

Notes

Introduction

- 1 G. von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen, 1958); and A. Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs*, 2nd edn (Kassel, 1976).
- 2 The most famous polemic promoting criticism above positivism is J. Kerman's *Musicology* (London, 1985) (*Contemplating music* is the American title).
- 3 See Susan McClary, 'The blasphemy of talking politics during Bach year', *Music and society: the politics of composition, performance and reception*, ed. R. Leppert and S. McClary (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 13–62. McClary's approach, showing Bach as a proto-enlightened commentator on the contingency of worldly hierarchies, has been modified by Michael Marissen, in his study *The social and religious designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton, 1995), who shows that Bach's critique reflects an orthodox Lutheran standpoint.
- 4 T. W. Adorno, 'Bach defended against his devotees', *Prisms*, ed. and trans. S. and S. Weber (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 133–46; Edward Said, *Culture and imperialism* (London and New York, 1993); *Musical elaborations* (London, 1991; New York, 1993).
- 5 See Suzanne G. Cusick, 'On a lesbian relation with music: a serious effort not to think straight', *Queering the pitch: the new gay and lesbian musicology*, ed. P. Brett, E. Wood and G. C. Thomas (New York and London, 1994), pp. 67–83. Philip Brett's article in the same volume, 'Musicality, essentialism, and the closet', pp. 9–26, is a rare example of a direct attack on Bach and his achievement, particularly with regard to his influence and reception as a teacher. Brett makes it clear that he sees Bach as an abstracting meddler, appropriating for instance the 'simple, defenseless tunes' of the chorale repertory. It seems to me that Brett's opinion can easily be dismantled even from his own viewpoint: chorales, as one of the most potently ideological and successfully politicising musical repertoires of all time, can hardly be associated with the simple, pure and defenceless; unison singing (the traditional manner of performance) is nothing if not patriarchal and monolithic; Bach's harmonisations, by the musical conventions of their own age, are supremely – even excessively – expressive, hardly abstract; and, surely, far from being patriarchal, they 'feminise' a patriarchal tradition, festooning with 'embarrassing' ornament the iron rule of unison song. Yet what is valuable about Brett's approach is the fact that the target of his attack is the *reception* of Bach, the way Bach has been appropriated as an instrument of repressive musical thinking over the last two centuries or so.

- 6 E. Chafe, *Tonal allegory in the vocal music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991).

1 The Bach family

- 1 *Dok I*, p. 68; *BR*, p. 126. All translations here are the author's own.
- 2 See G. Kraft, 'Neue Beiträge zur Bach-Genealogie', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1959), pp. 29–61.
- 3 *Dok I*, p. 184; *BR*, p. 203.
- 4 The 'Hungarian' origin of the Bach family has often been disputed by those who argue that Veit was returning home to Thuringia after a period in 'Ungarn', but it is attested in at least two documents that predate the Genealogy. One of these is a letter dated 24 April 1728 from Johann Nicolaus Bach (1699–1753) to his pupil Nikolaus Alexis Prileský (see H.-J. Schulze, "Die Bachen stammen aus Ungarn her". Ein unbekannter Brief Johann Nikolaus Bachs aus dem Jahre 1728', *Bjb* 75 (1989), pp. 213–20); the other is the entry on J. S. Bach in the *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), p. 64, by Bach's kinsman J. G. Walther. For the most recent research on the origins of the Wechmar line, according to which Veit Bach arrived in Wechmar with his son Hans in the 1590s, see Knut Kreuch, *Die Urväterheimat der Musikerfamilie Bach* (Wechmar, 1994).
- 5 J. N. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802; English trans., London, 1820), p. 5.
- 6 *Nun ist alles überwunden*, an 'aria' for SATB and organ, has been attributed to either Johann Christoph or Heinrich Bach (1615–92); see A. Basso, *Frau Musika: la vita e le opere di J. S. Bach*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1979–83), vol. I, p. 278. Basso lists ninety-four extant works by members of the Bach family before J. S. on pp. 278–82 of his book.
- 7 Bach copied parts for *Der Gerechte, ob er gleich* by Johann Christoph Bach (one of the works in the *Alt-Bachisches Archiv* in 1743–6); see Y. Kobayashi, *Die Notenschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs. Dokumentation ihrer Entwicklung* (Kassel, 1989) (*NBA*, IX/2), p. 212. For further information about the *Alt-Bachisches Archiv* and its chronology, see especially D. R. Melamed, *J. S. Bach and the German motet* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 161–88.
- 8 Basso, *Frau Musika*, vol. I, p. 714.
- 9 J. S. Bach's father, Ambrosius (1645–95), was a twin with Johann Christoph (1645–93); another Johann Christoph (1642–1703) and his wife Maria Elisabetha *née* Wedemann produced twins in 1685; J. S. Bach's own twins were born (and died) in 1713; and among later generations twins were born to Johann Bernhard (1700–43) and his wife Johanna Dorothea *née* vom Hofe in 1732.
- 10 Ambrosius's unfortunate younger sister Dorothee Maria (1652–79) was born deformed and imbecile.
- 11 The tendency towards intermarriage among the Bachs reached its closest point of consanguinity in 1817, when Ernst Carl Christian Bach (1785–1859) married his first cousin Sophie Charlotte (1781–1868), daughter of

Augustinus Tobias Bernhard Bach (1740–89); see Basso, *Frau Musika*, vol. I, pp. 737 and 739.

- 12 The Genealogy mistakenly gives 1704 as the date of Bach's Arnstadt appointment.
- 13 *Dok I*, p. 67; *BR*, p. 125.

2 *Bach and the domestic politics of Electoral Saxony*

- 1 This essay is based upon the articles by the author cited in the bibliography. In addition, it presents some previously unpublished research on Bach's income, based particularly on the Leipzig City Archives, and on the relationship between the territorial history of the Electorate of Saxony and the city history of Leipzig; this was supported by a fellowship from the Volkswagen-Stiftung during 1989–90.

3 *Music and Lutheranism*

- 1 See W. Blankenburg, 'Church music in Reformed Europe', in F. Blume, *Protestant church music: a history* (London, 1974), pp. 507–90, especially pp. 509–64.
- 2 See R. A. Leaver, 'The Lutheran Reformation', *The Renaissance: from the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, ed. I. Fenlon, Music and society 2 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1989), pp. 263–85.
- 3 C. S. Terry, *Joh. Seb. Bach: cantata texts, sacred and secular with a reconstruction of the Leipzig liturgy of his period* (London, 1926; reprinted 1964); A. Robertson, *The church cantatas of J. S. Bach* (London, 1972).
- 4 *The Book of Concord: the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. T. G. Tappert (Philadelphia, 1959).
- 5 In Leipzig, Bach composed a sequence of three cantatas celebrating the bicentenary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession in June 1730, BWV 190a, 120b and Anh. 4; see W. Neumann, *Sämtliche von J. S. Bach vertonte Texte* (Leipzig, 1974), pp. 180–1. An annual Reformation festival, celebrating Luther's posting of the Ninety-Five Theses in Wittenberg on 31 October 1517, was observed in Leipzig, for which Bach composed cantatas BWV 79 and 80.
- 6 German, Latin and English versions of the Visitation Articles can be found in *Triglott Concordia: the symbolical books of the Ev. Lutheran Church* (St Louis, 1921), pp. 1150–7.
- 7 *Dok II*, pp. 99–100 (a facsimile of the document is given facing p. 177); *BR*, pp. 92–3.
- 8 *Dok II*, p. 101.
- 9 *Dok III*, pp. 630–1.
- 10 *Book of Concord*, p. 30 (German text).
- 11 *Book of Concord*, p. 478.
- 12 Augsburg Confession, Art. II; *Book of Concord*, p. 29 (Latin text).

- 13 Two recent discussions of the theology of Bach's music are particularly important, though not all their conclusions have been accepted. The first was written by an ecclesiastical historian and the other by a musicologist: J. Pelikan, *Bach among the theologians* (Philadelphia, 1986), and E. Chafe, *Tonal allegory in the vocal music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley, 1991).
- 14 G. von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen, 1958); A. Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs*, 2nd edn (Kassel, 1976).
- 15 F. Blume, 'Outlines of a new picture of Bach', *ML* 44 (1963), pp. 214–27, p. 218; reprinted in W. Hays, ed., *Twentieth-century views of music history* (New York, 1972), pp. 225–38.
- 16 The basic literature is: C. Trautmann, "'Calovii Schrifften. 3. Bände" aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Nachlass und ihre Bedeutung für das Bild des lutherischen Kantors Bach', *MuK* 39 (1969), pp. 145–60, translated as 'J. S. Bach: new light on his faith', *Concordia Theological Monthly* 42 (1971), pp. 88–99; G. Herz, 'Towards a new image of Bach', *BACH* 1/4 (1970), pp. 9–27 and 2/1 (1971), pp. 7–28, reprinted in G. Herz, *Essays on Bach* (Ann Arbor, 1985), pp. 149–84; G. Herz, *Bach sources in America* (Kassel, 1984), pp. 187–95; R. A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St Louis, 1985); H. H. Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, 1985); see also *Dok* III, pp. 636–7.
- 17 D. Arnold, *Bach* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 58–9.
- 18 See T. Wilhelmi, 'Bachs Bibliothek: eine Weiterführung der Arbeit von Hans Preuß', *Bjb* 65 (1979), pp. 107–29; and R. A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek; eine kritische Bibliographie/Bach's theological library; a critical bibliography* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983). Much of this work has been done by various members of the Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für theologische Bachforschung (IATB), founded by Walter Blankenburg in 1976; see 'Editor's introduction', G. Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and liturgical life in Leipzig*, ed. R. A. Leaver (St Louis, 1984), pp. 13–15; and the *Bulletin* of the IATB, Heidelberg 1988–, which includes up-dated bibliographies of the writings of the members.
- 19 See Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, Nos. 2, 3, 1, 6, 4, 7 and 28 respectively.
- 20 See Chapter 7, pp. 116ff. below.
- 21 The basic study in German remains O. Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik* (Kassel, 1967), in which Luther's understanding of music is contrasted with that of Zwingli and Calvin. Some of Söhngen's conclusions have been questioned, most recently by J. L. Irwin, *Neither voice or heart alone: German Lutheran theology of music in the age of the Baroque* (New York, 1993). See also L. Steiger and R. Steiger, *Sehet! Wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem. Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten auf den Sonntag Estomihi* (Göttingen, 1992), pp. 11–14 and such English studies as W. E. Buszin, 'Luther on music', *MQ* 32 (1946), pp. 80–97, in essence an abbreviated translation of K. Anton, *Luther und die Musik* (Zwickau, 1916; 3rd edn 1928); P. Nettl, *Luther and music* (Philadelphia, 1948), in which no sources are documented; C. Schalk, *Luther on music: paradigms of praise* (St Louis, 1988).

- 22 LW LIII, pp. 321, 323; WA L, pp. 368, 370–1; all translations of Luther are taken from LW. See also W. Blankenburg, ‘Überlieferung und Textgeschichte von Martin Luthers “Encomion musices”’, *Lutherjahrbuch* (1973), pp. 80–104.
- 23 LW XLIX, p. 428; WA Br V, p. 639.
- 24 WA Tr No. 7034; see also Nos. 968 and 3815.
- 25 Bach owned a copy of the work, most probably a later imprint; see Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, No. 4.
- 26 WA Tr No. 816.
- 27 WA Tr No. 1258; LW LIV, pp. 129–30.
- 28 LW LIII, p. 333.
- 29 WA Tr No. 4441.
- 30 This connection is explored further in Chapter 7.
- 31 Leaver, *Bach and Scripture*, p. 95.
- 32 Leaver, *Bach and Scripture*, p. 97.
- 33 See F. Krummacher, ‘Luthers Musikbegriff und die Kirchenmusik Bachs’, *Luther: Zeitschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft* 56 (1985), pp. 136–51.
- 34 WA Tr No. 6248. See also Luther’s comment in his lectures on Titus of 1527 (on Titus 1:13): ‘They want to be teachers but they cannot even sing’, WA XXV, p. 29.
- 35 See J. Rautenstrauch, *Luther und die Pflege der kirchlichen Musik in Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1907; reprinted Hildesheim 1970); J. Butt, *Music and the art of performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge, 1994); Schalk, *Luther on music*, pp. 28–30.
- 36 *Die Thomasschule Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs. Ordnungen und Gesetze 1634, 1723, 1733*, ed. H.-J. Schulze (Leipzig, 1987). For example, under the rubric ‘Von der Musik’, the 1733 *Ordnung* states (p. 22): ‘Our forefathers ordered that music should be studied in the Thomasschule so that the alumni should serve the musical needs of all the town churches [in Leipzig].’
- 37 See, for example, *The journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, trans. T. G. Tappert and J. W. Doberstein, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1942–58), vol. I, p. 85.
- 38 See the 1634 Thomasschule *Ordnung*, sig. H4r. Early in Bach’s cantorate there was a misunderstanding regarding his non-musical teaching; see *Dok II*, pp. 136–8; *BR*, pp. 95–6.
- 39 See B. Spinks, *Luther’s liturgical criteria and his reform of the Canon of the Mass* (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1982); R. A. Leaver, ‘Theological consistency, liturgical integrity, and musical hermeneutic in Luther’s liturgical reforms’, *The Lutheran Quarterly* 9 (1994), pp. 117–38.
- 40 WA XII, pp. 205–20; WA XIX, pp. 72–113; LW LIII, pp. 19–40; LW LIII, pp. 61–90.
- 41 Later Lutheran usage of the Ordinary is discussed in Chapter 7.
- 42 See Art. 24 of the Augsburg Confession: ‘The mass is retained among us and is celebrated with the greatest reverence. Almost all the customary ceremonies are also retained, except that German hymns are interspersed here and there among the parts sung in Latin’; *Book of Concord*, p. 56 (Latin text); see note 4 above.
- 43 *Book of Concord*, p. 34 (German text).

- 44 See D. Gojowy, 'Kirchenlieder im Umkreis von J. S. Bach', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 22 (1978), pp. 79–123.
- 45 R. A. Leaver, 'Bach and hymnody: the evidence of the Orgelbüchlein', *EM* 13 (1985), pp. 227–36.
- 46 E.g. BWV 675–7, 711, 715, 717, 771.
- 47 R. A. Leaver, 'Bach's "Clavierübung III": some historical and theological considerations', *OY* 6 (1975), pp. 17–32, pp. 20–1.
- 48 E.g., BWV 437, 740, 765, 1098; there were also two further settings of the melody in the Catechism part of *Clavier-Übung* III (BWV 680 and 681); see further below.
- 49 There is some confusion over the number of main sections of the small catechism, in some sources cited as five and in others as six; see Leaver, 'Bach's "Clavierübung III"', p. 31, n. 36.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–7.
- 51 On the three Reformation festivals held in Leipzig in 1739, *ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
- 52 *Geistliche lieder / auff's new gebessert und gemehrt / zu Wittenberg* (Leipzig, 1539).
- 53 See E. Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 15 vols. (Leipzig and Tübingen, 1902–80), vol. I, pp. 264–81. Its liturgical provisions are summarised in L. D. Reed, *The Lutheran liturgy* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 101–2.
- 54 The most accessible survey of the period from Luther to Bach is found in Blume, *Protestant church music*, pp. 1–315; see also R. A. Leaver, 'Lutheran Vespers as a context for music', *Church, stage, and studio: music and its contexts in seventeenth-century Germany*, ed. P. Walker (Ann Arbor, 1990), pp. 143–61.

4 *Bach's metaphysics of music*

- 1 See H. H. Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, 1985), p. 419: 'NB Bey einer andächtigen Musig [*sic*] ist allezeit gott mit seiner Gnaden-Gegenwart.'
- 2 G. van der Leeuw, *Sacred and profane beauty: the holy in art*, trans. D. E. Green (Nashville and New York, n.d.), p. 4; quoted in J. A. Martin, *Beauty and holiness* (Princeton, 1990), p. 87.
- 3 See G. Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and liturgical life in Leipzig*, ed. R. A. Leaver (St Louis, 1984), p. 210.
- 4 See J. L. Irwin, *Neither voice nor heart alone: German Lutheran theology of music in the age of the Baroque* (New York, 1993), especially pp. 134, 141–53.
- 5 The so-called Neumeister model for cantatas in Bach's own environment, with its absorption of da capo arias and recitatives, is merely the latest flowering of this process.
- 6 F. Kalb, *Theology of worship in 17th-century Lutheranism*, trans. H. P. A. Hamann (St Louis, 1965), p. 149.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 8 Irwin, *Neither voice nor heart alone*, especially pp. 12–22, 112–34.

- 9 See R. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock* (Cologne, 1967; revised 1984), pp. 62–5.
- 10 This latter point might be one way in which the new ‘expressive’ music of the Italian Baroque explicitly fulfilled Luther’s intention that music should promote well-being and banish the Devil (a line of thought that can be traced right back to Pythagorean times; see J. Butt, *Music education and the art of performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 12–13).
- 11 Irwin, *Neither voice nor heart alone*, pp. 21–2, 31–3, shows that Frick was extreme in arguing that scorn and ignorance of music were just cause of divine punishment and the abuse of music was tantamount to blasphemy.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 40 and 199.
- 13 This is echoed in the writings of the Orthodox music theorist A. Werckmeister, e.g. in his annotations to Steffani’s *Send-Schreiben* (1699); published by J. L. Albrecht (Mühlhausen, 1760), p. 31. A concern for the spiritual disposition of the musicians is also expressed by the Pietists.
- 14 For a description of one prominent figure who opposed instrumental music from within Orthodoxy, Grossgebauer, see Kalb, *Theology of worship*, pp. 143–4.
- 15 Stiller, *J. S. Bach and liturgical life*, pp. 144–8; Butt, *Music education*, pp. 25–9.
- 16 See B. F. Richter, ‘Eine Abhandlung Joh. Kuhnaus’, *MMg* 34 (1902), p. 149.
- 17 For the origins of this division in Italian theory and practice at the turn of the seventeenth century, see C. Palisca, ‘The genesis of Mattheson’s style classification’, *New Mattheson studies*, ed. G. Buelow (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 409–23.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 410, for this translation and original text.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 421.
- 20 Irwin, *Neither voice nor heart alone*, pp. 145–7.
- 21 See A. Forchert, ‘Polemik als Erkenntnisform: Bemerkungen zu den Schriften Matthesons’, *New Mattheson studies*, ed. G. Buelow (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 199–212, especially pp. 209–11.
- 22 *Dok* II, pp. 196–7; *BR*, p. 441.
- 23 See also *MGG* IV, col. 1130.
- 24 *Dok* II, p. 153; *BR*, p. 229.
- 25 Irwin, *Neither voice nor heart alone*, pp. 130–4, claims that sacred and secular music are not placed on an equal level theologically before the writings of the Breslau theologian Gottfried Scheibel (*Zufällige Gedancken von der Kirchenmusic* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1721)). Stiller, *J. S. Bach and liturgical life*, thus somewhat oversimplifies the issue with his general attitude that the sacred and secular are not separated in Orthodox Lutheranism (see e.g. p. 210).
- 26 As Irwin notes, *Neither voice nor heart alone*, p. 142, this practice hardly distinguishes Bach from his contemporaries. While it is certainly indicative of a religious disposition it does not single Bach out for particular piety.
- 27 ‘Denen Liebhabern zur Gemüths Ergoetzung verfertiget’.
- 28 See H.-J. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Dresden, 1984), pp. 125–7.

- 29 German text in *Dok II*, p. 334; translation by author. See also the new annotated translation, by P. L. Poulin, *J. S. Bach – Precepts and principles for playing the thorough-bass or accompanying in four parts* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 10–11.
- 30 *Dok II*, p. 334 for Niedt’s German text.
- 31 See W. Blankenburg, ‘J. S. Bach und die Aufklärung’, *Bach Gedenkschrift 1950*, ed. K. Matthaer (Zurich, 1950), pp. 25–34, especially pp. 27–9.
- 32 See A. Dürr, *Studien über die frühen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs* (1951); rev. edn (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 223–4; and W. H. Scheide, ‘Bach vs. Bach – Mühlhausen dismissal request vs. Erdmann letter’, *Bachiana et alia musicologica – Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Rehm (Kassel, 1983), pp. 234–42.
- 33 *Dok I*, pp. 60–4; *BR*, pp. 120–4.
- 34 See Butt, *Music education*, pp. 30–3; see also Chapter 2 above, for the political situation in Leipzig. That Bach saw his position within the church as a sacred duty is suggested by his highlighting of a passage concerning ‘justifiable anger’, in his copy of Calov’s Bible commentary (see Cox, *The Calov Bible*, p. 445, facsimile 218). Anger is justified ‘for the sake of your office and for God’s sake’, which is not to be confused with anger for one’s own sake, as proscribed by Christ in his sermon on the mount.
- 35 E.g. the cancelled Passion of 1739, *Dok II*, pp. 338–9; *BR*, pp. 162–3. For references to the sorry state of the choir during the last years of Bach’s life, see C. Fröde, ‘Zu einer Kritik des Thomanerchores von 1749’, *BjB* 70 (1984), pp. 53–8.
- 36 Irwin, *Neither voice nor heart alone*, p. 143, goes even further, in suggesting that the call for a ‘well-appointed’ church music refers not to liturgical order, but merely to artistic excellence. I suspect, rather, that Bach saw liturgical order and artistic excellence as two sides of the same coin.
- 37 Cox, *The Calov Bible*, p. 418, facsimile 110.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 418, facsimile 111.
- 39 *Ibid.* 419, facsimile 112. The Biblical text reads: ‘And when the voice arose from the trumpets, cymbals, and other string players and from the praising of the Lord that He is good and that His mercy endures forever, the house of the Lord was filled with a cloud.’
- 40 *Dok II*, pp. 461–4.
- 41 See H. J. Kreutzer, ‘Johann Sebastian Bach und das literarische Leipzig der Aufklärung’, *BjB* 77 (1991), pp. 7–31, pp. 28–9, for a refutation of the received wisdom that Birnbaum was a lecturer in rhetoric.
- 42 G. J. Buelow, ‘In defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach’, *PRMA* 101 (1974/5), pp. 85–100; G. Wagner, ‘J. A. Scheibe – J. S. Bach: Versuch einer Bewertung’, *BjB* 68 (1982), pp. 33–49; C. Wolff, “‘Die sonderbaren Vollkommenheiten des Herrn Hofcompositeurs’. Versuch über die Eigenart der Bachschen Musik’, *Bachiana et alia musicologica – Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Rehm (Kassel, 1983), pp. 356–62; trans. “‘The extraordinary perfections of the Hon. Court Composer’: an inquiry into the individuality of Bach’s music’, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 391–7.

- 43 *Dok II*, pp. 286–7; *BR*, p. 238.
- 44 Wagner, ‘J. A. Scheibe – J. S. Bach’.
- 45 Furthermore, Scheibe’s favourable description of a musical style close to Bach’s in another issue of his *Critischer Musicus*, under the heading of ‘tropischer’ or ‘verblühter Ausdruck’ (Wagner, ‘J. A. Scheibe – J. S. Bach’, p. 37), does not mean that he thought this style should be applied indiscriminately to all musical genres; it is one of several styles, each with its appropriate uses.
- 46 Kreuzer, ‘Johann Sebastian Bach und das literarische Leipzig’, pp. 13, 29.
- 47 *Dok II*, pp. 360–3; *BR*, pp. 249–51.
- 48 See, for example, Mizler’s statement at the end of Bach’s 1754 Obituary: ‘Our lately departed Bach did not, it is true, occupy himself with deep theoretical speculation on music, but was all the stronger in the practice of the art.’ *BR*, p. 224; *Dok III*, p. 89.
- 49 *Dok II*, pp. 296–306; *BR*, pp. 239–47.
- 50 Wolff, “‘The extraordinary perfections’”, p. 393.
- 51 Birnbaum continues this reasoning in his second defence of Bach in 1739: singers and instrumentalists could overcome the difficulties of Bach’s music with practice and industry. *Dok II*, p. 356.
- 52 *Dok III*, p. 340; *BR*, p. 291.
- 53 *Dok III*, pp. 523–4; *BR*, p. 455.
- 54 *Dok III*, p. 285; *BR*, p. 277.
- 55 See Wolff, “‘The extraordinary perfections’”, p. 395; text in *Dok II*, p. 397; *BR*, p. 290.
- 56 Luther himself took a similar approach to nature, when he commented that ‘when natural music is sharpened and polished by art, then one begins to see with amazement the great and perfect wisdom of God in his wonderful work of music.’ *WA Tr 2362*.
- 57 *Dok II*, p. 485; translation by author.
- 58 *Dok III*, pp. 14–15; *BR*, p. 267.
- 59 Marpurg proceeds to use blatantly gendered imagery to describe his notion of music history: the timeless contrapuntal basis of music is the stable *manly* element, something which the modern composer should assimilate in order to ‘set himself against the spreading rubbish of womanish song’. In other words, the dictates of fashion and taste are to be seen as unstable, ephemeral and feminine, while the solid foundation of music is masculine.

5 ‘A mind unconscious that it is calculating’?

- 1 For a summary of studies making connections between Leibniz and Bach, see A. Luppi, *Lo specchio dell’armonia universale: estetica e musica in Leibniz* (Milan, 1989), pp. 158–68. Among the writings not reviewed by Luppi is E. E. Lowinsky’s essay ‘Taste, style, and ideology in eighteenth-century music’ (written in 1963), in *Music in the culture of the Renaissance and other essays*, ed. B. J. Blackburn, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1989), vol. I, pp. 67–86. For the most recent application of Leibniz’s principles to Bach, see U. Leisinger, ‘Forms and

- functions of the choral movements in J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, *Bach studies* 2, ed. D. R. Melamed (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 70–84, especially pp. 80–4.
- 2 W. Blankenburg, 'J. S. Bach und die Aufklärung', *Bach Gedenkschrift* 1950, ed. K. Matthaai (Zurich, 1950), p. 26.
 - 3 The only example I have managed to trace of a previous author relating Bach and Spinoza is W. Mellers, *Bach and the dance of God* (London, 1980), which contains a few scattered references to the philosopher.
 - 4 This is the 'optimistic' view of the theologian Blankenburg, 'J. S. Bach und die Aufklärung'.
 - 5 See Chapter 4, note 48 above.
 - 6 This is essentially the approach taken by H. H. Eggebrecht, 'Bach und Leibniz', *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Bachtagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* (Leipzig, 1951), pp. 431–47. Here Eggebrecht is critical of previous writers who tend to connect Leibniz's philosophical terms to specific musical devices.
 - 7 Much of the following summary of Wolff's aesthetics is drawn from J. Birke, *Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie. Gottsched, Scheibe, Mizler* (Berlin, 1966).
 - 8 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
 - 9 *Leibniz – philosophical writings*, ed. G. H. R. Parkinson (London, 1973), p. 50.
 - 10 Birke, *Christian Wolffs Metaphysik*, p. 7.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 - 13 *Leibniz – philosophical writings*, p. 188.
 - 14 Leisinger, 'Forms and functions', especially pp. 80–4.
 - 15 *Leibniz – philosophical writings*, p. 142.
 - 16 *Johann Gottfried Walther – Praecepta der musikalischen Composition*, ed. P. Benary, *Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung* vol. II, ed. H. Bessler (Leipzig, 1955).
 - 17 See note 6 above.
 - 18 For a fascinating study of the antecedents for most of the components of Spinoza's *Ethics*, see H. A. Wolfson, 'Behind the geometrical method', *Spinoza – a collection of critical essays*, ed. M. Grene (New York, 1973), pp. 3–24.
 - 19 All translations of Spinoza's *Ethics* are taken from *A Spinoza reader*, ed. and trans. E. Curley (Princeton, 1994).
 - 20 Leibniz did not deny the ontological argument, but believed it needed to be supported by other arguments.
 - 21 Leibniz also equated perfection with the degree of positive reality, in a letter to Wolff of 1715; see D. Blumenfeld, 'Perfection and happiness in the best possible world', *The Cambridge companion to Leibniz* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 382–410, especially pp. 394–5.
 - 22 For an outline of this distinction in the concepts of perfection, see W. Kaufmann, *Critique of religion and philosophy* (Princeton, 1958; reprinted 1978), p. 164
 - 23 See R. L. Marshall. *The compositional process of J. S. Bach*, 2 vols. (Princeton,

- 1972), vol. I, p. 15: ‘It would seem that Bach did not have the patience or inclination – or ability – merely to copy any vocal work on a larger scale . . . in a purely mechanical manner without introducing – at least occasionally – improvements of detail. For copying meant literally writing music, which meant in turn for such a musical talent as Bach a constant stimulus to the critical imagination and fantasy.’
- 24 See, in particular, L. Goehr, *The imaginary museum of musical works* (Oxford, 1992), especially pp. 113–15.
- 25 E.g. the Christmas Oratorio, *Well-tempered Clavier* Book II, *Art of Fugue*, and Mass in B Minor.
- 26 *Dok* I, pp. 220–1; *BR*, p. 86.
- 27 To be candid, this is not a good example, since such calculations surely rely more simply on memory.
- 28 It may be no coincidence that the favourable reception of Spinoza, or at least the period of his strongest influence, begins with figures such as Goethe and Kant, precisely the time of Bach’s ‘rediscovery’. For a fascinating study of Spinoza’s influence, see Y. Yovel, *Spinoza and other heretics – the adventures of immanence* (Princeton, 1989).
- 29 I am grateful to many long-suffering colleagues and friends in my efforts to write Chapters 4 and 5. The following deserve particular mention: Karol Berger, Lydia Goehr, Joseph Kerman, Robin Leaver and Anthony Newcomb. I am also most grateful for the assistance of Jennifer Griesbach and Kevin Bazzana, to whom I assigned the tasks of exploring Bach’s relationship to Leipzig and Spinoza in a seminar at the University of California, Berkeley, Spring 1992.

6 *The early works and the heritage of the seventeenth century*

- 1 J. N. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802); trans. in *BR*, p. 336.
- 2 M. Boyd, *Bach* (London, 1983), p. 27.
- 3 P. Williams, review of C. Wolff, ed., *The Neumeister collection of chorale preludes from the Bach circle and Organ chorales from the Neumeister collection*, in *EM* 15 (1987), p. 95.
- 4 A. Dürr, *Studien über die frühen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs*, rev. edn (Wiesbaden, 1977).
- 5 C. Wolff, ‘The identity of the “Fratro Dilettissimo” in the Capriccio in B-Flat Major and other problems of Bach’s early harpsichord works’, *The harpsichord and its repertoire*, Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium, Utrecht 1990, ed. P. Dirksen (Utrecht, 1992), p. 150. An alternative view has been advanced by Robert Marshall (‘Johann Sebastian Bach’, *Eighteenth-century keyboard music*, ed. R. L. Marshall (New York, 1994), pp. 68–123), who argues that ‘the decade 1703–1713 . . . is best regarded as constituting a single creative period in Bach’s life’ (p. 72).

- 6 Christoph Wolff proposed this period of time by analogy with the age at which Handel and Bach's own sons began composing: 'Pachelbel, Buxtehude und die weitere Einfluß-Sphäre des jungen Bach', *Das Frühwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. K. Heller and H.-J. Schulze (Cologne, 1995), pp. 21–32. I am grateful to Professor Wolff for allowing me to read this essay in advance of its publication.
- 7 P. Williams, 'BWV 565: a Toccata in D Minor for organ by J. S. Bach?', *EM* 9 (1981), pp. 330–7. Williams suggests that it may originally have been composed as a violin piece by 'one of the talented organists of the J. L. Krebs/J. C. Kittel generation around 1750' (p. 335). Alternatively, it has been proposed that the work originated with J. P. Kellner, a Thuringian organist and cantor with close ties to Bach; see D. Humphreys, 'The D Minor Toccata BWV 565', *EM* 10 (1982), pp. 216–17.
- 8 C. Wolff, 'The identity of the "Fratro Dilettissimo"'.
- 9 W. H. Scheide, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Sammlung von Kantaten seines Veters Johann Ludwig Bach', *Bjb* 46 (1959), pp. 52–94.
- 10 G. Herz, 'BWV 131: Bach's first cantata', *Studies in eighteenth-century music: a tribute to Karl Geiringer on his seventieth birthday*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon and R. E. Chapman (London and New York, 1970), pp. 272–91; reprinted in G. Herz, *Essays on J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, 1985), pp. 127–45.
- 11 A. Glöckner, 'Zur Echtheit und Datierung der Kantate BWV 150 "Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich"', *Bjb* 74 (1988), pp. 195–203.
- 12 These include four organ pieces (an early version of the Prelude and Fugue in G minor BWV 535a; two settings of the chorale 'Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern' BWV 739 and 764; and a newly authenticated Fantasia in C minor BWV Anh. 205) and three vocal works (the cantatas *Gott ist mein König* BWV 71 and *Aus der Tiefe rufe ich, Herr, zu dir* BWV 131, and the Quodlibet BWV 524).
- 13 The sporadic transmission of the early works testifies to Bach's own lack of interest in them. The higher level of technical competence and the increased sophistication of his later compositions rendered many of the earlier attempts obsolete. See Wolff, 'The identity of the "Fratro Dilettissimo"', p. 150; and F. Blume, 'J. S. Bach's youth', *MQ* 54 (1968), pp. 29–30.
- 14 Occasionally, even works for which autographs survive have been rejected on stylistic grounds. For instance, the two organ settings of the chorale 'Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern' (BWV 739 and 764) were excluded from the *NBA* volume of the singly transmitted organ chorales (H. Klotz, ed., *NBA* IV/3). In 'Bach's earliest autograph', *MQ* 71 (1985), pp. 235–63, Russell Stinson argues convincingly that these two pieces are indeed authentic Bach, and reports that they are scheduled to appear in a supplementary volume of the *NBA* (p. 237, nn. 7 and 9). For a fascinating account of the early twentieth-century origins of the prevailing 'climate of doubt concerning the authenticity of Bach's early . . . works', see R. S. Hill, 'Echtheit angezweifelt: style and authenticity in two suites attributed to Bach', *EM* 13 (1985), pp. 248–55, especially pp. 249–50.
- 15 H.-J. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig,

- 1984), pp. 30–56. For an important complementary biographical study, see Schulze, ‘Johann Christoph Bach (1671–1721), “Organist und Schul Collega in Ohrdruf”, Johann Sebastian Bachs erster Lehrer’, *BjB* 71 (1985), pp. 55–81.
- 16 The Fantasia in C minor (BWV deest) in the Andreas Bach Book is transmitted anonymously, but it has recently been identified as an autograph. See D. Kilian, ‘Zu einem Bachschen Tabulaturautograph’, *Bachiana et alia musicologica – Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Rehm (Kassel, 1983), pp. 161–7. Robert Hill has presented evidence suggesting that a number of Bach’s early keyboard works were originally notated in tablature. See R. S. Hill, ‘Tablature versus staff notation: or, why did the young J. S. Bach compose in tablature?’ *Church, stage, and studio: music and its contexts in seventeenth-century Germany*, ed. P. Walker (Ann Arbor, 1990), pp. 349–59.
- 17 R. S. Hill, ed., *Keyboard music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. xxiii.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. xxii–xxiii.
- 19 The piece on which this composition is based, Legrenzi’s trio sonata Op. 2 No. 11 (‘La Mont’Albana’), was identified by Robert Hill (‘Die Herkunft von Bachs “Thema Legrenzianum”’, *BjB* 72 (1986), pp. 105–7).
- 20 D. Humphreys, ‘A Bach polyglot: the A major prelude & fugue BWV 536’, *OY* 20 (1989), pp. 72–87, (quotation on p. 78).
- 21 George Stauffer, the Pastorale’s most vigorous advocate, suggests that it may have been composed in 1723–6, a period when Bach penned a number of pastoral-derived movements in his cantatas; ‘Bach’s Pastorale in F: a closer look at a maligned work’, *OY* 14 (1983), pp. 44–60, especially p. 59. Russell Stinson points out that the *galant* style of the third movement might indicate that it dates from as late as the 1730s; *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history* (Durham, N.C. and London, 1990), pp. 111–14.
- 22 D. Schulenberg, *The keyboard music of J. S. Bach* (New York, 1992).
- 23 A short but substantial discussion of two of them is found in Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts*, pp. 123–5, where it is argued that two compositions in a Berlin miscellany (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, shelf mark P 804), the Suite in B \flat major (BWV 821) and the Prelude and Fugue in A minor (BWV 895), are both authentic early Bach works. For an exemplary discussion and inventory of P 804, an important source that includes a number of compositions by the young Bach, see R. Stinson, ‘“Ein Sammelband aus Johann Peter Kellners Besitz”: Neue Forschungen zur Berliner Bach-Handschrift P 804’, *BjB* 78 (1992), pp. 45–64.
- 24 The Bach compositions were published in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Orgelchoräle der Neumeister-Sammlung / Organ chorales from the Neumeister collection*, ed. C. Wolff (New Haven and Kassel, 1985). A facsimile of the entire manuscript appeared as C. Wolff, ed., *The Neumeister collection of chorale preludes from the Bach circle (Yale University manuscript LM 4708)* (New Haven, 1986). The extensive introduction to the facsimile is reprinted in Wolff, ‘The Neumeister collection of chorale preludes from the Bach circle’, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 107–27.

- Among the many reports of this find and reviews of these editions, some of the most important include: C. Wolff, 'Bach's organ music: studies and discoveries', *MT* 126 (1985), pp. 149–52; W. Krumbach, 'Sechzig unbekannte Orgelwerke von Johann Sebastian Bach? Ein vorläufiger Fundbericht', *NZM* 146 (1985), no. 3, pp. 4–12, and no. 5, pp. 6–18 (see also Wolff's reply in no. 6, p. 2); A. Dürr, 'Kein Meister fällt vom Himmel: Zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Orgelchorälen der Neumeister-Sammlung', *Musica* 40 (1986), pp. 309–12.
- 25 The compiler and probable scribe of the manuscript was Johann Gottfried Neumeister (1756–1840), a schoolteacher and organist who had studied music with one of Bach's colleagues in the Society of the Musical Sciences (Correspondierende Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften), the composer and theorist Georg Andreas Sorge; see Wolff, *The Neumeister collection*, pp. 108–11.
 - 26 W. Schmieder, ed., *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach. Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV)*, 2nd edn (Wiesbaden, 1990).
 - 27 *NBA* IV/3. If the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition in the nineteenth century was sometimes too inclusive, the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* has sometimes been too exclusive. See note 14, above.
 - 28 See C. Wolff, 'Chronology and style in the early works: a background for the Orgel-Büchlein', *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 297–305; and R. Stinson, 'Some thoughts on Bach's Neumeister chorales', *JM* 11 (1993), pp. 455–77, and 'The compositional history of Bach's *Orgelbüchlein* reconsidered', *Bach perspectives* 1 ed. R. Stinson (Lincoln, Nebr. and London, 1995), pp. 43–78.
 - 29 Most notably, Günter Hartmann has insisted that BWV 1096 ('Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht' or 'Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ'), a fragment of which was in a lost manuscript compiled by Johann Gottfried Walther, is by Pachelbel. See G. Hartmann, 'Authentischer Bach-Elbel. Marginalie zu einem der angeblichen Bach-Choräle der Neumeister-Sammlung', *NZM* 147 (1986), no. 4, pp. 4–6. Wolff, however, believes that the fragmentary version is a corruption (*The Neumeister collection*, p. 118).
 - 30 As Krumbach has put it, 'Who else could have composed the pieces that are attributed to him there?'; Krumbach, 'Sechzig unbekannte Orgelwerke', no. 5, p. 10.
 - 31 W. Breig, 'Textbezug und Werkidee in Johann Sebastian Bachs frühen Orgelchorälen', *Musikkulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Constantin Floros zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Petersen (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 167–82, especially pp. 175–6.
 - 32 These include the borrowing of elements from the North German chorale fantasy (e.g. frequent changes of metre, the migration of the cantus firmus from one voice to another and the placement of the cantus firmus in an interior voice) and a distinctive harmonic formula used for the final cadence of a movement (the diminished seventh chord as a substitute for the dominant, leading to the tonic). See Stinson, 'Some thoughts on Bach's Neumeister chorales', pp. 455–67.
 - 33 See Johann Michael Bach, *Sämtliche Orgelchoräle mit einem Anhang*

(*Orgelchoräle des Bach-Kreises, hauptsächlich aus der Neumeister-Sammlung*) / *The complete organ chorales with an appendix (Organ chorales of the Bach circle, mainly from the Neumeister collection)*, ed. C. Wolff (Kirchheim-Teck, 1988).

- 34 Wolff, *The Neumeister collection*, p. 116. These points have been disputed by Dominik Sackmann ('Der "Yaler" Bach. Beobachtungen zur Handschrift US-NH (Yale) LM 4708 und deren Umfeld', *BzBF* 9/10 (1991), pp. 165–72), who argues that 'it would be wrong to see in the organ chorales of Johann Michael Bach the principal and decisive models for the chorales of Johann Sebastian Bach' (p. 169). He notes that the style of the Neumeister chorales involves 'the union of conventional vocal and organistic formal means' and therefore urges that the vocal music of the older members of the Bach family (e.g. the motets and cantatas of J. M. and J. C. Bach) also be explored as a source of influence (p. 170).
- 35 E. May, 'The types, uses, and historical position of Bach's organ chorales', *J. S. Bach as organist: his instruments, music, and performance practices*, ed. G. Stauffer and E. May (Bloomington, 1986), pp. 81–101.
- 36 Although their manuscript transmission is far from impeccable, the authenticity of these chorale partitas has never been seriously questioned. BWV 771, on the other hand, appears to be the work of Nicolaus Vetter (1666–1734). See P. Williams, *The organ music of J. S. Bach*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1980–4), vol. II, pp. 328–9.
- 37 R. S. Hill, 'The Möller manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book: two keyboard anthologies from the circle of the young Johann Sebastian Bach', 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987), vol. I, pp. 432–3. The piece is transcribed in Appendix G (vol. II, pp. 750–1). See also B. Cooper, 'An unknown Bach source', *MT* 113 (1972), pp. 1167–9.
- 38 Schulenberg, *Keyboard music*, p. 397, n. 30.
- 39 F. Morana, 'The "Dobenecker" Toccata, BWV-Anh. II 85: an early Bach work?' *BACH* 24/2 (1993), pp. 26–37.
- 40 For an account of the development of this paradigm, see S. A. Crist, 'Beyond "Bach-centrism": historiographic perspectives on Johann Sebastian Bach and seventeenth-century music', *CMS* 33/34 (1993–4), pp. 56–69.
- 41 H.-J. Schulze, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und die Tradition', *Bach-Händel-Schütz-Ehrung der DDR 1985. V. Internationales Bachfest in Verbindung mit dem 60. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Leipzig, 19. bis 27. März 1985*, ed. W. Felix et al. (Leipzig, 1985), pp. 33–7, p. 36. See also A. Forchert, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Verhältnis zur Tradition', *51. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft in Berlin (West) vom 25. bis 30. August 1976* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 5–16.
- 42 K. Heller, 'Norddeutsche Musikkultur als Traditionsraum des jungen Bach', *BjB* 75 (1989), pp. 16–17.
- 43 W. Breig, 'Der norddeutsche Orgelchoral und Johann Sebastian Bach. Gattung, Typus, Werk', *Gattung und Werk in der Musikgeschichte Norddeutschlands und Skandinaviens*, ed. F. Krummacher and H. W. Schwab (Kassel, 1982), pp. 79–94.
- 44 F. Krummacher, 'Bach und die norddeutsche Orgeltoccata. Fragen und Überlegungen', *BjB* 71 (1985), pp. 119–34, especially pp. 123–6.
- 45 Heller, 'Norddeutsche Musikkultur', p. 16.

- 46 C. Wolff, 'Buxtehude, Bach, and seventeenth-century music in retrospect', *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 54–5. F. Krummacker's 'Dietrich Buxtehude. Musik zwischen Geschichte und Gegenwart', *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit. Bericht über das Lübecker Symposium 1987*, ed. A. Edler and F. Krummacker (Kassel, 1990), pp. 9–30, includes a number of important observations and insights about the relationship between Buxtehude and Bach.
- 47 See H.-J. Schulze, 'Bach und Buxtehude. Eine wenig beachtete Quelle in der Carnegie Library zu Pittsburgh/PA', *BJb* 77 (1991), pp. 177–81; and D. O. Franklin, 'The Carnegie Manuscript and J. S. Bach', *BACH* 22/1 (1991), pp. 5–15. If the unknown hand is indeed Sebastian's, this would be the earliest known example of his music writing.
- 48 J.-C. Zehnder, 'Georg Böhm und Johann Sebastian Bach. Zur Chronologie der Bachschen Stilentwicklung', *BJb* 74 (1988), pp. 74, 90.
- 49 *Dok* III, p. 82; *BR*, p. 217.
- 50 The article on Reincken in *NG* (vol. XV, pp. 717–18) lists about twenty.
- 51 Two notable exceptions are C. Wolff, 'Johann Adam Reinken und Johann Sebastian Bach. Zum Kontext des Bachschen Frühwerks', *BJb* 71 (1985), pp. 99–118; English trans., 'Bach and Johann Adam Reinken: a context for the early works', *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 56–71; and R. S. Hill, 'Stilanalyse und Überlieferungsproblematik. Das Variationssuiten-Repertoire J. A. Reinckens', *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik*, pp. 204–14.
- 52 Wolff, 'Bach and Johann Adam Reinken', especially pp. 64–6.
- 53 Unlike a normal fugue, a 'permutation fugue' contains no free material, but instead consists of several discrete subjects that are continually combined with one another in many different ways.
- 54 P. Walker, 'Die Entstehung der Permutationsfuge', *BJb* 75 (1989), pp. 21–41; English trans., 'The origin of the permutation fugue', *Studies in the history of music*, vol. III, *The creative process* (New York, 1993), pp. 57–91. Permutation fugues are further discussed in Chapter 10 below, pp. 158–9.
- 55 At present, the standard study of Bach's organ compositions, including the early works, is Williams, *Organ music* (see n. 36); for the keyboard works without obligato pedal, it is Schulenberg, *Keyboard music* (see n. 22). Both books frequently point out ways in which Bach's youthful music is indebted to works by earlier composers. The best survey of Bach's organ chorales is May's article (see n. 35). Finally, Dürr's volume on the early cantatas (see n. 4) contains much useful information, especially about the manuscript transmission of this repertory. But the style-critical portions, which were originally written around 1950 and were reprinted virtually unaltered in the 1977 edition, are badly out of date.
- 56 G. B. Stauffer, *The organ preludes of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Ann Arbor, 1980), and 'Fugue types in Bach's free organ works', *J. S. Bach as organist*, pp. 133–56. See also W. Breig, 'Formprobleme in Bachs frühen Orgelfugen', *BJb* 78 (1992), pp. 7–21; English trans., 'Form problems in Bach's early organ fugues', *A Bach tribute: essays in honor of William H. Scheide*, ed. P. Brainard and R. Robinson (Kassel and Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), pp. 45–56.

- 57 K. Heller, 'Die freien Allegrosätze in der frühen Tastenmusik Johann Sebastian Bachs', *BzBF* 9/10 (1991), pp. 173–85.
- 58 F. Krummacher, 'Bachs frühe Kantaten im Kontext der Tradition', *Mf* 44 (1991), pp. 9–32. Miriam Whaples has focused even more specifically on the arias in Bach's Mühlhausen cantatas (1707–8) in an effort to illuminate the origins of his earliest Italianate arias, those in the 'Hunt' Cantata (BWV 208). See M. K. Whaples, 'Bach's earliest arias', *BACH* 20/1 (1989), pp. 31–54.
- 59 C. Oefner, 'Eisenach zur Zeit des jungen Bach', *Bjb* 71 (1985), pp. 43–54.
- 60 The library's holdings included motets by Senfl, Obrecht, Isaac, Pierre de la Rue, Josquin and Mouton, as well as collections of works by Hammerschmidt and Niedt. See M. Schiffner, 'Johann Sebastian Bach in Arnstadt', *BzBF* 4 (1985), pp. 5–22, especially p. 13.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 18. See also Schiffner's detailed study of the Arnstadt court *Kapelle* (M. Schiffner, 'Die Arnstädter Hofkapelle – regionales Zentrum der Musikpflege im historischen und zeitgenössischen Umfeld des jungen Bach', *BzBF* 6 (1988), pp. 37–53), which touches on Bach only briefly.
- 62 Boyd, who believes that Bach must have known something of the library's contents, notes that by 1696 the collection contained some 1,100 manuscripts by approximately 175 different composers and a large number of prints. Included were 'Latin polyphony by Lassus, Monteverdi, Carissimi, Rovetta and others, and sacred works by the greatest German masters of the seventeenth century: Buxtehude, Hammerschmidt, Kerll, Scheidt, Schein, Schütz, Tunder etc.', as well as works by two of Bach's relatives (his great-uncle, Heinrich, and his uncle, Johann Christoph) and Georg Böhm, organist at the Johanniskirche in Lüneburg. See Boyd, *Bach*, pp. 12–13.
- 63 M. Petzoldt, "'Ut probus & doctus reddar". Zum Anteil der Theologie bei der Schulausbildung Johann Sebastian Bachs in Eisenach, Ohrdruf und Lüneburg', *Bjb* 71 (1985), pp. 7–42.
- 64 G. Fock, *Der junge Bach in Lüneburg. 1700 bis 1702* (Hamburg, 1950).
- 65 E. Chafe, *Tonal allegory in the vocal music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 91–123 (quotation on p. 123).
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- 67 R. L. Marshall, 'Organ or "Klavier"? Instrumental prescriptions in the sources of the keyboard works', *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the sources, the style, the significance* (New York, 1989), pp. 271–93, especially p. 283. This essay originally appeared in Stauffer and May, eds., *J. S. Bach as organist*, pp. 193–211.
- 68 Wolff, 'The identity of the "Fratro Dilettissimo"', pp. 154–5.
- 69 The research for this essay was completed with the support of a Fellowship for University Teachers from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

7 The mature vocal works and their theological and liturgical context

- 1 *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, July 1818; facsimile in *NBA* II/1 KB, p. 215.

- 2 BR, p. 383.
- 3 R. L. Marshall, 'On Bach's universality', *The universal Bach: lectures celebrating the tercentenary of Bach's birthday* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 50–66; also in R. L. Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the sources, the style, the significance* (New York, 1989), pp. 65–79, here pp. 68–69. On the homiletic character of Bach's vocal music, see also R. A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach as preacher: his Passions and music in worship* (St Louis, 1984); W. Böhme, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach Prediger in Tönen* (Karlsruhe, 1985); and Chapter 3 of this volume.
- 4 See Chapter 3. Some additional and corrective information is found in M. Petzoldt and J. Petri, *Johann Sebastian Bach Ehre sei dir Gott gesungen. Bilder und Texte zu Bachs Leben als Christ und seinem Wirken für die Kirche* (Göttingen, 1988), but there is the need for a new study that re-examines the source material in the light of Bach research over the past thirty years. A useful summary of liturgical forms of Bach's time can be found in P. Williams, *The organ music of J. S. Bach*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1980–4), vol. III, *A background*, pp. 1–15.
- 5 See Chapter 3, pp. 42–5, for Luther's liturgies, and P. Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1937–9), for an account of the decline of liturgical forms within Lutheranism.
- 6 Dok III, p. 86; BR p. 221.
- 7 See Chapter 3, note 14.
- 8 Dok I, pp. 248–9, 251.
- 9 See Chapter 3, notes 44–5.
- 10 The *Leipziger Kirchen-Staat* (1710) indicates that from time to time there was concerted music 'after the sermon' immediately before the *Verba Institutionis* (see W. Herbst, ed., *Evangelischer Gottesdienst. Quellen zur seiner Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1992), p. 147). This should not be misinterpreted as meaning that the second part of a two-part cantata was sung at this juncture: the reference is clearly to a concerted setting of the Sanctus.
- 11 See the excellent survey article by H.-J. Schulze, 'The parody process in Bach's music: an old problem reconsidered', *BACH* 20 (1989), pp. 7–21; W. Neumann, 'Über Ausmaß und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahrens', *Bjb* 51 (1965), pp. 63–85. K. Häfner, *Aspekte des Parodieverfahrens bei Johann Sebastian Bachs. Beiträge zur Wiederentdeckung verschollener Vokalwerke* (Laaber, 1987) is a conjectural and overstated consideration of Bach's use of parody; see the review by H.-J. Schulze, *Bjb* 76 (1990), pp. 92–4.
- 12 P. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: his work and influence on the music of Germany, 1685–1750*, trans. C. Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, 3 vols. (1889; reprinted New York, 1951), vol. II, pp. 576–7; see also vol. I, p. 569.
- 13 L. Schrade, 'Bach: the conflict between the sacred and the secular', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7 (1946), pp. 151–94; see also J. Pelikan, *Bach among the theologians* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 130–40.
- 14 See O. Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik* (Kassel, 1967); G. Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and liturgical life in Leipzig*, ed. R. A. Leaver (St Louis, 1984),

- p. 149; C. Wolff, *Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs. Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 9.
- 15 See W. Neumann, *Handbuch der Kantaten Joh. Seb. Bachs*, 5th edn (Wiesbaden, 1984); and A. Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 5th edn (Kassel, 1985) for the most reliable treatment.
 - 16 Two other works are given the designation ‘Oratorio’ following the example of the Christmas Oratorio: *Oratorium Festo Paschatos*, the Easter Oratorio (BWV 249), originally written in 1725 as a cantata for Easter Day but not titled *Oratorium* until sometime around 1738; and *Oratorium Festo Ascensionis Christi*, the Ascension Oratorio (BWV 11), which includes a number of parodied movements, first performed on 19 May 1735.
 - 17 Basic literature includes: R. Steiger, ‘Die Einheit des Weihnachtsoratorium von J. S. Bach’, *MuK* 51 (1981), pp. 273–80 and 52 (1982), pp. 9–15; W. Blankenburg, *Das Weihnachts-Oratorium von Johann Sebastian Bach* (Kassel, 1982).
 - 18 See the facsimile in W. Neumann, *Sämtliche von Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte* (Leipzig, 1974), pp. 448–55.
 - 19 See E. Chafe, “Hercules auf dem Scheidewege” and the Christmas Oratorio, *Tonal allegory in the vocal music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 255–73.
 - 20 *Dok* II, p. 241.
 - 21 See further, E. Koch, ‘Tröstendes Echo. Zur theologischen Deutung der Echo-Arie im IV. Teil des Weihnachts-Oratoriums von Johann Sebastian Bach’, *Bjb* 75 (1989), pp. 203–11; R. Steiger, “Fallt mit Danken, fällt mit Loben Vor des Höchsten Gnaden-Thron”. Zum IV. Teil des Weihnachts-Oratoriums von Johann Sebastian Bach, *Ars et musica in liturgia: celebratory volume presented to Casper Honders on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. F. Brouwer and R. A. Leaver (Utrecht, 1993), pp. 198–211.
 - 22 See O. von Holst, ‘Turba Chöre des Weihnachts-Oratoriums und der Markuspassion’, *MuK* 38 (1968), pp. 229–33.
 - 23 That the melody had primary passion associations is evident from Bach’s use of its opening melodic line, repeated six times, in the basso continuo of the opening movement of Cantata 127, written for *Estomihi*, the Sunday before Lent, which was celebrated at that time as a kind of Passion Sunday. Significantly this first movement of Cantata 127 was later used in the *Passionspasticcio*, incorporating the music of Telemann and others, as the opening movement of the second part, following Part I which had ended with the same ‘Passion Chorale’ melody; see J. W. Grubbs, ‘Ein Passions-Pasticcio des 18. Jahrhunderts’, *Bjb* 51 (1965), pp. 10–42, especially pp. 25–6. On the connections between *Estomihi* cantatas and Good Friday performances of passion music, see L. Steiger and R. Steiger, *Sehet! Wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem. Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten auf den Sonntag Estomihi* (Göttingen, 1992), *passim*, especially pp. 136–41.
 - 24 Such connections between Incarnation and Atonement may support the hypothesis of von Holst (see note 22 above), since Bach may have deliberately chosen to parody the *turbæ* choruses from the Mark Passion in the *Christmas Oratorio* as much for theological as musical reasons.

- 25 G. Vopelius, *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* (Leipzig, 1682), pp. 179ff. and 227ff. respectively.
- 26 See A. Glöckner, 'Bach and the Passion music of his contemporaries', *MT* 116 (1975), pp. 613–16; and 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungen zeitgenössischer Passionsmusiken', *BJb* 63 (1977), pp. 75–119.
- 27 BWV 246a; see Y. Kobayashi, 'Zu einem neu entdeckten Autograph Bachs. Choral: Aus der Tiefen', *BJb* 57 (1971), pp. 5–12; see also Glöckner, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungen', pp. 91–9, 108.
- 28 See Glöckner, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungen', p. 91.
- 29 Arthur Mendel leaves open the possibility that parts of the work had been prepared in earlier years; see *NBA II/4 KB* (1974), p. 67, n. 1, and the article cited in the following note. Don Franklin has more recently speculated that there might have been at least an earlier form of the 1724 John Passion, perhaps even two; see D. O. Franklin, 'The libretto of Bach's John Passion and the doctrine of reconciliation: an historical perspective', *Das Blut Jesu und die Lehre von der Versöhnung im Werk Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. A. A. Clement (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 179–203.
- 30 See A. Mendel, 'Traces of the pre-history of Bach's St John and St Matthew Passions', *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Gerstenberg et al. (Kassel, 1963), pp. 31–48.
- 31 F. Smend, 'Die Johannes-Passion von Bach. Auf ihren Bau untersucht', *BJb* 23 (1926), pp. 105–28; reprinted in F. Smend, *Bach-Studien. Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze*, ed. C. Wolff (Kassel, 1969), pp. 11–23.
- 32 Smend's analysis has been generally accepted, though sometimes slightly modified, and used to interpret other parts of the Passion: see, for example, R. A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St Louis, 1985), pp. 131–5; E. Chafe, *Tonal allegory*, pp. 307–15, especially p. 312; see also W. Breig, 'Bemerkungen zur zyklischen Symmetrie in Bachs Leipziger Kirchenmusik', *MuK* 53 (1983), pp. 173–9.
- 33 Based on Smend, *Bach-Studien*, p. 22, but with movement numbers changed to those of *NBA*.
- 34 See Mendel *NBA II/4 KB*, pp. 163–4.
- 35 The term 'Gnadenthron', used here, or its equivalent 'Gnadenstuhl'; itself conceptualises an image of the crucifixion; see H. Werthemann, 'Jesus Christus, vorgestellt zu einem Gnadenstuhl durch den Glauben in seinem Blut. Der Sühnedeckel der alttestamentlichen Bundeslade und seine Erfüllung in Christus', *Das Blut Jesu*, ed. Clement, pp. 63–78.
- 36 See further discussions such as: A. Dürr, *Die Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach. Entstehung, Überlieferung, Werkeinführung* (Munich and Kassel, 1988), and Chafe, *Tonal allegory*, pp. 275–335.
- 37 See J. Rifkin, 'The chronology of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion', *MQ* 61 (1975), pp. 360–87.
- 38 E. Chafe, 'J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion: aspects of planning, structure, and chronology', *JAMS* 35 (1982), pp. 49–114, especially pp. 104–7.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 111. Such a connection was actually made between Cantata 127 and

- the second version of the John Passion in 1725 with Bach's use of *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* in the first movement of the cantata and in the last movement of the passion; see R. A. Leaver, 'Bach and the German Agnus Dei', *A Bach tribute: essays in honor of William H. Scheide*, ed. P. Brainard and R. Robinson (Kassel, 1993), pp. 163–71.
- 40 Chafe, 'J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion', p. 110.
- 41 See F. Smend, *NBA II/1 KB* (1956), pp. 172–3 and 225.
- 42 Rifkin, 'Chronology of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion', p. 361, note 6.
- 43 Rifkin's conclusion is based on Bach's known technique of composing cantatas sequentially, in order of the movements. Chafe, while accepting 1727 as the year of the first performance of the Matthew Passion, thinks it unlikely that Bach would have composed such a complex work in a strict linear progression; see Chafe, 'J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion', p. 50.
- 44 The complete 1725 passion libretto is found in P. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (German version only; Wiesbaden, 1964), vol. II, pp. 873–81. See also Chafe, 'J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion', pp. 55–7; E. Axmacher, 'Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben'. *Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 166–9.
- 45 E. Axmacher, 'Eine Quellenfund zum Text der Matthäus-Passion', *BJb* 64 (1978), pp. 181–91; Axmacher, 'Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben', pp. 170–96; E. Axmacher, 'Die Deutung der Passion Jesu im Text der Matthäus-Passion von J. S. Bach', *Luther: Zeitschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft* 56 (1985), pp. 49–69.
- 46 See R. A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek; eine kritische Bibliographie / Bach's theological library; a critical bibliography* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983), No. 19. After Luther and the orthodox theologian August Pfeiffer, Müller was Bach's next preferred author — in his library there were four other titles by Müller; Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, Nos. 8, 20, 41 and 42.
- 47 The libretto, which appeared without the biblical narrative and most of the chorales, is given in facsimile in Neumann, *Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte*, pp. 321–4.
- 48 See *Dok* II, pp. 190–1.
- 49 This is given in facsimile in Neumann, *Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte*, pp. 398–401. The libretto was later reprinted in Picander's third collection of libretti, *Ernst-Schertzhafte und Satyrische Gedichte, Dritter Theil* (Leipzig, 1732); given in facsimile in Neumann, *Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte*, pp. 344–5. Smend discovered a manuscript copy of the libretto, containing several significant variants, which is probably the earliest form; see F. Smend, *Bach in Köthen* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 209–19.
- 50 See A. Schering, 'Kleine Bachstudien', *BJb* 30 (1933), p. 37, and 'Zur Markus-Passion und zur "vierten" Passion', *BJb* 36 (1939), p. 5.
- 51 See D. Gojowy, 'Zur Frage der Köthener Trauermusik und der Matthäuspassion', *BJb* 51 (1965), pp. 86–134.

- 52 See P. Brainard, 'Bach's parody procedure and the St. Matthew Passion', *JAMS* 22 (1969), pp. 241–60; H. Streck, *Die Verkunst in den poetischen Texten zu den Kantaten J. S. Bachs* (Hamburg, 1971), pp. 132–53; Rifkin, 'Chronology of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion', pp. 376–82.
- 53 In between the two items is the Prayer of Manasseh, but since this is a prayer of confession, it is clearly intended as an appendix to Luther's sermon; see the facsimile, ed. F. Schulz (Kassel, 1982).
- 54 It is found in Picander's *Ernst-Schertzhafte und Satyrische Gedichte, Dritter Theil*; given in facsimile in Neumann, *Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte*, pp. 326–32.
- 55 F. Smend, 'Bachs Markus-Passion', *Bjb* 37 (1940–8), pp. 1–35, reprinted in Smend, *Bach-Studien*, pp. 110–36; and A. Dürr, 'Bachs Trauer-Ode und Markus-Passion', *NZM* 124 (1963), pp. 459–66. In addition to the parodied movements from BWV 198, the first movement of Cantata 54 was also re-worked for the passion. More recently, various editors have suggested that movements from BWV 7, 120a, 204, 234, as well as the bass aria 'Himmel reiße', composed for the second version of the John Passion in 1725 but later excluded, may also have been parodied in the Mark Passion.
- 56 F. Smend, 'Bachs Matthäus-Passion: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Werkes bis 1750', *Bjb* 25 (1928), pp. 1–95; reprinted in Smend, *Bach-Studien*, pp. 24–83; but compare the more detailed discussion in Chafe, *Tonal allegory*, pp. 337–423.
- 57 Based on Smend, *Bach-Studien*, p. 44, with *NBA* movement numbers.
- 58 See, for example, A. Dürr, in *NBA II/3 KB* (1955), p. 7.
- 59 R. M. Cammarota, 'The repertoire of Magnificats in Leipzig at the time of J. S. Bach: a study of the manuscript sources' (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1986), p. 96.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- 61 In incorporating these Christmas interpolations Bach was following Leipzig tradition, as did his predecessor Kuhnau; see R. M. Cammarota, 'The sources of the Christmas interpolations in J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat major (BWV 243a)', *CM* 36 (1983), pp. 79–99; see also Cammarota, 'Magnificats in Leipzig', pp. 297–341.
- 62 See R. L. Marshall, 'On the origin of Bach's Magnificat: a Lutheran composer's challenge', *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 3–17, also in R. L. Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, pp. 161–73, especially pp. 168–9.
- 63 See Cammarota, 'Magnificats in Leipzig', p. 325. The bipartite structure of the early version of the Magnificat may mean that the sermon at Christmas Vespers, 1723, was preached after 'Fecit potentiam' and before 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'.
- 64 Vopelius, *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch*, 1084–5, 1092–8; see J. Grimm, *Das 'Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch' des Gottfried Vopelius (Leipzig, 1682). Untersuchungen zur Klärung seiner geschichtlichen Stellung* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 97–8.
- 65 R. L. Marshall, 'Beobachtungen am Autograph der h-moll-Messe. Zum

- Kompositionsprozess', *MuK* 50 (1980), pp. 230–9; English trans., 'The Mass in B Minor: the autograph scores and the compositional process', in Marshall, *Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, pp. 175–89, especially pp. 175–6.
- 66 C. Wolff, 'Zur musikalischen Vorgeschichte des Kyrie aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Messe in h-Moll', *Festschrift für Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Ruhnke (Kassel, 1967), pp. 316–26; English translation by A. Mann, 'Origins of the Kyrie of the Kyrie of the B Minor Mass', in C. Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 141–51.
- 67 Vopelius, *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch*, pp. 421–3; see Grimm, *Das 'Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch'*, p. 65.
- 68 Recent literature includes: E. Platen and M. Helms, *NBA II/2 KB* (1982); A. Mann, "'Missa Brevis" and "Historia": Bach's A Major Mass', *BACH* 16/1 (1985), pp. 6–11; R. A. Leaver, 'Parody and theological consistency: notes on Bach's A-Major Mass', *BACH* 21/3 (1990), pp. 30–43.
- 69 In chronological order the cantatas are: BWV 136, 179, 138, 40, 67, 79, 187, 102, 17 and 72.
- 70 The present author has suggested that it may have been an *Estomihi* cantata (see Leaver, 'Bach and the German Agnus Dei', p. 170). But if Hofmann's recent reconstruction of the chronology of Bach's cantatas in Weimar (BWV 233a appears to have originated in Weimar) is correct, Bach did not have occasion to compose an *Estomihi* cantata at the Weimar court; see K. Hofmann, 'Neue Überlegungen zu Bachs Weimarer Kantaten-Kalender', *BJb* 79 (1993), pp. 9–29.
- 71 Important recent literature includes: W. Blankenburg, *Einführung in Bachs h-Moll-Messe BWV 232* (Kassel, 1974; reprinted 1986); H. Rilling, *Johann Sebastian Bach's B-minor Mass* (Princeton, 1984), a translation of the German edition (1979), which has been subsequently revised and expanded (Stuttgart, 1986); J. Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor* (Cambridge, 1991) includes a bibliography of important recent articles.
- 72 See G. G. Butler, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Gloria in excelsis Deo BWV 191. Musik für ein Leipziger Dankfest', *BJb* 78 (1992), pp. 65–71.
- 73 This discovery is the subject of a paper by Peter Wollny, 'Ein Quellenfund zur Entstehungsgeschichte der h-Moll-Messe', *BJb* 80 (1994), pp. 163–9.
- 74 Rifkin (review in *Notes* 44 (June 1988), p. 789) had already come to this conclusion before the existence of the Agricola manuscript was known.
- 75 The movement made a strong and lasting impact on Agricola. At the end of his life the former student of Bach made reference to it, in a posthumously published book review: 'From recent times . . . there is a setting of the words *Credo in unum Deum*, from a great Mass by the blessed J. S. Bach, with eight obligato parts, namely, 5 vocal parts, two violins, and Generalbass . . .'; *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (Berlin) 25/1 (1775), p. 108; *Dok* III, p. 294.
- 76 See A. Dürr, 'Zur Chronologie der Handschrift Johann Christoph Altnickols und Johann Friedrich Agricolas', *BJb* 56 (1970), pp. 44–63.

- 77 Y. Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs. Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750', *BJb* 74 (1988), pp. 7–72.
- 78 The sections on the Creed of Luther's Small and Large Catechisms are given in *The Book of Concord: the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. T. G. Tappert (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 344–5 and 411–20 respectively.
- 79 Eric Chafe has proposed a different, 'audible' structure; see E. T. Chafe, 'The St John Passion: theology and musical structure', *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 75–112, p. 92, note 37. He suggests that Bach adopted an asymmetrical tripartite structure – following Luther's expositions of the Creed in his catechisms – by creating a 2 + 4 + 3 grouping of movements. While Chafe is perceptive in drawing attention to the influence of Luther's catechetical exposition of the Creed, this influence was more likely to have been on the original ground-plan rather than the later modification. If the original eight movements were patterned after Luther's expositions of the Creed, in a 2 + 3 + 3 structure, the 'Crucifixus' and 'Confiteor' form the central movements of the second and third articles of the Creed. Perhaps it was just this asymmetricality that caused Bach to modify the structure of the *Symbolum Nicenum*. Thus by creating the new 'Et incarnatus est' movement, the overall structure became Trinitarian ($9 = 3 \times 3$), and the centrepoint of the second article of the Creed remained the 'Crucifixus', which now became the centre of gravity of the entire *Symbolum Nicenum*. Although Chafe argues persuasively that his solution is 'dynamic' in contrast to the 'more abstract' symmetrical structure, such chiasmic relationships nevertheless appear to have been an important element in Bach's compositional process.
- 80 Ratswahl (lit. 'council election') cantatas were written to celebrate changes of the town council. Bach probably used this cantata as his model, though it is theoretically possible for him to have used the earlier manifestations of the music in BWV 120a and BWV 120b, of which the former is incomplete and the latter is lost.
- 81 See Grimm, *Das 'Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch'*, pp. 97–8.
- 82 The 'Sanctus' and 'Agnus Dei' both have a threefold content.
- 83 The same music was used again for the first movement for another congratulatory cantata for August of Saxony: *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215), performed on 5 October 1734.
- 84 Y. Kobayashi, 'Die Universalität in Bachs h-moll-Messe. Eine Beitrag zum Bach-Bild der letzten Lebensjahr', *MuK* 57 (1987), pp. 9–24, especially p. 19; English trans. by J. W. Baxter, 'Universality in Bach's B Minor Mass: a portrait of Bach in his final years', *BACH* 24/2 (1993), pp. 3–25, especially pp. 17–19. It is on this kind of evidence that Dürr argues against the tendency to see parodies everywhere in Bach's later works; see A. Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Seine Handschrift. Abbild seines Schaffens* (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 46–8, 72, and 'Schriftcharakter und Werkchronologie bei Johann Sebastian Bach', *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR in Verbindung mit dem 60. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft* (1985), ed. W. Hoffmann and A. Scheiderheinze (Leipzig, 1988), pp. 283–9.

- 85 See C. Wolff, 'The Agnus Dei of the B Minor Mass: parody and new composition reconciled', in Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 332–9; R. A. Leaver, 'Agnus Dei compositions of J. S. Bach: some liturgical and theological perspectives', *Das Blut Jesu*, ed. Clement, pp. 233–49.

8 The instrumental music

- 1 On the history of this term, see E. Reimer's article 'Kammermusik' in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (1971).
- 2 Dok II, p. 93; BR, p. 89.
- 3 See the entry on 'Chamber music' in *The new Harvard dictionary of music*, ed. D. M. Randel (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), p. 146.
- 4 On the history of this term, see M. Staehelin's article 'Orchester' in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (1981).
- 5 Quoted by H. Becker in his article, 'Orchester', in MGG, vol. X, col. 173.
- 6 As with all other areas of Bach's creative activities, this repertory has no clearly defined boundaries: there is a whole series of works whose authenticity is not universally acknowledged. In order not to extend the discussion unduly, we shall accept the findings reflected in the most recent list of Bach's works, namely, the German edition of Christoph Wolff's *New Grove* article (C. Wolff et al., *Die Bach-Familie* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1993)). The trio sonata from *The Musical Offering* BWV 1079 is also included in the present table since it belongs here generically, even though all lists and editions of Bach's works place it in the context of the original edition of 1747.
- 7 The question of the reconstruction of lost works on the basis of transcriptions has been discussed in various contexts in writings on Bach; see, for example, U. Siegele, *Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik in der Instrumentalmusik J. S. Bachs* (dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1957); published as *Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, vol. III (Stuttgart, 1975); W. Fischer, *NBA VII/7 KB*; W. Breig, 'Bachs Violinkonzert d-moll. Studien zu seiner Gestalt und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte', *BjB* 62 (1976), pp. 7–34; and W. Breig, 'Zur Gestalt von Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzert für Oboe d'amore', *Tibia* 18 (1993), pp. 431–48.
- 8 Under this criterion, the first Brandenburg Concerto, too, would come under the heading of 'orchestral music'.
- 9 BC, I/1 (Leipzig, 1985), p. 13. The volumes dealing with the instrumental music have yet to appear.
- 10 The pieces in question are the Polacca from the first Brandenburg Concerto and the Air from the Orchestral Suite BWV 1068; but see below for a discussion of the forces used in the latter.
- 11 For two recent controversial articles on this subject, see H.-J. Schulze, 'Johann Sebastian Bach's orchestra: some unanswered questions', *EM* 17 (1989), pp. 3–15; and J. Rifkin, 'More (and less) on Bach's orchestra', *Performance Practice Review* 4 (1991), pp. 5–13.

- 12 K. Hofmann, 'Überlegungen zum Aufbau Bachscher Suiten- und Sonatensammlungen', *Johann Sebastian Bach. Schaffenskonzeption, Werkidee, Textbezug*, ed. W. Felix, A. Schneiderheinze and H.-J. Schulze; *BzBF* 9/10 (Leipzig, 1991), pp. 85–94, especially pp. 93–4.
- 13 E. Kurth, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts. Einführung in Stil und Technik von Bachs melodischer Polyphonie* (Berne, 1917), p. 260.
- 14 The most detailed examination of this particular group of works may be found in Hans Eppstein's authoritative *Studien über J. S. Bachs Sonaten für ein Melodieinstrument und obligates Cembalo*, *Studia musicologica Upsaliensia* (new series) II (Uppsala, 1966).
- 15 Of these, the authenticity of BWV 1031 has often been called into question.
- 16 See Hans Eppstein's study 'Zur Problematik von J. S. Bachs Sonate für Violine und Cembalo G-dur (BWV 1019)', *AfMw* 21 (1964), pp. 217–42.
- 17 The movements concerned are BWV 1014/1, 1016/1, 1016/3, 1018/1, 1018/3 and 1019/2. That it is also possible to speak of independent functions of the obbligato keyboard in other cases, too, has been amply demonstrated by Eppstein, *Studien über J. S. Bachs Sonaten*, pp. 33–44.
- 18 C. Wolff, 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', *EM* 13 (1985), pp. 165–75, especially p. 166.
- 19 P. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1873–80; reprinted Darmstadt, 1979), vol. I, p. 730; trans. C. Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland as *Johann Sebastian Bach: his work and influence on the music of Germany*, 3 vols. (1889; reprinted New York, 1951), vol. II, p. 122.
- 20 Eppstein, *Studien über J. S. Bachs Sonaten*, p. 89.
- 21 The fact that these concertos have been excluded from the present discussion should not be taken to imply a belittlement of the creative effort that led to their later versions for harpsichord (see Chapter 10 below). Their exclusion is simply intended to avoid distorting the statistics.
- 22 *BC* lists the movement under A 193; it is discussed at greater length by Ralph Leavis in his article 'Zur Authentizität von Bachs Violinkonzert d-moll', *Bjb* 65 (1979), pp. 25–7.
- 23 The classification 'BWV 1059' represents the hypothetical oboe concerto that Bach must have had in front of him when he began his transcription, only to break off again after nine bars; this hypothetical model can be reconstructed from the first and fifth movements of Cantata 35 and the first movement of Cantata 156; see J. Rifkin, 'Ein langsamer Konzertsatz Johann Sebastian Bachs', *Bjb* 64 (1978), pp. 140–7, and W. Breig, 'Bachs Cembalokonzert-Fragment in d-Moll (BWV 1059)', *Bjb* 65 (1979), pp. 29–36.
- 24 K. Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Leipzig, 1991), p. 358.
- 25 Exceptions to the basic three-movement type are the first and third Brandenburg Concertos; in its first version as the Sinfonia BWV 1046a, no. 1 was originally in three movements (ending with a multisectional dance movement); in its Brandenburg version, a further movement was inserted after the second movement. In no. 3, the middle movement has been reduced to a mere cadence. For a recent study of ritornello form, see M. Boyd, *Bach: the Brandenburg Concertos* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 45–58.

- 26 Doubts have recently been thrown on the oft-repeated assertion that the Sinfonia BWV 1046 belongs with the hunting cantata BWV 208; see M. Marissen, 'On linking Bach's F-Major Sinfonia and his Hunt Cantata', *BACH* 23/2 (1992), pp. 31–46.
- 27 BWV 1041/1, 1043/3, 1046/1+3, 1047/1, 1048/1, 1050/1, 1051/1+3, 1055/1+3, 1056/1+3, 1059/1, 1060/1+3, 1063/1, 1064/1.
- 28 BWV 1050/2.
- 29 BWV 1042/1, 1049/1, 1051/3 and 1053/1+3.
- 30 BWV 1041/3, 1043/1, 1047/3, 1049/3, 1050/3, 1063/3 and 1064/5.
- 31 BWV 1046/4, 1048/3 and 1059/3.
- 32 BWV 1042/3.
- 33 See W. Breig, 'Das Ostinato-Prinzip in Johann Sebastian Bachs langsamen Konzertsätzen', *Von Isaac bis Bach. Studien zur älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte (Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag)*, ed. F. Heidlberger, W. Osthoff and R. Wiesend (Kassel, 1991), pp. 287–300.
- 34 BWV 1041/2, 1042/2, 1052/2, 1055/2 and 1064/2.
- 35 BWV 1049/2, 1053/3, 1056/3, 1059/2 and 1063/2.
- 36 BWV 1043/2, 1046/2, 1047/2, 1051/2 and 1060/2.
- 37 The middle movement of BWV 1050 has already been mentioned as an exception.
- 38 See M. Marissen, 'J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos as a meaningful set', *MQ* 77 (1993), pp. 193–235, and *The social and religious designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton, 1995).
- 39 See W. Breig, 'Zum Kompositionsprozeß in Bachs Cembalokonzerten', *Johann Sebastian Bachs Spätwerk und dessen Umfeld. 61. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft Duisburg 1986*, ed. C. Wolff (Kassel, 1988), pp. 32–47.
- 40 Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, no. 73 (19 January 1740), (Leipzig, 1745; reprinted Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 669–70.
- 41 On the fanfare theme and related figures in Bach's works, see K. Hofmann, "'Großer Herr, o starker König": Ein Fanfarenthema bei Bach' (in preparation). I am grateful to Klaus Hofmann for allowing me to see a copy of this article in typescript.
- 42 For an interesting hypothesis concerning the genesis of this piece, see I. Godt, 'Politics, patriotism, and a Polonaise: a possible revision in Bach's *Suite in B Minor*', *MQ* 74 (1990), pp. 610–22.
- 43 See my earlier remarks on the Flute Sonata BWV 1030.

9 The keyboard works: Bach as teacher and virtuoso

- 1 *Dok* II, p. 231; *BR*, p. 46.
- 2 H.-J. Schulze gives biographical details in *B/b* 71 (1985), pp. 55–81.
- 3 Letter of 13 January 1775, *Dok* III, p. 288; *BR*, p. 278.
- 4 In his letter of 13 January 1775 to Forkel, C. P. E. Bach initially wrote of his father's 'teacher Böhm', then crossed out these words and substituted 'the Lüneburg organist Böhm' (see *BR*, p. 278); this might suggest that the son distorted the record somewhat, in order to portray his father as a self-taught

- genius. See C. Wolff, 'Bach and Johann Adam Reinken: a context for the early works', *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 56–7.
- 5 Quoted from the Bach Obituary, *Dok III*, p. 81; *BR*, p. 216.
 - 6 *Dok III*, p. 82; *BR*, p. 217.
 - 7 J. N. Forkel, *Über J. S. Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802); quotation from the English trans. (London, 1820), reprinted in *BR*, pp. 293–356; see p. 317.
 - 8 Forkel (*ibid.*) links this search for order with the influence of Vivaldi, but it surely dates from long before the Vivaldi transcriptions of 1713–14.
 - 9 Told in the Bach Obituary, *Dok III*, pp. 81–2; *BR*, pp. 216–17.
 - 10 Some idea of its contents can be gained from the 1692 tablature book of the Pachelbel pupil J. V. Eckelt; see, *inter alia*, R. S. Hill, "Der Himmel weiss, wo diese Sachen hingekommen sind": reconstructing the lost keyboard notebooks of the young Bach and Handel', *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: tercentenary essays*, ed. P. Williams (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 161–72.
 - 11 *Dok III*, p. 82; *BR*, p. 217.
 - 12 See H.-J. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Dresden, 1984), pp. 30–56, and R. S. Hill, 'The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book', 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987).
 - 13 Letter to Forkel of 13 January 1775, *Dok III*, p. 288; *BR*, p. 278.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, *Dok III*, p. 289; *BR*, p. 278.
 - 15 However, like other German organists of his time, Bach improvised fugues as well as free fantasias. The fugue attached to the Chromatic Fantasia BWV 903/2 and the Ricercar a 3 from *The Musical Offering* BWV 1079 are probably examples of fugues based upon improvisation.
 - 16 In particular, BWV 535a, BWV Anh. 205/Anh. II 45 and the last three bars of BWV 921.
 - 17 See R. S. Hill, 'Echtheit angezweifelt: style and authenticity in two suites attributed to Bach', *EM 13* (1985), pp. 248–55.
 - 18 BWV 967 has long been regarded as a keyboard transcription, but a different view is taken by R. S. Hill, 'The Möller Manuscript', pp. 448–58.
 - 19 See C. P. E. Bach's letter to Forkel of 20 September 1775, *Dok III*, p. 292.
 - 20 Letter to Forkel of 13 January 1775, *Dok III*, p. 288; *BR*, p. 278.
 - 21 See I. Sumikura, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer', *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum III. Internationalen Bach-Fest der DDR Leipzig, 18./19. September 1975*, ed. W. Felix, W. Hoffmann and A. Schneiderheinze (Leipzig, 1977), pp. 233–8.
 - 22 See H.-J. Schulze, 'The French influence in Bach's instrumental music', *EM 13* (1985), pp. 180–4, and C. Wolff, 'Bach und die italienische Musik', *Bachtage Berlin. Vorträge 1970 bis 1981*, ed. G. Wagner (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 225–33.
 - 23 *Dok III*, p. 82; *BR*, p. 217.
 - 24 Letter to Forkel of 13 January 1775, *Dok III*, p. 288; *BR*, p. 278.
 - 25 See J.-C. Zehnder, 'Georg Böhm und Johann Sebastian Bach. Zur Chronologie der Bachschen Stilentwicklung', *Bjb 74* (1988), pp. 73–110.

- 26 See R. S. Hill's study of BWV 832–3 in *EM* 13 (1985), pp. 248–55. R. Stinson makes out a good case for the authenticity of BWV 821 in *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history* (Durham, N.C. and London, 1990), pp. 123–4.
- 27 According to H. Eichberg (*NBA* V/10 KB, pp. 78–85), BWV 822 may be an arrangement by Bach of an overture-suite by a German contemporary.
- 28 See *Dok* III, p. 288; *BR*, p. 278.
- 29 See K. Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, *Catalogus musicus*, vol. XIII (Kassel, 1992), VBN I/F/2 [catalogue], pp. 284–5. See also J. Ladewig, 'Bach and the *prima prattica*: the influence of Frescobaldi on a fugue from the *Well-tempered Clavier*', *JM* 9 (1991), pp. 358–75.
- 30 Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, pp. 56–7 and VBN II/P/2, p. 367.
- 31 See Zehnder, 'Georg Böhm und J. S. Bach', pp. 76–9, and C. Wolff, 'Johann Adam Reinken und J. S. Bach', *BJb* 71 (1985), pp. 99–118; English trans., 'Bach and Johann Adam Reinken' (see note 4 above).
- 32 Wolff, 'Bach and Johann Adam Reinken', section III.
- 33 See G. Pestelli, 'Un'altra rielaborazione Bachiana: la fuga della Toccata BWV 914', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 16 (1981), pp. 40–4.
- 34 See Eichberg, *NBA* V/10 KB, pp. 47–9.
- 35 In the Frankfurt manuscript Mus. Hs. 1531; see Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, pp. 190–202; see also G. B. Stauffer, 'Boyvin, Grigny, D'Anglebert, and Bach's assimilation of French classical organ music', *EM* 21 (1993), pp. 83–96; V. Horn, 'French influence in Bach's organ works', *J. S. Bach as organist*, ed. G. B. Stauffer and E. May (Bloomington, 1986), pp. 256–73.
- 36 Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, VBN I/A/1 and I/T/5, pp. 226 and 320.
- 37 *Ibid.*, VBN II/T/9–10, pp. 378–9.
- 38 *Dok* III, p. 189.
- 39 See J.-C. Zehnder, 'Giuseppe Torelli und Johann Sebastian Bach. Zu Bachs Weimarer Konzertform', *BJb* 77 (1991), pp. 33–95.
- 40 See H.-J. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, pp. 146–73.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 156; quoted from J. Mattheson, *Das beschützte Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1717), p. 129.
- 42 See Zehnder, 'Giuseppe Torelli und J. S. Bach', pp. 36–66.
- 43 It is entitled 'Concerto seu Toccata pour le Clavecin' in a lost copy of H. N. Gerber's; see *BG* 36, p. xxxviii.
- 44 See Zehnder, 'Giuseppe Torelli und J. S. Bach', pp. 92–3; a thematic link with the Torelli concerto that Bach transcribed as BWV 979 was noted by H. Keller, *Die Klavierwerke Bachs* (Leipzig, 1950), p. 82.
- 45 Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*; see *BR*, p. 317.
- 46 The possible implications of this remark are explored by C. Wolff in 'Vivaldi's compositional art and the process of "musical thinking"', *Nuovi studi vivaldiani*, ed. A. Fanna and G. Morelli (Florence, 1988), reprinted as 'Vivaldi's compositional art, Bach and the process of "musical thinking"' in Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 72–83.

- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 74, and Wolff's comment in *The new Grove Bach family* (London and Basingstoke, 1983), p. 122.
- 48 See Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of J. P. Kellner*, pp. 102–10; a table outlining the structure is given on p. 108.
- 49 See A. Dürr, 'Zur Form der Präludien in Bachs Englischen Suiten', *Bach-Studien* 6 (Leipzig, 1981), pp. 101ff.; reprinted in A. Dürr, *Im Mittelpunkt Bach* (Kassel, 1988), pp. 232–8.
- 50 *Dok* II, p. 65; *BR*, pp. 228–9.
- 51 *Dok* II, pp. 73–4.
- 52 See G. B. Stauffer's study of BWV 903 in *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 160–82, especially p. 176.
- 53 See *BR*, pp. 312 and 342.
- 54 The title of the Weimar *Orgelbüchlein* (c. 1713–16), in which it is accorded a didactic purpose, was not added until the Köthen period (1717–23).
- 55 *Dok* I, pp. 220–1; *BR*, p. 86.
- 56 For an interesting study of composition as variation, see D. Schulenberg, 'Composition as variation: inquiries into the compositional procedures of the Bach circle of composers', *CM* 33 (1982), pp. 57–87; and *The keyboard music of J. S. Bach* (New York, 1992), pp. 24–5.
- 57 In the letter to Forkel of 13 January 1775, *Dok* III, p. 289; *BR*, p. 279.
- 58 See M. Helms, 'Zur Chronologie der Handschrift des Anonymus 5', *NBA* V/7 *KB*, pp. 183–95.
- 59 See A. Dürr, 'Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber als Schüler Bachs', *BJb* 64 (1978), pp. 7–18.
- 60 *Dok* III, p. 476; *BR*, p. 264.
- 61 Letter to Forkel of 13 January 1775, *Dok* III, p. 289; *BR*, p. 279.
- 62 *Dok* I, p. 220; *BR*, p. 86.
- 63 *BR*, p. 341.
- 64 Quoted from the title-page of the autograph fair copy P 415; *Dok* I, p. 219; *BR*, p. 85.
- 65 See Wolff's observation in *The new Grove Bach family*, p. 149.
- 66 Cf. the earlier and later versions as published in *NBA* V/6.1, ed. A. Dürr.
- 67 *Dok* II, pp. 160–1.
- 68 See Zehnder, 'Giuseppe Torelli und J. S. Bach', p. 93.
- 69 See H. Eppstein's study of BWV 1019 in *AfMw* 21 (1964), pp. 217–42, especially pp. 227 and 240 (fourth music example).
- 70 *Dok* II, p. 231; *BR*, p. 46.
- 71 *BR*, p. 337.
- 72 *Dok* II, pp. 220–1, 223 and 331.
- 73 *Dok* II, pp. 373–4; *BR*, p. 234; for an excellent study of the vogue for the solo keyboard concerto, see J. R. Swack, 'On the origins of the *Sonate auf Concertenart*', *JAMS* 46 (1993), pp. 369–414.
- 74 See Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, pp. 78–85.
- 75 Lorenz Mizler (1739) in a refutation of Scheibe's criticisms; *Dok* II, p. 336; *BR*, p. 249.

- 76 *Dok I*, p. 63; *BR*, p. 123. For recent studies of stylistic trends in the last two decades of Bach's life and his response to them, see C. Ahrens, 'J. S. Bach und der "neue Gusto" in der Musik um 1740', *Bjb* 72 (1986), pp. 69–79, and J. Butt, 'Bach and G. F. Kauffmann: reflections on Bach's later style', *Bach studies* 2, ed. D. Melamed (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 47–61.
- 77 See C. Wolff, *Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs. Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk* (Wiesbaden, 1968) and his 'Bach and the tradition of the Palestrina style', *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 84–104.
- 78 Concerning the date of publication, see G. C. Butler, 'Neues zur Datierung der Goldberg-Variationen', *Bjb* 74 (1988), pp. 219–23.
- 79 Quoted from Scarlatti's preface to the *Essercizi*. See R. L. Marshall's essay 'Bach the progressive' (1976), reprinted in *The music of J. S. Bach* (New York, 1989), pp. 23–58, especially pp. 46–8.
- 80 *BR*, pp. 338–9.
- 81 See C. Wolff, commentary to facsimile edition of *Clavier-Übung I–IV* (Leipzig, 1984), p. 32; reprinted in *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 189–213, especially pp. 212–13.
- 82 *Dok II*, p. 399.
- 83 See Y. Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke J. S. Bachs', *Bjb* 74 (1988), pp. 7–72, especially p. 51.
- 84 Wolff's theory of a *conceptual* change (see the preface to his Peters edition (Frankfurt, 1987)) is questioned by the present writer in *ML* 69 (1988), p. 300.
- 85 The authenticity of the title – a subsequent addition to the autograph P 200 in the hand of Bach's pupil J. C. Altnikol – is not beyond doubt.
- 86 Other contemporary works based on similar principles are the Variations on 'Vom Himmel hoch' BWV 769, and the 14 Canons on the bass-line of the 'Goldberg Variations' BWV 1087, both of which date from around 1747–8 (see Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke', p. 60).
- 87 See Wolff's *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 254–5. For studies of evidence for Bach's acquaintance with the fortepiano, see E. Badura-Skoda, 'Komponierte J. S. Bach "Hammerklavier-Konzerte"?', *Bjb* 77 (1991), pp. 159–71 and P. Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Bach at the keyboard* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 157–69.
- 88 Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music*, p. 330 (see also pp. 324–31); quoted from J. G. Walther's definition of 'ricercare' in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732).

10 *Composition as arrangement and adaptation*

- 1 This subject was first treated by Ulrich Siegele in his 1957 Tübingen dissertation, *Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik in der Instrumentalmusik Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. III (Stuttgart, 1975). More recently it has been approached from the standpoint of the adapted works by Kirsten Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, Catalogus musicus, vol. XIII (Kassel, 1992).

- 2 See the essay by Robin Leaver, Chapter 7 in the present volume.
- 3 The third section ‘c’ of each sonata is something of a special case. Reincken divided each into two parts, in the first of which the first violin is used as a melody instrument, while in the second part – an exact repetition of the first – the first violin is replaced by the gamba. Bach omitted these repeats.
- 4 D. Schulenberg, *The keyboard music of J. S. Bach* (New York, 1992), p. 69.
- 5 See the entry on ‘Permutation fugue’ in *The new Harvard dictionary of music*, ed. D. M. Randel (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), p. 628.
- 6 See P. Walker, ‘Die Entstehung der Permutationsfuge’, *Bjb* 75 (1989), pp. 21–41.
- 7 The B \flat major and C major fugues are examples of the four-part structure that the present writer has shown to be a formal principle of a whole series of Bach’s organ fugues; see Werner Breig, ‘Form problems in Bach’s early organ fugues’, *A Bach tribute: essays in honor of William H. Scheide*, ed. P. Brainard and R. Robinson (Kassel and Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), pp. 45–56; published in German as ‘Formprobleme in Bachs frühen Orgelfugen’, *Bjb* 78 (1992), pp. 7–21; see also ‘Versuch einer Theorie der Bachschen Orgelfuge’, *Mf* 48 (1995), pp. 14–52.
- 8 See U. Siegele, ‘Die musiktheoretische Lehre einer Bachschen Gigue’, *AfMw* 17 (1960), pp. 152–67.
- 9 Johann Kuhnau, Preface to *Neuer Clavier-Übung Anderer Theil* (Leipzig, 1692).
- 10 It was from this collection that Bach took the subjects of his fugues BWV 946, 950 and 951/951a.
- 11 See K. Beisswenger, ‘Zur Chronologie der Notenhandschriften Johann Gottfried Walthers’, *Acht kleine Präludien und Studien über BACH. Georg von Dadelsen zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Kollegium des Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Instituts Göttingen (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 11–39, especially pp. 21–2 and 27. Beisswenger dates the copy of sonatas BWV 965 and 966 to the third stage of Walther’s scribal activities, a period which lasted from 1714 (or possibly earlier) to 1717. The copy may be later, therefore, than Christoph Wolff assumes in his essay ‘Johann Adam Reinken und Johann Sebastian Bach. Zum Kontext des Bachschen Frühwerks’, *Bjb* 71 (1985), pp. 99–118, especially p. 111; English trans., ‘Bach and Johann Adam Reinken: a context for the early works’, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 56–71.
- 12 C. Wolff et al., *Die Bach-Familie* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1993); Wolff, ‘Johann Adam Reinken und Johann Sebastian Bach’.
- 13 On the manuscript tradition and biographical context, see H.-J. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Dresden, 1984), especially chapter 5, pp. 146–73.
- 14 Because of the rapidly worsening state of his health, the prince had to leave for a rest-cure on 4 July 1714. He did not return to Weimar, but died in Frankfurt am Main in 1715 at the age of nineteen.

- 15 For a recent account of the harpsichord transcriptions, see Schulenberg, *The keyboard music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 90–109.
- 16 In the version adapted by Bach, the concerto has survived only in manuscript form; a version with a different middle movement (RV 208a) was printed as the penultimate piece in Vivaldi's Op. 7 (no. 11, i.e. Part II, no. 5). On Bach's transcription, see L. F. Tagliavini, 'Bach's transcription of Vivaldi's "Grosso Mogul" concerto', *J. S. Bach as Organist*, ed. G. B. Stauffer and E. May (Bloomington, 1986), pp. 240–55.
- 17 See M. Talbot, 'Vivaldi in the sale catalogue of Nicolaas Selhof', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 6 (1985), pp. 57–62; Talbot suggests with some plausibility that this title 'is to be understood . . . not as the ruler of an empire in India but . . . as the name of the territory itself' (p. 60).
- 18 The source is published in the *NBA IV/8 KB*, pp. 105–22.
- 19 J. N. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, ed. J. Müller-Blattau (Kassel and Basle, 1950), pp. 39–40; trans. by A. C. F. Kollmann in *BR*, p. 317.
- 20 On this point, see also the reflections of Christoph Wolff, 'Vivaldi's compositional art and the process of "musical thinking"', *Nuovi studi vivaldiani*, ed. A. Fanna and G. Morelli (Florence, 1988), pp. 1–17; reprinted as 'Vivaldi's compositional art, Bach, and the process of "musical thinking"' in Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music*, pp. 72–83 and 405 (notes).
- 21 See H.-J. Schulze, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzerte – Fragen der Überlieferung und Chronologie', *Beiträge zum Konzertschaffen Johann Sebastian Bachs, Bach-Studien* 6, ed. P. Ahnsehl, K. Heller and H.-J. Schulze (Leipzig, 1981), pp. 9–26, especially pp. 11–13.
- 22 Only BWV 1060 has a different genesis: it was initially a concerto for two harpsichords, the string ripieno being added only at a later date; see K. Heller, 'Zur Stellung des Concerto C-Dur für zwei Cembali BWV 1061 in Bachs Konzert-Oeuvre', *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR in Verbindung mit dem 60. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft* (1985) ed. W. Hoffmann and A. Schneiderheinze (Leipzig, 1988), pp. 241–52.
- 23 See *NBA VII/5–6 KB*.
- 24 Y. Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs', *BJb* 74 (1988), pp. 7–72, especially p. 41.
- 25 The present writer has discussed this point in greater detail in his essay 'Zum Kompositionsprozeß in Bachs Cembalokonzerten', *Johann Sebastian Bachs Spätwerk und dessen Umfeld. 61. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft Duisburg 1986*, ed. C. Wolff (Kassel, 1988), pp. 32–47.
- 26 Bach had already adopted this procedure in several of his concertos for more than one harpsichord.
- 27 See W. Breig, 'Bachs Cembalokonzert-Fragment in d-moll (BWV 1059)', *BJb* 65 (1979), pp. 29–36.
- 28 On Bach's source, see W. Breig, 'Bachs Violinkonzert d-moll. Studien zu seiner Gestalt und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte', *BJb* 62 (1976), pp. 7–34. (I no longer hold the belief, expressed there, that the original form of this work was

not by Bach; the assumption that it is an early work should be sufficient to explain its unusual form.)

- 29 The fact that such claims can be advanced in spite of the loss of the source is due to the fact that Bach had already used the original concerto – evidently with less striking changes – in movements of two of his sacred cantatas, BWV 169 and 49.
- 30 A. Schweitzer, *Joh. Seb. Bach* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 382–3; English trans. by E. Newman, 2 vols. (New York, 1966), vol. I, p. 412.

11 *Bachian invention and its mechanisms*

- 1 I have treated this issue further in ‘Music analysis and the historical imperative’, *Revista de Musicologia: Actas del XV Congreso de la SIM*, vol. XVI, no. 1 (1993), pp. 407–19. See also my *Bach and the patterns of invention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), which develops many of the arguments contained in the present essay in greater detail.
- 2 See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Drei Sonaten für Viola da Gamba und Cembalo*, BWV 1027–1029, ed. L. Dreyfus (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Peters, 1985). Other recent critical editions include that found in *NBA VI/4*, ed. H. Eppstein (1989), and another edition by Lucy Robinson issued by Faber, 1987. Cantata 78 can be found in *NBA I/21*.
- 3 For a summary of historical doubts that must be shed on most numerological analyses of Bach, see R. Tatlow, *Bach and the riddle of the number alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991).
- 4 See also R. L. Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the sources, the style, the significance* (New York, 1989), pp. 76–9, for another reading of this movement. The rhythmic gesture that Marshall identifies as evoking the sarabande (p. 78) is actually a clear reference to the French chaconne, since the phrases of the sarabande – despite the important weight accorded to some second beats – do not begin on the second crotchet, nor do they permit successive bars with consistent second-beat accents.
- 5 For ease of numbering I ignore the resolution of the ‘period’ on each ninth bar, since chaconnes conventionally begin after an uncounted downbeat and are ‘measured’ from the second crotchet.

12 *Bach as teacher and model*

- 1 The register of the alumni was itself not always accurate, since, for example, dates of birth were sometimes declared later than was the truth, to give the impression of greater promise when candidates enrolled. In any event, inaccuracies were very common in such lists of the time. The author is very grateful to Hans-Joachim Schulze of the Leipzig Bach-Archiv for this insight.
- 2 For example, Johann Bernhard Bach of Ohrdruf (1700–43) reportedly lodged and studied with Johan Sebastian successively in Weimar and Köthen; in

- Leipzig, it looks as though Bernhard's younger brother, Johann Heinrich Bach (1707–83), did the same, while serving as an alumnus of the Thomasschule (and possibly before and/or after, too). See C. Wolff, *The new Grove Bach family* (London and Basingstoke, 1983), pp. 9, 13.
- 3 See C. Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. 401.
 - 4 *BR*, 264–5; *Dok* III, p. 476. Gerber made only one extensive journey later in life, his son tells us. This was to revisit 'his beloved Bach' in 1737.
 - 5 *BR*, p. 264; *Dok* III, p. 476. Gerber therefore commenced his learning from Bach by studying his music in performance as a pattern (as C. G. Meissner and others are presumed to have done); but whereas Meissner is not reported to have received direct teaching from Bach, Gerber requested it, after some hesitation, and pursued his studies for some time.
 - 6 By 'Inventions' the Lexicographer may have signified both the *Inventiones* in 2 parts and the *Sinfoniae* in 3. The habit of referring to both of these collections by the one title seems to have started around 1790; there is even a reference to 'Inventions' in three parts in Forkel's biography, twelve years later (1802).
 - 7 *BR*, p. 86; *Dok* I, pp. 220–1 (author's translation).
 - 8 *BR*, p. 279; *Dok* III, p. 289.
 - 9 Gerber's copies are examined by Alfred Dürr in *Bjb* 64 (1978), pp. 7–18 (English summary, p. 251). There is further invaluable information in the *NBA* commentaries to relevant keyboard works: to *The Well-tempered Clavier*, Book I (vol. V/6, 1, ed. A. Dürr, pp. 51–3, 147–9, 194–7); the English Suites (vol. V/7, ed. A. Dürr, pp. 21–4, 85–98); and the French Suites (*Bjb* 64 (1978) and *NBA* V/8, ed. A. Dürr, pp. 38–41, 57, 72–84). The three distinct sets of copies which constitute Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber's text of *The Well-tempered Clavier* include one which is partly in a different, anonymous, hand, and is therefore of inexact date. Dürr has also shown that H. N. Gerber's study of continuo realisation started earlier than his son's *Lexicon* article implied (see *Bjb* 64(1978)), which seems better to correspond with C. P. E. Bach's evidence in the *Versuch*. The commentary to *NBA* V/3 (music text ed. G. von Dadelsen) has not yet been issued.
 - 10 Cf. *Dok* I, pp. 127–8; pp. 53–4, 57–8 and 129.
 - 11 Cf. J. Lester, *Compositional theory in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), especially chapters 6–9.
 - 12 Cf. J. Butt, *Music education and the art of performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge, 1994), especially chapter 5.
 - 13 *Dok* III, pp. 649f.
 - 14 *Dok* III, p. 123; see also S. Daw, 'Copies of J. S. Bach by Walther and Krebs: a study of the Mss. P801, P802, P803', *OY* 7 (1976), pp. 31–67.
 - 15 H.-J. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 59–68.
 - 16 See *Bjb* 56 (1970), pp. 44–63, also Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*.

- pp. 128–52. References to the possibility that Carl Friedrich Abel studied with Bach around 1740 lead to the interesting conjecture that Agricola's copies of Bach's sonatas for viola da gamba and harpsichord BWV 1027–9 were made so that the two might play them together. There is no direct report of Agricola's having studied formally with Bach, however.
- 17 See Yo Tomita, *A textual companion to part 2 of J. S. Bach's Wohltemperiertes Clavier*, vol. I (Leeds, 1993); also R. D. P. Jones's edition, *J. S. Bach: The Well-tempered Clavier, Part 2* (London, 1994), editorial notes and preface.
 - 18 See P. Wollny, 'Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's Halle performance of cantatas by his father', *Bach studies 2*, ed. D. Melamed (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 202–28.
 - 19 Regarding Kauffmann, see J. Butt, 'Bach and G. F. Kauffmann: reflections on Bach's later style', in *Bach studies 2*, ed. Melamed, pp. 47–61; the contents of Walther's cited manuscript are listed in *NBA IV/3 KB*, ed. H. Klotz, 1962, pp. 19–28.
 - 20 Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*.
 - 21 See the facsimile issued with *NBA VI/2*, R. Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of J. P. Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history* (Durham, N.C. and London, 1990), and "'Ein Sammelband aus Johann Peter Kellners Besitz". Neue Forschungen zur Berliner Bach-Handschrift P804', *BJb 78* (1992), pp. 45–64; also S. Daw, 'Slurs on the copyist's book', *The Strad* (October 1992), pp. 904–5.
 - 22 Mozart first referred to this in a letter dated 10 April 1782. For a general and perceptive study of Bach reception during the latter half of the eighteenth century, see L. Finscher, 'Bach in the eighteenth century', *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 281–96.
 - 23 See K. Beisswenger, 'An early version of the first movement of the *Italian Concerto* BWV 971 from the Scholz collection?', *Bach studies 2*, ed. Melamed, pp. 1–19.
 - 24 *BR*, pp. 447–50; for further extensive information on compositional theory of the eighteenth century see Lester, *Compositional theory*.
 - 25 The author would like to acknowledge the help and advice of Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig) and Yo Tomita (The Queen's University, Belfast).

13 Changing issues of performance practice

- 1 See *NBA V/2 KB*, pp. 48–51, and D. Fuller, 'Dotting, the "French style" and Frederick Neumann's counter-reformation', *EM 5* (1977), pp. 517–43.
- 2 For a detailed discussion see G. Herz, 'Lombard rhythm in the *Domine Deus* of Bach's *B Minor Mass*' and 'Lombard rhythm in Bach's vocal music', in G. Herz, *Essays on J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, 1985), pp. 221–9 and 233–68, respectively.
- 3 *Dok I*, p. 63; *BR*, p. 123. Unless otherwise noted, translations in this chapter are by the author.
- 4 C. V. Palisca, *Baroque music* (3rd edn, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1991), p. 2.
- 5 Unfortunately, Emanuel's arrangement of the Credo has never been published. The materials from the 1786 performance are preserved in the

- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, under the shelf marks *Mus.ms.Bach P 22* (score) and *Mus.ms.Bach St. 118* (parts).
- 6 See the discussion in J. Rifkin, ‘. . . “wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen . . .” Zum Credo der h-Moll-Messe in der Aufführung Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 (1985), pp. 157–72.
 - 7 The best summary of Cantata 80’s complicated evolution can be found in C. Wolff, ‘The Reformation cantata “Ein feste Burg”’, in Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 152–61.
 - 8 The preludes of the six preludes and fugues K. 404a are probably not by Mozart, though they seem to stem from the van Swieten circle. See W. Kirkendale, ‘More slow introductions by Mozart to fugues of J. S. Bach?’, *JAMS* 17 (1964), pp. 53–5.
 - 9 J. N. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerk* (Leipzig, 1802; reprinted Berlin, 1982), p. 122; translation from the English edition (London, 1820), given in *BR*, p. 352.
 - 10 Spontini’s programme is described by F. Smend in *NBA II/1 KB*, pp. 40 and 44–5.
 - 11 To be convinced of this, one need only compare the equally Olympian renderings of Bach by Carl Seffner (statue for the Thomasplatz, Leipzig, 1908) and of Beethoven by Max Klinger (statue for the Klimt exhibit, Vienna, 1886–1902).
 - 12 *NZM* 8 (1838), p. 22.
 - 13 See Mendelssohn’s letter of 4 September 1832, to Marie Kiéné. The letter, and Mendelssohn’s approach to performing the *Orgelbüchlein*, are discussed in R. Stinson, *J. S. Bach: the Orgelbüchlein* (New York, 1996), pp. 156–9.
 - 14 Schumann, *NZM* 13 (1841), p. 43.
 - 15 P. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1873–80; reprinted Darmstadt, 1979), vol. II, p. 530.
 - 16 A. Schering, ‘Verschwundene Traditionen des Bachzeitalter’, *Bjb* 1 (1904), pp. 104–15.
 - 17 A. Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, trans. E. Newman (Leipzig, 1911; reprinted 1966), pp. 417–18. Schweitzer’s biography originally appeared as *Jean-Sébastien Bach, le musicien-poète* (Leipzig, 1905).
 - 18 By H. Klotz, in *Über die Orgelkunst der Gotik, der Renaissance und des Barock* (Kassel, 1934), for instance.
 - 19 The long and complicated history of the Organ Reform Movement is traced in H. Eggebrecht, *Die Orgelbewegung* (Stuttgart, 1967); L. I. Phelps, *A short history of the organ revival* (St Louis, 1967); and F. Brouwer, *Orgelbewegung und Orgelgegenbewegung* (Utrecht, 1981).
 - 20 The history of the harpsichord revival is traced in H. Schott’s ‘The harpsichord revival’, *EM* 2 (1974), pp. 85–95.
 - 21 F. Smend, ‘Bachs h-moll-Messe. Entstehung, Überlieferung, Bedeutung’, *Bjb* 34 (1937), pp. 30–1.
 - 22 P. Hindemith, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein verpflichtendes Erbe* (private printing, 1950), p. 11.

- 23 A complete list of these studies can be found in the ‘Aufführungspraxis’ sections of *Bach-Bibliographie*, ed. C. Wolff (Kassel, 1985).
- 24 R. L. Marshall, ‘Tempo and dynamic indications in the Bach sources: a review of the terminology’, in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: tercentenary essays*, ed. P. Williams (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 259–76.
- 25 In the *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, Part I (Berlin, 1753), C. P. E. Bach credits his father with developing a ‘new kind of fingering’ (i.e. turning the thumb under as in modern scale fingering), but he still gives the standard late seventeenth-century 12343434 as one possible right-hand fingering for C major.
- 26 J. Butt, *Bach interpretation: articulation marks in primary sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 94–6.
- 27 A policy that has been questioned lately even by some of its editors. See R. L. Marshall’s comments in *NBA I/19 KB*, pp. 44–6, for instance.
- 28 D. Barnett, ‘Non-uniform slurring in 18th century music: accident or design?’ *Haydn Yearbook*, 10 (1978), pp. 179–99.
- 29 G. von Dadelsen, ‘Die Crux der Nebensache – Editorische und praktische Bemerkungen zu Bachs Artikulation’, in Dadelsen, *Über Bach und Anderes* (Tübingen, 1983), pp. 144–58.
- 30 N. Harnoncourt, ‘The oboe da caccia’, Liner notes to *Das Kantatenwerk*, vol. 7 (Teldec Records, 1973), p. 13.
- 31 In a review published in *High Fidelity/Musical America* 19 (July 1969), p. 77.
- 32 For instance, see the final comments in the discussion of ‘The Bach organ’ in P. Williams, *The organ music of J. S. Bach*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1980–4), vol. III, pp. 117–38.
- 33 See G. B. Stauffer, ‘J. S. Bach’s harpsichords’, *Festa musicologica: essays in honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. T. J. Mathiesen and B. V. Rivera (Stuyvesant, New York, 1995), pp. 289–318.
- 34 E. Badura-Skoda, ‘Komponierte J. S. Bach “Hammerklavier-Konzerte”’, *BjB* 77 (1991), pp. 159–71.
- 35 J. Rifkin, ‘Bachs Chor – Ein vorläufiger Bericht’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 (1985), pp. 141–55.
- 36 N. Harnoncourt, liner notes, TELDEC recording 8.35716 (1986).

14 *Bach reception: some concepts and parameters*

- 1 F. Busoni, ‘Selbst-Rezension’, *Von der Einheit der Musik* (Berlin, 1922), p. 175.
- 2 The term ‘horizon of expectation’ comes from German phenomenology and hermeneutics and is particularly important in the German school of reception theory (led by such figures as Hans Robert Jauss). It refers to the cultural and personal conditions (‘situatedness’) of any historical object, meaning or mode of understanding. What one can expect (or even conceive of) is conditioned by one’s situation and consequent perspective, just as a horizon is defined by the viewer’s position.
- 3 In the sense of Liszt’s ‘Après une lecture’, a poem that expresses in musical notes how Liszt understood Victor Hugo’s readings of Dante in ‘Les voix

- intérieures', Liszt's Schubert and Bach transcriptions are also 'Tone-poems': poetic readings which result in 'poetry' without words.
- 4 On the distinction between the history of influence and reception history, see C. Dahlhaus, *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (Cologne, 1977), p. 238; trans. J. B. Robinson, *Foundations of music history* (Cambridge, 1983), chapter 10, p. 150.
 - 5 See M. Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäus-Passion im 19. Jahrhundert. Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung* (Regensburg, 1967).
 - 6 See M. Zenck, *Die Bach-Rezeption des späten Beethoven. Zum Verhältnis von Musikhistoriographie und Rezeptionsgeschichtsschreibung der 'Klassik'*, *BzAfMw* 24 (Stuttgart, 1986); W. Dömling, 'Franz Liszt und B-A-C-H', *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart. Bach. Händel. Schütz*. Report of the International Music Symposium, Stuttgart 1985, vol. I (Kassel, 1987), pp. 159–61; A. Riethmüller, *Ferruccio Busonis Poetik*, *Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 4 (Mainz, 1988), chapter 2; M. Zenck, 'Tradition as authority and provocation: Anton Webern's confrontation with Johann Sebastian Bach', *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 297–322; 'Beyond Neoclassicism and Dodecaphony: Stefan Wolpe's Third Way in the music of the 20th century' (Paper presented at the International Stefan Wolpe conference, April 1993, conference proceedings forthcoming); Erich Itor Kahn, 'Actus tragicus' (New York, 1950); see also R. Leibowitz and K. Wolff, *Erich Itor Kahn – un grand représentant de la musique contemporaine* (Paris, 1958); Karel Goeyvaerts, 'Ach Golgatha!' (1975) for Harp, Organ, and Percussion (Brussels, Centre Belge de Documentation Musicale).
 - 7 See Dahlhaus, *Foundations*, chapter 9, p. 129.
 - 8 F. Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen*, part 2: 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben'; Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke*, 3 vols. (Darmstadt, 1966), vol. I, pp. 215ff.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, p. 213.
 - 10 F. Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie [The birth of tragedy]*, *Werke*, vol. I, p. 109.
 - 11 F. Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, *Werke*, vol. I, p. 576. Translations adapted from Nietzsche, *Human, all too human*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge, 1986), p. 101.
 - 12 See H. Bessler, 'Bach als Wegbereiter', *Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik und Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1978), pp. 367–419.
 - 13 Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, *Werke*, vol. I, Aphorism 149, p. 934. Translation adapted from Hollingdale trans., pp. 344–5.
 - 14 See E. Bloch, *Der Geist der Utopie*, 2nd edn of 1923 (Frankfurt am Main, 1973), pp. 105ff. See also M. Geck, 'Bach und Tristan – Musik aus dem Geist der Utopie', *Bach-Interpretationen*, ed. M. Geck (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 190–6.
 - 15 H. Blumenberg, *Matthäuspasion* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), p. 8.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 9 and 15.
 - 17 See C. Dahlhaus, 'Bach und der Zerfall der musikalischen Figurenlehre', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 1985–6 (Kassel, 1989), pp. 169–74.

- 18 See Dahlhaus, 'Bach und der Zerfall', pp. 172f.
- 19 See Chapter 5, above.
- 20 See M. Zenck, '1740–1750 und das ästhetische Bewußtsein einer Epochenschwelle? Zum Text und Kontext von Bachs Spätwerk', *Johann Sebastian Bachs Spätwerk und dessen Umfeld. 61. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Duisburg 1986*, ed. C. Wolff (Kassel, 1988), pp. 109–16.
- 21 See T. Kuhn, *Die Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen*, 2nd revised edn expanded to include the 1969 postscript (Frankfurt am Main, 1976).
- 22 See H. Blumenberg, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 440f.
- 23 See C. Dahlhaus, 'Bach-Rezeption und ästhetische Autonomie', *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart. Bach. Händel. Schütz. Report of the International Music Symposium, Stuttgart 1985*, vol. I (Kassel 1987), pp. 18–26.
- 24 See M. Zenck, 'Stadien der Bach-Deutung in der Musikkritik, Musikästhetik und Musikgeschichtsschreibung zwischen 1750 und 1800', *BjB* 68 (1982), Part II, 'Die "klassische" Umdeutung Bachs', pp. 17–32.
- 25 See C. Dahlhaus, 'Zur Entstehung der romantischen Bach-Deutung', *BjB* 64 (1978), pp. 192–210.

15 *Reinterpreting Bach in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*

- 1 See H. H. Eggebrecht, 'Über Bachs geschichtlichen Ort', *Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. W. Blankenburg (Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 247–89; 'Bach – wer ist das', *AfMw* 42 (1985), pp. 215–28; L. Finscher, 'Bach and the Viennese Classics', *Miscellanea Musicologica. Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 10 (1979), pp. 47–58; 'Bach in the eighteenth century', *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 281–96; M. Zenck, 'Bach in der Musikgeschichtsschreibung und in der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 1985–6 (Kassel, 1989), pp. 239–56.
- 2 See KV 404a, 404b (=443) and KV. 405; See also, with reference to A. Hohlschneider and W. Kirkendale, M. Zenck, *Die Bach-Rezeption des späten Beethoven. Zum Verhältnis von Musikhistoriographie und Rezeptionsgeschichtsschreibung der 'Klassik'*, *BzAfMw* 24 (Stuttgart, 1986) pp. 86ff.
- 3 If one takes these Bach-like structures of 'general bass', melodic main voice and contrapuntal counter and middle voices as the basis, then there are also direct connections with the six string quartets dedicated to Joseph Haydn.
- 4 See R. Hammerstein, "'Der Gesang der Geharnischten", Eine Studie zu Mozarts Bach-Bild', *AfMw* 13 (1956), pp. 1–24.
- 5 See M. Zenck, 'Stadien der Bach-Deutung in der Musikkritik, Musikästhetik und Musikgeschichtsschreibung zwischen 1750 und 1800', *BjB* 68 (1982), pp. 7–32.
- 6 See C. Dahlhaus, 'Zur Entstehung der romantischen Bach-Deutung', *BjB* 64 (1978) p. 192.
- 7 See Zenck, 'Stadien der Bach-Deutung', p. 18.

- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 9 See F. Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, vol. II, 'Der Wanderer und sein Schatten', Aphorism 152, p. 935.
- 10 Liszt used this term in connection with his Symphonic Poems, 1860; quoted in W. Dömling, 'Franz Liszts Hommage an Bach', *Johann Sebastian Bach. Spätwerk und Umfeld. 61. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft* (Duisburg, 1986), p. 224.
- 11 See C. Dahlhaus, *Zwischen Romantik und Moderne. Vier Studien zur Musikgeschichte des späteren 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1974).
- 12 See W. Dömling, 'Franz Liszt und B-A-C-H', *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart. Bach. Händel. Schütz. Report of the International Music Symposium, Stuttgart 1985*, vol. I (Kassel, 1987), p. 161.
- 13 See T. Kabisch, 'Zur Bach-Rezeption Franz Liszts', *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart*, pp. 478f.
- 14 Like his 'Après une lecture du Dante', Liszt's variation cycle on the chaconne is a rereading of the way Bach read the text 'Weinen, Klagen . . .' by Salomon Franck in the cantata. See, in particular, S. Döhring, 'Réminiscences. Liszts Konzeption der Klavierparaphrase', *Festschrift Heinz Becker* (Laaber, 1982), pp. 131–51.
- 15 It is not coincidental that R. Leibowitz, whom we have to thank for the first significant work on the 'dilution de la tonalité' in Liszt's late works, speaks of the 'structural dialectic in the work of J. S. Bach' (see *Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. W. Blankenburg, pp. 85–99).
- 16 See A. Riethmüller, 'Zu den Transkriptionen Bachscher Orgelwerke durch Busoni und Reger', *Reger-Studien 3. Analysen und Quellenstudien* (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 137–46.
- 17 F. Busoni, *Von der Einheit der Musik. Von Dritteltönen und junger Klassizität. Von Bühnen und Bauten und anschließenden Bezirken* (Berlin, 1922).
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 275–9.
- 19 F. Busoni, foreword to the first edition of the organ toccatas in C BWV 564 and D minor BWV 565 (Leipzig, 1900).
- 20 *J. S. Bach. Klavierwerke unter Mitwirkung von Egon Petri und Bruno Mugellini*, ed. F. Busoni (Leipzig, 1894–), 25 vols.
- 21 See F. Busoni, 'Zum Entwurf einer szenischen Aufführung von J. S. Bachs Matthäuspasion', in F. Busoni, *Von der Einheit*, p. 341 and sketch 4 in the appendix.
- 22 *Von der Einheit*, p. 130.
- 23 See M. Zenck, "'Die Lust am Text" versus Werktreue. Zur musikalischen Interpretation des 1. Satzes von Schuberts Klaviersonate B-Dur (D 960)', *Das Wissen vom Menschen*, ed. W. Faber (Bamberg, 1993), pp. 142–7.
- 24 *Von der Einheit*, p. 150.
- 25 J. Kindermann, *Thematisch-chronologisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Ferruccio Busoni* (Regensburg, 1980); G. D. Madge, *The Piano Works. Ferruccio Busoni: 6 CDs on Philips 420 740 and Madge's text in the booklet*, which also contains excellent contributions by P. Op de Coul and U. Prinz.
- 26 F. Busoni, 'Die Ausgabe der Liszt'schen Klavierwerke', *Von der Einheit*, p. 54.

- 27 See J. S. Bach. *Klavierwerke*, vol. XV. *Aria mit 30 Veränderungen (Goldberg-Variationen)*, ed. E. Petri with a forward entitled ‘Begründung dieser Ausgabe’; Busoni is also cited as the editor in the music text (Leipzig, 1915).
- 28 See M. Zenck, ‘“Bach, der Progressive”. Die Goldberg-Variationen in der Perspektive von Beethovens Diabelli-Variationen’, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Goldberg-Variationen. Musik-Konzepte* 42 (Munich, 1985), pp. 29–92.
- 29 See E. Kurth, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts. Einführung in Stil und Technik von Bachs melodische Polyphonie* (Berne, 1917).
- 30 The original title, referring to Beethoven’s op. 133, runs thus: ‘Große Fuge. Kontrapunktische Fantasie über die Kunst der Fuge von Johann Sebastian Bach (BWV 1080) für Pianoforte’ (K 255).
- 31 F. Busoni, ‘Gedanken über den Ausdruck in der Architektur’, *Von der Einheit*, p. 230.
- 32 F. Busoni, ‘Selbst-Rezension’, *Von der Einheit*, p. 175.
- 33 On Busoni’s critique of Schoenberg’s ‘all too great conciseness’, see K. Kropfinger, ‘Busonis Utopie der Musik und das Berlin der zwanziger Jahre’, *Musica* 41 (1987), p. 23.
- 34 ‘Sketch of a new esthetic of music’, trans. by T. Baker in *Three classics in the aesthetic of music* (New York, 1962).
- 35 For an extensive discussion of the relationship between Busoni’s Toccata and his revision of Bach’s Toccata (BWV 564) see M. Zenck, ‘Beyond Neoclassicism and Dodecaphony’: Stefan Wolpe’s Third Way in the Music of the 20th century’ (paper presented at the International Stefan Wolpe conference, April 1993, conference proceedings forthcoming).
- 36 See R. Stephan, ‘Zum Thema “Schoenberg und Bach”’, *BJb* 64 (1978), pp. 232–44; see also H. Danuser, ‘Bach und die zeitgenössische Musik’, *Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. 59. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft* (Leipzig and Kassel, 1984), pp. 96–101 and introduction, pp. 76f.
- 37 On Anton Webern’s and Alban Berg’s studies with Schoenberg, see M. Zenck, ‘Tradition as authority and provocation: Anton Webern’s confrontation with Johann Sebastian Bach’, *Bach studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 297–322.
- 38 ‘Kunst der Fuge’ (K 255 and K 256) and ‘Musikalisches Opfer’ (K; B 40 from 1916).
- 39 See A. Clarkson, ‘Stefan Wolpe’s Berlin years’, *Music and civilisation: essays in honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. E. Strainchamps and M. R. Maniatis (New York, n.d.), p. 375, note 15; see also T. Levita, ‘The would-be master student? Stefan Wolpe and Ferruccio Busoni’ (Paper presented at the International Stefan Wolpe conference, April 1993, conference proceedings forthcoming).
- 40 See Clarkson, ‘Stefan Wolpe’s Berlin years’, pp. 382 and 385.
- 41 See Zenck, ‘Tradition as authority’, p. 309.
- 42 E. Budde, ‘Webern und Bach’, *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart*, pp. 201f., and Zenck, ‘Tradition as Authority’, pp. 314f.
- 43 On the relationship between Wolpe and Webern, see M. Zenck, ‘Das revolutionäre Klavierwerk des Komponisten Stefan Wolpe – Mit kritischen Anmerkungen zur Musikgeschichtsschreibung der dreißiger und vierziger

- Jahre', *Künste im Exil. Exilforschung. Ein Internationales Jahrbuch* 10 (Munich, 1992), pp. 134–42.
- 44 See Zenck, 'Beyond Neoclassicism and Dodecaphony', note 98, pp. 11–16.
- 45 See A. Clarkson, 'The works of Stefan Wolpe: a brief catalog', *Notes* 41 (1985), pp. 667–82.
- 46 All of these manuscripts are the property of the International Wolpe Society, New York and Toronto. Recently Wolpe's estate was taken over by the Paul-Sacher-Stiftung in Basel.
- 47 Consider also the meaning of 'constellation' for Boulez in reference to Mallarmé.
- 48 See Zenck, "'Bach, der Progressive'", pp. 29–92.
- 49 For a thorough discussion of 'stationary music', see Zenck, 'Beyond Neoclassicism and Dodecaphony', pp. 4–9.
- 50 S. Wolpe, 'Über Dance in the form of a Chaconne' (MS, 1938), p. 11.
- 51 On the relationship between Wolpe's Chaconne, Busoni and Bach, see Zenck, 'Beyond Neoclassicism and Dodecaphony', pp. 11–15.