fugues scored for the a3 texture of either two high voices and bass with continuo or three high voices and continuo, in both cases without obbligato instruments. They appear in works of the "small sacred concerto" type that he had already cultivated in Leipzig, but the handling of fugue is much more assured and polished than in Wahrlich, wahrlich or Miserere mei Deus. These threevoice Latin-texted fugues include one for two tenors or sopranos and bass, incorporated into both Benedicam Dominum and Ego te laudo, one for two sopranos and bass in *In hac misera valle*, and one for three sopranos over a non-thematic basso continuo in Jesu mi amor. The three share the a3 texture of the ensemble sonata, but they follow Cavalli's example in their elimination of episodes. All three set a single word, either "Alleluia" or "Amen," which places them at the end rather than at the beginning of the piece, where most ensemble fugues are placed. Rosenmüller's choice of such a familiar and formulaic text for his fugues suggests both sensitivity to musicians' concern about intelligibility of text and the smart compositional strategy of choosing simple words that allow for maximum flexibility in thematic treatment.

All three fugues incorporate in addition a feature found only infrequently in ensemble fugues of the first half of the century and absent from

²⁰ For the purposes of this paper, I will not delve into the issues surrounding modality/tonality of the period. For perhaps the best explication of mode, key, and harmony of the seventeenth century, see Harold Powers, "From Psalmody to Tonality," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. by Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 275–340.

²¹ For an edition, see Johann Rosenmüller, *Wahrlich, wahrlich ich sage euch*, ed. Albrecht Tunger, Die Kantate vol. 74 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1960), 10–13.

Cavalli's vocal piece as well: a second theme that functions precisely like the countersubject of a classic fugue. Music example 4 gives the "Alleluia" fugue of Benedicam Dominum. The two themes contrast nicely: ascending quarter notes for the subject, a sequence of three-note descending sixteenths for the countersubject, so that between them the two parts produce a series of alternating thirds and sixths that is perfect for invertible counterpoint at the octave. The pair of voices then close with a proper cadence set up through a 2-3 suspension, which will of course invert, at the octave, to 7-6. So well thought out is the thematic material and its combinations that the composer is able to build all but the last few measures of the fugue almost entirely without non-thematic counterpoint, which is mostly confined to the continuo part when the bass singer is silent. Yet again the opening exposition is tonally irregular: the first four thematic statements enter on dominant, tonic, mediant, and lowered seventh (D, G, B flat, and F) of the mode "G transposed Dorian." This irregularity reflects the unusual harmonic opening on the dominant chord, followed by a setting up of the first tonic chord for the midpoint of measure two only to avoid it through a deceptive cadence. Rosenmüller's placement of the fugue at the piece's end likely provided the necessary justification for such an unconventional fugal opening. Most musicians had agreed since the mid sixteenth century that although fugal imitation at the beginning of a composition bore particular responsibility for modal clarity, such imitation in the body of the work could be freer. One further detail of note is the incorporation of melodic inversion for both subject and countersubject beginning in measure 159. Despite the fugue's relative brevity, then, - a mere twenty-two measures - Rosenmüller packs in a great deal of sophistication.

None of these three-voice fugues has the word "Fuga" attached to it in the surviving sources. That designation is reserved, as previously mentioned, for eleven fugues for four voices with instruments incorporated into large-scale settings of Latin liturgical texts. It is unfortunately impossible to know with certainty whether the designation was supplied by the composer himself. All but one of the designated fugues can be found in the Bokemeyer Collection, the other in a manuscript in England (*Lauda Jerusalem Dominum*, in GB-Lbl 24.a.3.(4)). Since both geographical proximity and the notable number of concordances between Georg Österreich's collection and the English manuscripts suggest the Hanoverian court as an important source for Österreich's copies, it could have been someone at that court who

provided the designations.²² The existence of one designated fugue from an English manuscript in a concordant source in the Grimma Collection (*Lauda Jerusalem*, D-Dlb 1739/E/519), where it appears without designation, perhaps strengthens this hypothesis. However, it could also be the case that the copyist of the Grimma set of parts saw no need to add the word for his performers, but that the copyist of the English score found it useful for study or reference purposes. And finally, no evidence precludes the possibility that Rosenmüller himself supplied the designation as a way to draw attention to his innovative use of the technique.

Most of the designated fugues fit the structural pattern found in the Alleluia fugue of Benedicam Dominum. Let us turn now to one of Rosenmüller's settings of Psalm 111, Beatus vir qui timet Dominum, D-B Ms. 18887, #2, which happens to have two designated fugues that fit this pattern well. Unlike most of the fugues in Rosenmüller's Latin liturgical works, the first is set to the words "Exortum est in tenebris lumen recitis" ("Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness," as it is rendered in the King James Bible), given in music example 5. Here we see a much more regular opening exposition than in either Miserere mei Deus or Benedicam. The four voices enter in regular succession from bass to soprano, each voice waits to enter until the previous voice has stated the theme completely, entries alternate between subject and answer, each voice proceeds directly from subject to countersubject, and the two themes combine much as those of *Benedicam*, with at first alternation between sixths and thirds, then another 2-3 cadential formula to finish. Furthermore, in contrast to Rosenmüller's free handling of mode in the Alleluia fugue, here we see very careful attention to mode (C major): subject begins on dominant and ends on tonic, answer is tonal and does the opposite, just as Scacchi would have insisted. Once all voices have entered, the voices cadence together and the music proceeds with new material. In short, we find here the classic four-voice fugue with alto and tenor parts that is found only rarely in ensemble music of the time.

Because the text of this fugue is not simply formulaic, the composer's shaping of the two contrasting themes is of considerable interest. First of all, he divides the words into two phrases: "There ariseth in the darkness"

²² It is also worth noting that the sole surviving copy of Bertali's complete description of fugue survives in the Bokemeyer Collection in Georg Österreich's hand. See Harald Kümmerling, *Katalog der Sammlung Bokemeyer*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 18 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 11. Österreich incorrectly credited Giacomo Carissimi with authorship of the treatise.

(subject) and "light unto the upright" (countersubject). The subject begins high for the word "ariseth," with rising stepwise motion after the initial leap down, then for "darkness" it descends to its lowest note. "Light," the most important word of the sentence, gets the dotted figures in the countersubject that draw it out of the texture. The fugue takes a mere thirteen measures.

The second fugue appears in the Doxology portion of the text, on the words "Sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper" (see music example 6). The fugue is a few measures longer than the "Exortum" fugue, and Rosenmüller works much more ambitiously, now with three themes instead of just two. Again the four voices enter in regular succession, this time from soprano to bass, the answer is tonal, and each voices states in succession each of the three themes. The third is handled a bit more freely than the first two but its characteristic motive of a rising scale ending in a sixteenth-note turn is always present. Once all voices have entered, thematic statements continue in the order soprano, alto, and bass (no tenor), each time accompanied by both of the other two themes and with no episodes intervening. Two non-thematic measures then close the fugue. What Rosenmüller has given us, then, is an early example of a full-fledged permutation fugue.

An additional element not present in the fugues of music examples 4 and 5 is a full complement of five instrumental parts. These neither double the voice parts throughout nor add thematic entries of their own. Instead, they function rather like a complement of ripieno singers. That is, each time the bass states the subject, it is doubled by the bassoon, and the following vocal entries are also doubled by the instruments in their respective ranges. Unlike ripieno singers, however, the instruments enter and withdraw together as a unit rather than with the parts they double, and violin 1 plays completely independent material. Since the continuo is a seguente part, the fugue itself is complete without any of the instruments. Here, in other words, we have a true four-voice fugue with alto and tenor parts, a configuration that is found only rarely in ensemble music of the time. The wealth of thematic material more or less precludes the use of learned contrapuntal devices, however, and the fugue lasts a mere seventeen measures.

No other fugue shows quite so clearly the permutation fugue design of music example 6. Instead, Rosenmüller favored the model of the "Exortum" fugue – two themes that function as subject and countersubject in four voices (sometimes eight reduced to four), regular opening exposition of the two, tonal answer as prescribed by Scacchi, no episodes, instrumental parts

that are largely incidental to the fugue, and total length of no more than about thirty measures, all most often set to a formulaic text near the end of the piece. Table 1 enumerates twelve such fugues, including one (slightly irregular in its exposition) in the German piece *Das Blut Jesu Christi* on the text "Macht uns rein." The fugues range from thirteen to thirty-one measures in length, their subjects are between two and four measures long, with the number of entries falling somewhere between four and seven. Six of these fugues are designated in their sources, the remaining seven are not. A further five, three with designations of fugue, introduce the irregularity that one of the voices makes its first entrance not with subject or answer but with countersubject. Whoever assigned the designations clearly understood these latter pieces also to be proper fugues, despite their slightly irregular openings.

Three fugues, two designated, begin with Rosenmüller's standard exposition of subject and countersubject but are longer, about forty measures in length. One of the designated ones appears in a double-choir setting (without obbligato instruments) of the Credo on the words "Et vitam venturi seculi. Amen" (GB-Lbl R.M.24.a.3.[6], see music example 7). Rosenmüller gives us a textbook exposition in choir 1, with subject on the words "Et vitam venturi seculi" and countersubject on "Amen." Choir 2, however, behaves more like the instruments in music examples 5 and 6, and beginning with their entrance in measure 11 we find an approach to fugal structure for which scholars have created the qualifying label "ostinato" in the context of early seventeenth century keyboard music.²³ In this type of fugue, the subject receives a proper exposition but then proceeds as an almost unbroken series of individual thematic statements passed back and forth among the various voices in ostinato-like fashion. In Rosenmüller's ostinato fugue the passing back and forth is accomplished in the context of antiphonal juxtaposition between the two choirs, as music example 7 makes clear. The subject is one of Rosenmüller's most memorable, with its dramatic downward leap of a minor sixth followed immediately by an upward leap of a diminished fourth. The two themes combine as we would expect: relatively slow, deliberate mo-

²³ Pieter Dirksen uses the expression Ostinato Fantasia for certain of Sweelinck's fugal fantasies. See his monograph The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1997), 344–73. For an example of such a piece, see Fantasia no. 8 in Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Keyboard Works: Fantasias and Toccatas, in Opera Omnia 1, fascicle 1, ed. by Gustav Leonhardt (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1974), 57–60.

tion for the subject contrasted with quick notes and jerky dotted rhythms for the countersubject, and again we find a series of alternating thirds and sixths ending in a 7-6 cadential formula. The added length spurs the composer also to experiment harmonically: we see a move to the relative major, G, in meas. 18–23, with thematic statements on D and G (including a tonal answer). More surprising is that the last statement, in measures 28–30, also takes us to G major before the ending brings back the E minor tonality. All in all, this is one of Rosenmüller's most impressive and mature fugues.

Three of Rosenmüller's vocal fugues show the composer's more experimental side, but on a larger scale than found in the a3 fugues. These include a fugue on "Et in secula" from Confitebor tibi Domine (D-B 18882, #6) for SATB, 2 violins, 2 violas, and continuo, one on "Alleluia" from Lauda Sion for ATB, 2 violins, and continuo, and one on "Educes me laqueo" from In te Domine speravi for T, 2 violins, and continuo. All three fugues show marked irregularity in comparison to those for four voices and instruments discussed above, including overlap of entries at the beginning, countersubjects that are treated very freely, incorporation of instrumental parts into the structure of the fugue in irregular ways, and especially thematic entrances on a variety of notes other than tonic and dominant. The most extended of the three, the "Et in secula" fugue, merits a fuller description. Its subject is as banal as the subject of music example 7 is memorable: a series of repeated notes that move by step from tonic to mediant before ending with a downward leap back to tonic. The first six entrances (four voices and two violins) overlap each other, although they at least confine themselves to tonic and dominant (G and D in G transposed Dorian), after which we are offered a bewildering series of entrances on C, B flat, and A. Accompanying it is a countersubject consisting of a sequential pattern of eighth notes that is adapted as the composer sees fit. This fugue ends in only ten measures and is followed by an instrumental ritornello and a seven-measure solo for tenor with unrelated melodic material, after which the subject reenters with statements on B flat and F, again accompanied by the countersubject. This fugue cadences after only six measures and an instrumental interlude of two measures takes us to yet another set of thematic entries. The whole thing then concludes with free reworking of the countersubject. It is hard to know just what to make of all this, and whether Rosenmüller even understood it to be fugue in the sense understood by Scacchi and Bertali. What is clear is that, so far as his surviving music shows, it was an experiment that he never repeated or built on.

The only other fugues to be found in Rosenmüller's vocal works are those that appear in his two known Mass settings in stile antico. As these lie outside the topic of this paper and are part of a completely different development, they will not be considered here.

Much work remains to be done on fugue – and especially vocal fugue - in the second half of the seventeenth century before Rosenmüller's place in that history can be completely understood, but at this point I would like to make several preliminary observations. First, the idea of inserting fugue into a multi-section or -movement work was by 1655 well established in Italian ensemble music but something of a novelty in vocal music, which means that Rosenmüller stood at the forefront of its development. Second, vocal fugue as a movement based on two themes first presented in an orderly exposition and subsequently proceeding with little or no incorporation of episodes turned out to be a powerful one that attracted many composers. How this model came to be so favored by Italian and German musicians is not yet clear. My colleague Mary Frandsen has pointed me to several such fugues by the Italian composers working in Dresden in the 1660s, Vincenzo Albrici and Marco Giuseppe Peranda.²⁴ An example by Johann Philipp Krieger, said by Mattheson to have studied with Rosenmüller during his Italian sojourn in the years 1673-75, begins his German-language setting of the opening of the Sanctus.²⁵ Third, it was but a short step from this two-theme model to a three- or four-theme fugue, and it could be that further research will show a much broader interest in permutation fugue during the third quarter of the century than our focus on Hamburg and Lübeck has led us to expect. ²⁶ Perhaps Rosenmüller is the real pioneer in this development. Fourth, Rosenmüller's placement of most of his fugues near the end of a Latin liturgical setting stands at the beginning of a very long tradition of fugal finales in large-scale vocal works that still held sway for such nineteenth-

²⁴ An example by Peranda can be found on the words "Ut cum eo in aeternum" from *Accurrite gentes* for ATB, 2 cornetti, bassoon, and basso continuo. I wish to thank Mary for providing me with a copy of this fugue, which she tells me was performed in the Dresden chapel in 1665.

²⁵ This piece can be found in *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, 53–54:309–11. The subject comprises the words "Heilig, heilig, heilig," the countersubject "ist der Herr Zebaoth."

²⁶ See Paul Walker, "Die Entstehung der Permutationsfuge," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 75 (1989): 21–41. This article appears in English, slightly revised, as "The Origin of the Permutation Fugue," in *Studies in the History of Music, vol. 3: The Compositional Process* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1992), 51–91.

century composers as Beethoven (the Masses), Mendelssohn (Elijah), and Brahms (the German Requiem).

We may conclude with a brief look at the vocal fugues of Bach and Handel. What we see in Bach's earliest vocal fugues, as is well known, is the permutation fugue ideal, still most likely picked up, it seems to me, from Theile's treatises. Examples can be found in Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, BWV 106 (on "Es ist der alte Bund"), Der Herr denket an uns, BWV 196 (opening chorus), and Gott ist mein König, BWV 71 (on "Dein Alter sei wie deine Jugend, und Gott ist mit dir in allem, das du tust"). One particularly noteworthy observation about Bach's introduction of fugue is that he seems not to share Rosenmüller's concern for textual clarity; these fugues are set, not to formulaic texts but to texts integral to their arguments or emotional impact. Indeed, in at least one piece, the much discussed Cantata 106, his choice of fugue seems to have been inspired by the text itself, "Es ist der alte Bund," a reference to the law of the Old Testament. Of course, it was just this disregard for text and its delivery, as Johann Mattheson saw it, that led to the latter's famous criticism of the opening chorus to Bach's cantata 21, *Ich* hatte viel Bekümmernis.²⁷

In the case of Handel, we find Rosenmüller's favored paradigm of orderly exposition with two themes in vocal fugues from the earliest settings of Vesper Psalms, where they set the same sorts of formulaic texts as Rosenmüller's, to the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate of 1713 and the so-called Chandos anthems of 1717–1718. To take but one example: the fugue on "Declare his honour unto the heathen, and his wonders unto all the people" from Chandos Anthem no. 4, O Sing Unto the Lord, fits Rosenmüller's model fairly closely: an orderly exposition with subject and countersubject (dividing the movement's text at the comma), proper tonal answer, and virtually no episodes. Handel's fugue is fairly ambitious at forty-three measures and incorporates both augmentation and inversion of the subject, but it is noteworthy that despite the piece's length the composer avoids modulation and never introduces the subject on any notes other than tonic and dominant. Also worthy of comment is that, unlike Bach but like Rosenmüller, Handel wrote very few fugues intended to stand on their own, and even those, such as the Six Fugues or Voluntarys, that circulated as

²⁷ See *Bach-Dokumente*, vol. 2, no. 200, where Mattheson makes fun of Bach's many repetitions of individual words and textual phrases in a manner that calls to mind Galilei's criticisms quoted at the beginning of this article.

independent pieces often found themselves later incorporated into largerscale works.

To close on a personal note: I have long felt that no composer without a complete works set deserved one more than Johann Rosenmüller. It is therefore most heartening to see the new project underway in Germany under the able direction of Holger Eichhorn and to see how steadily new volumes are appearing. ²⁸ As musicians learn more and more of this music, I have no doubt that Rosenmüller's stature will continue to rise and that his vastly undervalued influence will finally begin to receive its due. Thank you, Kerry Snyder, for first bringing his music to my attention.

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²⁸ Johann Rosenmüller, *Kritische Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Holger Eichhorn (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2010–).

Music Example 1 Sonata "La Mont'Albana" (Op. 2, 1655)





Music Example 2





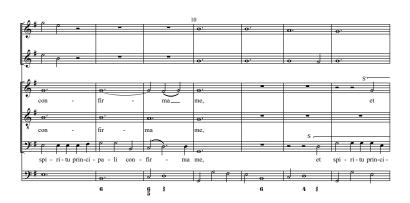


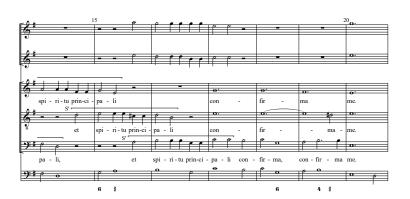


Music Example 3 Miserere mei Deus (D-Dlb 1739/E/520) fugue on Et spiritu principali Edited by Paul Walker

Johann Rosenmüller









Music Example 4 Benedicam Dominum (D-B 18881, #2)

Johann Rosenmüller





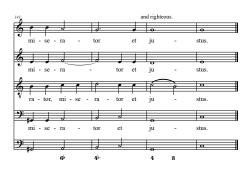




Music Example 5 Beatus vir, D-B 18887, #2







Beatus vir (D-B 18887, #2) "Fuga" on "Sicut erat" Edited by Paul Walker Violino [2] Violetta [1] Violetta [1] Bassone Canto Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o, act nunc et sem - per, sem - per, sem - per, et nunc et sem - sem - per, sem - per, sem - per, et nunc et sem - sem - per, sem - per, sem - per, et nunc et sem - sem - per, sem - per, sem - per, et nunc et sem - sem - per, sem - per, sem - per, sem - per, et nunc et sem - sem - per, s

Fuga

Music Example 6







Music Example 7 Credo (GB-Lbl R.M.24.a.3.(6))

"Fuga" on "Et vitam venturi" Edited by Paul Walker





Rosenmüller, Credo--fugue on Et vitam





Rosenmüller, Credo--fugue on Et vitam





Rosenmüller, Credo--fugue on Et vitam





Appendix

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