BACH PERSPECTIVES 4

The Music of J. S. Bach: Analysis and Interpretation

EDITED BY David Schulenberg

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VOLUME 4

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PREFACE

The present volume of *Bach Perspectives*, like its predecessors, is a collection of essays on topics of great interest in current Bach studies. It falls into two parts, each treating a distinct theme. Part 1 is devoted to Bach's activity in the concerto genre, with two contributors focusing on the use of ritornello form in these works. Part 2 turns to issues of interpretation, in both the general sense of musical and textual criticism and the more specific sense of contemporary as well as historical performance practice.

Alfred Mann, one of the founding members of the American Bach Society, provides an introduction to part 1 that raises questions about the definition and development of Bach's "orchestral" music. Issues of genre and structure are the subjects of the two following essays, which discuss what are no doubt Bach's best-known works of this type, the Brandenburg Concertos. Gregory G. Butler considers the precise genre assignment of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto, and Jeanne Swack offers a close study of the first movement of that work.

Part 2 opens with two essays on the material culture of Bach's world as embodied in musical instruments of the period. John Koster reinterprets the history of harpsichord building in early eighteenth-century Germany, whereas Mary Oleskiewicz examines surviving instruments as well as music by the flutist-composer Johann Joachim Quantz, gaining a new perspective on one of Bach's best-known flute works, the trio sonata from the Musical Offering. The present writer then considers certain changing aspects of performance in Bach's keyboard works, and William Renwick takes a close look at a hitherto neglected collection of preludes and fugues attributed to Bach in an eighteenth-century manuscript. Fugue is also the subject of Paul Walker's reexamination of traditional views on the relationship of contrapuntal composition to rhetoric. Finally, John Butt offers a survey of trends in Bach performance during the past two decades, paying particular attention to the sacred cantatas and the Brandenburg Concertos.

This volume has been a collaborative effort in several senses of the word.

Part 1 was originally assembled by Gregory G. Butler, and the appearance of the volume as a whole is due in large measure to the organizational efforts of George B. Stauffer, president of the American Bach Society. I am most grateful to both for their cooperation and assistance.

David Schulenberg

ABBREVIATIONS

AMB	Amalien-Bibliothek. The music library of Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (on permanent loan to the Musikabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).
BDOK	Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds. *Bach-Dokumente.* 4 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: VEB Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1963–78.
BG	[Bach-Gesamtausgabe.] *Johann Sebastian Bach's Werke.* Edited by the Bachgesellschaft. 47 vols. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851–99.
BJ	*Bach-Jahrbuch.*
BP	*Bach Perspectives.*
BR	Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds. *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents.* Rev. ed. New York: Norton, 1966.
BUXWV	[Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis.] Georg Karstädt, ed. *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude.* Rev ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985.
BWV	[Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis.] Wolfgang Schmieder, ed. *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach.* Rev. ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990.
BWV ANH.	Anhang (appendix) to the BWV.
DL	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek.
F.	Martin Falck. *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sein Leben und seine Werke mit thematischen Verzeichnis seiner Kompositionen.* Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 1. Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1913. Reprint, Lindau: C. F. Kahnt, 1956.

H.	E. Eugene Helm, ed. *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.
Hz	hertz (in measurements of pitch, the number of acoustic vibrations per second).
KB	Kritischer Bericht (critical report) of the NBA.
m./mm.	measure/measures; millimeters (in Koster article).
mvt.	movement.
NBA	[Neue Bach-Ausgabe.] *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke.* Edited by the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen, and the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1954–.
P	Partitur [music score, abbreviation used by the SSB].
QV	[Quantz-Verzeichnis.] Horst Augsbach, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joachim Quantz.* Stuttgart: Carus, 1997.
RV	[Ryom-Verzeichnis.] Peter Ryom, ed. *Répertoire des oeuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: Les compositions instrumentales.* Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1986.
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
W.	Alfred Wotquenne. *Catalogue thématique des œuvres de Charles Philippe Emmanuel Bach (1714–1788).* Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905. Reprint, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1972.
WTC	Well-Tempered Clavier.

PART ONE

Concepts of Ritornello and Concerto

Introduction

Bach's Orchestral Music

Alfred Mann

During the century now drawing to a close, Bach's instrumental ensemble music has become standard repertoire, as Bach's choral music had become during the last century. When the year 2000 marks another Bach anniversary, however, the critical observer will find that the present century's achievements have left a general reception of this repertoire with questions relatively unsettled.

How are we to judge today Paul Henry Lang's statement made at midcentury: "While Bach as a vocal composer shows indisputable limitations in spite of his almost oppressive greatness, in his instrumental music he stands before us unrivaled and beyond any criticism, aesthetical or technical."[1] The context deals primarily with the organ music. How are these words to be understood with regard to Bach's orchestral music? In a penetrating essay, Robert L. Marshall has placed the very word "orchestral" into question.[2]

The Brandenburg Concertos have become a cornerstone of the orchestral literature, but we have also come to realize that Bach referred to the works merely as "Concerts . . . à plusieurs Instruments." What is Bach's "Concert"? The word signified no more than "ensemble"—its rightful translation (and we know that it had reached "grosso" connotations early in its history). From the vantage point of our time, "Concert" seems to remain as elusive as "orchestral."

The standard terms change their meanings in history. In principle, it is futile to attempt applying them without reservation to the great works of the literature. We come closer to a true understanding when we realize that it is in no small measure through Bach's work that the modern concept of "orchestral" style arose. The argument "ensemble music for several instruments" versus "orchestral music" may have been clarified: we have learned that Bach's early

concertos were conceived and performed with one instrument for each part (with the exception of the continuo, which developed in what Marshall defined as orchestral, i.e., theatrical, practice). But nowhere is the constant transition from single instrument to orchestral section more subtly ever-present than in Bach's works.

Bach's first original concertos show already a remarkable integration of solo and tutti not previously known, and in their involved fabric the violin concertos in A minor and E major show further differences between one another. The score of the Double Concerto in D Minor offers in the dissimilarity of its first and last movements a striking reflection of the growing orchestral language: after the sublime middle movement, the texture of chamber music gives way to an interchange in which the solo instruments are doubled for moments and in which veritably symphonic interjections combine all accompanying string parts. (There are corresponding climactic moments toward the ends of the opening movements in the Second and Third Brandenburg Concertos, and we find similar passages elsewhere—though never rivaling the dense texture of the Double Concerto.)

The emergence of a genuinely orchestral style is founded as much on aspects of structure as on aspects of texture. The form of the E Major Violin Concerto's opening movement suggests a sense of recapitulation more strongly than the influence of the da capo principle; its middle section is no longer that so much as a development. Tutti and solo passages of the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto reflect the new function of thematic dualism.[3] And it remains significant that the scoring of the First Brandenburg Concerto anticipates that of the early classical symphony.

Thus when we single out Bach's concertos against others of the High Baroque, we do so not only because of their overwhelming wealth of invention and great virtuosity but also because of features that indicate the maturing of an orchestral idiom. A turning point was reached with the composition of the last of Bach's early concertos, the Brandenburg Concerto No. 5. True, the "orchestra" was reduced by one part—likely because Bach, the violinist, changed his role to that of harpsichord soloist. For the first time, he blended his immense experience as organist into the ensemble situation. But the very opening shows what Charles Burney later described in Handel's Concerto Grosso Op. 6, No. 5, as "a very early specimen of the symphonic style of Italy," with its

"rapid iterations of the same note" (present also in the first movement of the E Major Violin Concerto and in earlier examples of Italian literature).

Bach's ingenious raising of the keyboard concerto to a new genre altered the orchestral situation: since the harpsichord was not a melodic instrument drawn into the interplay of tutti and solo but an instrument that could vie with the contrapuntal complexity of its orchestral partner, it gained a measure of independence that in the end enhanced the independence of the latter as well. It meant a division of solo and orchestra that Bach had not been able to achieve before, and the evolution of this process was a slow one.

We are aware that in the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto the role of the harpsichord is at the outset that of one member in a concertino of three. And we witness its astounding emergence as an unqualified solo instrument in what became the first major written concerto cadenza. The sixty-four measures that Bach entered with the note "solo senza stromenti" were not contained in the original score. They constitute almost a movement within itself, one of the amazing cases in which Bach took the trouble to retrace one of his vast improvisations.

In probing the rise of the concomitant orchestral role, we are led back to the work of the Italians, especially Vivaldi, whose writing provided the young German master with a decisive impetus. This influence is evident even in the overtures (orchestral suites), which otherwise provide strong witness to Bach's indebtedness to French court composition and German *Spielmann* tradition. Addressed to a wider audience—in the Leipzig use of the Cöthen sources—these works are "orchestral" to begin with and their scores grow to the full instrumental complement that Bach used for his most festive church works. But the first and second of them suggest the same intimate sphere of *Gesellschaftsmusik* as do the concertos, and they are, in fact, the latter's true siblings. The Third Overture, as well, appears in an alternate version as a veritable violin concerto. Although the source situation here is insecure, the work's inherent orchestral nature speaks from every measure, from the ever-recurring doublings.

The evolution of the orchestral ensemble is more sophisticated, and more veiled, in the keyboard concertos. It is entirely characteristic of Bach's creative career that the breakthrough of the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto was not to remain without further elaboration of its principle. But Bach's return to the

genre after the unparalleled outburst of productive activity in the 1720s must be seen in connection with two qualifying considerations: for the first time in Bach's instrumental ensemble oeuvre we are dealing with works of greatly differing scope and quality, and for the first time with works in which the technique of parody becomes the rule.

The first phase of Bach's involvement with the form of the concerto was marked by parodies. And the flow of new works intended for Collegium Musicum performances was subject to the needs and circumstances of a new situation. Yet very soon we find ourselves on shifting ground. An enigma pervades most of the new concertos: these works are apparently based on models that we do not have. What determined the exceptional stature of the D Minor Concerto, BWV 1052? It must have been, in its original form, a violin concerto. Was it by Bach? There is no doubt that, in the version we have before us, it is and could only have been Bach's creation, whatever its history.

The use of the *unisono* texture in the ritornellos of its first and second movements, a texture that recurs in the D Minor Concerto for Three Harpsichords (and, to some extent, in the C Major Concerto for Three Harpsichords), lends greater emphasis to the orchestral sound. In the last movement of BWV 1052 this principle begins to pervade the entire orchestral score: all thematic statements now find the various string sections combined.

Bach consciously probed, one might say struggled with, the disparities in the melodic sustaining power of solo and orchestral instruments. Nowhere is this more convincingly shown than in the A Minor Triple Concerto, BWV 1044, a work to which great injustice has been done. Schmieder's note "Alle drei Sätze . . . gehen auf Werke Bachs zurück" is not an unarguable statement so much as a challenge.[4] Can the derivation in any way be considered in the sense of that of Bach's other keyboard concertos? Was it Bach's last concerto?

Bach dealt remarkably with the relatively evanescent sound of the solo instrument in the slow movement. It is a prime example of what C. P. E. Bach described in his letter of 7 June 1777 to Johann Nicolaus Forkel: "Thanks to his greatness in harmony, he accompanied trios on more than one occasion on the spur of the moment and, being in a good humor and knowing that the composer would not take it amiss, and on the basis of a sparsely figured continuo part just set before him, converted them into complete quartets, astounding the composer of the trios."[5] As so often, Bach turned in the middle movement to a pure chamber music setting. But the thematic substance of the added

fourth voice shows, as applied to both the violin and flute parts, the plucked sound of the solo instrument, resulting in a heretofore unattained integration of sonority. This device surprisingly takes over in the tutti sound of the other movements, as early as the opening section of the first movement, leading to complete thematic pizzicato expositions in the last. It is enhanced by the chord strokes—powerful, but related in nature to the plucked chords—which introduce an orchestral sound that is of totally novel character.

Was Bach's return to the scoring of the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto a conscious gesture? One could not imagine a greater contrast of orchestral textures than that exhibited by these two pieces—the alpha and omega of Bach's work in the genre. It needs to be considered that in the A Minor Triple Concerto Bach resorted, exceptionally, to the model of keyboard works. But any attempt at tracing the transcription process leaves the observer in a maze of unending new invention. In the third movement, Bach composed an altogether new framework in the form of a double fugue that joins with the adopted keyboard part in a triple fugue. The solo violin part is no longer that of a *violino concertato* but clearly that of the concertmaster. The flute part, in the highest register of the instrument, is no longer a solo part; it has become truly orchestral.

Bach returned to the old concerto grosso late in life, with the incomparable sinfonia for Part 2 of the Christmas Oratorio. Bach's orchestral works lead us here to the concert of shepherds and angels—flutes doubling the violins, with a quartet of oboes. It seems a logical gesture that the orchestral phrases of the composer, now in his fiftieth year, accompany and echo the cantata's chorale:

Wir singen dir in deinem Heer
Aus aller Kraft: Lob, Preis und Ehr.

NOTES

1. Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: Norton, 1941), 504.

2. Robert L. Marshall, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), 54ff.

3. Cf. Curt Sachs, *Our Musical Heritage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948), 265: "The most striking anticipation of the future, however, seems to the present author to be the beautiful heartfelt melody of the Brandenburg Concerto in D major, which anticipates the characteristic allegro cantabile of the later eighteenth century, of his youngest son Johann Christian, and of Mozart himself." The remark was modified in the 2d ed. (1955), 220, to read: "Another unexpected trait is the beautiful, affec-

tionate first melody of the soloists in the Brandenburg Concerto in D major, which anticipates the characteristic allegro cantabile of the later eighteenth century, of his youngest son Johann Christian, and even of Mozart."

4. BWV, 759.

5. BR, 277.

The Question of Genre in J. S. Bach's Fourth Brandenburg Concerto

Gregory G. Butler

Among the most fruitful and exciting avenues of Bach research in recent years has been the exploration of generic mixing: the composer's often complex and always ingenious play on, and play with, certain generic characteristics in the context of another genre.[1] Malcolm Boyd has observed that "Bach, in his melding of musical structures, as in his merging of genres, created no stereotypes."[2] Nowhere is this truer than in the case of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto. Important recent research on this concerto has focused on such aspects as Bach's approaches to scoring and structure.[3] In this study I explore the ways Bach merges genres and subgenres in the opening movement of this work as he draws simultaneously on a number of different concerto traditions.

Studies to date on Bach's mixing and melding of genre have dealt almost exclusively with his dressing of works entitled sonata in the clothes of the concerto—the sonata "nach Concertenart."[4] Bach applies the reverse process in the opening Allegro of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto, a highly sophisticated example of what, for want of a better term, might be referred to as a concerto "nach Sonatenart."

This movement is cast in what I refer to as sonata da capo form and not, as might be expected, in concerto da capo form (table 1). The main formal difference between these two constructs lies in the relative proportions of the A and B sections.[5] In sonata da capo form the A section is invariably shorter, often very much shorter, than the B section. Here, for example, the A section (mm.1–83) is less than one-third the length of the B section (mm.83–344). In general, one encounters similar proportions in allegro movements in sonata

TABLE 1. Gross Formal Structure of BWV 1049, 1

A

measure	1–23	23–57	57–83
tonality	I → V	→ I	I

B

83–105	105–37	137–57	157–85	185–209	209–35	235–51	251–85	285–323	323–44
→ V	→ vi	vi	→ ii	→ IV	IV	→ I	→ I	→ iii	iii

A da capo

345–68	368–402	402–27
I → V	→ I	I

Solid vertical lines indicate major articulations—invariably perfect full closes; colons indicate weaker articulations of various kinds. Lowercase and uppercase Roman numerals indicate minor and major tonalities respectively. Arrows preceding them indicate modulation to the tonality in question.

da capo form, for example the second movement of the Sonata for Solo Violin in C, BWV 1005; four of the six preludes that open the English Suites;[6] most of the allegro movements in the Six Sonatas for Violin and Cembalo Obbligato, BWV 1014–19; and a number of those in the Six Sonatas for Organ, BWV 525–30. Bach also adopts this formal construct for one other allegro movement from the Brandenburg set, the third movement of the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto.

In concerto da capo form, on the other hand, the relative proportions are more in keeping with those of the da capo aria, where the A section generally is considerably longer than the B section. An example of concerto da capo form from the Brandenburg set—among the earliest allegro ritornello-form movements cast in concerto da capo form by Bach—is the third movement of the Sixth Brandenburg Concerto, where the A section (mm. 1–45) is over twice as long as the B section (mm. 46–65). The point here is that the opening movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto is closely allied formally with similar movements that either are specifically labeled sonata or are formally consistent with such movements. At least on the basic level of formal structure, Bach's point of departure for this movement is the sonata, not the concerto.

In its more detailed formal structure, as well as in its tonal planning, this

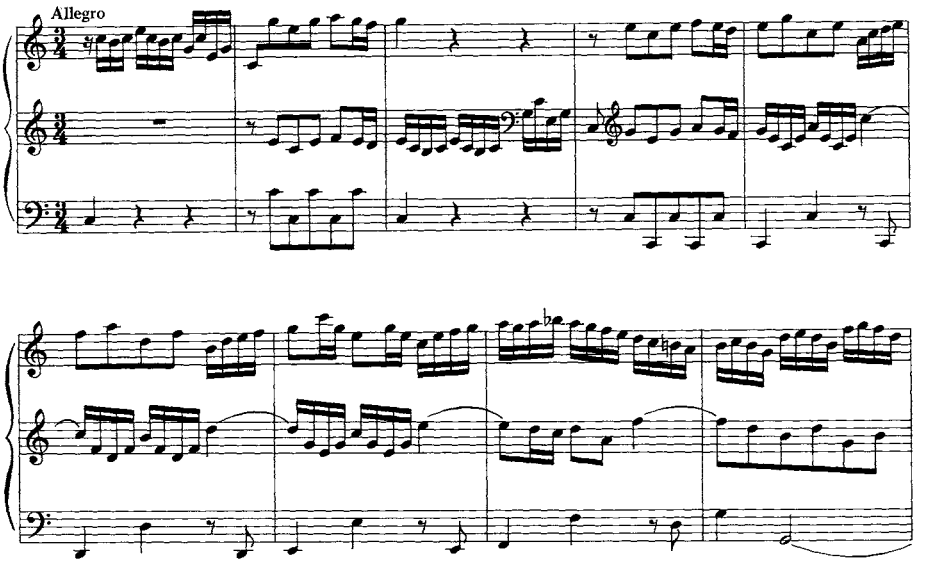
movement also closely follows the general model encountered in those movements in sonata da capo form already referred to. In these movements the short A section is generally subdivided into two or three rather weakly articulated periods. (The articulation is often formal rather than cadential, involving the beginning of successive fugal expositions.) The first period contains a modulation to the dominant, the second a return to the tonic. If present, the third period usually remains in the tonic. The long B section is almost always subdivided into three quite distinct periods. The outer ones present a new subject in imitation and focus on the mediant keys, whereas the central period most often returns to motivic elements from the A section and explores subdominant tonal regions. Structurally and tonally, this describes accurately the first movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto. It is in the surface application of concerto-like modules, in place of the usual sonata-like ones, to this underlying structural framework that this movement departs so radically from its sonata models.[7]

The close formal links between the opening movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto and other allegro movements in sonata da capo form go beyond the general tonal and structural proportional relationships outlined above. The opening movement of the Fifth Organ Sonata, BWV 529, may have been a companion work, possibly even the model for this movement (ex. 1). Like BWV 1049,1, BWV 529,1 is in sonata da capo form. Both movements are in triple time, a feature normally reserved for allegro finales; it is rather unusual in opening movements of concertos by Bach, and these are its sole instances in the two collections.[8] The opening gestures in both movements are strikingly similar. An initial flourish consisting of arpeggiated sixteenth-note figuration is followed by a trio of two soprano voices with eighth-note figuration moving in parallel thirds over a bass. In both cases this same module is repeated immediately, with the voices of the two soprano instruments in the trio inverted contrapuntally at the octave to produce parallel sixths. In each case a sequence rising by step from tonic to dominant follows. The melodic configuration, descending by broken thirds through the interval of a seventh in the highest voice in both instances constitutes a striking parallel.

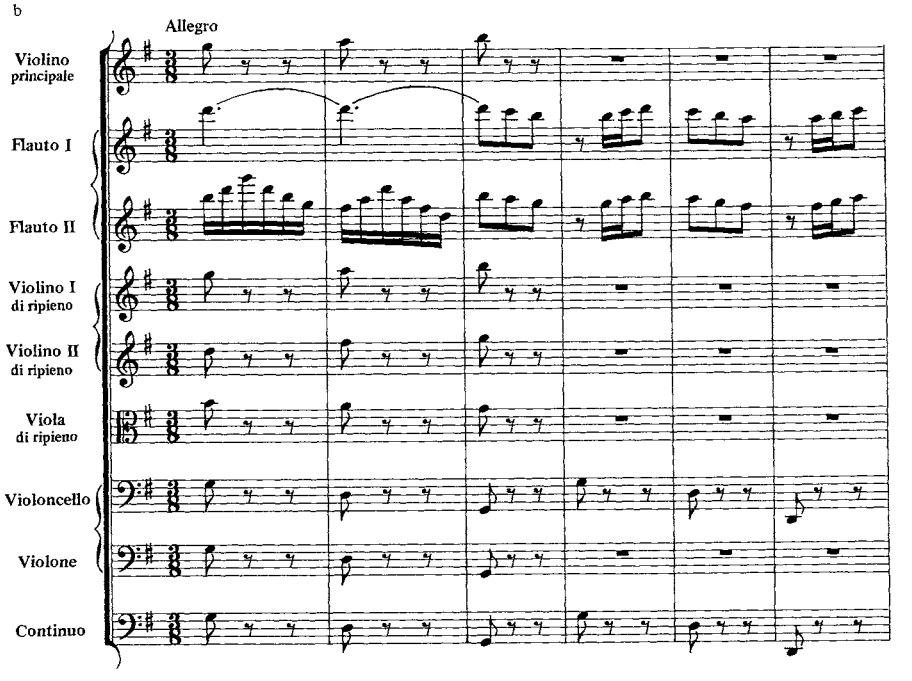
The similarity between these two movements extends beyond the superficial level of surface detail to the deeper level of formal structure (table 2). In both cases the general harmonic ground plans are the same: a self-enclosed opening section modulating from tonic to dominant is followed by a progression

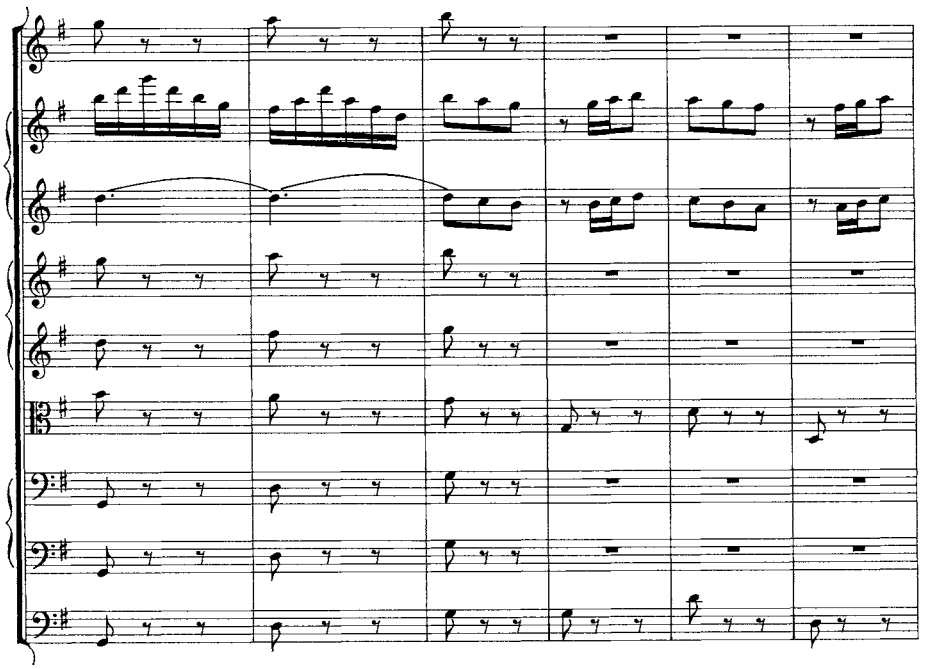
Ex. 1. *a.* J. S. Bach, Organ Sonata in C Major, BWV 529, mvt. 1, mm. 1–9; *b.* J. S. Bach, Fourth Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1049, mvt. 1, mm. 1–17.

a



b





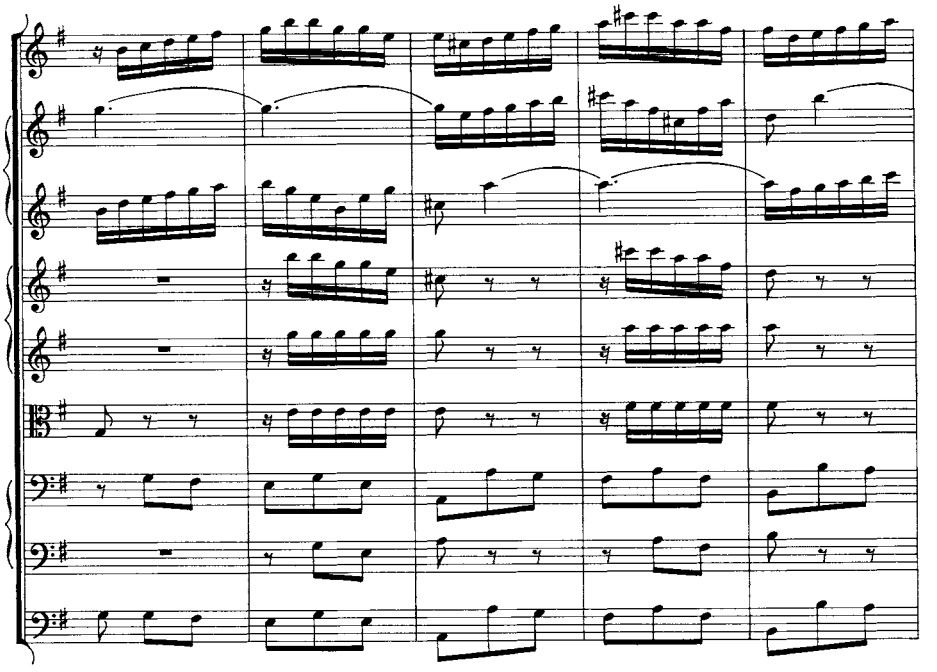


TABLE 2. A Comparative Structural Analysis of the A Sections of BWV 529, 1 and BWV 1049, 1

BWV 529, 1, mm. 1–51

measure	1–5,	5–12,	12–17	17–21,	21–28,	28–32	\	32–39,	39–46,	46–51	
module	*t1*	*s1 p1*	*s2 c1*	*t1*	*s1 p1*	*s2*	\	*s3 p2*	*s3 p2*	*s2 c1*	
tonality	I	→ V	V	V	→ V/V	V/V	\	→ IV	→ I	I	

BWV 1049, 1, mm. 1–83

measure	1–13,	13–23	:	23–35,	35–47,	47–57	:	57–69,	69–81,	81–83
module	*t1*	*s1*	:	*t1*	*s2*	*s1*	:	*t1*	*s3*	*c1*
tonality	I	→ V	:	V	→ IV	→ I	:	I	→ I	I

Lowercase letters in italics refer to categories of modules: thematic (*t*), sequential (*s*), pedal (*p*), cadential (*c*).

from the dominant through the subdominant back to the tonic. Both sections are subdivided into three subsections. In BWV 529,1 the first of these is a complete period concluding with a full close, whereas in BWV 1049,1 the weaker articulations between subsections are formal and tonal in nature, and the perfect full close is held off until the end of the section as a whole. In BWV 529,1 the first clause is repeated verbatim in the dominant (mm. 17–32), but the expected concluding cadence in the dominant of the dominant (mm. 32–34) is suppressed, as indicated in table 2 by slashes, and the sequence-pedal complex (*s3p2*) follows without a break. In BWV 529,1 the concluding sequence-cadence complex (mm. 46–51) is a recapitulation in the tonic of that which closes the opening subsection (mm. 12–17), whereas in BWV 1049,1 a new, greatly extended sequential complex (*s3*) leads to the concluding cadence. The repetition of the opening head-motive module in the dominant, together with the use of the sequence-cadence complex that concludes the first period as a ritornello-like refrain in different keys later in the A section, forms the strongest structural parallels between these two movements. Thus the close identification of the opening movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto with the sonata extends far beyond abstract, large-scale formal construction to include more specific elements of both surface detail and structural design in the A section.

Before considering the various generic allusions in the opening Allegro, it

will be necessary to clarify Bach's original intentions regarding the scoring of the movement. In the process of transcribing this movement into the autograph score (SBB AMB 78) from his now lost *Vorlage*, Bach further obscured and minimized the contrast between ripieno and concertino groups through revisions made to the continuo part.[9] Taken in their entirety, these revisions indicate that, as in the other two movements of the concerto, the continuo in the original version of the opening Allegro doubled the violone and as such was part of the ripieno.[10] With two notable exceptions, the continuo, like the violone, did not play during concertino passages. With the revisions that he made to the continuo part in the process of transcribing from his *Vorlage*, Bach seems to have been intent on adding to the concertino a basso continuo that at any given moment would be doubling the lowest notated part in the ensemble. This is evident from corrections in the continuo part at m.13 in the autograph score.[11]

Here Bach, transcribing from the viola part (at this point functioning as *Bassätchen*) into the continuo part, notated the first eighth note of m.13 with a tail. Realizing immediately—even before entering the two eighth rests from the viola part—that the lowest notated pitches appeared subsequently in the violoncello part, he entered the two eighths on the second and third beats from that part, connecting them to the first eighth with a beam that incorporates the previously notated tail. An even clearer instance occurs at mm.53–54. Bach first entered two eighth rests into the continuo part, mechanically following the violone part, and then, immediately realizing that the lowest notated part had shifted from violone to violoncello, he copied the passage in sixteenth notes from that part over the incorrectly entered rests.[12] In making these revisions, Bach applied a thick coat of continuo varnish that somewhat obscured the clear concerto-grosso textural contrasts of the original version. If the original scoring is restored by removing the material subsequently added in the continuo part, the concertato procedure in the first movement is identical to that in the second movement, although handled here in a more complex manner. The same rapid alternation of tutti passages for full orchestra and concertino sections in reduced scoring, without continuo, is the dominant feature in both movements.

This is clearest in the division of the head-motive module that opens the movement into tutti and concertino submodules. The contrast between these submodules is heightened not only by their scoring but by their characters. The

brilliant, fanfarelike opening submodule is strongly profiled as the initial enunciatory gesture of the ritornello. Strongly disjunct, it is vehement and forceful in its affect. Since later, in another structural context, Bach marks it "Tutti" in the autograph score (m.89) to indicate where the full orchestra is to enter, it is clear that he views this submodule as a tutti block and as the head motive, given its clear formal function in the solo *Devise* at this point.[13] The concertino submodule, on the other hand, is closely identified not with the concerto genre but with the sonata. Besides its clear trio-sonata scoring, the progression in parallel thirds in the two soprano instruments and their subsequent contrapuntal inversion bear close generic associations to the trio sonata. In sharp contrast to the ripieno submodule, the concertino submodule is noticeably conjunct and soft, even pastorale-like in its affect.

In the sequential modules that follow, the alternation between tutti and concertino is even more rapid, involving two-measure segments in *s2* (mm.35–43) and one-measure segments in *s1* (mm.13–23, 47–57). The same sort of tutti sequential complex that leads up to the cadences concluding both the first period and the A section as a whole in the second movement is delayed here until the end (mm.69–83) of the extended tripartite opening period. This concluding sequential module, although labeled in table 2 simply as *s3*, is in reality made up of three sequential submodules (see table 3 below). The last of these is a climactic intensification of the quick tutti-concertino alternations in the form of a rapid sequence leading up to the cadence (mm.79–81); in this passage the duration of each tutti or concertino segment is reduced to an eighth note. The recognition of this sequential submodule as the last in a series of tutti-concertino alternations, accelerating climactically, suggests that even here, in Bach's original scoring, *flauti* I and II function as concertino parts, no matter how brief their statements.[14]

With its marked lack of differentiation in style between tutti and concertino material (with the notable exception of the expository ripieno and concertino submodules of the *t1* module) this Allegro is a sonata-like movement in which, for the most part, the musical material is simply divided between smaller and larger groups of instruments. As such, it strongly resembles nothing so much as a Corellian concerto-grosso movement. More specifically, given its rapid alternation of brief tutti and concertino sequential units (often echoing one another), it recalls Georg Muffat's adaptation of the Corellian style of concerto grosso, as seen first in compressed notation in his *Armonico tributo* of 1682

and subsequently in expanded scoring in his *Ausserlesene Instrumental-Music* of 1701 (ex. 2).

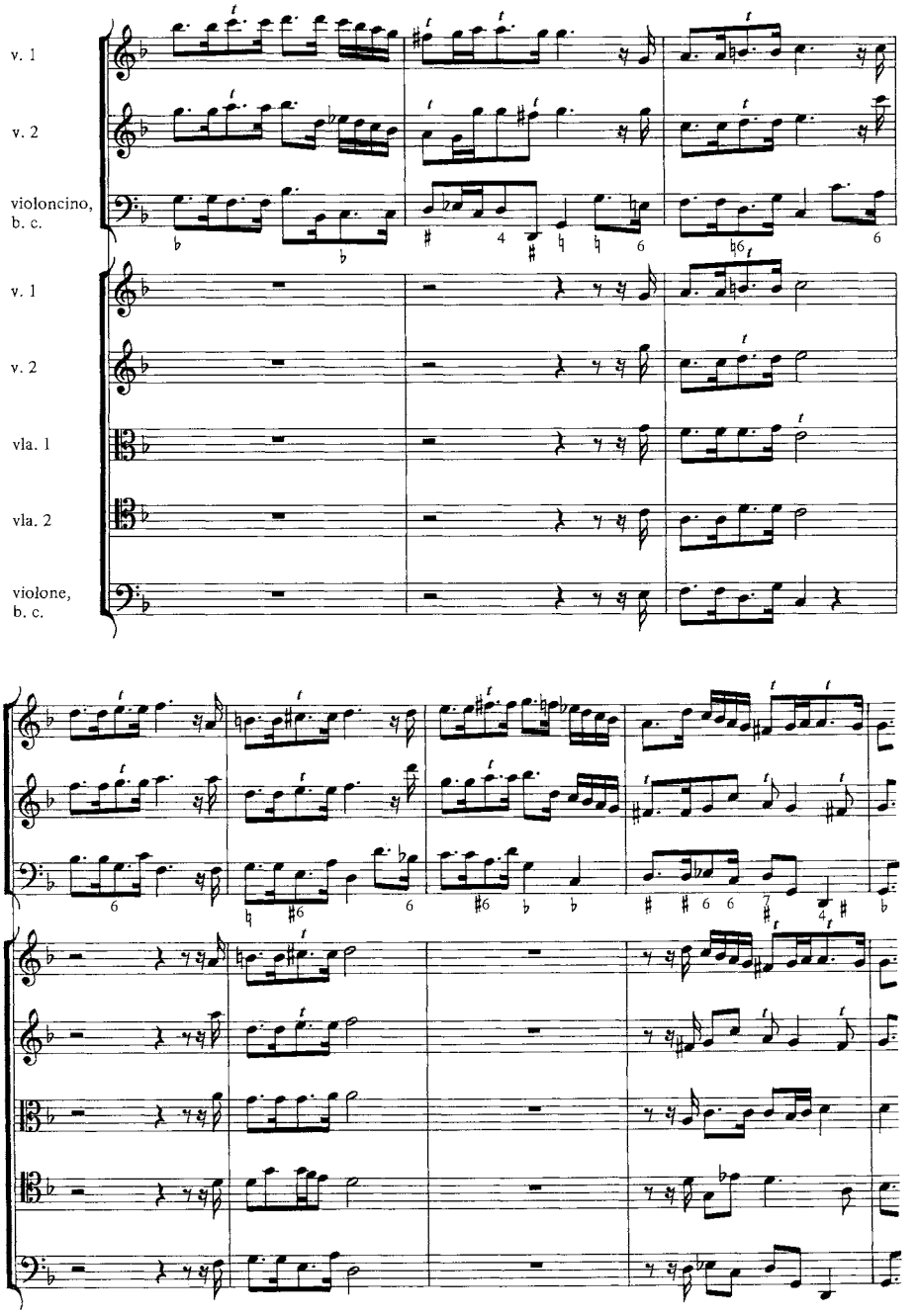
Notice the rapid alternation, here at one-measure intervals, of concertino and concerto grosso, marked respectively S(oli) and T(utti) in the parts. Muffat divides each of the two sequential units (mm. 14–15, 16–17) into one-measure segments for concerto grosso and concertino in turn, framing the whole by statements of the same cadential structure, first for concertino in the upper register, and then for concerto grosso at the octave below. Such details are similar to those adapted by Bach in the first two movements of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto.

There are cases in which Bach's and Muffat's treatments resemble one another even more closely. In the excerpt from Muffat's Ciacona shown in example 3*a*, the descending sequence is treated similarly to that of the first sequential module in the opening movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto (ex. 3*b*). In both works, sequences descending by third are divided into one-measure segments, and these sequential units are stated alternately by concerto grosso and concertino (in that order). Bach's version is extended by an additional sequential unit, and there is a climactic thickening of texture not present in the Muffat excerpt.

Muffat's concertos circulated widely in central Germany after their publication in 1701, and Bach could have encountered them in either Weimar or Cöthen, if not elsewhere. Whatever the case, Bach here drew on the Corellian concerto grosso, if not directly, then as received through the works of German intermediaries such as Georg Muffat.[15] As with Corelli and his imitator Muffat, Bach's point of departure here is not the concerto but rather the sonata.

A more detailed examination of the opening movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto confirms that it is in the surface overlay applied to its underlying structural framework that this movement departs so radically from its sonata-movement models. In the Violin Sonatas, BWV 1014–19, for example, the tonally static thematic segments almost always take the form of fugal expositions. In the A sections of both this movement and BWV 529,1, Bach has replaced these with the contrasting tutti and concertino submodules discussed above. At the beginning of the outer framing periods of the B section, where fugal expositions of a new subject are the norm—this is the case even in BWV 529,1 (mm. 51–72, 84–105)—Bach substitutes what are perhaps the most overt allusions to the concerto (in this case not the concerto grosso but the solo

Ex. 2. Georg Muffat, *Ausserlesene Instrumental-Music*, Concerto No. 4 in G Minor, Grave, mm. 12–19.



Ex. 3. *a.* Georg Muffat, *Ausserlesene Instrumental-Music*, Concerto No. 12 in G Major, Ciacona, mm. 233–37; *b.* J. S. Bach, Fourth Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1049, mvt. 1, mm. 18–23.

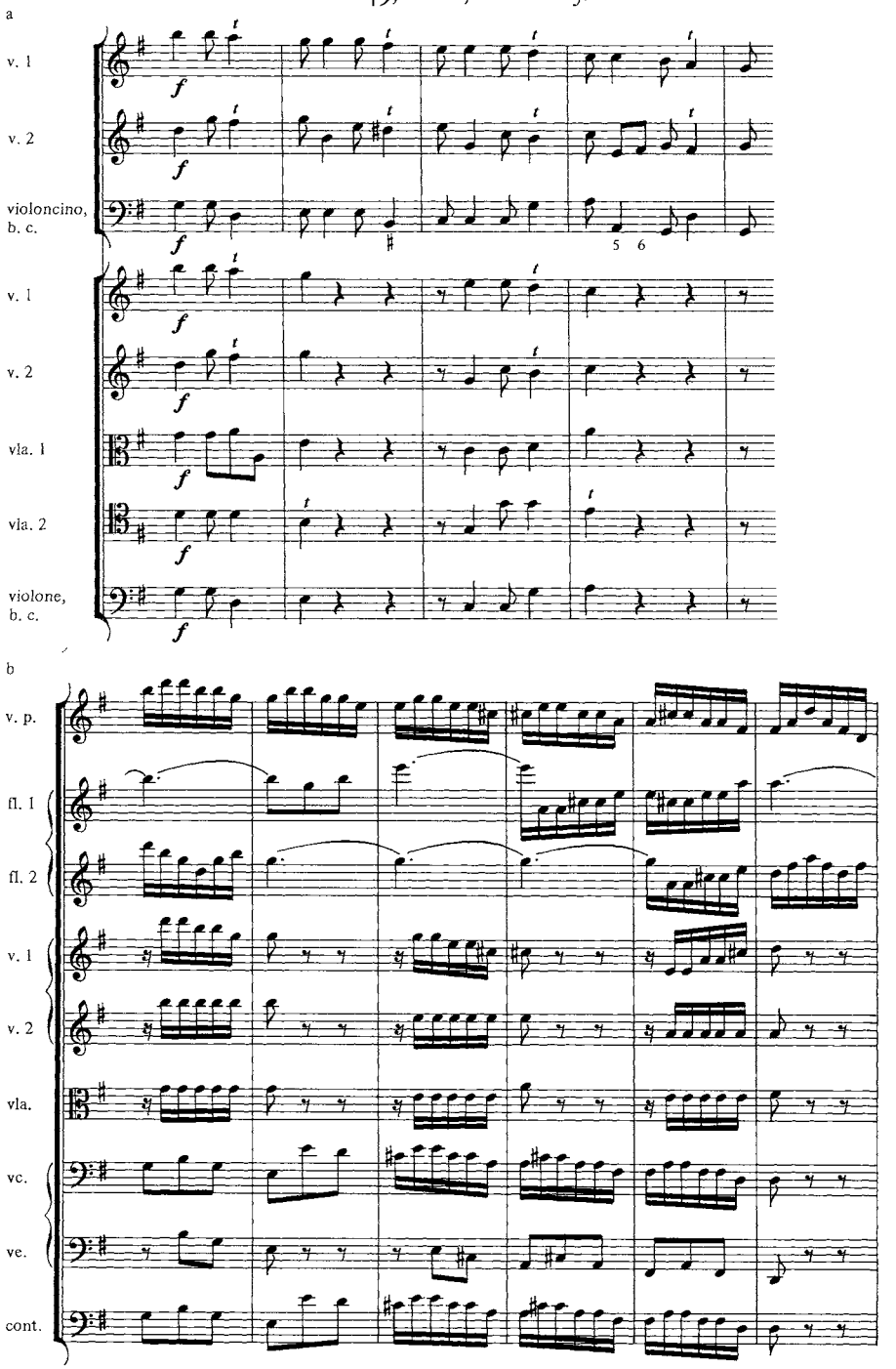


TABLE 3. Modular Structure of BWV 1049, 1

A

measure	1–13,	13–23	: 23–35,	35–47,	47–57	: 57–69,	69–81,	81–83
module	*t1*	*s1*	: *t1*	*s2*	*s1*	: *t1*	*s3*	*c1*

B

83–105	: 105–25,	125–37	: 137–43,	143–55,	155–57
t2	: *t2*	*s2*	: *t1*	*s3*	*c1*

157–85	: 185–97,	197–209	: 209–21,	221–33,	233–35
t3	: *t1*	*s4*	: *t1*	*s3*	*c1*

235–51	: 251–63,	263–75,	275–85	: 285–311,	311–23	: 323–29,	329–41,	341–44
t2	: *t2*	*s2*	*s1*	: *t3*	*s2*	: *t1*	*s3*	*c1*

A da capo

345–57,	357–67	: 367–79,	379–91,	391–401	: 401–13,	413–25,	425–427
t1	*s1*	: *t1*	*s2*	*s1*	: *t1*	*s3*	*c1*

concerto): extended solo *Devise* structures (mm. 83–125 and mm. 235–63). The tonally unstable sequential passages have also been "concertized" by articulating them into blocklike submodules in which the sequential units are divided into clearly profiled concertino and tutti segments. In the sonata, the articulations between periods are understated and anything but overt, often dovetailing with one another through elision. Here the articulations, in keeping with the concerto genre, are very strong, in each case taking the form of a full close. That the same tutti cadential complex closes each of the five periods gives these articulations the ritornello-like authority that is so much a part of the concerto dynamic.

Bach here deploys a rather limited number of modules, quite distinct both in character and in function (table 3). Three groups or families of modules can be discerned here, each clearly differentiated by function as thematic, sequential, or cadential.

There are three distinct thematic modules. The first, *t1* (the concerto-grosso module), is the expository, head-motive module described earlier. It is the only

module that is tonally stable, and its function is twofold. First, it establishes and underlines the tonality; second, it establishes the essential tutti-concertino contrast of the concerto grosso in its two complementary submodules, the opening tutti intonation (mm. 1–3) and the concertino continuation (mm. 3–7). Module *t2* (the solo *Devise* module) is marked "Solo" by Bach at its first entry (m. 83). It features the *violino principale* playing in the style of the first solo entry in a violin concerto. Finally, *t3* (the trio-sonata thematic module) follows the sonata principle of continuous expansion by means of imitative counterpoint and is greatly extended in length and thus not modular in the same way as the other modules.

Module *s* is the sequential module. In reality, it constitutes a family of four submodules, *s1*, *s2*, *s3*, and *s4*. Like *t1* it also has two primary functions. It can, as in the case of *s1*, *s2*, and *s4*, modulate to new tonalities or, as in the case of *s3*, present a circular sequential complex that remains diatonically grounded in the established local tonic. In all cases it serves to highlight further the concertino-tutti contrast, not in two contrasting submodules as in *t1* but within continuous homogeneous modules.

Each of the five periods in the movement concludes with the same perfect full close, the cadential module *c1*. This constitutes in each case along with the concerto-grosso and third sequential modules, a modular complex *t1–s3–c1* that functions as a ritornello-like closing clause to each period (mm. 57–83, 137–57, 209–35, 323–43, and 401–27).[16]

If the element of modular construction just outlined is the most important, it is nevertheless only one of a number of elements in the process of concerto overlay with which Bach is playing so imaginatively in this movement. A basic element critical to the very identity of the concerto as a genre is the ritornello. Normally in a concerto, the ritornello is a self-contained, tonally stable, tonally closed structure that is stated in its entirety by the tutti at the beginning and is then restated periodically, at least in part, in different tonalities in alternation with modulatory solo sections in the course of a given movement. The identity of the ritornello in this movement is ambiguous—intentionally so, for it underlines and amplifies the generic blurring at work here.[17]

If we take the first complete period in the movement to be the ritornello, we are immediately confronted by a host of irregularities. First, as ritornellos go it is inordinately long, about a fifth of the total length of the movement. Second, the repetition of the self-contained concertino-tutti expository *t1* module

at periodic intervals throughout this period represents a significant departure from normal ritornello construction. Third, although the clear modulation to the dominant in the first clause is perhaps not so troubling, that to the subdominant in the course of the second is. Fourth, the rather long tonic prolongation at the conclusion of the period (twenty-seven measures, accounting for one-third of the total length) contradicts the strong thrust to the cadence, which is a central dynamic in ritornello construction. Fifth, the pervasive presence of concertino passages, not only in *t1* but also in *s1* and *s2*, serves to weaken the strong sense of contrast between ritornello and solo sections so important in defining the concerto.

Yet Michael Marissen's argument that the A section can be perceived as the opening ritornello cannot be dismissed out of hand. He suggests that its three clauses correspond respectively to the three divisions commonly found in the usual Vivaldian ritornello structural scheme (*Vordersatz*, *Fortspinnung*, *Epilog*).[18] In support of his hypothesis he points out quite rightly that it is followed immediately (m. 83) by the type of dramatic, flamboyant statement by the *violino principale* that one would normally expect to lead off the opening solo period in a violin concerto, immediately following the opening ritornello. In addition, in keeping with Bach's normal procedure, the opening period is repeated in its entirety only at the beginning and end of the movement. Further, the concluding clause of this period, recurring as it does at the end of each of the three periods of the B section, takes on a clear ritornello function.

In fact, an examination of the structure of this concluding clause indicates that it too has all the requisite elements of the typical tripartite ritornello, and here they are presented in a more conventional manner (table 4). The *t1* module, presenting the head motive (mm. 57–68), constitutes the *Vordersatz;* the series of three sequential submodules that make up the *s3* module (mm. 69–81) is the *Fortspinnung;* and the cadential module that closes the period, *c1* (mm. 81–83), is the *Epilog.*[19] At twenty-seven measures in length, the proportions of this clause are more in keeping with those of a typical ritornello; the *t1* module occurs only once, and there is no modulation in the *Fortspinnung* segment so that the whole, in keeping with the normal tonal profile of the ritornello, is tonally stable.

A central issue concerning this work has been its precise generic classification: is it a concerto grosso, a solo concerto, or even a triple concerto?[20] The question arises as a natural consequence of Bach's scoring, in which all three

TABLE 4. Detailed Structure of the Concluding Clause of the Opening Period of BWV 1049, 1

	Vordersatz	*Fortspinnung*	*Epilog*
measure	: 57–62, 63–68,	69–74, 75–78, 79–81,	81–83 |
module:	: *t1*	*s3*	*c1* |

concertino instruments, various combinations of two of them, or each of them singly at different times act in the capacity of soloist.[21] Even more unusual are cases in which concertino instruments adopt the role of accompaniment while the ripieno violins are elevated to obbligato status within the ensemble as, for example, at mm. 31–35.

In a study of the "concerti senza orchestra" of Antonio Vivaldi, Noriko Ohmura isolates stylistic criteria for the works in this subgenre and for the varied scoring of the works in her Group D: those with three or more obbligato instruments where "the solo parts are superimposed, intersecting one with the other in various instrumental combinations."[22] She links the works in this group closely to the concerto grosso, commenting that "the emphasis placed on the expressive effect of contrasting timbres is symptomatic of the adherence to the writing in the concerto grosso." In her conclusion, Ohmura refers to one of the compositions from her Group D, Vivaldi's Concerto for Viola d'Amore, Two Oboes, Two Horns, Bassoon, and Basso Continuo in F Major, RV 97, as representing "one of the best examples [by Vivaldi] of writing proper to the concerto grosso."[23] The criteria for the concertos in her Group D would seem to apply remarkably well to certain details of scoring in the first two movements of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto.

The switching of roles by instruments that Ohmura underlines as characteristic of the Vivaldian *concerto senza orchestra* takes on a typically Bachian complexity in both the first and second movements of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto, particularly in the former. Here instruments assume not only double identities but in some cases even triple identities. The *violino principale* acts in both violin solo and violin obbligato capacities, but in tutti sections it more often than not takes on the role of ripienist, playing the principal part along with violin I. It not only acts as *Bassätchen* in the concertino but on one occasion, by means of double stops, takes on the role of the entire concertino

(mm. 217–21). Violins I and II abandon their identities as ripieno instruments and slip into the roles of concertino instruments (mm. 31–35, 129–32, 193–203, 263–66) and obbligato instruments (mm. 235–41, 251–57) in their canonic imitation of *violino principale* in a trio texture. In the opening movement the role of *Bassätchen* is not limited simply to the *violino principale*, as in the second movement, but extends to ripieno instruments as well, most notably violoncello and viola. Bach's blurring of concertino and ripieno suggests that he is drawing on scoring practices characteristic of another concerto tradition, the chamber concerto for obbligato instruments of Vivaldi, if not received directly, then through one or another Saxon composer as agent.[24]

The opening movement includes references to two further concerto subgenres and one entirely different genre of chamber music. The internal structure of the *t2* module indicates that Bach viewed the tutti opening of the *t1* module as a ritornello head motive in the context of the double solo *Devise* structures that open the second and fourth periods (mm. 83–125 and 235–63). The double *Devise* is a structural feature characteristic of Tomaso Albinoni's da capo arias that he takes over into the works for one and two solo oboes from his opus 7 concertos, published in 1715.[25] It seems to have been one approach to the opening solo period with which Bach was experimenting at the time, under the influence of Albinoni.

The typical Albinonian double *Devise* structure follows immediately after the opening ritornello and is made up of two periods. The first of these, in the tonic throughout, presents a strongly profiled solo module followed by a tutti statement of either the head motive module or the cadential module from the opening ritornello. The second period begins with a restatement of the initial solo module, followed by a sequential module, also for solo instrument, which modulates away to cadence in a related key (table 5). If the strong articulation between the two periods of the typical Albinonian double *Devise* is eliminated and the whole is fused together in a continuous single period, the result is very close to the procedure adopted in the second period of the so-called *Devisenarie*. This is precisely what Bach does in the first four phrases (mm. 83–103) of his adaptation, which constitutes a double *Devise* structure in a continuous, linked presentation. The solo motto (mm. 83–89) is interrupted by the head motive of the ritornello (mm. 89–91), after which the solo motto is repeated, in this case in varied form (mm. 91–97), and extended in a modu-

TABLE 5. Comparison of a Typical Albinonian Double *Devise* and Bach's Elaboration in BWV 1049, 1, mm. 83–125 and 235–63

Tomaso Albinoni, Op. 7, No. 3									
measure	9–11,	11–15	15–17,	17–22					
Tutti-Solo	s	T	s	s					
tonality	I	I	I	→ V					
submodule	x	y	x	z					

BWV 1049, 1, mm. 83–125 and 235–63									
module	*t2*					*t2*			
measure	83–89,	89–91,	91–97,	97–103,	103–5 :	105–11,	111–13,	113–19,	119–125
Tutti-Solo	s	T	s	s	T	: s	T	s	s
tonality	I	I	I	→ V	V	: V	V	V	→ V/V
submodule	a	b	a	c	b	: a	b	a	c

module	*t2*				*t2*	
measure	235–41,	241–43,	243–49,	249–51 :	251–57,	257–63
Tutti-Solo	s	T	s	T	: s	s
tonality	IV	IV	IV	→ I	: I	→ V
submodule	a	b	c	b	: a	c

lation to the dominant (mm. 97–103). The only departure structurally is the concluding statement of the ripieno head-motive module (mm. 103–5) in the new key. Not only does this serve to consolidate the newly established dominant tonality and balance the clause structurally, but it also clearly articulates this clause from the transposed repetition that follows (mm. 105–25). The resulting double solo *Devise* is subsequently transposed to the subdominant and repeated in abridged and varied form later (mm. 235–63), where for the opening statements of the motto in each of the *Devise* structures (mm. 235–41 and mm. 251–57) Bach adds violins I and II (marked *pianissimo*) as soloists in interrupted canon at the unison with the *violino principale*. The structure at which Bach arrives here, by doubling the typical Albinonian double solo *Devise*, represents a considerable expansion of the presumed model and shows

the composer playing with a recently established solo concerto tradition in a particularly imaginative way, wedding the idea of the Albinonian double solo *Devise* with his own procedure in the vocal aria.[26]

The appearance of the solo *Devise* is one of the most overt references in the movement to the solo concerto and to the vocal aria that was infusing it with new life at this time. On the other hand, the placement of these two double *Devise* periods at the beginnings of the outer periods of the B section is very much in keeping with Bach's formal procedure in allegro movements in sonata da capo form, where prominent entries of a new subject in strongly profiled fugal expositions occur at these same points in the structure.

The other two instances in which the *violino principale* is treated in an overtly soloistic manner (mm.187–208 and 215–28) are fundamentally different, for they occur in concerto-grosso modules. Jeanne Swack refers to Bach's procedure here as a "transfer of solo technique into the ritornello [that] temporarily weakens the identity of this passage as ritornello" and points out that it is typical of many of Bach's arias but not of his concertos. For this reason she suggests that it "may be a subtle reference to the da capo structure of the movement."[27] It may also suggest that Bach is making conflicting allusions to two distinct genres, the concerto grosso and the solo concerto, in simultaneously unfolding layers.

In the central B section are two statements (mm.165–84 and 293–310)—the second a varied version of the first—of what are by far the longest modules in the movement, the third of the three thematic modules (*t3*). They are dominated by the three-part texture of two equal soprano instruments (*flauti* I and II) over the basso continuo. (In the varied restatement, *violino principale* joins with *flauti* I and II to create a quartet texture, although it does not take part in the close contrapuntal imitation.)[28] The same type of module appears at the analogous point in the B section of the third movement (mm.159–75). In both movements these modules begin with a sequential submodule not previously heard featuring rapid solo-tutti alternations. In the first movement, the solo phrases of *flauto* I are echoed by the tutti, and in the submodule that follows, as at the analogous point in Bach's other allegro movements in sonata da capo form, the upper two voices proceed in close imitation, often in strict canon. These passages constitute a clear reference to another genre entirely, the genre from which the movement derives its formal structure: the trio sonata.

Johann Adolph Scheibe's description of the trio sonata is most pertinent

here: "In all voices, but especially in the upper voices there must be an orderly melody and a fugal working out. . . . there must be present throughout a concise, flowing, and natural melody. . . . the one voice must be distinguished from the other throughout; however, all voices must work with the same strength, so that among them one can discern no principal voice in particular."[29] The basso continuo in particular, like the upper voices, is concise or succinct (*bündig*) and participates in the "fugal working out," in contrast to its more subservient, largely supportive role in the concerto grosso and solo concerto.

That this view seems to have been shared by Bach is borne out not only by his treatment of the basso continuo in his trio sonatas but also by his treatment of the continuo part in this concerto. The only instances of concertino passages in the opening and closing movements in which the continuo part differs appreciably from the lowest sounding part occur in these trio-sonata modules, where the continuo part presents a diminution of the cello part in running notes of shorter value.

Problems arise at only one point in the first movement as a result of the restorative suppression of the continuo part in non-tutti passages: in the sequential submodule that opens the first trio-sonata module (mm.161–65), where this suppression leaves *flauto* 1 sounding alone on the downbeats to mm.162 and 164. This may indicate that what is included in the continuo part in the autograph score from this point to the end of this trio-sonata module (and by extension throughout the parallel section of the second trio-sonata module) was also present in the *Vorlage* from which Bach was transcribing, the only instances in the original version of the movement where the continuo part would have been involved in concertino passages.[30] Whatever the case, it would be critical for the realization of the intended trio-sonata effect to include these rhythmically and motivically integrated continuo passages *senza Violone* in any edition of the work aiming to restore Bach's original scoring.[31] In these trio-sonata modules the stress is on the almost absolute equality of the two treble instruments spinning out an orderly, metrically regular melody—as opposed to the free, rhapsodic one implied in the solo *Devise* modules—in a continuous, imitative web: elements that taken together typify Bach's trio-sonata style.

Any such analysis as this can give, at best, only an imperfect and incomplete idea of the generic mixing that permeates this work and is so vital for understanding the various levels on which it operates. Nevertheless, it underscores a facet of Bach's compositional approach that, under close scrutiny, can be seen

to be operative in virtually all his music. It seems increasingly clear that any attempt to force this work, or indeed virtually any work of Bach's, into any one generic pigeonhole is highly misrepresentative and ultimately futile. Consequently, in answer to the question as to whether this work is a concerto grosso, a solo concerto, or even a triple concerto, one might answer: It is all three, at times separately, at others simultaneously. Yet it is more, given its numerous and varied allusions to other concerto subgenres such as the chamber concerto, to related genres such as the sonata, and to such compositional processes as canon. At times one is simply at a loss to say exactly what it is generically, for this work, like so many of Bach's, presents an ambiguous, elusive, constantly shifting face, a quicksilver intangibility that defies analysis.

NOTES

1. In particular, see Laurence Dreyfus, "J. S. Bach and the Status of Genre: Problems of Style in the G-Minor Sonata BWV 1029," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987): 55–77.

2. Malcolm Boyd, *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 58.

3. On scoring, see Michael Marissen, "Organological Questions and Their Significance in J. S. Bach's Fourth Brandenburg Concerto," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 17 (1991): 5–52; revised version in Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 62–76. My citations are from the original version, since material germane to my analysis either appears only in the original publication or in an expanded version there. On structure, see Gerd Reinäcker, "Kurven, Widerspiele: Zum ersten Satz des 4. Brandenburgischen Konzerts," in *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1996*, ed. Martin Geck and Werner Breig (Witten: Klangfarben, 1997), 193–202.

4. See Dreyfus, "J. S. Bach and the Status of Genre"; Michael Marissen, "A Critical Reappraisal of J. S. Bach's A-Major Flute Sonata," *Journal of Musicology* 6 (1988): 367–86; and Jeanne Swack, "On the Origins of the Sonata auf Concertenart," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 369–414.

5. The distinction between sonata and concerto da capo forms is treated at length in a monograph on Bach's concertos by the author, presently in preparation, and more summarily in a paper given at the Internationales Wissenschaftliches Symposion zum Thema "J. S. Bachs Orchestermusik," 19 January 1996, "Toward a More

Precise Chronology for Bach's Concerto for Three Violins and Strings BWV 1064a: The Case for Formal Analysis," in *Bachs Orchesterwerke*, 235–47.

6. BWV 807,1, 809,1, 810,1, and 811,1. The prelude to the Third English Suite, BWV 808,1 is not cast in da capo form but rather in ritornello concerto form; see my study "An Early Minor-Key Ritornello Concerto Movement by Bach: The *Prélude* to the Third English Suite BWV 808/1" (in preparation). On sectional proportion in these preludes, see Alfred Dürr, "Zur Form der Präludien in Bachs Englischen Suiten," in *Bach-Studien 6: Beiträge zum Konzertschaffen Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Peter Ahnsehl, Karl Heller, and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1981), 101–2.

7. Jeanne Swack takes up the question of modular construction in the following essay in this volume.

8. Marissen, "Organological Questions," 29, sees in the movement's $\frac{3}{8}$ time and its rhythmic organization in two-measure units an allusion to the minuet. Opening allegro movements in triple time are not uncommon in the mature concertos of Tomaso Albinoni.

9. I would like to thank the staff of the Musikabteilung of the former Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz) for kindly allowing me access to the autograph score of the Brandenburg Concertos during the summer of 1994.

10. The scoring of the opening movement differs from that of the other two movements in that here the violoncello has a separate part, since it frequently functions as *basso senza continuo* in concertino passages. Marissen, "Organological Questions," 47, goes so far as to suggest "that Bach added the part marked 'Continuo' for the AMB 78 version, i.e., that his exemplar had eight staves, not nine." Given that both of the other movements in the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto have continuo parts, I think it highly unlikely that in the *Vorlage* from which Bach was transcribing there was no such part. It is possible, however, that continuo and violone originally shared a single staff, in which case the *Vorlage* would indeed have had eight staves. Whatever the case, it seems clear that substantial revisions were made to a part that almost certainly existed in the original version.

11. Bach's corrections are clearly visible in the facsimile of the autograph published by C. F. Peters (Berlin, n.d., ca.1947–50).

12. Marissen, "Organological Questions," 45–46, includes the second correction referred to above in his list of corrections, but not the first.

13. On this structural feature, see below.

14. A similar passage featuring the same very brief ripieno-concertino alternations at a highly climactic point recurs in the second movement (mm. 59–61). Here Bach clearly marks each of the alternations ***f***[orte] and ***p***[iano] respectively (he neglects to enter ***f*** for the ripieno segment and ***p*** for the solo segment in m. 60). The ripieno instruments, as elsewhere, are silent during the segments marked ***p***.

15. German contemporaries close to Bach were writing concertos after the manner of Corelli. Sometime during the Weimar years, Bach copied Georg Philipp Telemann's Concerto for Two Violins and Orchestra in G Major, 2v. G(1). According to Robert Hill this work creates "a concerto grosso along Corellian principles out of what is essentially trio sonata texture." See Robert Hill, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Toccata in G Major BWV 916/1: A Reception of Giuseppe Torelli's Ritornello Concerto Form," in *Das Frühwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Karl Heller and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Cologne: Studio, 1995), 164.

16. Boyd refers to my *t2* and *t3* as episodes, but otherwise our analyses diverge fundamentally only once. Whereas he hears a ritornello at mm. 263–85 (largely, I suspect, because it articulates two of his episodes), I hear this simply as an extended recapitulation of the statement of *s2* at mm. 125–37, which effects a return to the tonic.

17. The ambiguity surrounding the ritornello in Bach's concertos has been dealt with by Laurence Dreyfus, "J. S. Bach's Concerto Ritornellos and the Question of Invention," *Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985): 327–58.

18. See Marissen, "Organological Questions," 28–30. He has adopted the terminology invented by Wilmhelm Fischer for the analysis of his *Fortspinnungtypus* ritornello. See Wilhelm Fischer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1915): 24–84. Boyd, *The Brandenburg Concertos*, 52, also adopts this position.

19. Boyd, *The Brandenburg Concertos*, 56, analyses this clause in precisely the same way.

20. This debate is concisely summarized by Marissen, "Organological Questions," 5–6.

21. Eclecticism as a guiding principle in the concerto compositions of Bach and Telemann has been addressed in a paper given at the Internationales Wissenschaftliches Symposion zum Thema "J. S. Bachs Orchestermusik," 18 January 1996, by Wolfgang Hirschmann: "Eklektischer Imitationsbegriff und konzertantes Gestalten bei Telemann und Bach," in *Bachs Orchesterwerke*, 305–19.

22. Noriko Ohmura, "I 'Concerti senza orchestra' di Antonio Vivaldi," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 13 (1979): 121.

23. Ibid., 147.

24. Swack, "On the Origins," 376, points to the reception of the chamber concertos of Vivaldi by Georg Philipp Telemann as early as ca.1715, describing the scoring of such works "in which the instruments take turns in the roles of 'tutti' and 'solo' or 'soli.'" Klaus Hofmann argues convincingly that the Second Brandenburg Concerto was originally conceived as a *concerto senza orchestra* and that Bach added the ripieno strings in transcribing the work into the autograph SBB AMB 78 in a paper read at the Internationales Wissenschaftliches Symposion zum Thema "J. S. Bachs Orchestermusik," 18 January 1996, "Zur Fassungsgeschichte des 2. Brandenburgische Konzerts," in *Bachs Orchesterwerke*, 185–92.

25. See Gregory Butler, "J. S. Bach's Reception of Tomaso Albinoni's Mature Concertos," in *Bach Studies 2*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40–66. I suggest here (26–30), based on certain details of scoring in the third movement of the First Brandenburg Concerto, that Bach had come into contact with Albinoni's opus 7 concertos before 1721.

26. A somewhat different approach to the double solo *Devise* can be seen in the two clauses that make up the first solo period in the third movement of the Sixth Brandenburg Concerto (mm. 9–14 and 15–22). This period falls in the A section of this concerto da capo form movement.

27. See Swack, "Modular Structure," in this volume.

28. This may be explained by the fact that in Bach's adaptation of the *violino principale* part for *cembalo solo* in BWV 1057, the original passage is replaced by a different one in the right hand of the *cembalo solo* part, suggesting that the reading found in BWV 1049,1 does not stem from the *Vorlage*.

29. "in den Oberstimmen ein ordentlicher Gesang, und eine fugenmäßige Ausarbeitung seyn muß. . . . es muß durchaus eine bündige, fließende und natürliche Melodie vorhanden seyn. . . . Eine Stimme muß sich von der andern durchaus unterscheiden; alle Stimmen aber müssen mit gleicher Stärke arbeiten, daß man auch darunter keine Hauptstimme insbesondere erkennen kann" (Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musicus*, 2d ed. [Leipzig, 1745; facs. rpt., Hildesheim: Olms, 1970], 675–76); translation by the author.

30. It is surely significant that in Bach's arrangement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto as the Concerto for Harpsichord, Two Recorders, and Strings in F Major,

BWV 1057, the left hand of the cembalo part, which throughout closely follows the violoncello part of BWV 1049, takes up the rhythmically more active continuo part in these two instances. Further, the violoncello part for these passages seems to have been added in the autograph score (SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 234). See Marissen, "Organological Questions," 46.

31. In the one trio-sonata module in the closing presto (mm.159–74), as in the trio-sonata passage here, the violone, as a ripieno instrument, drops out.

Modular Structure and the Recognition of Ritornello in Bach's Brandenburg Concertos

Jeanne Swack

The idea that some movements of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos represent a fusion of Vivaldian concerto form with his intensely personal musical language is a commonplace in modern Bach scholarship. Nevertheless, analytical discourse on these works has traditionally tended to focus on their more overtly Vivaldian aspects, accounting for the works' structures by means of analysis according to the alternation of ritornello and solo sections. Recent commentators, especially Michael Marissen, Susan McClary, and Laurence Dreyfus, have also provided political, social, and theological interpretations on the one hand, and detailed mechanistic analysis on the other hand.[1] Yet the assumption of a Vivaldian ritornello structure as the true structural foundation of most of the fast movements has remained.[2]

But to read these works analytically according to a ritornello structure is often to miss both the deeper structural processes and the play of musical identities at work in the music. Central to Bach's working method is the employment of musical modules that return, most often intact, at various transposition levels, often in new structural contexts. This modular construction often traverses musical sections delineated on the surface by ritornellos, forming deeper structures. The use of modular construction can even cast a structural ambiguity upon the movement, either as a whole or in part, causing "ritornello" segments to function as "solo" segments, or vice versa. Thus the modular structure can undermine the surface ritornello structure. In this sense, some of the concerto movements form a binary opposition to such movements as the first Kyrie of the Mass in B Minor, BWV 232, in which a surface feature, in this case a fugal texture, disguises a deeper, well-concealed ritornello structure.

TABLE 1. Structural Levels in the Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins, BWV 1043, First Movement

Level A: Ritornello Structure

Section	R1	S1	R2	S2	R3	S3	R4
Measures	1–21/3	21/3–45	46–49/3	49/3–53	54–58/3	58/3–84	85–88
Key	i	i–v	v	v–iv	iv	vi–i	i
Disposition of fugue subject	fugal exposition, 5 entries		1 entry		1 entry (m. 55)		1 entry

Level B: Modular Structure

	5–8/3		46–49/3				85–88
	_a_		___a___				___a_
	9–13/3*				54–58/3*		
	_b___				_b___		
		21/4–29 37/4–45				76/4–84	
		___c___ ___c___				_c___	
		30–49/3				69–88	
		___d_____				_d_____	
				49/4–53		58/4–62	
				___e_		___e_	

*cadential pattern at end differs

* * *

One of Bach's overriding interests in his instrumental music is the articulation of genre. The sonata, by its very flexibility, lent itself to the evocation of, and even merging with, other genres, especially the Vivaldian concerto.[3] The latter, as exemplified in Vivaldi's own concertos published as *L'Estro armonico*, op.3 (Amsterdam, 1711), however, was a genre with strong and specific conventions, especially for its fast movements. These included, most crucially, construction by means of a partitionable, tonally closed ritornello alternating with modulatory solo sections that featured virtuosic passagework, and the thinning of the orchestral texture during solo passages.[4] The deployment and partitioning of the ritornello, the central marker of the genre, formed Bach's starting point in the composition of his concertos, as well as many of his other instrumental and vocal genres from about 1713 on.[5] Yet Bach's treatment of essentially Vivaldian material differs so radically from Vivaldi's own procedures that attempts to apply the same modes of analysis to works of both composers often show only the superficial features of the piece, that is, the most overtly Vivaldian features, while ignoring the fascinating things that Bach does with them.

In order to signify the genre "Vivaldian concerto," Bach must present a surface level that is defined by the apparent alternation of ritornellos, usually tonally stable, with episodes, usually tonally unstable. But in a characteristic sleight-of-hand, Bach often sets up a ritornello structure that gives only the appearance of being the true scaffolding of the piece, hiding the movement's true structure at a deeper level. A relatively simple but elegant case in point is afforded by a work outside the Brandenburg set, the first movement of the Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins, BWV 1043.[6] Table 1 shows both levels of construction: the surface level of ritornello and episode (level A) and the deeper level of recurring modules (level B). The movement is composed of five modules of varying lengths, two of which (*a* and *b*) are segments from a longer ritornello, although their original context—a densely contrapuntal, apparently seamless fugal exposition—is not a traditionally Vivaldian setting for such treatment. Almost all the material of the movement is accounted for in the five recurring segments shown in the level B analysis, with the exception of mm.1–4 (the initial statement of the ritornello subject) and mm.13/3–21/3.[7] Thus all of the nonrecurring material in the movement consists of those sections of the initial ritornello that are not later used as ritornello segments. It is

crucial that the modules sometimes cross the boundaries of surface structures; the recurring module *d*, the longest in the movement, includes a solo passage (begun by a tutti interjection) and then a complete ritornello. Module *d* also incorporates modules *a* and *c* but does not include all occurrences thereof. Furthermore, the two occurrences of *d* reflect the entire harmonic structure of the movement: a move from i to v, and the transposed repetition of the same material moving from iv to i.

The first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, BWV 1049, represents a much more complex use of musical modules, reattaching the latter in new orderings and contexts at further points in the movement. This reordering and reattachment both forms the structural underpinning of the movement and gives rise to some of its structural ambiguities. The movement is remarkable for its complex ritornello, which presents three distinct instances of *Fortspinnung* in the opening long ritornello, in the configuration V–F1–V–F2–V–F3–E.[8] The very richness of the ritornello, with its five distinct sections, gives rise to the multiplicity of permutations later in the movement.[9]

This thematically lavish ritornello provides ample material for playing with the identities of ritornello and solo material, and in fact all of the segments except F1 and E are treated in a functionally ambiguous manner at some point in the movement. The movement is further complicated by the unusual treatment of the two recorders, which sometimes occupy a third level of function between the solo violin and the ripieno strings.[10]

As table 2 shows, most of the movement is made up of recurring modules, and from R3 on Bach presents only twelve measures (mm. 235–40, mm. 258–62, and m. 310) that have not occurred before in some guise. Thus there is almost no new material presented in the second half of the movement. Although the movement can be successfully diagrammed into an alternation of ritornellos and solo episodes coupled with a da capo structure,[11] there are sufficient ambiguities involving the identity of solo and ritornello material to point to Bach's playing upon expectations of genre.

One of the most interesting of these peculiarities comprises two passages that are reciprocal in effect: the use of ritornello material in a solo episode, followed by the reference to soloistic writing for the violin in the next ritornello. The second solo contains a quotation from the *Vordersatz* beginning at m. 185.[12] This quotation, however, differs sharply from other such *Vordersatz* quotations in the movement, which take the form of tutti interjections (ex. 1). Here a quo-

TABLE 2. Structural Levels in Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, First Movement

Section	Measures	Key
Level A: R1 (V–F1–V–F2–V–F3–E) **Level B:** 1–83/1	1–83/1	I
Level A: S1 **Level B:** tutti interjections of V, long stretch of F2	83–136	I–vi
Level A: R2 (V–F3–E) **Level B:** mm. 137–42 = variant of mm. 57–62; mm. 143–57/1 = mm. 69–83/1	137–57/1	vi
Level A: S2 **Level B:** mm. 185–96 presents mm. 1–12 plus solo violin; mm. 191–92 (equivalent of mm. 7–8) are a modification of mm. 7–8	157–208	vi–IV
Level A: R3 (V–F3–E) **Level B:** mm. 209–35/1 = mm. 57–68, with the V material presented in the principal violin in double stops	209–35/1	IV
Level A: S3 **Level B:** mm. 241–42 = mm. 1–2; mm. 243–48 = mm. 119–24; mm. 249–50 = mm. 1–2; mm. 251–56 = mm. 235–40	235–63/1	IV–V
Level A: R4 (F2) **Level B:** mm. 263–70 = mm. 125–32 plus doublings; mm. 271–84 = mm. 43–56	263–85/1	I
Level A: S4 **Level B:** mm. 285–309 = mm. 157–81, with some recomposition; m. 310 new; mm. 311–22 = mm. 125–36	285–322	I–iii
Level A: R5 (V–F3–E)	323–44	iii

TABLE 2. (*continued*)

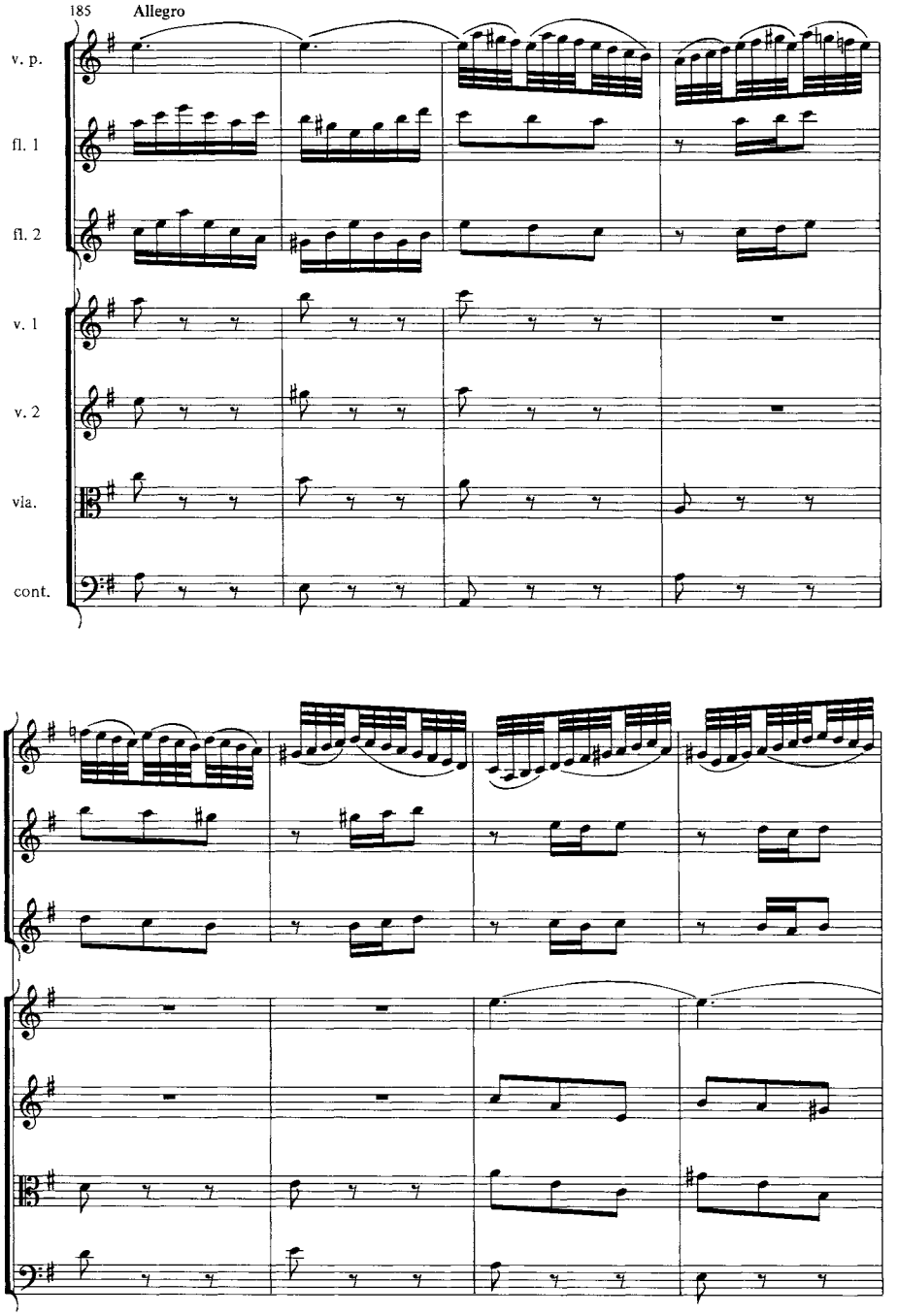
Section	Measures	Key
Level B: mm. 323–44 = mm. 137–57, plus one-bar extension		
Level A: R6 (da capo)		
(V–F1–V–F2–V–F3–E)	345–427	I
Level B: mm. 345–427 = mm. 1–83		

R = Ritornello
S = Solo
V = *Vordersatz*
F = *Fortspinnung*
E = *Epilog*

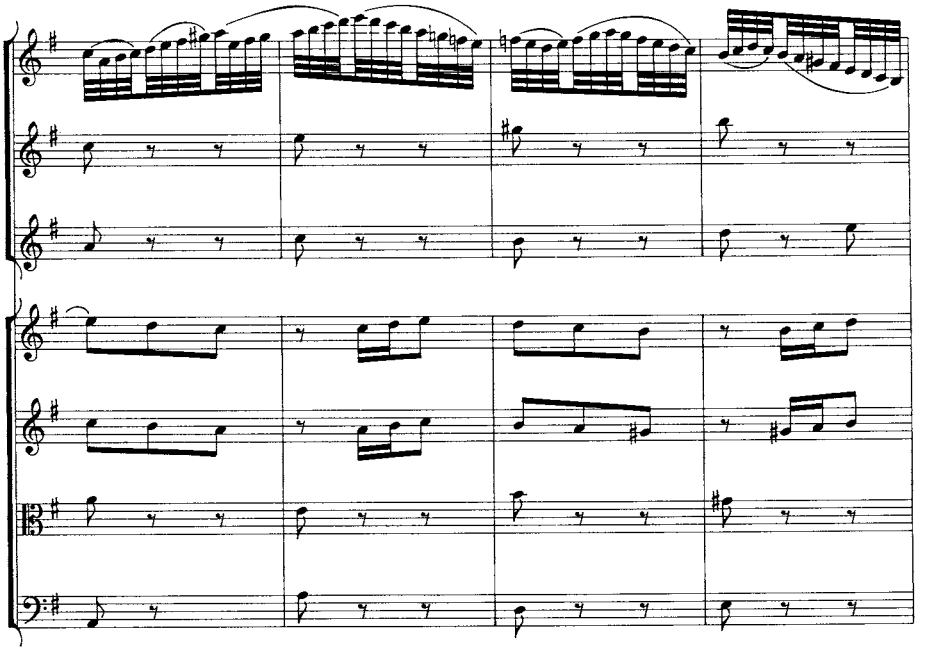
tation begins as though it is to be another tutti interjection such as that in mm. 89–90, for example, but the recorders and ripieno strings present six bars from the *Vordersatz* while the principal violin plays virtuoso thirty-second-note figuration against it.[13] This figuration is the most overtly "concerto-like" passagework in the movement, ironically presented over the *Vordersatz*. The quotation seems to break off in mm. 191–92, where the ripieno strings present what appears to be a simple accompaniment figure instead of the reiteration of the *Vordersatz*'s initial arpeggiated figure. The ritornello quotation resumes again in m. 193 and continues until m. 196.

The *Vordersatz*, however, only gives the illusion of disappearing here. The original initial *Vordersatz* motive consists of an ascending and descending arpeggiation, a pedal point on scale degree $\hat{5}$, and a sparse accompaniment. The pedal point is present in mm. 191–92, as it was in mm. 185–86 (shifting from the principal to the first ripieno violin). The other instruments present a simplified version of mm. 185–86, which now resemble more closely a typical light accompaniment pattern than the principal *Vordersatz* motive. The quotation then continues more literally in m. 193, and when it drops out for good in m. 197 the ripieno strings continue with a more elaborate version of the variation of the *Vordersatz* previously presented in mm. 191–92. Thus the solo status of the virtuosic principal violin is initially weakened by a twelve-bar quotation from the *Vordersatz*, including two bars that constitute a simplification of the *Vordersatz*'s initial motive.

Ex. 1. Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, mvt. 1, mm. 185–96
(violoncello and violone parts omitted).



Ex. 1. Continued



The complement to this passage is somewhat more subtle. In the next ritornello, R3 (mm. 209–35/1), Bach presents segments V–F3–E, as he had done in R2. Although the segments presented are identical (except for some simplification of the *Fortspinnung*), the scoring is not, and for this reason the end of the *Vordersatz* and the *Fortspinnung* sound ambiguous structurally.

The scoring of double stops for the solo violin is a soloistic technique that may be seen as a signifier of virtuosity. This transfer of solo technique into the ritornello temporarily weakens the identity of this passage as ritornello, a disturbance that is righted only at the more conventionally scored *Epilog* (mm. 231–35). This ambiguity was, however, prepared by the scoring of the initial *Vordersatz* of the movement for the recorders and principal violin, with only a sparse accompaniment by the ripieno.

At this point I would like to return to the paradox caused by the reiteration of musical modules in new contexts. For in this movement Bach presents a substantial musical module that appears to change function according to its context, even though its musical materials remain the same. This idea stands

on its head the paradigm of the concerto movement delineated by ritornellos. The module in question first occurs in mm.125–36, where it represents a tutti interjection in the form of *Fortspinnung* 2, played in the recorders and then in the ripieno strings beneath solo passagework in the violin. This passage is, however, still clearly solo, occurring as it does immediately before the entrance of R2 in m.137.

The first restatement of the module is only partial and occurs not in a solo passage but as the beginning of R4 in mm.263–70, corresponding to mm.125–32. The difference between the restatement of this passage and its first occurrence (aside from the key) lies in its scoring. The recorders and ripieno violins have exchanged roles, so that the passage begins with the ripieno violins, bolstering its credentials as a ritornello. Furthermore, the solo violin part, identical to its first appearance except for key, is now doubled in tenths and sixths by the cello and continuo in mm.264–65, intensifying the feeling that we have arrived at a ritornello. Thus Bach has presented essentially the same passage in two different functional guises: as solo material preceding a ritornello, and as the beginning of a ritornello.

In its third occurrence, this module reverts in function to that of a solo passage, preceding R5 (which begins in m.323) just as its initial iteration preceded R2 (that is, mm.311–22 = mm.125–36). Following so closely upon the use of the same module as the beginning of a ritornello, this produces an effect rather different from that of the module in its first hearing, since the formal function of the module has already been called into question. Here, however, it is part of a large complex of modules assembled by means of permutation: a more complex example of the kind of permutation we saw in the D Minor Concerto for Two Violins. Here, too, we see the use of large modules that do not correspond with the apparent surface divisions of the piece. This process of permutation begins in R4 (mm.263ff.), with the reiteration of the segment we have been discussing. After the latter breaks off in m.271, Bach proceeds with a reiteration of mm.43–56, which concludes R4. S4 then continues with a repetition of mm.157–81 (mm.285–309, with some rewriting in mm.288–91 and an alteration of interval in m.300), comprising most of what had been S2, followed by a one-bar extension (m.310) that then attaches to a reiteration of mm.125–58, corresponding to mm.311–44. The entire block of restated material comprises R4, S4, and R5, together with the da capo, R6 (mm.345–427).

Although the first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No.4 can be heard

on one level as a somewhat eccentric Vivaldian concerto movement, its many strata of references and construction set it apart from its Vivaldian prototype.[14] In this respect, the use of a modular construction that at times calls the surface ritornello construction of the movement into question adds another layer of complexity to a movement already remarkable for its web of allusions.

* * *

The first movement of the Second Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1047, offers a complex example of Bach's blurring of the function of segments that are demarcated at the outset of the movement as ritornello segments. It is, in fact, the extreme subtlety of the movement that has led two such perceptive analysts as Malcolm Boyd and Laurence Dreyfus to reach such different conclusions about its construction. Boyd asserts:

> The opening movement . . . leaves behind the straightforward ritornello form of the Italians. The main tonal outlines are, as usual, clear enough, with well articulated "rhyming" cadences embracing all the keys most nearly related to that of the movement as a whole: F major (bar 8), C major (28), D minor (39), B-flat major (59), G minor (83), A minor (102), and again F major at the end (118). But there is no regular alternation of solo and tutti throughout the movement, and without these cadential landmarks it would be very difficult for the listener to find an aural path through an extremely varied musical terrain, which is coloured by practically every combination of the instruments used, from the simple violin and continuo of the first episode (bars 9–10) to such densely-textured passages as bars 77–81, in which nearly every line is thematic.[15]

Dreyfus, on the other hand, following a cogent assessment of the peculiar properties of the movement's ritornello, indeed reads the structure of the movement as a consistent alternation of ritornellos and solos, with nine ritornellos.[16]

A mean between the two views expressed here might come closer to explaining the peculiar processes at work in the movement. Klaus Hofmann has presented a convincing case for the work's having originated as a chamber concerto for trumpet, recorder, oboe, violin, and basso continuo, with the ripieno parts—which contribute no real independent material—added later.[17] As would have been typical of the chamber concerto of Bach's time, the non-continuo parts would have played dual roles as both soloists and the constitu-

ents of the tutti.[18] Although this putative origin does not significantly affect a reading of the piece at hand, it does provide a possible explanation for the structural ambiguities in the piece. At the same time, the addition of ripieno strings provides a textural reinforcement of the tutti/solo dichotomy that would have been only simulated in a chamber concerto version.

A tabular listing of ritornello and solo sections suits the movement only uncomfortably, at best. The opening ritornello comprises mm.1–8/3 and divides into four two-measure segments, which can be designated R^1, R^2, R^3, and R^4. Bach begins to play with expectations of Vivaldian ritornello structure almost immediately after the initial ritornello. In fact, the material is presented with almost mathematical organization, and it is this organization that is in conflict with the putative Vivaldian structure.

At the end of m.8 a two-measure solo is presented by the principal violin, which is interrupted by what appears to be a tutti interjection consisting of R^1.[19] A pattern is established whereby a two-measure solo is followed by a two-measure ritornello segment. In m.13 the same solo material is presented in the oboe, now with an accompaniment figure in the violin. The tutti interjection again follows, with the voices interchanged and in the dominant. The solo theme moves yet again to the recorder (mm.17–18), and again R^1 is presented in the dominant (mm.19–20).

But now the identity of the tutti interjection material begins to be called into question. Where does the dominant ritornello begin? Measures 19–20 are simply a repetition of mm.15–16, which are themselves a transposition (with voice exchange) of mm.11–12. Measure 23 seems to initiate a ritornello, beginning with segment R^2, continuing with R^3, and concluding with R^4. This would appear to be the expected dominant ritornello. If, however, mm.20/4–22/3 were simply left out, then mm.23ff. would be simply a continuation of the material begun in mm.19–20, with some adjustments to keep the material in the appropriate octave register. Measure 18/4 could be considered the beginning of the dominant ritornello, and mm.20/4–22/3 could thus be explained as a solo interjection, turning the idea of tutti interjection on its head. That is, mm.18/4–20/3 would no longer constitute a tutti interjection; the interjection would be the solo material in mm.20/4–22/3. In fact, one becomes aware of the function of mm.18/4–20/3 only in hindsight, after the material in mm.22/4ff. has been played. One is being asked to listen, as it were, backward.[20]

What, then of mm.14/4–16/3? This passage is identical with mm.18/4–20/3

and stands in the same context, between two iterations of the solo theme. Is this material really a tutti interjection? If mm.18/4–20/3 are not, then is an analysis of mm.14/4–16/3, comprising exactly the same material, as tutti interjection justified? And what of mm.10/4–12/3, again the same material? Does the repetition of a segment perform the same function as its first statement? When does the solo material begin to be perceived as an interruption in the ritornello? In this regard, Bach has presented us with a structure that in some ways is analogous to certain drawings of Escher, in which material seems to transform itself from one form into another.[21]

Two further examples of modular structure from the final section of the movement show how the omission or insertion of modules contributes to the play upon the idea of the Vivaldian concerto (see table 3). The first of these examples concerns the juxtaposition of two ritornellos at the end of the movement. A similar juxtaposition in the first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No.4 is a result of the da capo structure. In the case of the Second Brandenburg, however, the effect is quite startling, all the more so because of the sudden unison texture at the beginning of the final ritornello.

To understand this juxtaposition it is necessary to trace the modules involved back to their initial iterations. Measures 93/4–102/3, constituting the penultimate ritornello, are a reiteration of mm.30/4–39/3.[22] This is the minor-key form of the ritornello, containing a true *Fortspinnung*.[23] In its original context, this module was followed by a solo section (mm.39/4–45/4), a ritornello module (mm.45/4–49) consisting of the first two original ritornello segments, and another solo (mm.50–55/4).

Now, however, mm.93/4–102/3 (= mm.30/4–39/3) lead directly to the final ritornello, corresponding to a module beginning with a variant of m.45/4. Thus the original material from the end of m.39 to m.45/4 has been left out, and two modules that were originally nonadjacent have been placed consecutively. This omission of the solo material from the earlier iteration of this passage will be compensated by the insertion of solo material into the continuation of the passage, that is, the final ritornello. The omission of the solo passage allows Bach to alter the original harmonic course: instead of moving up a third or down a sixth (originally from D minor to F major), Bach now is free to juxtapose two somewhat more distantly related keys: A minor and F major (moving either up a sixth or down a third). This tonal relationship is identical to the one between the two adjacent ritornellos at the end of the

Table 3. Structural Levels in Brandenburg Concerto No. 2, First Movement, mm. 67–118

Section	Measures	Key
Level A: R6	67/4–71	v
(R^1, R^2)		
Level B: ritornello motives		
Level A: s6	72–74/4	V/ii
Level B: variant of mm. 50–52		
Level A: R7	74/4–83/3	ii
(R^1–F–R^4)		
Level B: mm. 74/4–83/3 = mm. 30/4–39/3		
Level A: S7	83/4–93/4	ii–iii
Level B: derived from R^1, R^2		
Level A: R8	93/4–102/3	iii
(R^1, *Fortspinnung*, R^4)		
Level B: mm. 93/4–102/3 = mm. 30/4–39/3		
Level A: R9	102/4–118	I
(R^1, R^2, solo interjection, including variant of R^3 on V^7, R^3, R^4)		
Level B: mm. 102/4–106 = variant of mm. 45/4–49;		
mm. 107–12 = variant of mm. 50–55;		
mm. 113–14 (variant of R^3 on V^7) occur in same place as ritornello did in m. 56;		
mm. 115–18 = mm. 5–8		

first movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto and is a common tonal motion at the return of the A section of a da capo aria.

The second example, the final ritornello itself, invokes once again the idea of the solo interjection. This final ritornello (mm. 102/4–118) is remarkable for its initial sudden shift to a unison texture. But this ritornello also presents an example of modular reordering that calls its ritornello status momentarily into question. The opening of the ritornello presents the first two two-bar ritor-

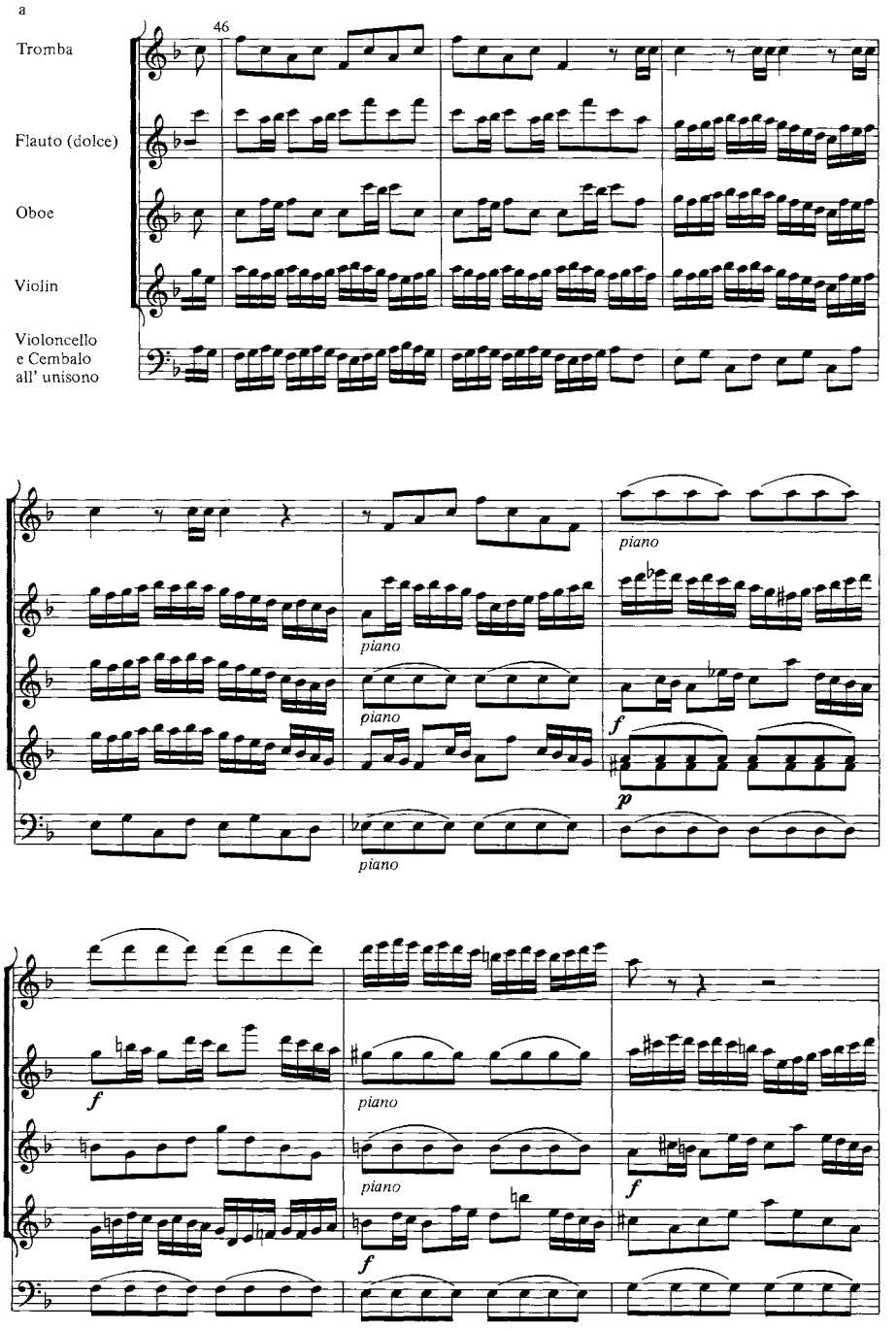
nello segments, R1 and R2. Bach then inserts a six-bar module taken from a solo section. Thus mm.107–12 are a reiteration of mm.50–55, with the important difference that a subtle alteration in m.112 now prolongs a secondary dominant rather than the dominant.[24] This is accomplished, in part, by changing the bass line so it descends a semitone rather than a tone as in m.55, producing the outline of the BACH motive in the bass.[25] Comparing this passage (ex.2*b*) with its original context (ex.2*a*), one can consider mm.102/4–106 to be a variation of mm.45/4–49; that is, both present the first two ritornello segments in some guise, and both are followed by a statement of the passage first heard in mm.50–55.

The material that follows the module comprising mm.50–55 in each case is different, and the different conclusions each cast a different light upon the passage. In the first case (mm.55/4–59/3, comprising segments R3 and R4 of the ritornello), one perceives this as a new ritornello in the subdominant, following a brief solo section. This effect is likely due to the shift in key with respect to mm.45/4–49, which are in the tonic. In the second case, mm.113–14, Bach presents a two-measure variant of R^3 prolonging a dominant seventh chord, which is perceived as a continuation of the solo interjection owing to its unstable harmony and lighter texture, at least in the transmitted orchestral version (note that this variant of R^3 occurs exactly where R^3 had occurred in the analogous passage in m.56). This is followed by the true continuation of the ritornello (R^3 and R^4) in the tonic. Since one perceives this passage as the continuation of the ritornello begun in m.102/4, the effect is that of demoting mm.107–12 from their original function as a solo to a solo interjection, an interruption of the ritornello analogous to that in mm.21–22 (with the interruption now after R^2 instead of R^1). The strong effect of the unison texture coinciding with the arrival at the tonic in m.103 as a signal of the final ritornello is undermined by the insertion of mm.107–14, which, if omitted, would have resulted in a more conventional closing ritornello.

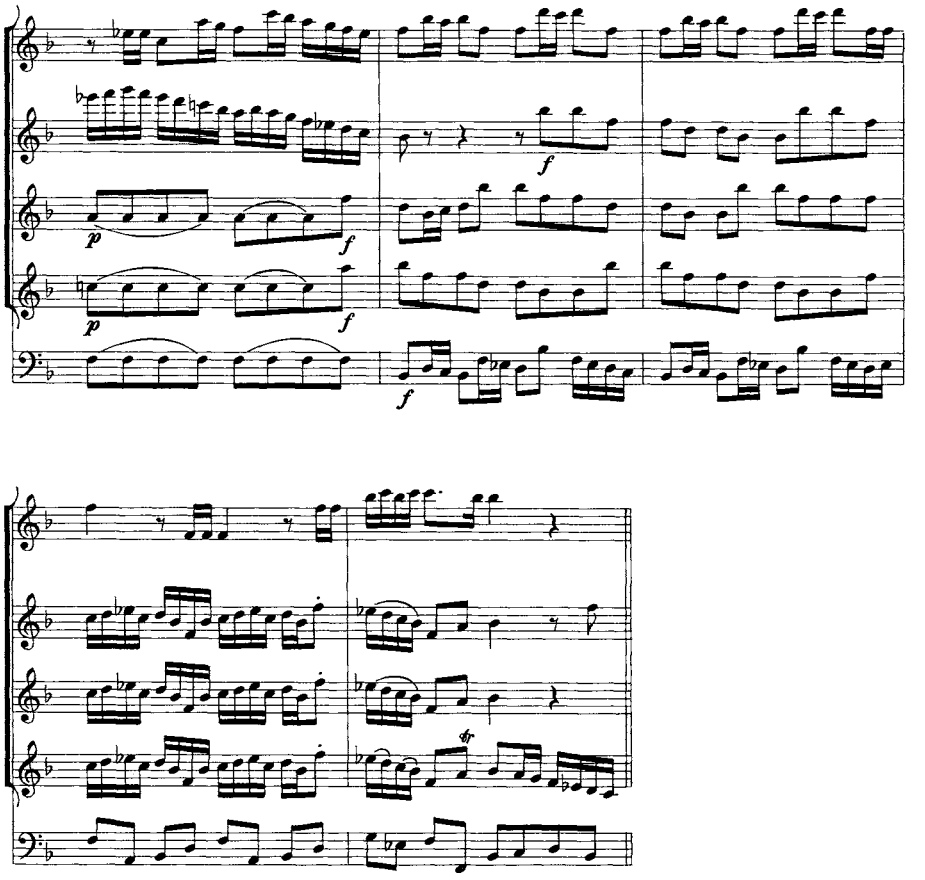
* * *

Although the use of modular composition is part and parcel of the structuring of ritornellos in Vivaldi's concertos, there the technique is generally used locally, to shorten internal ritornellos. The structure of a typical Vivaldian concerto is generally the structure articulated on the surface. This is one of the innovations of Vivaldi's own concertos: the ritornello segments serve as

Ex. 2 *a*. Brandenburg Concerto No. 2, mvt. 1: *a*. mm. 46–59; *b*. mm. 103–18 (ripieno parts, including viola and violone, omitted).



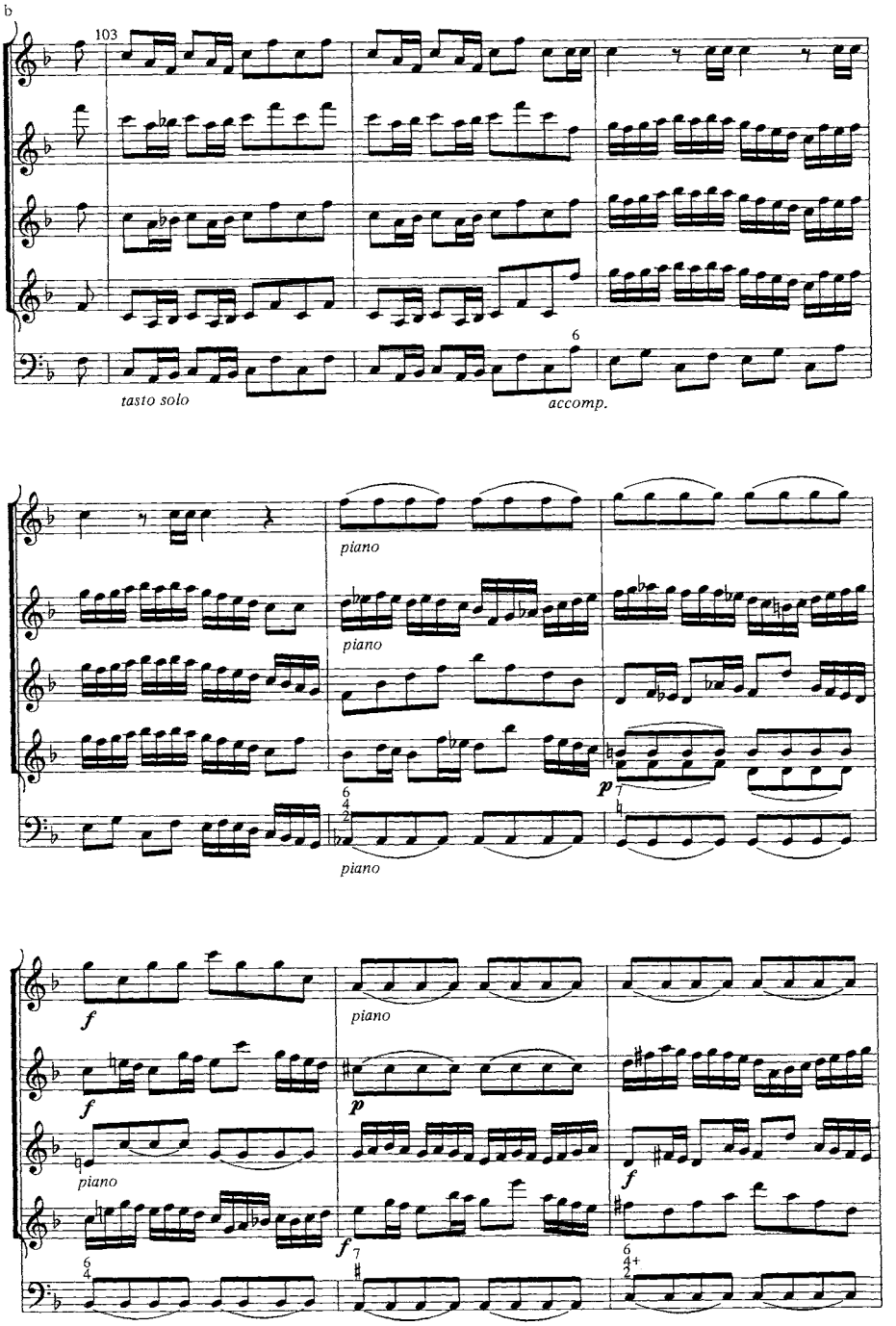
Ex. 2 *a*. Continued



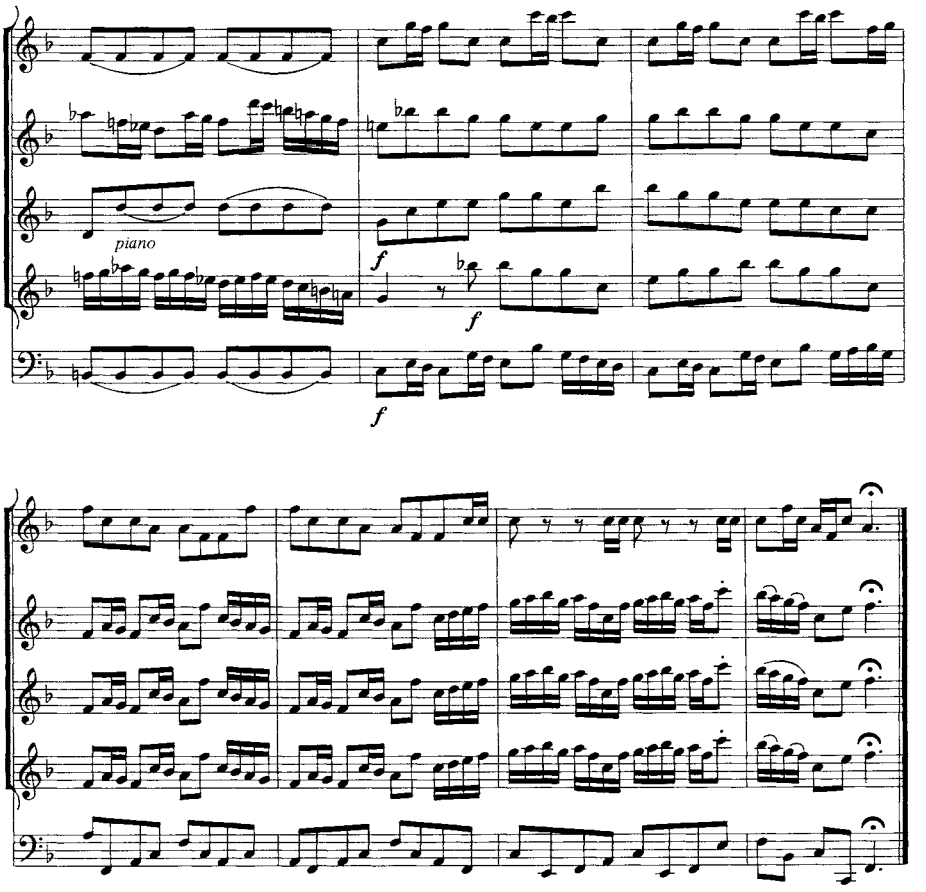
structural markers that guide the listener and anchor each new key as it is presented. The structural underpinnings of such concertos are clear.

In Bach's concerto movements, on the other hand, the superficially articulated structure may mask a deeper underlying formal foundation of the movement. This is true in many of the genres involving ritornellos in which Bach composed. In the genre of Vivaldian concerto, Bach seems more interested in the possibilities of a complex interplay of generic expectations than in the already conventional opposition and alternation of ritornello and solo. Thus his concerto movements constitute an exegesis of the Vivaldian concerto, rather than the emulation thereof.

Ex. 2 *b*.


b
103
tasto solo
6
accomp.
piano
piano
piano
p
f
piano
f
piano
p
f
piano
f
6
4+
2

Ex. 2 *b*. Continued



Whereas Bach uses modular construction in other genres—indeed, it seems to be an integral part of his musical language—in his concertos the manipulation of modules allows for a complex manipulation of the specific expectations that arise from the genre at the hands of a composer exploiting the very notion of genre. Modular structure serves this purpose by accommodating the partitioning of the ritornello in the traditional Vivaldian sense, but also by allowing modules initially employed in ritornellos to be placed into solo sections, or vice versa, and by juxtaposing modules that initially did not share the same tutti or solo function or that were not originally adjacent or even proximate. The modules are thus reinterpreted, and this change in meaning serves to blur

the outlines of the concerto structure, calling into question the genre of the piece. Although ritornellos are unquestionably crucial to the construction of Bach's concertos, they must be considered together with modular construction in order to arrive at the true structural foundations of the work.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Michael Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995); Susan McClary, "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics during Bach Year," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 21–41; and Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 59–83.

2. Previous commentators, such as Heinrich Besseler and Martin Geck, have cited a presumed absence of Vivaldian features in the first, third, and sixth concertos as pointing to a dating prior to Bach's first encounter with Vivaldi's concertos. See Heinrich Besseler, "Zur Chronologie der Konzerte Joh. Seb. Bachs," in *Festschrift Max Schneider zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Walther Vetter (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1955), 115–28; NBA VII/2 (*Sechs Brandenburgische Konzerte*, ed. Besseler), KB, 23–28; and Geck, "Gattungstraditionen und Altersschichten in den Brandenburgischen Konzerten," *Die Musikforschung* 23 (1970): 337–42.

3. See Jeanne Swack, "On the Origins of the Sonate auf Concertenart," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 369–414.

4. An excellent summary of the salient features of the Vivaldian concerto is given in Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 59–60.

5. Scheibe, for example, logically considered the ritornello to be the *Hauptsatz* of the concerto. See Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, 2d ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745; facs. rpt., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), 631.

6. Hans Eppstein provides a perceptive reading of this movement in "Zum Formproblem bei Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Bach-Studien 5: Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen*, ed. Rudolf Eller and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1975), 32–34, 40.

7. References in the form "m.13/3" refer to measure and beat respectively; where no beat number is given, beat 1 is assumed.

8. V = mm.1–12, F1 = mm.13–22, V = mm.23–34, F2 = mm.35–56, V = mm.57–69/1, F3 = mm.62–79/1, E = mm.79/1–83/1. The commonly used terms *Vordersatz* (opening

segment), *Fortspinnung* (spinning out), and *Epilog* (closing segment) first appeared in Wilhelm Fischer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1915): 24–84.

9. In the labeling of ritornello segments in this movement I follow Malcolm Boyd, *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 54. Gregory Butler, in his essay in this volume, questions whether mm.1–83 constitutes a single ritornello. By the word "permutation" I mean the setting out of a series of modules that appear in new orderings and contexts later in the piece.

10. See Marissen, *Social and Religious Designs*, 62–64.

11. See the diagram in Boyd, *Bach*, 56–57.

12. Cf. Ibid., 56.

13. See also Marissen, *Social and Religious Designs*, 72, for a discussion of this passage in terms of the apparent stylistic inappropriateness of the principal violin part.

14. Marissen, *Social and Religious Designs*, 65ff., provides a more extended discussion of possible allusions in this movement to the minuet and the social hierarchy of the court ensemble.

15. Boyd, *Bach*, 75.

16. Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 78–83.

17. Klaus Hofmann, "Zur Fassungsgeschichte des 2. Brandenburgischen Konzerts," in *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmunder Bach-Symposium Witten*, ed. Martin Geck and Werner Breig (Dortmund: Klangfarben, 1997), 1185–92.

18. On the dual roles played by the instruments in chamber concertos of Vivaldi and Bach's German contemporaries, see Swack, "On the Origins," 376ff.

19. In the context of the piece as a chamber concerto, a tutti interjection would be performed by the solo instruments simulating an orchestral tutti.

20. Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 81, begins the ritornello in m.23, without offering the possibility that it begins in m.19.

21. See, for example, Escher's "Day and Night" (1938), reproduced in Douglas R. Hofstadter, *Gödel, Escher, Bach: An Eternal Golden Braid* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 252.

22. This module also recurs as mm.74/4–83/3.

23. As Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 82–83, has pointed out.

24. An abbreviated variant of this solo module also appears in mm.72–74.

25. One could consider the passage from m.107–12 as presenting two overlapping BACH motives in the bass, with the first (mm.107–10) transposed and the second

(mm.110–12) at the proper BACH pitch. The transposed version had also been present in mm.50–54, while mm.52–56 comprised a faulty version, with a whole step between the final two pitches. Elke Lang-Becker, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Brandenburgischen Konzerte* (Munich: Fink, 1990), 43, has pointed out the BACH motive in mm.109–12.

PART TWO

Interpretation

The Harpsichord Culture in Bach's Environs

John Koster

Although Bach scholars have gradually accumulated and interpreted considerable evidence about Bach's stringed keyboard instruments during the past two centuries, much of the information is essentially irrelevant to musical matters—for example, that the most valuable harpsichord in Bach's estate was veneered. Objective methods of analysis often provide trivial answers; it can, for example, be positively stated only that the "Goldberg" Variations were written for two-manual harpsichord, of some unknown type, with keyboards including the notes GG to d'''. Subjective methods, on the other hand, vary so greatly from study to study that, one suspects, each answer reflects the prejudices of its author;[1] the Well-Tempered Clavier is variously thought to have been written for harpsichord, fretted or unfretted clavichord, organ, or even the early piano. Broadly based inquiries incorporating a multiplicity of types of evidence and methods of analysis are equally problematical. Even so brilliant a study as that of Sheridan Germann cannot demonstrate conclusively that the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto was written with a harpsichord by Michael Mietke in mind, and a fundamentally important question about the Mietke harpsichord in Cöthen—whether it had a 16′ stop—remains both unanswered and unanswerable.[2]

Despite the uncertainties about Bach's keyboard instruments and his use of them, it is at least reasonable to assume that he and those around him did, much of the time, play his *manualiter* works on harpsichords. Bach's estate included five *Clavecins* at three levels of valuation: one instrument at eighty talers, three at fifty, and one "smaller" instrument at twenty.[3] Although it has been suggested that the major difference between the fifty- and eighty-taler instruments was one of smaller and larger keyboard compasses,[4] a few more keys should not increase the value of a harpsichord by 60 percent.[5] If one assumes

that one or more of the fifty-taler harpsichords was a two-manual instrument with the "standard" three stops (i.e., 8′ + 8′ + 4′), then the additional valuation of the eighty-taler harpsichord might better be interpreted to have covered such features as a 16′ stop or a third 8′ register, if not merely some special decorative veneering. Thus Bach would have owned harpsichords of at least three different sizes and dispositions, ranging from a smallish single-manual instrument to a large two-manual.

It seems reasonable to assume that the variety of harpsichords within Bach's household reflected, to some degree, the variety of harpsichords found in those areas of Germany where Bach was active. Even if Bach, his patrons, and local colleagues did not own examples of every different model of harpsichord available in this area, he would doubtless have encountered and played most of them during his travels. Further, he would have expected his works, published or distributed in manuscript, to have been played on the various types of harpsichords that he had encountered. Thus the question of Bach's harpsichords is perhaps best answered by a survey of extant instruments made in his environs and of those rare contemporary documents that tell us something meaningful about them.[6]

THE OVERALL STATE OF HARPSICHORD MAKING IN BACH'S GERMANY

The making of stringed keyboard instruments in Germany during Bach's lifetime was astonishingly rich and diverse, even if one chooses to disregard the many "expressive" *Claviere*[7] and considers only harpsichords. In contrast to the situation in France or England, where political and cultural life was focused around a central monarchy and harpsichord making was centered in one city (Paris or London), in Germany the political, cultural, and geographical conditions were such that harpsichord making was completely noncentralized. A history of Thuringia published the year before Bach's birth states proudly that "here they build in villages . . . stringed instruments such as violins, basses, viole da gamba, harpsichords, spinets, citterns."[8]

Such conditions in the German principalities had several important consequences for instrument making: (1) archaic practices of design and construction could long survive, here and there, unaffected by fashions established in more cosmopolitan centers of instrument making such as Antwerp, Paris, and London; nevertheless, (2) the nonexistence of a dominant national style al-

lowed individual German makers to be freely innovative, whether under their own initiative, at the suggestion of individual musicians, or because of influence from elsewhere; therefore, (3) instrument making was subject to wide variation depending on each individual maker's circumstances at each particular time. Thus the diversity of German harpsichords evident from extant instruments and documents is to be expected, and the modern tendency to group German makers into schools is misleading. Frank Hubbard categorized German harpsichords into Hamburg and Saxon schools,[9] but even the superficially coherent Hamburg school, in which the instruments invariably have painted cases with round tails, falls apart when one looks more closely at the several Hamburg makers' individual design and construction practices. For example, each of the eight surviving harpsichords made by members of the Hass family of Hamburg is unique: they have one, two, or three manuals, six different compasses, and eight different dispositions of stops.[10] This may be compared with the work of three German-born makers working in Paris: Antoine Vater, his pupil Henri Hemsch, and the latter's brother, Guillaume. Their eight extant harpsichords all have two manuals of compass FF to e''' or FF to f''', with the standard French disposition.[11]

Historical harpsichord making is usually seen, following the pioneering work of Raymond Russell and Frank Hubbard, as having been polarized, since the middle of the sixteenth century, into two schools, the Italian and the Flemish.[12] Because eighteenth-century French harpsichord makers were strongly influenced by the Flemish Ruckers family, the work of these two adjacent regions is often grouped together as "Franco-Flemish." There is a certain historical validity to speaking of Italian and Franco-Flemish schools of harpsichord making, but difficulties often occur in categorizing instruments possessing both "Italianate" and "Franco-Flemish" features or features that fall between the two extremes. This eclectic or "intermediate" category includes virtually all extant German instruments.

A harpsichord by Christian Zell, Hamburg, 1728, for example, seems to bear out the statement in a recent discussion about the keyboard instruments available to Bach, that "German harpsichord makers borrowed elements of both French and Italian models."[13] The instrument has the standard French two-manual disposition: 8′ + 4′ stops on the lower keyboard, 8′ on the upper, and a shove coupler. Moreover, its scaling, with the c'' string 347 mm. long, is close to Flemish and eighteenth-century French standards. On the other

hand, its bridges are molded like Italian bridges, and its case walls are attached to the edges of the bottom board, as in Italian instruments. The thicknesses of the case walls—the spine of 12 mm. pine, the bent side and cheekpiece of 8 mm. maple—are intermediate between the typical Italian 4 mm. and Franco-Flemish 15 mm. Nevertheless, even if it is granted that the standard two-manual harpsichord disposition was first developed in mid-seventeenth-century France, it is not so absolutely clear that the other "Franco-Flemish" or "Italian" technical features were really adopted, directly or indirectly, from Italian, Flemish, or French models. There are, for example, only two ways to attach case walls to the bottom board: the "Italian" manner used by Zell, and the "Flemish" manner, used by another Hamburg maker, Carl Conrad Fleischer—whose widow Zell married—in which the bottom board is attached to the bottom edge of the walls.[14] If the joint is not done one way, it must be done the other; thus it is reasonable to hypothesize that Zell's tradition of harpsichord case construction arose independently in Germany. In general, it is useful to consider that any individual feature of harpsichord making might have arisen in Germany independently from its use by Italian, Flemish, or French makers, simply because there are a limited number of reasonable solutions to any particular technical requirement.

Edwin M. Ripin was perhaps the first to recognize the existence of a harpsichord-making tradition characterized mostly by features "intermediate" between Italian and Flemish practice, and to note that this style was prevalent throughout most of northern Europe until 1700.[15] Although Ripin, regarding this tradition as transitional between the Italian and Flemish styles, called it "intermediate," I have proposed to call it, more neutrally, an "international style."[16] This international style—perhaps better called a tradition, as it can be defined only as a set of various technical tendencies or possibilities—unfolded directly from an original "Gothic" tradition of making stringed keyboard instruments centered in Germany and the adjacent Burgundian Netherlands. In this interpretation, Italian harpsichord making is seen as a separate offshoot of the Gothic tradition. The earliest extant relic of that tradition is a late-fifteenth-century German upright harpsichord, now at the Royal College of Music in London.[17] This instrument, which predates all extant Italian stringed keyboard instruments, displays many of the "Italianate" features (e.g., a molded nut and thin case walls attached to the edges of the bottom) seen in

some later German harpsichords. Thus German harpsichord making in Bach's time can, like organ building, be regarded as the culmination of an archaic native tradition that can be traced back as far as the fifteenth century.

An example of archaism is provided by an anonymous early-eighteenth-century Thuringian harpsichord now in the collection of the Bachhaus museum in Eisenach (pl. 1).[18] The instrument's wrest plank is only a narrow piece near the nameboard, and what in a French or Flemish harpsichord would merely be veneer over a wide wrest plank is actually resonant soundboard wood. Thus the nut is acoustically active and functions as a second bridge. In general, this seems to promote the production of a comparatively loud but rapidly decaying tone with a full, fundamental quality. The same type of construction is found in several of the very few extant German harpsichords of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the earliest example, made by Hans Müller in Leipzig in 1537 (pl. 2).[19]

That the Bachhaus harpsichord was, in its archaic wrest plank, not unusual among harpsichords in Bach's environs is suggested by Jacob Adlung's account of harpsichord making in *Musica mechanica organoedi*.[20] Adlung, who as an amateur clavichord maker obviously had a clear understanding of how instruments were constructed, habitually refers to wrest pins and harpsichord jacks as passing through the soundboard. In describing a harpsichord with a 4′ set of strings, he mentions that there must be an oak rail under the area of the soundboard through which the 4′ wrest pins are driven.[21] Thus, evidently, to Adlung the normal construction was like that of the Müller harpsichord of 1537, in which the soundboard, slotted for passage of the jacks, extends all the way to the nameboard.

Adlung's discussion of the harpsichord is particularly close to Bach's milieu. Although *Musica mechanica organoedi* was published posthumously in 1768, the text was written largely during Adlung's years in Jena (1723 to 1727). There he knew Johann Nicolaus Bach (1669–1753), organist, maker of stringed keyboard instruments, and a second cousin of J. S. Bach.[22] That Adlung maintained connections with the Bach family is suggested by his later work, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (Erfurt, 1758), with its preface by Johann Ernst Bach, a second cousin once removed and pupil of J. S. Bach. The text of *Musica mechanica organoedi* was edited for publication by Johann Lorenz Albrecht, who, together with Johann Friedrich Agricola—a former student of Bach—

Plate 1. Harpsichord, maker unknown, Thuringia, early eighteenth century (Bachhaus, Eisenach; Inv.-Nr. I 77).

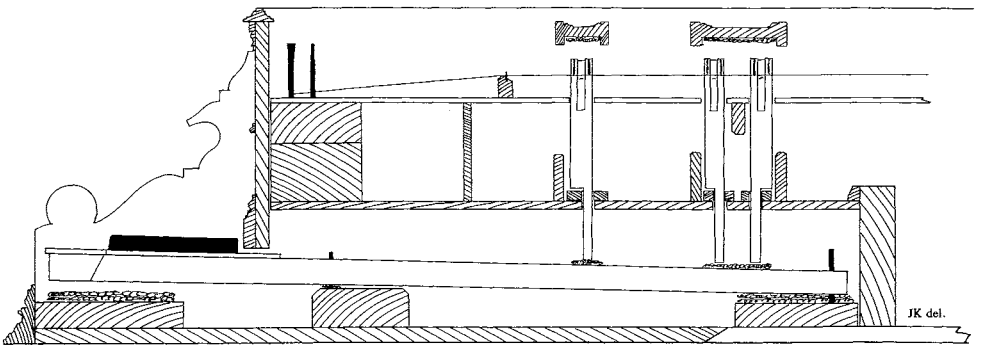


Plate 2. Harpsichord, Hans Müller, Leipzig, 1537 (Museo degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome): Elevation, showing contruction of the wrest plank and soundboard (some details of the action are conjectural).

contributed corrective and supplementary footnotes. Albrecht and Agricola left Adlung's remarks, with their implication about the construction of the wrest plank, to stand without further comment.

Here it should be emphasized that general characterizations of German harpsichord tone should be used with caution. The Thuringian harpsichord in the Bachhaus is, to my knowledge, the only extant eighteenth-century German harpsichord with the archaic wrest plank construction. My description of the timbral effect of the resonant nut is based on experience with only a few playable instruments of this type. The complex interactions of the various elements of harpsichord design and construction—of which some of the most important include string scaling and material, plucking points, soundboard material, and ribbing—and the variety of these elements in German harpsichords should be borne in mind when one reads that "individual tones on the older stringed instruments seem to take a bit longer to achieve full resonance than on the modern piano"[23] or that "brass strings . . . produced a relatively sustained 'organ-like' sonority."[24] Many scholars and harpsichord makers now assume that short-scaled German instruments were designed for brass strings.[25] There is some evidence, however, that short scalings (with c″ strings about 315 mm. long) might not always imply the use of brass strings, necessarily at a very low pitch. Rather, this might allow the use of iron strings either at a high pitch (i.e., *Chorton*, about a semitone above modern pitch) or at a stress significantly below the limits of the material's tensile strength.[26]

Another characteristic of German harpsichord making was the possibility of unfettered innovation. In most places there seems to have been no legal structure to regulate the making of stringed keyboard instruments. Thus Johann Nicolaus Bach, a musician, could become a part-time instrument maker, free to devise the lute-harpsichords and clever stop-changing mechanism described by Adlung.[27] By contrast, at about the same time in Paris the new keyboard instruments devised by the mechanical engineer Jean Marius were strenuously challenged in lawsuits brought by the guild of master musical instrument makers.[28]

A further important characteristic of German stringed keyboard instrument making is its close association with organ building. Many of the most notable harpsichord makers, such as Gottfried Silbermann and Zacharias Hildebrandt, were primarily organ builders, just as most professional harpsichordists were primarily organists. From this circumstance, which originated in the Gothic period and survived in Germany through the end of the eighteenth century, there was a natural tendency for concepts to be transferred from the organ to the harpsichord and other stringed keyboard instruments.[29]

FOREIGN PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE

In 1955 Friedrich Ernst concluded that Bach's harpsichords were primarily of Italian and Flemish origin.[30] Ten years later, Frank Hubbard emphasized that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries most harpsichords in Germany were imported from Italy and Flanders, with French influence becoming predominant by the end of the seventeenth century.[31] More recently, the discovery and description of many previously unknown German harpsichords have made necessary a reevaluation of these views.[32] In this new interpretation, the importance of foreign influence on German makers is minimized, allowing only a few specific contributions. Italian harpsichords, for example, might have given Hans Müller, in 1537, or a predecessor the idea of making the soundboard of cypress. Thereafter, however, the occasional use of cypress in harpsichords made or used in Germany need not necessarily indicate direct Italian influence or presence. Thus, for example, the "*Clavicimbul* with two registers, of cypress with an ivory keyboard to GG," listed in an inventory of the electoral court in Dresden in 1681, might not have been made in Italy, as Hubbard assumed,[33] any more than the keyboard material—ivory, rarely found on Italian instruments—implies an African or Indian origin. During the same period

Joachim Tielke was making *Hamburger Cithrinchen* with cypress bellies.[34] Similarly, in 1746 the Berlin cabinetmakers Martin and Christoph Boehme provided a "cedar *Clavecin*" (or perhaps just cedar or cypress for a harpsichord) to the court of Frederick the Great.[35]

The use of, and significant direct influence from, harpsichords by the Ruckers or other Flemish makers seems to have been confined to the extreme northern portion of Bach's Germany. Several Flemish harpsichords are known to have been present there in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most notably the instrument shown in a group portrait including Johann Adam Reinken and Dietrich Buxtehude.[36] Ruckers harpsichords probably inspired some Hamburg makers, including members of the Fleischer and Hass families, to employ a few specific techniques: for example, the system of soundboard ribbing in which the bent side, 4′ hitch pin rail, and cutoff bar define areas of free soundboard around the bridges unencumbered by ribs crossing underneath.[37] Nevertheless, numerous equally important details were presumably derived purely from earlier German traditions—for example, the S-shaped bent sides and frequent unusual dispositions. An apparent amalgamation of the Flemish and the native international style can be seen in a harpsichord by Carl Conrad Fleischer, Hamburg, 1716, in which the 4′ hitch pin rail is of massive dimensions like those in Ruckers harpsichords.[38] Fleischer, however, chamfered its upper edges so that only a small surface, similar to that of the slender rails often found in international-style harpsichords, is actually glued to the soundboard.

Michael Mietke, toward the end of the seventeenth century, was said to have deceptively sold some of his earlier harpsichords as high-priced French imports.[39] This might indicate merely that instruments in his usual German style were decorated in the French fashion, but it is possible that one or two Parisian harpsichords had actually been brought to Berlin and might have influenced Mietke. These would have been seventeenth-century French instruments, made in the same international style practiced in Germany: Mietke would not have found anything about scaling, case construction, or soundboard ribbing that he could not have learned from German instruments. The most consistent and distinctive features of French harpsichords made from about 1650 to about 1690 are their dainty keyboards, with compass GG/BB to c‴, and their dispositions, most frequently with two manuals, which, from the best-preserved examples, seem usually or invariably to have had the

standard disposition found later in eighteenth-century French instruments.[40] Mietke's keys are indeed rather dainty, and his "black" harpsichord (now in Schloß Charlottenburg, Berlin) has the French two-manual disposition.[41] Since Mietke is known, however, to have made at least two harpsichords with 16′ stops,[42] which are never found on French instruments of the period, the French influence was obviously not all-pervasive, even in the instance of the one German maker who is specifically said to have imitated the French.

NONSTANDARD DISPOSITIONS

Because of the Bach-Cöthen-Mietke connection, extant harpsichords by Mietke or attributable to him, especially the "black" two-manual harpsichord and modern copies of it, have achieved a certain status as authentic Bach harpsichords. The black harpsichord happens to have what has been called the "simple, classic" disposition,[43] that is, the registrational format of the standard late-twentieth-century two-manual harpsichord derived from eighteenth-century French models. The introduction and acceptance of this standard modern classic harpsichord should largely be credited to the efforts and artistry of the Boston-based makers Frank Hubbard and William Dowd. Hubbard stated quite plainly "the extremely important fact that most German harpsichords show the same disposition as the French."[44] This was written before the discovery of many pertinent instruments and documents, but even confining ourselves to Hubbard's own tables of data about German harpsichords,[45] we find that only seven of the fifteen instruments in those tables have the standard French two-manual disposition; of the twelve two-manual instruments, no fewer than five are anomalous. Clearly, Hubbard allowed his own convictions about the characteristics of the ideal harpsichord to affect his informal statistical analysis. Although a fairly substantial number of extant German harpsichords have dispositions that seem normal to us (i.e., singles disposed 8′ + 8′ or 8′ + 8′ + 4′ and doubles with the French disposition), an equally substantial number have dispositions that display an extraordinary degree of ingenuity. Two major propensities, sometimes bound together, can be observed: the idea of the harpsichord as a "color machine" and the influence of the organ.

The dispositions of Italian, Ruckers-period Flemish, and French harpsichords were generally quite "chaste," with their strings plucked by jacks in "normal" positions relative to the ends of the strings, so as to produce a "typical" harpsichord tone, varying only moderately within an instrument. In a

French harpsichord, for example, the difference between the plucking points of the lower-manual 8′ stop and the upper 8′ is only about 50 mm. In Germany, however, already in 1537, the Müller harpsichord, with two sets of strings plucked by two registers of jacks in the normal position, had an additional set of jacks plucking one set of strings very near the nut, producing a brilliant, reedy, nasal timbre. At c′ the difference in plucking points between the nearest and farthest registers is 101 mm.

That a single-manual disposition with 8′ + 8′ stringing and three registers, one of them nasal, is found on several of the very few extant seventeenth-century German harpsichords suggests that it was something of a standard feature.[46] Clearly, the purpose of this disposition, which arose at about the same time that organs were being provided with colorful new reed and flute stops, was to provide a variety of distinctive timbres. Occasionally, these three standard registers were supplemented by a 4′ stop.[47] In one instrument of about 1630 (pl. 3), the two sets of 8′ strings are plucked by five registers, including two nasal stops (one with metal plectra), two normal stops, and one exceptionally far from the nut.[48] Frequently, a buff stop also contributed to the tonal palette. The origin of the Müller harpsichord in Leipzig, the presence of a single-manual *Clavizimbul* with four registers in Dresden in 1681, and Adlung's familiarity with single-manual dispositions of this type suggest that such colorful instruments were known in Bach's environs.[49]

The concept of harpsichord as color machine certainly inhabits the registrations that C. P. E. Bach indicated for a sonata written in 1747 in Berlin (W. 69; H. 53).[50] Here, especially in the final movement (a set of variations), is a kaleidoscope of registrations, including upper-manual 8′ "damped" (i.e., with the buff stop) coupled to the lower-manual 4′; solo 4′ accompanied by upper-manual 8′ with buff; and 8′ + 8′ on the upper manual, accompanying 8′ + 4′ on the lower. Employing the stop names used by the composer, the disposition reconstructed from the registrations is as follows: lower manual with *Flöte* 8′ (i.e., a register with a relatively distant plucking point) and *Octav* 4′; upper manual with *Cornet* 8′ and *Spinet* 8′; buff stop affecting the *Cornet*. Because the registrations require both *Cornet* and *Spinet* to be coupled to the lower manual and to be used independently, there must have been an actual coupler (i.e., not a register of dogleg jacks shared between the two keyboards). In eighteenth-century Germany, the terms *Spinet* and *Cornet* were both used for registers in close proximity to the nut.[51] Because in this sonata the *Cornet* is used much

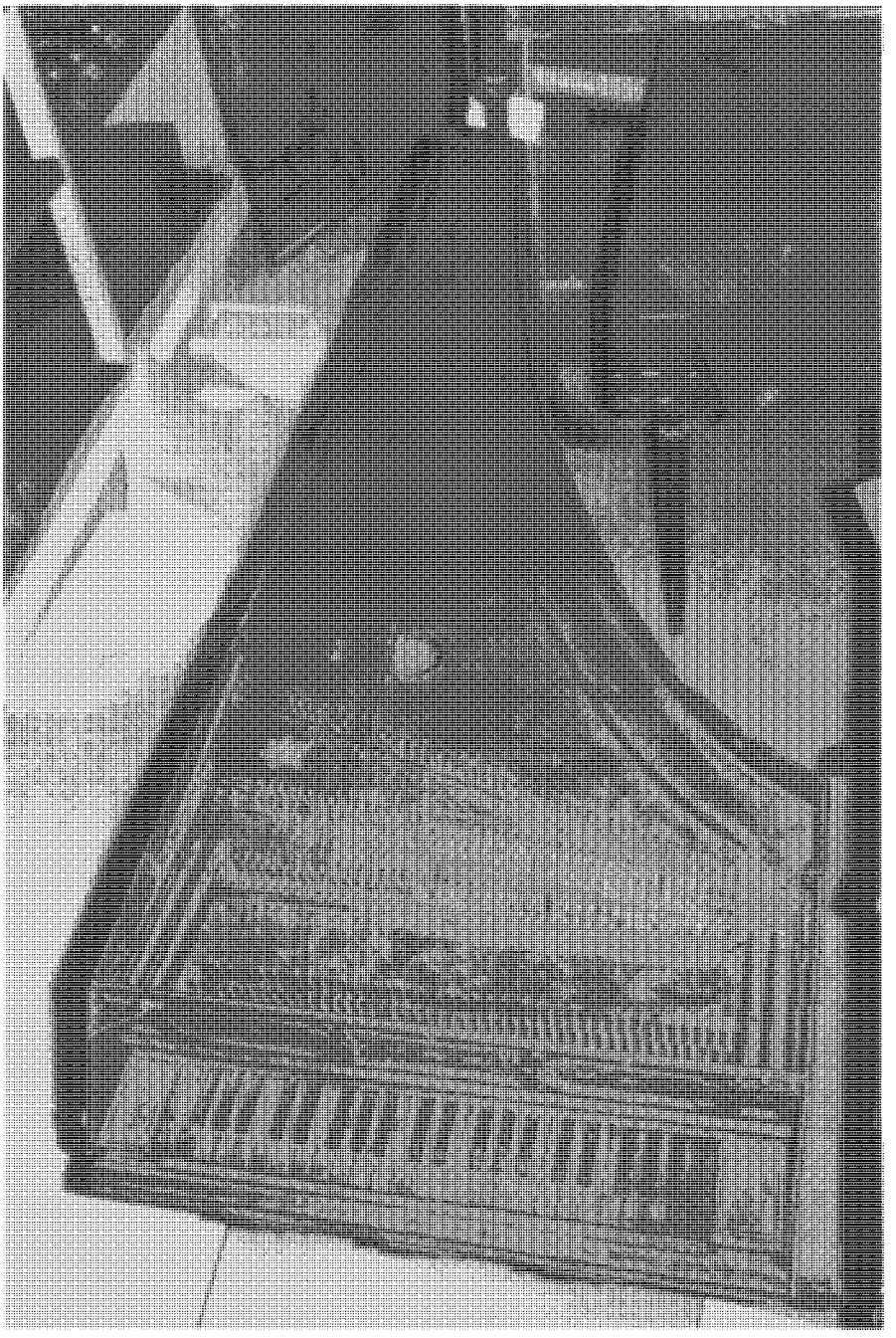


Plate 3. Harpsichord, maker unknown, southern Germany, about 1630 (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; Inv.-Nr. Mu 78).

more frequently than the *Spinet*, it is likely that the latter was the more nasal stop, the too-frequent use of which would be likely to weary the ear. Thus the *Cornet* would have been the "normal" upper-manual 8′ register. Because both *Cornet* and *Spinet* were used while uncoupled to the lower manual with the *Flöte* stop engaged, neither of the upper-manual registers could have plucked the same set of strings as the *Flöte*, lest there be damper interference. Because the buff stop affected the *Cornet* but is not indicated for the *Spinet*, it is likely that the buff stop could not affect the *Spinet*, i.e., that the two upper-manual registers plucked different sets of strings.[52]

Thus the harpsichord called for by this sonata had four sets of strings and four registers, 8′ + 8′ + 8′ + 4′. This instrument can be regarded as an amalgamation of the archaic German single-manual multiple-8′ disposition, including a nasal register, and the standard French two-manual scheme. Moreover, it is likely that some of Bach's pupils (of whom his son Emanuel was the most prominent), if not J. S. Bach himself, would have applied such playful and colorful registrations to another set of variations also appearing in the 1740s: the "Goldberg" Variations.

Two-manual harpsichords like Emanuel Bach's, with more than the normal complement of two 8′ stops, might not have been utterly uncommon. One by Hieronymous Albrecht Hass, Hamburg, 1723, with three sets of 8′ strings and a 4′, has long been known.[53] Recently, Lance Whitehead has reconstructed the original disposition of another two-manual harpsichord by the same maker, dated 1721: this instrument seems almost certainly to have had five registers acting on three 8′ and two 4′ sets of strings.[54] Here the intention seems to have been to provide not only a variety of 8′ tone but also an independent 4′ register on each keyboard. Jacob Adlung, closer to the center of J. S. Bach's activity, describes somewhat similar harpsichords with two sets of 4′ strings in addition to two 8′ sets.[55]

Adlung also describes a slightly different type of harpsichord in which the same strings are plucked by different registers on two or even three keyboards:

> triple-strung [harpsichords] are mostly two 8′ and 4′, [but] sometimes an overspun 16′ string is found instead of an 8′. . . . It is very nice if a harpsichord has two keyboards, even if it has only three sets of strings. One can set it up so that the upper keyboard affects the front row of jacks, the lower controls the rest, and when all registers are to sound together the keyboards are to be coupled. However, one can also install extra rows of jacks, so that the lower manual can

> play all the registers [i.e., sets of strings] without coupling, and the upper can be played single, double, or triple [i.e., with up to three registers].[56]

Elsewhere he writes: "One can, however, make harpsichords with two or three keyboards above each other: in which case it is best if the jacks of all the keyboards pluck the same strings."[57] Adlung then refers to his description of J. N. Bach's lute-harpsichords with such an arrangement, in which the upper manual, with its register plucking nearer to the nut and providing a brighter tone, is regarded as providing the instrument's *forte*.[58]

The final sentence of the first of these quotations suggests that Adlung or his contemporaries would not have been astonished to find a two-manual harpsichord with 8′ + 8′ + 4′ stringing and with 8′ + 8′ + 4′ registers on each keyboard. Even without a coupler, this would provide a wealth of registrational possibilities, limited only by the necessity of avoiding the simultaneous use of registers plucking the same sets of strings (lest the jacks on one keyboard damp the strings plucked by the other keyboard's jacks). Such a disposition and others in which there is more than one register on the upper manual might have facilitated the registration of works such as the Italian Concerto, in which passages marked *piano*, when played on a standard harpsichord with a single 8′ on the upper manual, are sometimes overwhelmed by the *forte* lower manual.

The influence of the organ on German harpsichord making has long been recognized in German makers' occasional provision of 16′ stops. A remarkable instance of such influence is a harpsichord owned by Bach's pupil and successor in Weimar, Johann Casper Vogler (1696–1763): it had a pedal disposed 32′ + 16′ + 8′ + 8′.[59] The two manuals had the standard 8′ + 8′ + 4′ disposition, but their compass was six octaves, CC to c′′′′. This would have allowed most of the contemporary keyboard literature, which largely falls within a four-octave C to c′′′ compass, to be played an octave lower or higher, i.e., in effect with 16′ + 16′ + 8′ or 4′ + 4′ + 2′ registrations.

As for harpsichords of normal compass with conventional 16′ stops, these might not have been so rare as some modern writers have thought. Stauffer, for example, although admitting that middle-German makers occasionally provided 16′ stops, suggests that "they were nevertheless unusual enough to merit special mention, both in treatises and sales announcements."[60] To the contrary, however, one could argue by analogy that present-day advertisements for cars with four-wheel drive or air conditioning should not be taken by future

historians as implying that these features were rare in the 1990s. In any case, one could point to an advertisement in Leipzig in 1731 for an undoubtedly unusual instrument, a hammer-action *Cymbal-Clavier*, which was described as being "in the form of a 16′ harpsichord," with which readers were obviously expected to be familiar.[61]

Perhaps the most remarkable document recently to have been discovered about harpsichords in Bach's environs is an advertisement, in the *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt* of 4 October 1775, for "a four-choired harpsichord [*Flügel*], beautifully veneered in walnut, by Zacharias Hildebrandt, for sale. This has two keyboards from FF to f‴. On the lower manual are a *Principal* 16′ and *Principal* 8′. On the upper are a *Cornet* 8′ and *Octava* 4′. For strengthening the bass there is a *Spinet* 8′ of two octaves, borrowed from the *Cornet*. Herewith are five registers with which, by using the coupler, very many variations can be made."[62] As Herbert Heyde, who discovered this document, points out, the harpsichord was probably made in Leipzig before 1750, since Hildebrandt (1688–1757), active there from the mid-1730s, left in 1750 to assist Gottfried Silbermann in building the monumental organ for the Catholic Schloßkirche in Dresden.[63] During the final period of Bach's life, no instrument maker is known to have worked in closer association with Bach than Hildebrandt. According to Agricola, the two collaborated in making a lute-harpsichord.[64] Hildebrandt also took care of instruments in Leipzig churches, including the harpsichord at St. Thomas.[65]

The disposition of the Hildebrandt harpsichord advertised in 1775 is remarkable in several ways. First is its organlike character: clearly, the intention was to provide resources analogous to those of an organ like that in the Dresden Schloßkirche, with a 16′ *Hauptwerk* "of large and massive [*gravitätischen*] scaling" and an 8′ *Oberwerk* "of sharp and penetrating scaling."[66] Second is the *Spinet*, presumably a close-plucking nasal register on the upper manual from FF to f, acting on the same strings as the normal upper-manual 8′ stop, the *Cornet*. This was probably intended to act as a foil to the 16′ stop, that is, to enrich the bass with bright harmonics, for the same reason that the Hass family occasionally included a 2′ stop in the lower part of the compass of harpsichords with 16′ stops. Third, the Hildebrandt harpsichord is extraordinary—or seems so to us—in that, except for the supplementary *Spinet*, it had the same disposition as the "Bach harpsichord" so admired by early modern harpsichord revivalists and so despised by later scholars and performers.[67]

Because the harpsichords in Bach's environs were diverse in their musical qualities and registrational resources, each performance would have involved some degree of adjustment in order to match the musical text to the characteristics of the particular instrument in use. Although it is not inappropriate for today's performers to employ, for Bach's works, the "classic" registrational possibilities available on the 8′ + 8′ + 4′ two-manual or 8′ + 8′ single-manual harpsichords that are most familiar in our time, neither is there any evidence to suggest that it is especially appropriate to do so.[68] Indeed, one might go so far as to say that it is entirely inappropriate for present-day interpretations to be restricted to the relatively limited variety of resources available on the harpsichords typically found in late-twentieth-century concert halls and recording studios.

NOTES

1. This is discussed further in John Koster, "The Quest for Bach's *Clavier:* An Historiographical Interpretation," *Early Keyboard Journal* 14 (1996): 65–84.

2. See Sheridan Germann, "The Mietkes, the Margrave, and Bach," in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 119–48.

3. BR, 193.

4. See George B. Stauffer, "J. S. Bach's Harpsichords," in *Festa musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995), 304.

5. Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (Erfurt, 1758; facs. rpt., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 556, notes that extending the compass of harpsichords does not cost as much as doing so in organs.

6. In addition to Stauffer, "J. S. Bach's Harpsichords," important surveys include John Henry van der Meer, "Beiträge zur Cembalobau im deutschen Sprachgebiet bis 1700," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1966): 103–33, and Hubert Henkel, "Der Cembalobau der Bach-Zeit im sächsisch-thüringischen und im Berliner Raum," in *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum III. Internationalen Bach-Fest der* DDR (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977), 361–74.

7. These instruments—pianos, *Lautenwerke*, *Geigenwerke*, clavichords, etc.—are discussed in John Koster, "Pianos and Other 'Expressive' Claviere in J. S. Bach's Circle," *Early Keyboard Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 4 (October 1993): 1–11; 8, no. 1 (January 1994): 1–7; and 8, no. 2 (April 1994): 8–15.

8. August Boetius, *Merkwürdige und auserlesene Geschichte von der berühmten Landgrafschaft Thüringen* (Gotha, 1684), trans. in Karl Geiringer, *The Bach Family: Seven*

Generations of Creative Genius (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 5 (slightly modified).

9. Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 172–91.

10. Lance Whitehead, "An Extraordinary Hass Harpsichord in Gothenburg," *Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996): 95.

11. Several of the Vater and Hemsch instruments are discussed in John Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), 88–96.

12. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959); Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making.*

13. David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 10. The Zell harpsichord of 1728 is in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; I am grateful to the museum staff for the opportunity to examine it. The instrument is also described in Martin Skowroneck, "Das Cembalo von Christian Zell, Hamburg, 1728, und seine Restaurierung," *Organ Yearbook* 5 (1974): 79–87.

14. I am grateful to the late Hugh Gough for the opportunity to examine a Carl Conrad Fleischer harpsichord of 1716 before its sale to the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte. For biographical details about Fleischer and Zell, see Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440–1840*, 3d ed., ed. Charles Mould (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 61, 212.

15. See Edwin M. Ripin, "On Joes Karest's Virginal and the Origins of the Flemish Tradition," in *Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology*, ed. Edwin M. Ripin (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 70.

16. John Koster, "The Importance of the Early English Harpsichord," *Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980): 66. See also John Koster, *Early Netherlandish Harpsichord Making from Its Origins to 1600* (forthcoming).

17. See Elizabeth Wells, "The London Clavicytherium," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 568–71.

18. See Herbert Heyde, *Historische Musikinstrumente im Bachhaus Eisenach* (Eisenach: Bachhaus, 1976), 128–29; and Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau, 15.–19. Jahrhundert: Kunst, Handwerk, Entwurf* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1986), 153 and pl. 63. I am grateful to the staff of the Bachhaus for the opportunity to examine this instrument.

19. See Luisa Cervelli and John Henry van der Meer, *Conservato a Roma il più antico clavicembalo tedesco* (Rome: Palatino, 1967). I am grateful to Antonio Latanza, Direc-

tor of the Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome, for the opportunity to examine this instrument.

20. Jacob Adlung, *Musica mechanica organoedi*, Berlin, 1768; facs. rpt., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961.

21. Ibid., 2:110.

22. See Adlung's autobiography, included as a preface to vol. 2 of *Musica mechanica organoedi.*

23. Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 10.

24. Robert L. Marshall, "Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert L. Marshall (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 70. Brass strings, per se, do not result in any particular sonority. In some fine Italian harpsichords brass strings sound anything but organlike: that is, the tone is relatively short-sustained and "stringy."

25. See Stauffer, "J. S. Bach's Harpsichords," 317–18.

26. See John Koster, "The Stringing and Pitches of Historical Clavichords," in *De clavicordio* (Proceedings of the International Clavichord Symposium, Magnano, 1993), ed. Bernard Brauchli, Susan Brauchli, and Alberto Galazzo (Turin: Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1994), 225–44; and Koster, "Some Remarks on the Relationship between Organ and Stringed-Keyboard Instrument Making," in *Harpsichord and Early Piano Studies*, ed. Charles Mould (Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire: Peacock Press, forthcoming).

27. See *Musica mechanica organoedi* 2:108–9, 135–38.

28. See Albert Cohen, "Jean Marius' *Clavecin brisé* and *Clavecin à maillets* Revisited: The 'Dossier Marius' at the Paris Academy of Sciences," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 13 (1987): 23–38.

29. Further discussion in Koster, "Some Remarks."

30. Friedrich Ernst, *Der Flügel Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Frankfurt am Main: Peters, 1955), 31.

31. Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 165–66.

32. See especially van der Meer, "Beiträge zur Cembalobau," and Henkel, "Der Cembalobau der Bach-Zeit."

33. Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 170–71.

34. See Günther Hellwig, *Joachim Tielke, ein hamburger Lauten- und Violenmacher der Barockzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1980).

35. See Stauffer, "J. S. Bach's Harpsichords," 317, and Herbert Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preussen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1994), 29, 242.

36. This painting by Johannes Voorhout, 1674, now in the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, is analyzed in Christoph Wolff, "The Hamburg Group Portrait with Reinken and Buxtehude: An Essay in Musical Iconography," trans. Thomson Moore, in *Boston Early Music Festival & Exhibition* (program book, 1987), 102–12. Another example of a Flemish harpsichord in northern Germany is one by Joannes Ruckers, 1618 (now in the Kulturhistoriska Museet, Lund University, Lund, Sweden), which was rebuilt by Johann Christoph Fleischer in Hamburg in 1724; see Grant O'Brien, *Ruckers: A Harpsichord and Virginal Building Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 246.

37. On the other hand, the "Ruckers" soundboard stucture, with a crescent-shaped area of free soundboard around the bridge, is already present in the fifteenth-century German upright harpsichord at the Royal College of Music in London.

38. See note 14.

39. This information was written in a contemporary hand in a copy of Johann Mattheson's *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713); see C. F. Weitzmann, *Geschichte des Clavierspiels und der Clavierliteratur*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1879), 252.

40. See, for example, an anonymous Parisian harpsichord of 1667, described in Koster, *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 39–46.

41. This instrument is described by William Dowd in an appendix to Germann, "The Mietkes, the Margrave, and Bach," 144–47, and by Dieter Krickeberg and Horst Rase, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des mittel- und norddeutschen Cembalobaus um 1700," in *Studia organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Freidemann Hellwig (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987), 294–302.

42. See Germann, "The Mietkes, the Margrave and Bach," 138.

43. Ibid., 120.

44. Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 185.

45. Ibid., 178–81.

46. Examples are a harpsichord by Johann Mayer, Salzburg, 1619, described in John Henry van der Meer, "Die Kielklaviere im Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum," *Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum Jahresschrift* 12–13 (1966–67): 83–87, and an anonymous harpsichord in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, described in György Gábry, *Alte Musikinstrumente*, trans. Irene Kolbe, 2d ed. (Budapest: Corvina, 1976), 37 and pl. 3.

47. For example, in an upright harpsichord at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum,

Nuremberg (Inv.-Nr. MIR 1080). I am grateful to John Henry van der Meer for the opportunity to examine this instrument, which is described in his "Beiträge zur Cembalobau im deutschen Sprachgebiet bis 1700," 112–14.

48. This instrument, described by van der Meer, ibid., 109–10, is in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, to the staff of which I am grateful for the opportunity to examine it. Recently, evidence suggesting that this instrument was made about 1630, not 1700 (as van der Meer thought) has been discovered by Andreas Beurmann and Sabine Klaus, to whom I am grateful for a private communication of this information.

49. See Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 171; Adlung, *Anleitung*, 555–56.

50. Ed. Darrel M. Berg in *C. P. E. Bach, Klaviersonaten: Auswahl*, 3 vols. (Munich: Henle, 1986), vol. 1, no. 8. My analysis of the instrument's resources differs in detail from those in Darrell Berg's commentary to her facsimile edition, *The Collected Works for Solo Keyboard by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 1714–1788*, 6 vols. (New York: Garland, 1985), 3:xii, and in David Schulenberg's review of the latter in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 111–12.

51. See Koster, "Some Remarks."

52. As on standard eighteenth-century English two-manual harpsichords, it would be possible for the *Cornet* and *Spinet* to pluck the same set of strings and to be used simultaneously to yield an interesting sort of 8′ + 8′ tone. Only C. P. E. Bach's failure to use the buff stop on the *Spinet* suggests that this register had its own strings.

53. This instrument, in the Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen, is described in Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 331–32.

54. "An Extraordinary Hass Harpsichord in Gothenburg," 95–101.

55. Adlung, *Anleitung*, 554.

56. Ibid., 555 (my translation). Adlung states (30) that the text of the *Anleitung* was completed by 1754; thus the work was written, at the latest, not long after Bach's death.

57. Adlung, *Musica mechanica organoedi* 2:110 (my translation).

58. Ibid., 2:137.

59. The description of the instrument in an advertisement in the *Leipziger Intelligenz-Blatt* of 19 April 1766 is quoted in Carl G. Anthon, "An Unusual Harpsichord," *Galpin Society Journal* 37 (1984): 115. Vogler's widow advertised, along with the harpsichord, her late husband's "complete collection of music by J. S. Bach and other famous musicians."

60. Stauffer, "J. S. Bach's Harpsichords," 299.

61. The original text of the advertisement in the *Leipziger Post-Zeitungen* of 23 October 1731 is quoted in Christian Ahrens, "Pantaleon Hebenstreit und die Frühgeschichte des Hammerklaviers," *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 29 (1987): 42.

62. See Herbert Heyde, "Der Instrumentenbau in Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs," in *300 Jahre Johann Sebastian Bach* (exhibition catalogue, Internationale Bachakademie, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1985; Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985), 76 (my translation).

63. See Ulrich Dähnert, *Der Orgel- und Instrumentenbauer Zacharias Hildebrandt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1962), 121.

64. In Adlung, *Musica mechanica organoedi* 2:139.

65. See Dähnert, *Der Orgel- und Instrumentenbauer*, 80.

66. These descriptions of the scalings and their tonal effects were specified in the original contract for the organ, signed by Silbermann in 1750; see Werner Müller, *Gottfried Silbermann, Persönlichkeit und Werk: Eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982), 462.

67. See, in favor of the instrument, Erwin Bodky, *The Interpretation of Bach's Keyboard Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 31; contra, see Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 184, and Ralph Kirkpatrick, "Fifty Years of Harpsichord Playing," *Early Music* 11 (1983): 37. The "Bach harpsichord" in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Kat.-Nr.316), once thought to have been owned by J. S. Bach (in fact, there is only a tenuous connection between the instrument and W. F. Bach), has been partially rehabilitated; see Dieter Krickeberg and Horst Rase, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis," and *Das Berliner "Bach-Cembalo": Ein Mythos und seine Folgen*, ed. Konstantin Restle and Susanne Aschenbrandt (exhibition catalog; Berlin: Musikinstrumenten-Museum des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995). Now attributed to Johann Heinrich Harrass (1665–1714) of Großbreitenbach (or to one of his sons), the instrument appears originally to have been made with a 16′ stop (not with a third set of 8′ strings, as Hubbard concluded, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 331–33).

68. Although 8′, 8′ single-manual harpsichords (e.g., the Thuringian harpsichord in the Bachhaus, Eisenach, mentioned above) seem to have been familiar in eighteenth-century Germany, these might primarily have been intended for accompaniment, not necessarily to provide the ideal minimal resources for solo use.

The Trio in Bach's Musical Offering

A Salute to Frederick's Tastes and Quantz's Flutes?

Mary Oleskiewicz

The Trio Sonata from the Musical Offering—along with the work as a whole—is still something of an enigma to scholars and performers, although the events that occasioned this late composition of Johann Sebastian Bach are more fully documented than any other.[1] The style of the sonata not only raises questions as to its pleasing the galant musical taste of its dedicatee, Frederick II (the Great), king of Prussia (1710–86), but, combined with its level of virtuosity, has also occasioned doubt as to whether it was really meant to be performed at Berlin. Like other late contrapuntal works of Bach, especially the Art of Fugue, the Musical Offering presents serious difficulties with which performers must grapple, above all what instruments are to play it and how. The Trio Sonata, unlike most of the remaining, smaller parts of the Musical Offering, specifies its instrumentation: transverse flute, violin, and basso continuo. But the keys of the four movements (C minor and E♭ major) are rather unusual for the Baroque flute, and this together with the chromatic style of counterpoint makes Bach's trio sonata a tour de force of Baroque flute playing. The work's tonalities use multiple flats and require great technical facility, due to tessitura and the number of forked fingerings involved, and there are frequent difficulties of intonation, especially in the more remote key areas to which Bach travels. The type and character of transverse flutes usually chosen for performing Bach today, such as replicas modeled after Godefroid-Adrien-Joseph Rottenburgh, differ markedly from those made by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), Frederick's personal flute maker. Did Bach compose an unsuitable, unidiomatic trio for Frederick? And did Frederick really possess the ability to compose the "royal theme" on which it is based?

STYLE AT BERLIN

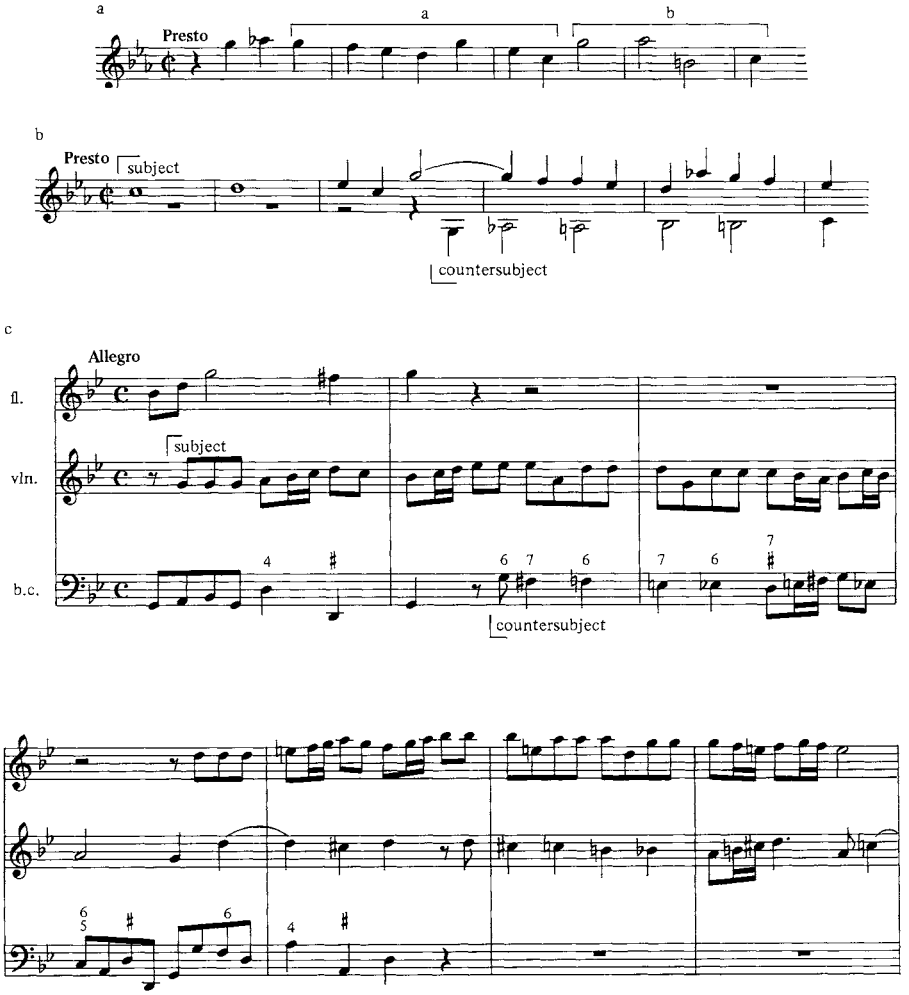
Because of its contrapuntal style, some have questioned whether the Musical Offering was a fitting presentation for the Prussian king. The question is founded in part upon eighteenth-century anecdotal evidence, especially that of Charles Burney. Discussions of the Musical Offering have perpetuated the following assumptions: that Frederick's rigid and conservative taste was for simple, gallant music; that Frederick performed on his flute only such unimaginative music as was composed by his favorite composer, Quantz, and by himself; and that Quantz's music did not vary, and therefore musical taste at the Prussian court remained conservative and unchanging from about 1740 until Frederick's death in 1786.[2] From these points follows the seemingly reasonable conclusion that Frederick eschewed the music of innovative composers at court, disliking in particular the music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.[3] This view fails, however, to acknowledge the paucity of scholarly work on and editions of the Berlin repertory. Most of the music Frederick performed or knew during his life, including the vast majority of works by Quantz—not to mention operas by Hasse and Graun—remains virtually unknown. Published examples often do not represent the best or most interesting works of a given composer. Numerous extant flutes owned and played by Frederick have also long awaited a comprehensive assessment. Thus the time-honored conclusions based on what we "know" about Frederick's taste and musical abilities are open to question.

Not all of Quantz's compositions in Frederick's catalogs are written in stereotyped galant idioms with homophonic textures, simple harmony, and balanced, symmetrical phrases. A closer examination reveals that the writing is much more varied and uses a wide range of textures, tonalities, and harmonic procedures that are at times quite unusual by eighteenth-century standards. Quantz's concertos and solo sonatas for Frederick contain examples of canon and fugue, as well as double fugue, in all of which the bass usually participates as an equal partner.[4] Quantz published a *Zirkelcanon* for two flutes or flute and violin as part of his *Sei Duetti* (Berlin, 1759), perhaps having been inspired by Bach's use of the form in the Musical Offering. Quantz's *Duetti* do not appear in Frederick's catalogs, but we have no reason to doubt that Frederick played them. Most of Quantz's fugues are written in the older strict style, using minor keys, alla breve notation, and large note values—the type stemming from the Italian and Viennese traditions inherited by his teacher Jan

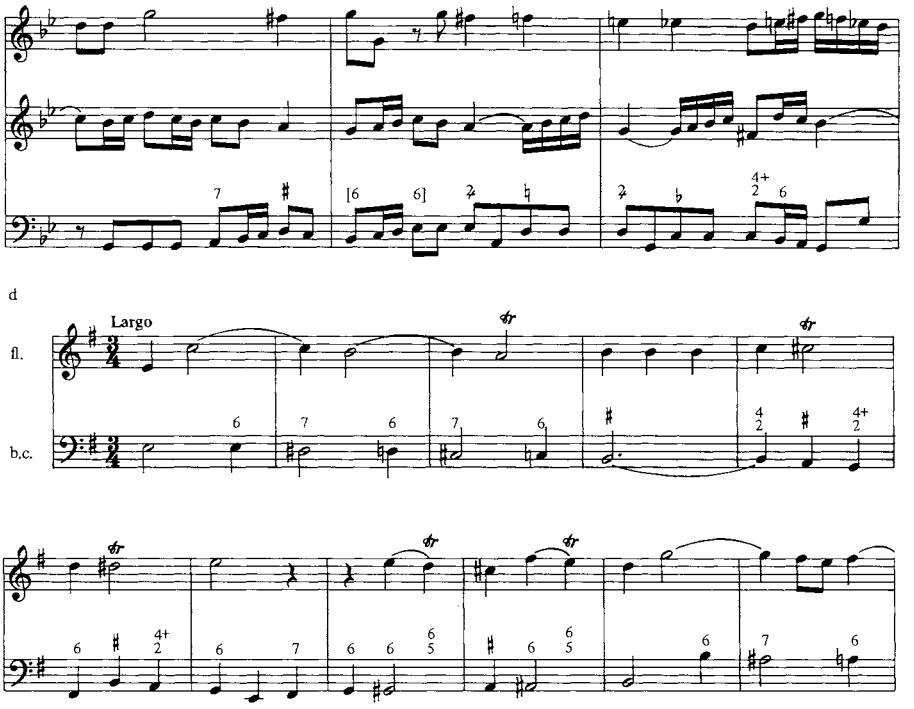
Dismas Zelenka.[5] Quantz's subjects are often chromatic and, like the majority of his melodic head motives, usually outline a rising minor sixth. Others employ a descending diminished seventh; sometimes the two intervals are used together (as in ex.1*a*), a characteristic as well of the "royal theme." Additionally, Quantz's fugues regularly incorporate a chromatic fourth either as a strict countersubject, as in ex.1*b*—note here also the outlining of a minor sixth by the subject—and ex.1*c*, or at some point in vertical combination with the fugue subject.[6] The fugue in ex.1*c* is excerpted in Quantz's *Solfeggi* and was therefore used pedagogically in Berlin.[7] Also worth noting is that the countersubject of QV 5:36 (ex.1*b*) is identical to the countersubject of another C-minor fugue, one for organ by J. S. Bach, BWV 537, mm.57ff. Quantz invariably uses countersubjects that appear alongside the subject from the outset—especially in the flute concertos that contain fugues.[8] Use of the chromatic fourth appears regularly outside of fugal compositions as well. The most extreme case is the first movement of a flute sonata played by Frederick (ex.1*d*) in which the main motive, a chromatic fourth, is heard continuously in twenty-nine of forty-two measures.

That Frederick and other young musicians of his generation (including Emanuel Bach, Schaffrath, and both Grauns) were influenced by compositional ideas that Quantz brought along with him from Dresden can be seen, for example, in his use of instrumental recitative.[9] The second movement of a Dresden flute concerto in G major (QV 5:173), incorporated after 1741 into Frederick's collection, alternates between passages marked *Recit.*, *Lento*, and *Andante*. A concerto in E♭ (QV 5:89), also in Frederick's collection and of Dresden origin, features a central recitative movement in C minor. Similarly, a sonata in C minor by Frederick, cited below for its reliance on a fugue theme by Quantz, also opens with a movement that alternates between designated recitative and arioso passages. Thus, twice in one composition Frederick paid homage to his esteemed tutor. A solo sonata by Quantz (QV 1:116) composed in Dresden also features a recitative movement (Lento) as well as a fugue movement. As is well known, Emanuel Bach made use of instrumental recitative in the first of the Prussian Sonatas for keyboard, published with a dedication to the king in 1742. Emanuel's keyboard concerto in C minor of 1753 (W.31; H.441) likewise contains a second movement that employs operatic recitative alternating with adagio passages, and W. F. Bach made use of a similar device

Ex. 1. *a.* Quantz, Trio Sonata in C Minor for Two Flutes and Basso Continuo, QV 2:3, mvt. 4, mm. 1–5 (flute 1 part only), from DL, Mus. 2470-Q-35; *b.* Quantz, Concerto in C Minor for Flute, Strings, and Basso Continuo, QV 5:36, mvt. 2, mm. 1–6 (violin 1 and viola parts only), from SBB (Haus 1), KH M. 3544; *c.* Quantz, Trio Sonata in G Minor for Flute, Violin, and Basso Continuo, QV 2:34, mvt. 2, mm. 47–56, from DL, Mus. 2470-Q-34; *d.* Quantz, Sonata for Flute and Basso Continuo, QV 1:71, mvt. 1, mm. 6–16, SBB (Haus 1), KH M. 4219 and SBB (Haus 2), Mus. ms. 18020.



Ex. 1. Continued



in his keyboard Fantasia F. 21, where dramatic recitative alternates with *furioso* passages. It is plausible that the Berlin taste for instrumental recitative derived from Quantz's music and not Emanuel's, as is commonly presumed.[10]

Frederick's musical education included studies in counterpoint that began with Gottlieb Heyne in 1718 and continued in 1726 with his Kapellmeister Carl Heinrich Graun, whom Friedrich Nicolai described as a strong contrapuntalist despite the composer's penchant for writing beautiful melodies.[11] According to Emanuel Bach, both Carl Heinrich Graun and his brother Johann Gottlieb were among the Berlin composers highly admired by Johann Sebastian Bach.[12] Frederick's training suggests that, although not adept at composing in learned forms of composition, he had not always been unfriendly toward counterpoint.[13]

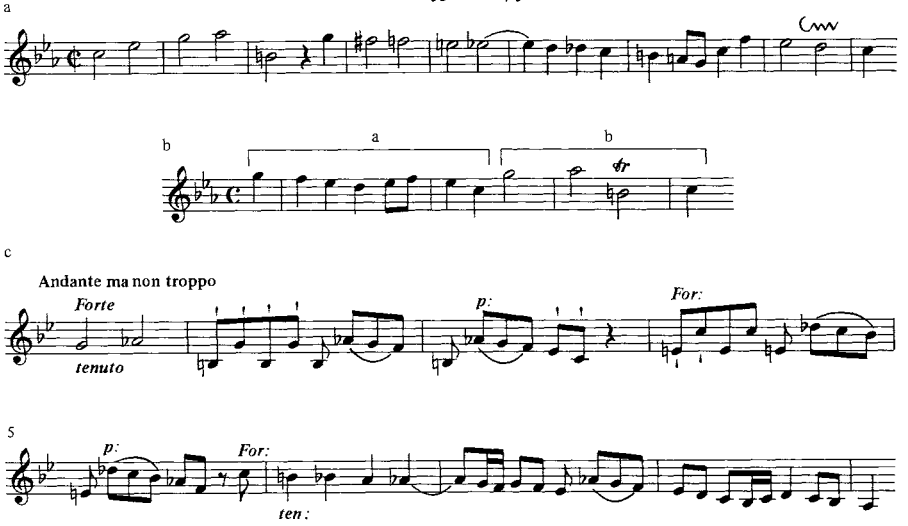
Quantz is not usually recognized as having composed strict counterpoint, but his solo sonatas and concertos as well as his trio sonatas contain genuine fugues.[14] Strict counterpoint continued to be cultivated by composers in

midcentury Berlin and received extensive theoretical treatment by Wilhelm Friedrich Marpurg in his *Abhandlung von der Fuge* (1753). The source of Marpurg's one excerpt from Quantz can now be identified as the Trio Sonata in G Major for Flute, Violin, and Basso Continuo, QV 2:29, noted by Marpurg for its use of three-part canon.[15] Accounts of the music performed by Frederick generally discount trio sonatas as not being part of his repertory, as they survive mainly in Dresden manuscripts and were never included in the king's repertory catalogs. It is also assumed, based on these catalogs and late-eighteenth-century anecdotal evidence, that Frederick's musical diet did not include any repertory apart from solo sonatas and concertos of his own composition and those of Quantz. Frederick evidently played duets and trio sonatas, however, many of them in the learned style, by Quantz, the Grauns, Telemann, and others, both at Rheinsberg and during the early years in Berlin.

That Quantz and Frederick occasionally performed trios at court chamber concerts was testified to by the memoirist General Graf Isaak Franz Egmont von Chasot (1716–97).[16] The manuscript transmitted as Quantz's *Solfeggi* contains numerous examples from these kinds of pieces. The *Solfeggi* were probably begun and used as early as 1728, long before Frederick's catalogs were drawn up. Since the purpose of the catalogs, in which works were arranged according to a combination of key and order of composition, was ostensibly to serve as a rotational schedule of performances, the catalogs would not necessarily reflect pieces used pedagogically or those performed in more intimate or private settings. Two of J. G. Graun's compositions found their way into the catalogs, suggesting that other works were at hand.

Quantz, Frederick's tutor, remained an advocate of counterpoint in 1752, when he published the *Versuch*, insisting especially on its didactic merits.[17] Furthermore, eighteenth-century reports of the king's disposition toward counterpoint are not all negative. According to one source, "at the beginning of his reign [i.e., from 1740], the contrapuntal style was still not offensive to the king. The flute trios and quartets of Quantz, which he [Frederick] often played, especially in earlier times, are entirely in this taste. Among these the quartets are especially dry. Quantz's accompaniment in his concertos, and often the progression of his musical ideas, fundamentally originate from counterpoint, although with much diversity, naturalness, refinement, and beautiful song. Whoever, as did the king, heard such music daily, and also possessed a musical ear, could not be entirely ignorant of the principles of harmony."[18]

Ex. 2. *a.* J. S. Bach, *Ricercar a 3*, BWV 1079/1, mm. 1–9; *b.* Frederick the Great, Sonata in C Minor for Flute and Basso Continuo, mvt. 3, mm. 1–4 (flute part only), no. 2 in Philipp Spitta, ed., *Friedrich des Grossens Musicalische Werke* (Leipzig, 1889); *c.* Zelenka, *I penitenti al sepolchro del Redentore*, mvt. 1, mm. 24–32, from DL, Mus. 2358-D-73.



Christoph Wolff has called Frederick's "royal theme" (ex. 2*a*) a "deft and unprecedented" subject combining "two time-honored soggetto types."[19] The origin of this "royal theme" has been a favorite topic for speculation. Wolff suggests that Frederick may have been responsible for a "reduced form" of it, but he apparently rejects the hypothesis that someone at court might have advised him ahead of time. Frederick's only transmitted fugue, a weak composition forming the third movement of a flute sonata in C minor, has a subject that has been compared to the "royal theme" of the Musical Offering for its identical key and use of the descending diminished seventh (ex. 2*b*).[20] But a comparison of this subject with that of the C-minor fugue composed by Quantz (ex. 1*a*) demonstrates the striking resemblance that Frederick's subject bears to Quantz's fugue subject. Quantz's fugue forms the final movement of a four-movement trio for two flutes and basso continuo, QV 2:3 (composed in Dresden, most likely in the 1730s). This work was probably known to the king from his flute studies with Quantz during this period.[21] Frederick's fugue subject consists of two units, labeled here *a* and *b*, which correspond almost

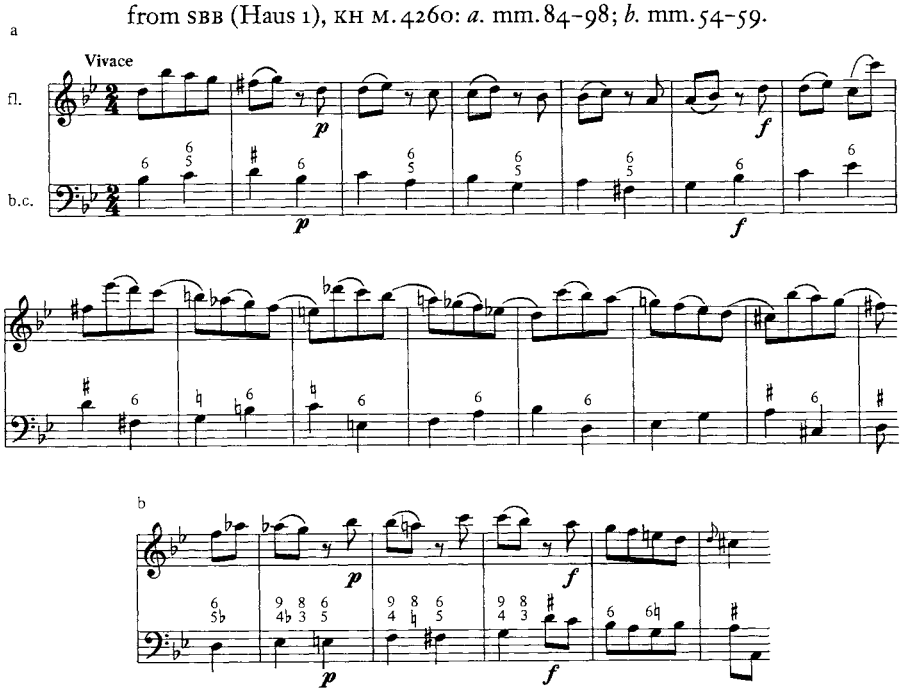
note for note with those similarly labeled in Quantz's example. Quantz, while an oboist in Dresden, had studied counterpoint with Zelenka, whose C-minor trio sonata for two oboes and basso continuo might have served, in turn, as Quantz's model. The second movement of Zelenka's work is a C-minor fugue, whose subject features the descending chromatic fourth.[22]

Another of Zelenka's works, one that has not received attention in this context, may be of even greater import here. The oratorio *I penitenti al sepolchro del Redentore*, set in the appropriate key of C minor, opens with an Adagio scored for two flutes, two oboes, two violins, viola, and basso continuo. After the *pianissimo* ending of the mournful Adagio, there begins a fugue in C minor whose long, chromatic subject, played *unisono* by strings and continuo, contains the primary elements of the royal theme (see ex. 2*c*). Measure 3 resembles the royal theme in retrograde, followed by a sequential repetition of mm. 2–3. Measures 5–6 contain the descending chromatic fourth, identical in pitch and rhythm to the royal theme (Zelenka carefully marked "tenuto" under all chromatic portions of the subject, in stark contrast to the strokes or slurs above nonchromatic material). The chromatic fourth is followed by a lengthy and rhythmically complex tail (mm. 7–9) not unlike that of Bach's theme. The presence of the tail casts doubt on Wolff's "reduction" hypothesis: that the original form of the royal theme, as presented to Bach, ended simply with the chromatic fourth, and that Bach's version was an elaboration. Zelenka's autograph manuscript (DL Mus. 2358-D-73) is dated 29 March 1736 and was performed on Good Friday or Holy Saturday of that year, placing it well during the period when Quantz would have been one of the performers—the same year Sebastian Bach performed a recital at the Dresden Frauenkirche and received his official title in Dresden as court composer.[23]

If Frederick's theme was borrowed or, as is likely, based on a model, the source was probably the work of someone close to him. Not only did Quantz, who by this time had been a personal confidant of the king for nineteen years, hold by far the highest salary of all the court's instrumental musicians, but he also enjoyed privileges at court that would have made him the envy of any of his contemporaries.[24]

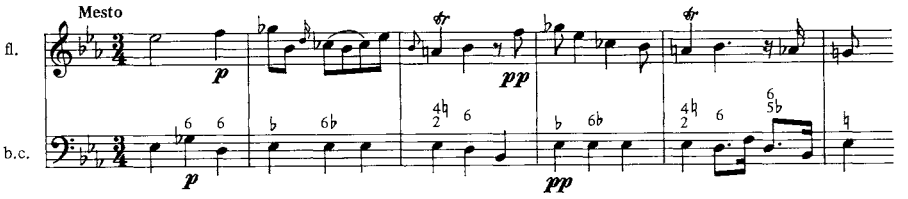
Neither the counterpoint of Bach's Trio Sonata nor the tonality, chromaticism, or remote key areas used—especially in the Andante in E♭ major—would have been unfamiliar to Frederick. Nor would he have found disturbing Bach's mixture of Baroque idioms and galant melodic motives.[25] That any of this

Ex. 3. Quantz, Sonata in G Minor for Flute and Basso Continuo, QV 1:114, mvt. 3, from SBB (Haus 1), KH M. 4260: *a.* mm. 84–98; *b.* mm. 54–59.

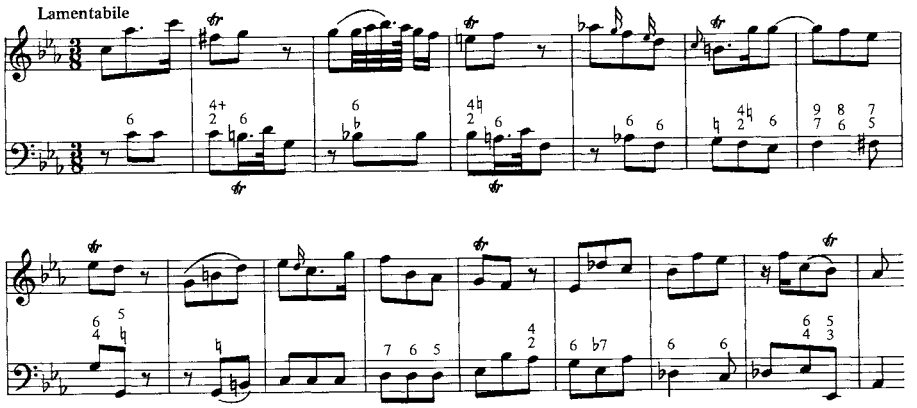


would have displeased the king is predicated on the prevailing assumption that Quantz's "harmonies and melodies are innocuous, if not monotonous; and a single unchanging ideal is followed from year to year, from composition to composition—an ideal fostered and followed by his patron."[26] Remote keys and rapid harmonic modulation were in fact customary in certain movement types of Quantz's flute sonatas at Berlin, especially those that share the mournful affect of Bach's Trio Sonata. One of Quantz's earlier works for Frederick, a sonata in G minor, QV 1:114 (ex. 3), features passages not unlike that of the Andante from Bach's Trio Sonata, where the sigh motive undergoes lengthy sequencing and simultaneous rapid harmonic movement. Other sonatas for Frederick demonstrate the use of remote key areas; like the Andante of Bach's trio, the first movement of a sonata by Quantz also in E♭ (QV 1:52), labeled *Mesto*, moves through keys in the extreme flat direction, even touching on E♭ minor and the Neapolitan of B♭ minor (ex. 4). A sonata in C minor, QV 1:14 (ex. 5), opens again with a melancholy movement, labeled

Ex. 4. Quantz, Sonata in E♭ Major for Flute and Basso Continuo, QV 1:52, mvt. 1, mm. 65–70, from SBB (Haus 1), KH M.4442.



Ex. 5. Quantz, Sonata in C Minor for Flute and Basso Continuo, QV 1:14, mvt. 1, mm. 1–16, from SBB (Haus 1), KH M.4398.



Lamentabile. Notably, this sonata begins out of key, moving through a series of secondary dominants and postponing any perfect cadence in C minor until m. 66. The constantly shifting tonicizations pass through the remote key areas of B♭ minor, E♭ minor, and D♭ major (mm. 29–45).

Thus the tonalities and remote modulatory passages of the Trio Sonata in Bach's Musical Offering, with their corresponding cross-fingerings, present a style and level of difficulty for the flutist that was hardly unprecedented. Quantz regularly composed flute music for Frederick in keys with multiple flats and sharps; both sonatas and concertos in E♭ major and C minor are common, and most contain lengthy and difficult passagework in the related keys of F minor and A♭ major. An early Dresden sonata in F minor (QV 1:95) contains a slow binary movement in the unusual key of B♭ minor that modulates

to D♭ major and back. Although the melodic gestures in the C Minor Sonata, QV 1:14 (ex. 5), are indeed "galant," that is, brief, symmetrical, and homophonic, Quantz's harmonic language is anything but simple and predictable, surpassing even what one encounters in the flute sonatas composed in Berlin by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. This, of course, challenges the notion that Frederick disliked Emanuel's flute music for its unconventional style and preferred Quantz's music because of its conventional simplicity.

J. S. Bach chose a mournful affect (*trauriger Affect*, as Quantz calls it) for his trio sonata. Far from being inappropriate in a chamber work for Frederick, this affect seems in fact to have been preferred by the king.[27] This is especially true of slow movements—if we are to judge by the high number of slow sonata and concerto movements by Quantz labeled *Lamentabile*, *Mesto*, *Con affetto mesto*, and so forth. These movements must have been effective in performance if it is true that Frederick was especially gifted at rendering sad, slow movements, often bringing his audience to tears.[28] The primacy of the mournful affect cultivated at Berlin is reflected in Quantz's *Versuch*, where he describes it in three separate chapters.[29] For such movements, Quantz, like Bach, not only introduces chromatic themes and harmony but reserves the keys (in order of frequency) of C minor, E♭ major, and G minor, with one instance each of D minor and A major. Bach's trio employs E♭ as the contrasting tonality for the internal slow movement; this is in keeping with Quantz's practice in the concertos for Frederick, where E♭ is the tonality chosen most often for the slow inner movements of works in C minor, as is also the case in his trios. Conversely, in works set in E♭, C minor is the preferred contrasting key. These keys, along with the others mentioned above for the mournful slow movements, are also those used most frequently by Quantz for fugue. It is therefore probably not by chance that the archaic but traditional "royal theme" was presented in C minor, a key evidently associated at Berlin, at least in flute works, with fugue. Bach responded in kind by choosing for the Musical Offering a corresponding style and favorite affect for his trio sonata, setting it in what was, for Frederick, a familiar tonality, and employing its associated harmonic language.

THE INSTRUMENTS

If the repertory of Bach's dedicatee offers a new perspective on the Trio Sonata, we can learn even more about the precise instrumentation, temperament, and pitch standard of the latter by studying specific instruments played at Fred-

erick's court. Performance at the Prussian court was a special circumstance, for which considerable organological and manuscript evidence survives. Frederick's frequent chamber soirées, as reported in various accounts, regularly featured himself as solo flutist accompanied by a contingent of strings and continuo. A total of four real parts was the norm early on (flute, violin I, violin II, basso continuo), five in the later period (flute, violin I, violin II, violetta, basso continuo), plus an occasional obbligato bassoon in the middle movements of concertos after 1763. The music performed at these concerts centered primarily on a flute repertory composed by Frederick himself and by Quantz, and as most of this repertory has survived we can glean from it much about Frederick's musical abilities as well as those of his instruments.

Bach's Trio Sonata was issued not in score but in parts designated for flute (*traversa*), violin, and "continuo," which were carefully laid out to avoid page turns during a movement.[30] From such a careful engraving of parts, it seems clear that Bach intended his trio sonata for performance, rather than for study, unlike the canons. Much discussion has arisen over the nature of Bach's clavier, and the case of the Musical Offering has been no exception. What is surprising is that discussions of the work have rarely given the flute more than a few passing remarks. In fact, the type of flute to be used in the piece deserves equal consideration. Because the scoring is indicated, the question of the type of flute might at first appear superfluous. But eighteenth-century flutes were as varied as the makers who built them, and modern descriptions of flutes owned by Frederick have been cursory or inaccurate. One author describes them as intolerable: "the crudity of the instruments which were available to Frederick is a real tribute to his aptitude and perseverance."[31] More recently, an article on Bach's flutes discredits the flutes that Quantz built for Frederick and rejects their appropriateness for the Musical Offering trio: "Though Quantz's flutes . . . were certainly used at Frederick's court after 1739 for the performance of his and Quantz's concertos . . . the rapid dynamic extremes, strongly accented appoggiaturas and agility between registers demanded by the more progressive style of music are hard to achieve on a Quantz flute; they are much more natural and effective on the newest instruments of the 1740s, which were quite probably at hand."[32] Yet a flutist well acquainted with Quantz's playing technique can execute such subtleties exceptionally well with Quantz's flutes. Quantz's highly variegated compositional style by no means excludes rapid dy-

namic extremes, strongly accented appoggiaturas, or agility between registers, and such traits occur already in his Dresden compositions before 1740.

Most of the flutes played by Frederick were two-keyed ebony flutes built by Quantz, who from 1726 had set out to improve the intonation of the instrument; all but two of those extant have been personally examined by the author (see table 1).[33] Quantz transformed flute design in numerous ways. At Berlin (about 1750) he divided the head joint by adding a tuning slide, which could accommodate variations in pitch level. However, Quantz's flutes differ most conspicuously from others of the time in that they have two keys for distinguishing the pitches of E♭ and D♯, rather than a single E♭ key (see pl. 1). Some fingering systems of Baroque flutes already employed enharmonic distinctions for other notes, with sharps sounding lower than flats,[34] but until Quantz's invention of 1726, the E♭ and D♯ were compromised, as on the modern keyboard. String players probably also distinguished between sharps and flats, at least until the middle of the century.[35] Played in such a manner on a violin or flute, the chromaticism in the "royal theme" becomes anything but equal-tempered, and the assumption that the flute was challenged by such writing is easily refuted. Indeed, the chromaticism inherent in the theme, as well as in Bach's trio setting based on it, exploits this particular quality of Frederick's flute.

Quantz's invention has been dismissed by many as pedantry, since on the surface the distinction appears to be of limited use.[36] The new Dresden harpsichords of Gräbner did not have the split keys for D♯ and E♭, nor did the new Silbermann organs in Dresden. Split keys were common on earlier Italian organs and harpsichords, however, and older composers such as Zelenka may have been keen on the distinction in Dresden around 1725, when Quantz began thinking about flute design. In 1752 Quantz advised keyboard accompanists to hide the tempered subsemitones of their instruments in a middle or lower register, or to omit them entirely.[37] The two keys allow for an audible difference of twenty-two cents between E♭ and D♯ (the human ear can hear distinctions of about four cents). Moreover, the additional key affects much more than simply two notes. The lower D♯ forms a relatively pure major third in B major, the dominant of E, in every octave within the compass of the instrument. Quantz's system also brings the otherwise troublesome perfect fifth from E♭ to B♭ into tune, as well as the normally too-wide major third from E♭ to G and the too-narrow minor third from C to E♭. Apart from the added key,

TABLE 1. List of Frederick's flutes by (or attributed to) Quantz; those for which two entries are given include two head joints. Measurements (where known) are given in millimeters; complete sounding lengths (column **i**) are given only where the no. 1 joint survives. For explanation of column headings, see below.

Present location and inventory number	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**	**j**
Berlin, 5076, Musikinstrumentenmuseum des	XVIII	–	5 (nos. 1–5)	113.05	40.0	188.1	139.5	110.0	590.65	10.0 × 8.8
Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung,				111.77	40.5	″	″	″	589.87	10.4 × 8.8
Preußischer Kulturbesitz										
Berlin, Hz 1289, Kunstgewerbemuseum*	XVII	3837	1 (no. 4)	110.85	41.4	–	140.3	110.8	–	9.9 × 8.6
same, with Sanssouci head joint and no. 1 joint*	″			111.60	41.4	188.8	140.3	110.8	592.90	9.9 × 8.7
Halle, MS-577, Händel-Haus	none	–	1? (no. 1)	205.80	n.a.	201.0	197.0	125.5	729.30	10.4 × 9.3
Instrumentenmuseum**										
Hamamatsu City Musical Instrument Museum	XV	–	5 (nos. 1–5)	111.15	40.1	189.0	139.0	109.8	589.05	9.9 × 8.9
(ex-Rosenbaum, not ex-Hohenzollern)				112.37	39.5	″	″	″	589.67	8.6 × 7.8
Hechingen, Burg Hohenzollern***	none	–	5? (nos. 1–3+)	108.65	40.4	–	139.0	101.7	–	9.9 × 8.8
Karlsruhe, private collection	III	–	5 (nos. 1–5)	112.32	40.15	188.1	140.3	190.74	590.61	9.4 × 8.5
				112.04	41.18	″	″	″	591.36	9.7 × 9.1
Leipzig, 1236n, Musikinstrumentenmuseum	IV	3838	5? (no. 1?)	111.06	41.0	–	140.0	110.2	–	9.8 × 8.7
der Universität Leipzig†										
Paris, E.0614, Musée de Musique	C.F.	–	1 (no. 1)	159.52	n.a.	187.5	139.6	106.6	593.22	10.4 × 9.2
Instrumentale††										
Potsdam, Schloß Sanssouci, Staatliche Schlößer	VI/XVII	3836	1 (no. 1)	111.60	41.0	188.8	140.6	111.8	593.80	9.9 × 8.7
und Gärten V 18†††										

TABLE 1. (*continued*)

Present location and inventory number	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
Washington D.C., DCM 916, Library of Congress	XIII/II	–	5 (nos. 1–6)††††	111.70	40.3	188.7	139.9	109.7	590.30	9.9 × 8.7
Lost, Berlin, ex–Hohenzollern Museum (amber flute, two gold keys)	I?	3841	3 (nos. 1–3)	–	n.a.	–	–	–	–	–

Explanation of columns:

a. marking or opus number

b. inventory no. of the Hohenzollern Museum, Berlin, ca.1930; unpublished inventory held in the Neues Palais, Potsdam

c. original number of *corps de rechange;* those known or extant in parentheses

d. sounding length of head joint (distance from center of embouchure hole to end of head)

e. sounding length of tuning slide (measured when fully inserted)

f. sounding length of the long (no.1) upper middle joint (shoulder to shoulder), if extant

g. sounding length of lower middle joint

h. sounding length of foot joint

i. total sounding length (d + e + f + g + h)

j. embouchure size

*Currently with no.4 joint and lower middle joint from opus no. XVII; head joint, tuning slide, and foot joint unmarked.

**Alto flute attributed to Quantz; may have come from Frederick's collection. (See my forthcoming article, "Eine Quantz-Flöte in Halle? Zuordnung und Überlegungen zu Quantz als Flötenbauer" in *Scripta Artium*, Universität Leipzig)

***Unusually short, unmarked foot joint with only one key (original?); three unusually short upper middle joints marked 1–3; additional unmarked middle joint.

†All but foot joint unmarked.

††Copy after Quantz; perhaps by Christoph Freyer (?), who made flutes for Frederick's regiment after 1749; its provenance is uncertain.

†††Head joint and no.1 joint from opus no. XVII; foot joint from opus no. VI; tuning slide and lower middle joint unmarked.

††††Opus number II found on shortest joint (no.6), originally belonging to an earlier flute.

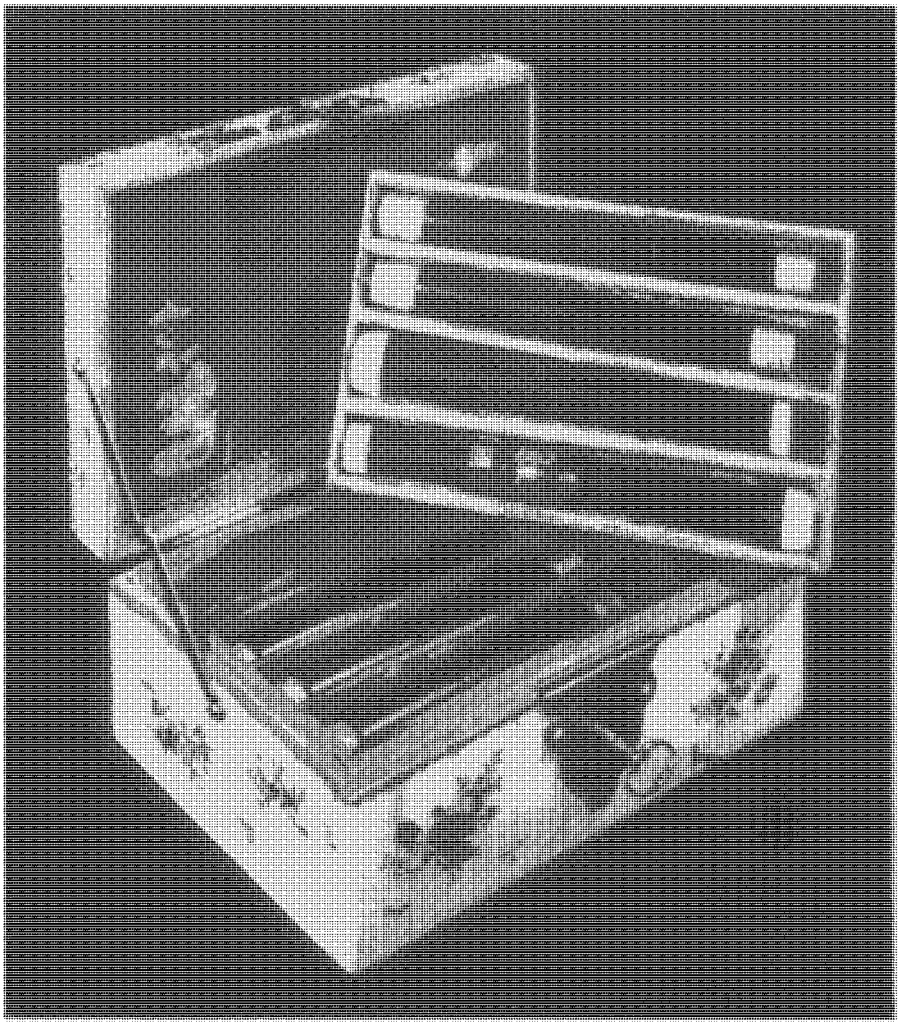


Plate 1. Flute of ebony and ivory, made by Johann Joachim Quantz for Frederick the Great, opus. no. XIII. The flute is part of the Dayton C. Miller Collection (inventory *916*) at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. It is displayed in its box of porcelain, painted with flowers and fruits, lined with pink velvet, and closed by a lock and key. In the lower portion of the box are four *corps de rechange,* while the vertically displayed upper tray holds (from top to bottom) the longest of the *corps de rechange,* the second longest, a head joint assembled with the tuning slide, and the right-hand middle joint assembled with the two-keyed foot joint. The long, curved key is used for D♯, the straight key for E♭. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress, Music Division.

Quantz's extant flutes also feature a much lower, more stable F than on most other extant eighteenth-century flutes, providing a solid tonic for F major and F minor as well as a good subdominant in C major and C minor and a better scale overall in flat keys. The lower F is made possible by this tuning system's lower F♯, based on a purer major third to D.

Aside from the obvious advantages in navigating the C-minor tonality of Bach's Trio Sonata, the availability of a good F and a good E♭ is of great import in the Andante in E♭ major: a good F brings the dominant of E♭, B♭ major (as well as its parallel minor), into tune, allowing for a less perilous journey into the remote tonal regions exploited by Bach. The demands placed on the player with respect to intonation can be overcome on other flutes, but they are certainly more easily met by Quantz's design. In performing the trio, then, Frederick would not have had to struggle. Quantz's compositions suggest that both he and Frederick had flutes available to them that were capable of playing in keys not widely used for flute by other composers, and the extant instruments bear this out. Quantz advises beginners on the flute to learn to play in keys as remote as B♭ minor, even providing an *Anfangsstück* in that key.[38] Indeed, Quantz's flute music contains some of the most challenging passages, both technically and harmonically, found in the eighteenth-century flute literature. This not only demonstrates Frederick's own technical accomplishment and his ability to render Bach's trio, but it leads to the conclusion that Bach probably knew the flute for which he was writing the Musical Offering. Frederick's interest in technology probably made him proud to own such an unusual instrument; he commissioned over twenty of them.[39]

It may be that Johann Sebastian Bach had in mind such an instrument for another flute work as well: several sources for Bach's Flute Sonata in E Major, BWV 1035, bear inscriptions that connect that piece to Frederick's *Cammerdiener*, Michael Gabriel Fredersdorf (1708–58), and Bach's visit to Potsdam.[40] Fredersdorf had studied flute with his father, a *Stadtpfeifer* in Frankfurt. As Frederick's privy treasurer from 28 September 1740, Fredersdorf was responsible for remitting payment to Quantz for the king's flutes; he also acted as a liaison between Quantz and Frederick and kept flutes for Frederick while the latter was away at battle. Given the number of flutes that Quantz built for Frederick, it is probable that Fredersdorf had permission to play them, if not to own a similar instrument himself. BWV 1035, not unlike some of Quantz's sonatas, features a singing first movement and the *tierces coulées* favored in Berlin flute

music, and it includes a siciliano—with canonic episodes—in C♯ minor. The tonality of this particular movement, which also modulates to F♯ minor, is far more unusual than the tonalities encountered by the flute in BWV 1079.

Not only do Quantz's flutes provide clues as to the intonation employed in Bach's trio and its suitability for performance at Berlin, but they also give us information about pitch and tone quality. The nine surviving flutes built by Quantz for Frederick show a remarkable degree of consistency in workmanship with regard to tuning, boring, materials, and general appearance. Archival evidence for instruments that have since disappeared or been destroyed further confirms this consistency. Quantz did not sign his instruments but rather engraved them with roman numerals to serve as opus numbers. Flutes with opus numbers from as early as II to as late as XVIII are extant and are all made from dense ebony (see table 1). They are significantly longer than other flutes, with thicker walls and a larger inner-bore dimension. A greater reduction (cone shape) of the bore yields a strong low register (especially d′, d♯′, and e′), while the wide undercutting of the blowhole on many of Quantz's head joints permits a good response in the high register, including f♯‴ and g‴; in other words, these flutes are especially capable of highlighting the large registral leaps encountered in the flute part of Bach's trio (e.g., second movement [Allegro], mm. 45ff.), and many of Quantz's own fast movements exploit this style of writing. As a result of their special design, these flutes not only produce a thicker, darker, and more powerful tone than other contemporary flutes—*dick*, *rund*, [*und*] *männlich*, as Quantz described it[41]—but they also were intended to play at a lower pitch.

The extant flutes all possessed at one time from five to six interchangeable middle pieces of varying length, giving the player some flexibility with regard to pitch (see pl. 2). The highest pitch at which most of the instruments will play is about a′ = 412–15 Hz; the lowest pitch, quite consistent among the surviving flutes, is about a′ = 385–87 Hz. This then represents the range available to Frederick: from low French chamber pitch up to what must have been Quantz's "German A pitch."[42] The flutes all play best at the lowest pitch, in terms of intonation and tone quality, and since Quantz used only a single reamer to construct the longest (lowest-sounding) joints, it seems beyond doubt that the instruments were intended to be played at the low chamber pitch whenever possible. The combined use of several shorter reamers for the shorter joints constitutes a compromise and is detrimental to the scale. For the end dimen-

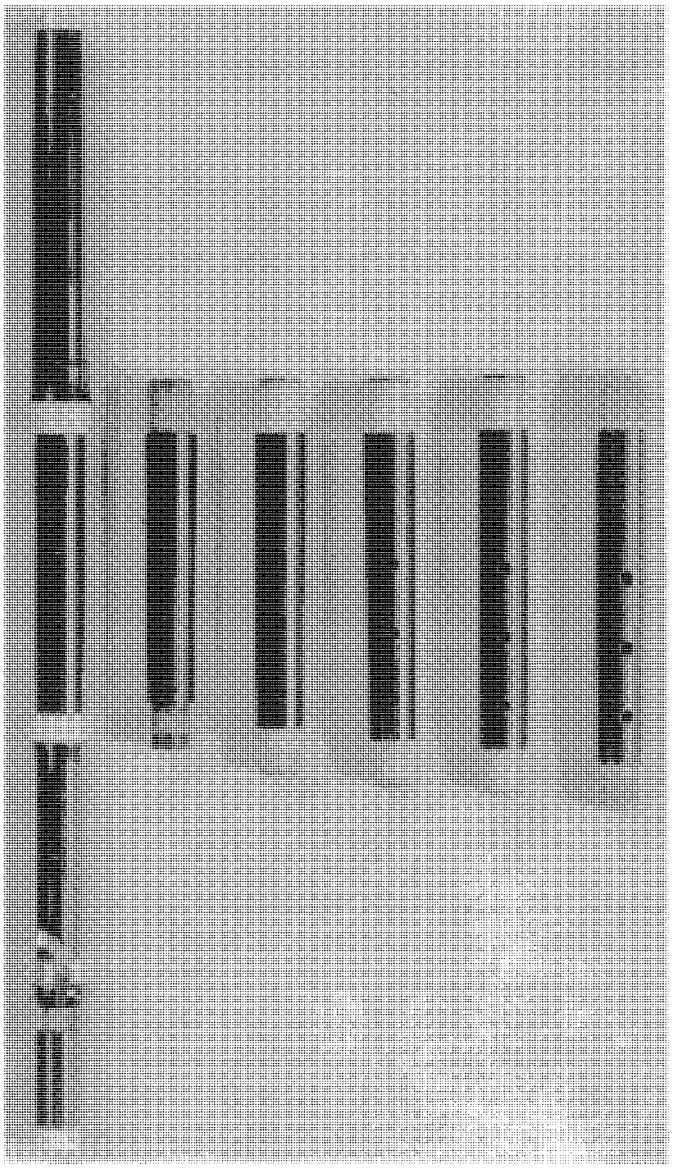


Plate 2. Flute by Johann Joachim Quantz, opus XIII, Dayton C. Miller Collection *916*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The flute is assembled with its no. 5 *corps de rechange*. The remaining, alternative *corps*, pictured from left to right, are nos. 6 (from opus II), 4, 3, 2, and 1. Each of the flute's original *corps*, from the shortest (no. 5) to longest (no. 1), produces an overall pitch five Herz lower than the previous. The longest, preferred, *corps* produces a pitch of ca. a′ = 387 Hz. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress, Music Division.

sions of the joints to fit the remainder of the instrument, the bore must taper more rapidly than the ideal length of the longest joint. Signs of wear on these longer joints also seem to confirm that these were the ones most frequently used.[43] Since Quantz had begun constructing flutes already in Dresden, it is likely that Quantz established this pitch preference in Dresden; Bach might well have encountered such instruments prior to his trips to Berlin in the 1740s.

If the Musical Offering was performed at this low French chamber pitch, then what about the pitch of the keyboard instruments at Potsdam? We know that in December 1746 the Prussian court purchased a fortepiano by Gottfried Silbermann and that this was one of several in Frederick's collection.[44] A second fortepiano, discussed below, was purchased about the time of Bach's visit to Potsdam. The supposition that the *Ricercar a 3* from the Musical Offering was intended for fortepiano remains controversial,[45] but it is at least established that Frederick presented the "royal theme" to Bach on a fortepiano, probably one by Silbermann, on which Bach then improvised a three-part fugue. Whether or not the fortepiano was the instrument intended for the continuo part in the Trio Sonata of the Musical Offering, we should consider at what pitch keyboard instruments at court were tuned.

As is well known, the two court harpsichords now in Schloß Charlottenburg (possibly by Michael Mietke) have been altered and are thus problematical with regard to original scaling and pitch. In addition to fortepianos, Silbermann was paid by the court for a "Clavier" in June 1746. Three Silbermann fortepianos are extant today, two in Potsdam (one each in Frederick's palaces of Sanssouci and the Neues Palais) and one in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. The Sanssouci piano is dated 1746, and the one in the Neues Palais, undated, is probably the one purchased in 1747. The Nuremberg instrument is dated 1749. Two of these pianos (those in Nuremberg and the Neues Palais) feature transposers, that is, keyboards that slide to permit transposition—presumably for playing at both regular chamber pitch and low chamber pitch.[46] The "home" position of Silberman's keyboard (as indicated by the tuning pins, which are staggered into natural and accidental rows) is the upper position, presumably about a′ = 411–15 Hz, which was the approximate pitch of Silbermann's organs in Dresden and the highest playing pitch of Quantz's flutes. Thus shifting the keyboard to the left would yield a pitch of about a′ = 385–90 Hz.[47] This was possibly to accommodate other instruments

used in Berlin and Potsdam, and it certainly would have accommodated the low pitch best suited to Frederick's flutes.

The unrestored piano in the Neues Palais provides striking evidence that this instrument was played primarily at the lower pitch: the grooves worn into the hammer heads' leathers correspond to wear caused by use of the keyboard manual in the lower position. The other Silbermann fortepiano with a transposing keyboard in Nuremberg also exhibits use mainly in the lower position.[48] What I believe to have been standard Berlin practice, that is, that keyboards were normally played at low *Kammerton* and were furnished with transposers to accommodate higher pitches when necessary, is supported by at least two contemporary accounts.

Jacob Adlung described the practice: "Usually they [harpsichords] are tuned to low chamber pitch, for the sake of flutes; but by shifting the keyboard it can be raised immediately a half tone and even a whole tone. . . . Transposition from low chamber pitch to the higher ones is even easier than on the clavichord."[49] Thus Adlung describes keyboards with single as well as double transposers. The reference to "higher" pitches suggests that flutes played at the lowest common form of pitch known to Adlung, that is, low French chamber pitch.

In 1786, in a discussion of Berlin manufacturers, Friedrich Nicolai described a royal keyboard produced by the Berlin maker Bauer. This instrument possessed a double transposer for playing at pitches one or two levels higher than *Kammerton*. Nicolai's description of its function is quite similar to Adlung's: "If one wants to play with wind instruments one or two [half] tones higher than *Kammerton*, one may change the pitch by a shift of the manual."[50] This fortepiano featured a double transposer and could thus accommodate three pitch levels, or the interval of a whole step. It was evidently intended to be played at the lowest of these pitches unless it was necessary to play with winds tuned to higher pitches.

From about 1763, in addition to the usual string complement, Frederick regularly performed concertos by Quantz with an obbligato bassoon in the central slow movements. In the outer movements the bassoon probably played as a ripieno bass instrument. This practice may account for a court purchase of a new low-pitch *basson* in 1774.[51] Whether or not this instrument was used for Frederick's chamber concerts, it seems that low *Kammerton* persisted through-

out the eighteenth century in the Berlin circles in which Bach's as well as Quantz's music circulated.

Another Berlin keyboard instrument offers insights into the subject of pitch and performance practice in mid-eighteenth-century Berlin. Frederick's youngest sister, Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723–87), received a house organ in 1755 for her personal use. Anna Amalia's enthusiasm for the instrument and her diligence in practicing on it are well documented by her letters. A report of 1783 indicates that the organ was tuned at chamber pitch.[52] The report does not specify which chamber pitch, but Anna Amalia offers a clue in a letter to her sister Wilhelmine: "The Gräfin Schwerin thought, naturally, that the organ is a little loud, but that its tone is charming. Please share this with my brothers. . . . The boys in the street did not stand there to listen, even though the balcony doors were open. That proves that the instrument does not have the usual power, as for a church. I want to practice so that I can accompany each of my brothers in a solo without losing a semitone in the bass."[53]

The curious statement about practicing her accompaniment for solos (presumably sonatas) may imply that the organ stood in the higher "German A-pitch" of around A = 412–15 Hz: if she were to accompany her brothers (including Frederick on the flute) at low chamber pitch, she would have needed to transpose downward by a semitone. As the lowest note on each of the organ's two manuals was C, Amalia would have needed to rework any bass line that descended below written C♯.

General Chasot, who witnessed Frederick's chamber music performances from 1734 onward, observed that the daily concerts in Potsdam "consisted of only a first and a second solo violin (seldom doubled), a viola, a violoncello, and as keyboard a fortepiano by Silbermann; one flute or two, when the king played trios with Quantz; one or two castrati; and from time to time . . . one of the best singers from the opera. One heard in the concerts only voices or flutes; all other instruments were there only for the accompaniment."[54] Both Silbermann pianos in Potsdam have what Stewart Pollens describes as "thick, woolly leather hammer coverings" that produce a sweet sound, as well as a mutation stop that produces "a bright, harpsichord-like" tonal quality; the sound of these pianos permits "discreet accompaniment for the Baroque flute or the human voice."[55]

From 1746, the date from which Frederick began owning Silbermann pianos, the latter may have been the preferred continuo instruments for his nightly

chamber concerts. As the construction of Sanssouci was not finished until 1747 and the Neues Palais not yet begun, these concerts took place in the Stadtschloß in Potsdam and in Schloß Charlottenburg. Flute manuscripts owned by Frederick from this period are labeled "pour Potsdam" or "pour Charlottenbourg" accordingly. Archival documents from Frederick's payment accounts show that Quantz was responsible for the acquisition of numerous keyboards at court. At least one court fortepiano—acquired at the time of Bach's Potsdam visit—was purchased through Quantz. In May 1747 a payment of 373 talers, 12 groschen, was made "to the virtuoso Quantz for a Piano et Forte."[56] Frederick would have been keen to show off this brand-new acquisition; his enthusiasm might have been his motivation for presenting the royal theme on a fortepiano. Since the piano located in Sanssouci is dated 1746, the one purchased through Quantz is likely the undated, transposing instrument now held in the Neues Palais. Quantz's direct involvement in Frederick's major instrument purchases suggests that he controlled the nature of the court's keyboard instruments and was responsible for this instrument's transposing capabilities.

Indeed, Quantz's later Berlin sonatas seem to employ more numerous and varied dynamic indications, ranging from ***pp*** to ***ff***, than do his earlier works. At least one flute concerto, QV 5:162, contains an obbligato continuo part designated "Cimbalo, Piano e Forte."[57] Otherwise, figured continuo parts in the Berlin sources are routinely marked *Basso.* To judge from his remarks in the *Versuch*, Quantz clearly preferred the fortepiano as an accompaniment instrument.[58] Approximately half of his discussion of the duties of the keyboardist is concerned with dynamics, often with regard to portraying the various passions (*Leidenschaften*) or to sensitivity in accompanying generally. By the 1740s Emanuel Bach, too, seems to have preferred the fortepiano and clavichord for providing "the best accompaniments in performances that require the most elegant taste."[59] J. S. Bach's Trio Sonata makes little use of explicit dynamic indications except in the Andante, where a fortepiano would be more effective: numerous *piano* and *forte* indications occur, adding an echo effect to the perpetual dissonant "sigh" motives.

It is not known whether Quantz ever saw the trio sonata that Frederick received as part of Bach's Musical Offering. However, it may not be coincidental that Quantz's *Versuch* provides detailed explanation for more than a few of the difficult flute trills that Bach requires in the second movement (Allegro) of the Trio Sonata, many of which require special fingerings and techniques to

be effective.[60] Could it be that Quantz was moved to address their difficulty after encountering them in Bach's trio? Quantz's special treatment of trills, especially with regard to their terminations, suggests, first of all, how important terminations were in performing trills; secondly, the level of virtuosity involved in Bach's flute part; and most importantly, that at least some players were equipped to tackle the difficulties presented by Bach's trio. There is little reason to doubt that Quantz was present at the time of Bach's visit; Quantz regularly presided over Frederick's chamber concerts, one of which immediately disbanded at Bach's arrival.[61] Given Bach's distribution of one hundred printed copies within fifteen months of its appearance and the great publicity accorded the event, it is likely that Quantz would have been curious about the work and had access to it.[62]

Johann Sebastian Bach appears to have been not only well informed about Frederick's musical tastes but also keenly aware of the special nature of his flute. Even if the elder Bach had not had the opportunity to hear this style of instrument on his trips to Dresden, where Quantz was employed before 1742, or on an earlier trip to Berlin, his son Emanuel Bach, one of Frederick's regular accompanists, would have known intimately the special qualities of the flutes that Quantz produced for Frederick and the character of music played on them. Emanuel Bach composed numerous sonatas for flute, both in Frankfurt an der Oder and at Berlin, as well as trios with flute and violin at Berlin and Potsdam in the 1740s. Having accompanied the king and probably Quantz and others at court, it is not hard to imagine that Emanuel would have related relevant information to his father, helping to ensure the special affinity of Bach's Trio Sonata with Frederick's instrument. Contrary to what has become the received wisdom about Bach's Musical Offering and its performance, musical and organological evidence confirm the extraordinary appropriateness of Bach's Trio Sonata while offering new insights into the performance of the work.[63]

NOTES

1. For reports of the work's origin, see BR, 176, 220, 260, and 305f.; BDOK 2:434–35.

2. See, e.g., Eugene Ernest Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 172: "The music of Quantz continued to please Frederick because it was unchanging"; Helm also speaks here of Quantz's "unconcern for counterpoint." Burney visited Potsdam in 1772, one year before Quantz's death; thus he gained his impression of Frederick during the nadir of musical life in Berlin. For a more recent perpetuation of such views, see Andrea Loewy, "Frederick

the Great: Flutist and Composer," *College Music Symposium* 30 (1992): 123–25. Charlotte Crockett, "The Berlin Flute Sonatas of Johann Joachim Quantz" (Ph.D. diss, University of Texas, 1982), did not have direct access to the majority of sources and thus does not acknowledge the breadth of style in Frederick's repertory over time.

3. Cf. Helm, *Music at the Court*, 175: "One of Emanuel [Bach]'s greatest disappointments was Frederick's failure to appreciate his compositions. Frederick, dedicated to the preservation of the cautious and correct aesthetic of Graun and Quantz, was repelled by the impetuous musical expressions of his cembalist. Burney suggests a further reason for Bach's neglect: 'his majesty having early attached himself to an instrument which, from its confined powers, has had less good music composed for it than any other in common use, was unwilling, perhaps, to encourage a boldness and variety in composition, in which his instrument would not allow him to participate.' "

4. Seven concertos from Frederick's repertory contain double fugues, i.e., with strictly recurring countersubjects. See Meike ten Brink, *Die Flötenkonzerte von Johann Joachim Quantz*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1995), 1:177–79. Warren Kirkendale, *Fuge und Fugato in der Kammermusik des Rokoko und der Klassik* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1966), 126–27, incorrectly cites Quantz as having composed only fugues in which the bass does not participate: his example of the latter type, QV 2: ANH. 5, is a work of dubious attribution. Frederick's concert repertory is documented in thematic catalogs in which pieces were entered more or less in order of composition; see Horst Augsbach, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joachim Quantz* (Stuttgart: Carus, 1997), 270–87.

5. As Peter Williams notes in the preface to his edition, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Musicalisches Opfer* (London: Eulenburg, 1986), xxiv.

6. As in the second movement of QV 6:5, a Berlin concerto in G for two flutes (m. 65).

7. See Johann Joachim Quantz, *Solfeggi pour la Flute Traversiere avec l'enseignement. Par Monsr. Quantz*, ed. W. Michel and H. Teske (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1978), 68.

8. These concertos, although forming part of Frederick's collection, were most likely composed in Dresden and brought by Quantz to Berlin, as they are among the earliest concertos entered into Frederick's catalog. One of them, Concerto No. 59 (QV 6:3), exists in both Dresden and Berlin sources. Style attributes, together with the presence of Dresden scribal hands in these sources, seem to confirm this dating.

9. Jeanne Swack, "Quantz and the Sonata in E♭ Major for Flute and Cembalo, BWV 1031," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 31–53, has attempted to show that a few of Quantz's Dresden compositions were innovative and influential.

10. Helm, *Music at the Court*, 53 (following Philipp Spitta, ed., *Friedrich des Grossens*

Musicalische Werke, 3 vols. [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1889], 1:xii–xiii), maintains that Frederick's use of instrumental recitative was due to the influence of Emanuel Bach, who in turn had been inspired by Berlin opera. Other examples can be found in the music of J. C. F. Bach and Müthel.

11. Friedrich Nicolai, *Anekdoten von König Friedrich* II *von Preussen, und von einigen Personen, die um Ihn waren: Nebst Berichtigung einiger schon gedruckten Anekdoten*, vol. 3 (Berlin and Stettin, 1792), 253: "Dieser große Komponist war bekanntlich, obgleich der simpelste süsseste Gesang sein Hauptsache war, ein starker Kontrapunktist. Auch führte den König wieder einigermaßen auf den Kontrapunkt."

12. BDOK 3:288–90, and BR, 279: "In his last years he esteemed highly: Fux, Caldara, Händel, Kayser, Hasse, both Grauns, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda, and in general everything that was worthy of esteem in Berlin and Dresden." This statement makes it clear that J. S. Bach knew a great deal of Dresden and Berlin repertory.

13. It has been argued that Frederick forbade C. H. Graun to compose opera overtures in the French style because they contained fugal middle sections. Cf. Helm, *Music at the Court*, 144, and Michael Marissen, "The Theological Character of J. S. Bach's Musical Offering," in *Bach Studies 2*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 91. But Frederick disliked French music in general, and French overtures were no longer in vogue; cf. Quantz: "The lot of the French with their overtures is almost the same as that of the Italians with their concertos. Since the overture produces such a good effect, however, it is a pity that it is no longer in vogue in Germany" (*Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* [Berlin, 1752], 18.42; trans. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute*, 2d ed. [New York: Schirmer Books, 1985], 316).

14. See, for example, QV 2:3, QV 2:34, QV 2:42, QV 2:43, and QV 2: ANH.14.

15. Second mvt., mm. 60–72; DL, Mus. 2470-Q-6 (autograph score) and 2470-Q-7 (parts). See Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, vol. 2 (Berlin: A. Haude & J. C. Spener, 1753), 12, and his table IV, fig. 3. Marpurg also quotes the "royal theme" from the *Ricercar a 3* in the Musical Offering, mm. 1–17, as an example of a chromatic fugue subject (see 1:79 and his table XII, fig. 5).

16. See ten Brink, *Die Flötenkonzerte*, 1:79 quoting Kurd von Schlözer; *General Graf Chasot: Zur Geschichte Friedrichs der Großen und seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1878), 226–27.

17. Quantz, *Versuch*, 10.14; *On Playing the Flute*, 114.

18. Nicolai, *Anekdoten*, 253–54: "Dem Könige war auch im Anfang seiner Regierung der kontrapunktische Styl noch nicht zuwider. . . . Quantzens Flötentrios und Quatuors, die Er sonderlich in früheren Zeiten oft spielte, sind ganz in diesem Ge-

schmacke, und noch dazu die Quatuors ziemlich trocken. Quantzens Begleitung in seinen Koncerten, und oft die Fortschreitung seiner musikalischen Gedanken, entspringen im Grunde aus dem Kontrapunkte, obgleich mit vieler Mannigfaltigkeit, Ungezwungenheit, Feinheit, und schönem Gesange. Wer, wie der König, täglich solche Musik hörte, und dabey ein so seines musikalisches Ohr hatte, konnte wohl in den Grundsätzen der Harmonie nicht völlig unwissend seyn."

19. Christoph Wolff, "Apropos the Musical Offering: The Thema Regium and the Term Ricercar," in Wolff, *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 326.

20. Ibid., 325–26.

21. The vast majority of Quantz's trio sonatas, including QV 2:3, are preserved in Dresden manuscripts from the first half of the eighteenth century, held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek (DL). Quantz states that from 1728 he set out to form a "personal style of composition" and that he departed Dresden for Berlin in December 1741; in 1728 Quantz also began his biannual trips to Berlin to teach Frederick lessons. See "Hrn. Johann Joachim Quanzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen," in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Historische-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 1 (1755; rpt., Amsterdam: Knuf, 1972): 197–250.

22. *Johann Dismas Zelenka: Sonata VI C-moll*, ed. Wolfgang Horn, Hortus Musicus 276 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

23. See BDOK 2:388–90.

24. On Quantz's salary and privileges, see Helm, *Music at the Court*, 158–61. Jeanne Swack, "Quantz and the Sonata," 31–53, and Siegbert Rampe, "Bach, Quantz und das 'Musicalische Opfer,'" *Concerto* 10 (1993): 15–23, both attempt to link Quantz to Bach's trio through comparison with Quantz's trio QV 2:18. Both authors stress a comparison between the opening dotted theme of the second movement of Bach's Musical Offering trio and a theme in Quantz's first movement, but such motives are characteristic of numerous Berlin trios by, for example, the Grauns.

25. Marissen, "The Theological Character," 95–96, singles out the Andante of the Trio Sonata for its rapid motion "outside the ambitus to B♭ minor . . . and [later] E♭ minor," pointing to the "absurdly extended sequential passages of isolated appoggiaturas at mm. 20–8." Marissen finds this harmonic motion contradictory to "the galant melodic style."

26. Helm, *Music at the Court*, 167.

27. Marissen, "The Theological Character," 87, finds the "almost funereal" affect of the Musical Offering at odds with its presumed object of glorifying the king

and suggests that Frederick would have had little interest in studying or performing the work.

28. See the reports quoted by Helm, *Music at the Court*, 29–30.

29. Quantz, *Versuch*, 11.16, 14.6–8, and 17.2.17.

30. As pointed out by Peter Williams in the preface to his edition, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Musicalisches Opfer*, ix.

31. Helm, *Music at the Court*, 35. His chief source was an old pamphlet that reveals serious misunderstandings of eighteenth-century flutes and performance practice: Georg Müller, *Friedrich der Grosse: Seine Flöten und sein Flötenspiel* (Berlin: Parryhysius, 1932).

32. Ardal Powell with David Lasocki, "Bach and the Flute," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 18.

33. The flutes are documented in the following inventories: Michael Seyfrit, *Musical Instruments in the Dayton C. Miller Collection at the Library of Congress: A Catalog*, vol.1, *Recorders, Fifes, and Simple System Flutes of One Key* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1982), inventory no.977, cat. no.208, 210; *Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin: Führer durch die Sammlungen* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1988), inventory no.1289, 101; Herbert Heyde, *Flöten: Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978), 1:81; Berlin, Instrumentenmuseum, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inventory no.5076; Hamamatsu, Japan, instrument museum (unpublished photos and measurements kindly provided to me by Friedrich von Huene); Potsdam, Schloß Sanssouci (unpublished inventory); Hechingen, Burg Hohenzollern (no inventory no.); Karlsruhe, private collection (Ardal Powell kindly provided measured drawings). Additional information for both lost and surviving instruments is found in inventories (ca.1930) from the former Hohenzollern Museum, Berlin (kindly made available to me by Thomas Kemper and Matthias Gärtner); see Mary Oleskiewicz, "A Museum, a World War, and a Rediscovery: Flutes by Quantz and Others from the Hohenzollern Museum," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 24 (1998):107–45.

34. From as early as Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flute traversière* (Amsterdam: Etienne Roger, 1707).

35. See, e.g., Patrizio Barbieri, "Violin Intonation: An Historical Survey," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 69–88, and John Hind Chestnut, "Mozart's Teaching of Intonation," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 254–71.

36. See, e.g., Dieter Krickeberg, "Studien zu Stimmung und Klang der Querflöte zwischen 1500 und 1850," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preus-*

sischer Kulturbesitz 1968, ed. Dagmar Droysen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969), 99–118.

37. Quantz, *Versuch*, 17.6.20.

38. Ibid., 10.5. The *Anfangsstücke* (QV 1:177–8) are transmitted in Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, mu 6310.0860 (Gieddes samling 1:45) and are excerpted in the *Solfeggi*.

39. The total number is suggested by opus numbers (see table 1), extant receipts, and court records, none of which are complete. Receipts for flutes prior to 1747 are extant for December 1743 and March 1745; see Herbert Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1994), 29. Frederick's interest in technical innovation is evidenced by the elaborateness of the Berlin opera house, built in 1742, which had state-of-the-art acoustics and featured an in-house sprinkler system in case of fire.

40. NBA VI/3, KB, 22–24.

41. Quantz, *Versuch*, 4.3. Baroque flutes that feature, above all, an easily produced high range, such as copies of those by Rottenburgh, have thus become a common choice for performing Bach, but such flutes produce a light sound with correspondingly weak low notes.

42. Ibid., 17.7.7: "Ich will eben nicht die Parthey von dem ganz tiefen französischen Kammerton nehmen; *ob er gleich für die Flöte traversiere, den Hoboe, den Basson, und einige andere Instrumente der vortheilhafteste ist.* Ich halte deswegen den Deutschen sogennanten A-Kammerton, welcher eine kleine Terze tiefer ist, als der alte Chorten, für den besten" (italics added). Quantz recommends a compromise between the two extremes for general use, although this was clearly not his personal preference.

43. A number of the flutes listed in table 1 are still exant with their longest middle joint. These include those in Berlin, *5076;* Potsdam; Hamamatsu; Washington D.C., *916;* and Karlsruhe; and an alto flute, *MS-577*, in Halle.

44. See Stewart Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

45. Cf. Christoph Wolff, "Bach und das Fortepiano," in *Bach und die italienische Musik*, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff and Reinhard Wiesend (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1987), 197–209, and Williams, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Musicalisches Opfer*, xii.

46. For descriptions of these fortepianos, see Pollens, *Early Pianoforte*, 175–84, and his table, 207. Silbermann received 200 talers for the "Clavier" (see Heyde, *Instrumentenbau in Preußen*, 29).

47. Communication from John Koster of the Shrine to Music Museum in Vermillion, S.D.

48. I would like to thank Barbara and Thomas Wolf for communicating this observation to me and for sharing their photos. Based on its close likeness to the Sanssouci piano, they suggest 1747 as the date for the one in the Neues Palais. They also generously provided photos showing the same evidence on the transposing Silbermann fortepiano in Nuremberg.

49. "Ordentlich stehen sie alle im tiefen Kammerton, um der Flöten willen; aber durch die Verrückung des Grifbrets kann man sie alsbald einen halben Ton erhöhen, auch wohl einen gantzen. . . . Die Transposition aus dem tiefen Kammerton in den Höhern ist noch leichter, als bey dem Clavichord" (Jakob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* [Erfurt, 1758], 570; translated in Bruce Haynes, "Pitch Standards in the Baroque and Classical Periods" [Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, 1995], 227). Adlung also described an organ that played at both "low" and ordinary chamber pitch; see his *Musica mechanica organoedi*, ed. Johann Lorenz Albrecht (Berlin: F. W. Birnstiel, 1768), 260.

50. Friedrich Nicolai, "Beschreibung der Königliche Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam," in *Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Dokumente*, vol. 8, part 1, ed. Ingeborg Sriewald (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1995), 404: "Wenn man mit blasenden Instrumenten, die einen oder zwey Töne höher sind als der Kammerton, spielen will, so kann man durch Schieben der Klaviatur den Ton verändern."

51. The account book entry reads: "Einen tieffen neuen Basson 65 Taler"; see Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen*, 33.

52. "Dieses Werck ist auf Kammer Ton eingestimmt"; see Stefan Behrens and Uwe Pape, *Die Orgel der Prinzessin Anna Amalie von Preußen in der Kirche Zur frohen Botschaft in Berlin-Karlhorst* (Berlin: Pape, 1991), 12.

53. Letter dated 21 October 1755, in ibid., 13–14: "Die Gräfin Schwerin meinte, sie sei ein bißchen laut, was natürlich ist, aber der Ton ist charmant. Ich bitte sie, teilen Sie dies meinen Brüder mit. . . . Die Buben von der Straße sind nicht stehen geblieben um zu horschen, obwohl die Balkontüren offen waren, was beweist, daß dieses Instrument nicht die gewöhnliche Kraft hat wie für eine Kirche. Ich werde üben, daß ich jeden von meinen Brüdern in einem Solo begleiten kann, ohne daß ein Halbton von ihrem Bass verloren geht."

54. Quoted (in German translation from the original French) in ten Brink, *Die Flötenkonzerte* 1:79.

55. Pollens, *Early Pianoforte*, 182, 194.

56. Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen*, 29. The payment for the Sanssouci instrument reads: "an dem Silbermann. vor Piano et Forte . . . 420 Thlr." The payment was made in December 1746. Heyde cites no additional payments for fortepianos. The king paid more than half this amount, 275 talers, for a Quantz flute.

57. A facsimile of the first page appears in Augsbach, *Thematisches Verzeichnis*, 294.

58. Quantz, *Versuch*, 17.6.17, trans. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 259: "on a *pianoforte* everything required may be accomplished with the greatest convenience, for this instrument, of all those that are designated by the word keyboard, has the greatest number of qualities necessary for good accompaniment, and depends for its effect[iveness] only upon the player and his judgement. The same is true of a good clavichord with regard to playing, but not with regard to effect since it lacks the Fortissimo."

59. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1753–62), introduction to vol. 2; trans. William J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1949), 172. David Schulenberg, in his contribution to this volume, finds Emanuel Bach's music of the 1740s most idiomatic to the newer keyboard instruments.

60. Trills occur on twenty-three different notes, ranging from e♭′ to e♭‴; all appear in Quantz's trill table, but fourteen are among those for which Quantz found it necessary to describe special fingerings and techniques for executing the trills and their terminations. Some of the most complex trills treated here include c″ to d♭″ with a termination (BWV 1079, mvt. 1, m. 43, described in *Versuch*, 9.12 and fig. 12); d♭″ to e♭″ (BWV 1079, mvt. 4, mm. 74, which requires a termination, described in *Versuch*, 9.12 and fig. 15); and d‴ to e♭‴ (BWV 1079, mvt. 2, mm. 19 and 132, described in *Versuch*, 9.10 and fig. 8), which is so troublesome that Quantz says it "should be used only in cases of necessity." Bach's trio makes frequent use of trills that require particular attention to tuning (see *Versuch*, 9.10, and figs. 5–9.). See also John Solum, "J. S. Bach's Trio Sonata from 'The Musical Offering': A Study in Trills?," in *Fluting and Dancing*, ed. David Lasocki (New York: McGinnis & Marx, 1992), 29–31.

61. BR, 305.

62. See J. S. Bach's letter to Johann Elias Bach, dated 6 October 1748 (BR, 182): "I cannot oblige you at present with the desired copy of the Prussian Fugue [from the Musical Offering], the edition having been exhausted just today, since I had only 100 printed, most of which were distributed *gratis* to good friends. But between now and the New Year's Fair I shall have some more printed."

63. A field and archival study permitting the author to examine the surviving flutes

and music by Quantz was made possible by two grants from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst. Initial results were presented in a paper read at the Second Biennial Conference on Baroque Music at the University of Birmingham, England, 4 July 1996. I would like to thank Peter Williams for helpful comments concerning an earlier version of the present essay.

Versions of Bach

Performing Practices in the Keyboard Works

David Schulenberg

My title is purposely ambiguous. It refers primarily to versions of Bach's music, not of Bach himself, although it is probably inevitable that ideas about what Bach was like or how he taught or played his works will to some degree enter into considerations of how we might perform them. By "keyboard works" I mean music played at one time or another on stringed keyboard instruments: harpsichord, clavichord, and fortepiano. By "versions" I have in mind three quite different things. First, there are the various compositional states in which Bach's works exist, or are thought to have existed. In addition, there may have been changes over the course of Bach's life in how he expected his music to be performed. Finally, it is clear that after Bach's death both the performing practices and the musical texts of his works continued to evolve, so that a work like the Chromatic Fantasy emerged as something very different—a new version, insofar as its sonorous and expressive qualities are concerned—in its late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guises.

BACH'S REVISIONS

Table 1 lists most of the keyboard works known to have undergone revision of one sort or another. It is not complete, and it omits the many works whose internal structure suggests that they underwent revision but whose sources provide no definite evidence for that. The most common types of revision, documented in nearly all of the major works, are, first, the addition or revision of signs for ornaments and articulation, and secondly, alterations of voice leading, minor melodic embellishment, and other changes of detail.[1] More radical types of alteration may have occurred frequently during the composing process, but such changes are rarely documented in the surviving material.

TABLE 1. J. S. Bach: Keyboard Works Surviving in Multiple Versions

BWV	Title	Form of revision*
772–801	Inventions and Sinfonias (all)	1, 3
	Inv., C	2
	Inv., c	5b
	Inv., E	5b
	Inv., e	2, 5a
	Inv., F	5a
	Inv., g	5a
	Inv., a	5a
	Inv., b	2
	Sinf., E♭	2
806–11	English Suites	1, 3
	Suite 1, A	1b (bourrée 2?), 5a (prelude), 6 (doubles 1–2)
	Suite 2, a	2 (sarabande)
	Suite 3, g	2 (sarabande), 5a (prelude)
	Suite 5, e	1b (courante)
812–17	French Suites	1, 3, 6
	Suite 2, c	1b (menuet 1?), 5a (allemande, courante), 6 (menuet 2)
	Suite 3, b	2 (sarabande), 6 (menuet 2)
	Suite 4, E♭	6 (prelude, menuet, gavotte 2)
	Suite 5, G	2 (sarabande), 6 (loure—deleted?)
818	Suite, a	1, 2 (sarabande), 3, 6 (double, menuet)
819	Suite, E♭	1, 3, 5b (allemande)
825–30	Partitas	1, 3 (especially Partitas 3, 6)
	Partita 3, a	5b (gigue?), 6 (scherzo)
	Partita 6, e	2 (sarabande), 5b (courante), 7 (gigue)
831	Ouverture in b	3, 7 (overture)
846–69	WTC, Part 1	1, 1b (prelude, d?), 2 (prelude, e), 3, 4 (preludes: c, D, d), 5a (preludes: C, c, C♯, c♯, D, d, G)
870–93	WTC, Part 2	1, 2 (fugue, G), 3, 5a (preludes: C, d, e; fugues: C, C♯, G, A♭), 6 (prelude, G), 7 (preludes: g?, b; fugue, b♭)

TABLE 1. (*continued*)

BWV	Title	Form of revision*
903	Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, d	4 (fantasy)
912	Toccata, D	2 (adagios), 3, 7 (opening)
913	Toccata, d	2 (adagio), 3, 5a (fugue 1)
914	Toccata, e	5a (final fugue), 6
951	Fugue, b (Albinoni)	5a
957	Fughetta, G	3, 6 (final chorale)
971	Italian Concerto	3
988	Goldberg Variations	3
1079/2	Ricercar a 6	3
1080	Art of Fugue	3, 5a (Contrapuncti 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 13; Augmentation Canon), 6, 7 (Contrap. 2?, 6; Aug. Canon)

*1—added or revised ornaments, articulation (1b)
2—added or revised embellishment
3—corrections and relatively small adjustments of compositional detail
4—insertion or revision of cadenzas
5—substantial compositional changes, revisions, or both, including (a) insertion of new material and (b) alteration of principal thematic material
6—addition, subtraction, or reordering of movements
7—rhythm or rhythmic notation altered

We may surmise, then, that Bach's keyboard pieces were initially notated in forms that still required the addition of ornaments and other performance signs, and in many cases minor alterations of compositional detail as well. In some works, more substantial alteration eventually followed. But other compositions, especially early ones that Bach passed over when assembling the famous collections, may never have undergone the complete process. These consequently may survive in states closer to their original drafts.

The picture is perhaps clearest in the French Suites, which the NBA prints in two versions: an early one preserved in a manuscript copy by Bach's student Johann Christoph Altnikol and a later version preserved in copies by other students.[2] The later version is designated in the NBA as the "ornamented" (*verzierte*) version, but this means only that the sources contain a greater number

of ornament *signs*. Given the works' otherwise close imitation of the French keyboard style, it seems likely that Bach expected any performance of these works to include the idiomatic ornaments of the French harpsichord style. If so, it is historically inauthentic to play the earlier versions literally, in naked, unornamented form, simply because Bach had not yet entered all the ornaments into the text.[3]

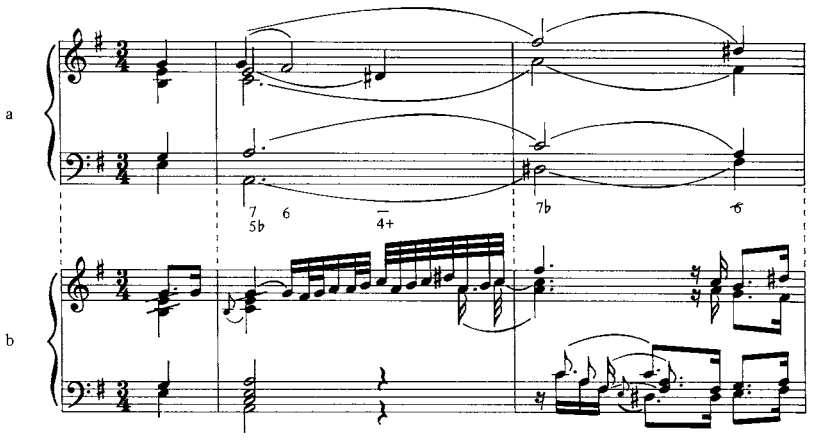
Of course, Bach is famous for notating things that were normally left up to performers. But this does not mean that every ornament was specified in every piece. Bach's notational thoroughness, which seems to have been first mentioned in the famous polemical exchange between the critic Johann Adolph Scheibe and Bach's supporter Johann Abraham Birnbaum, must have applied primarily to finished works that were intended for public performance or dissemination.[4] The existence of numerous variant readings for ornament signs and other performance markings in his pupils' manuscript copies of many works suggests that Bach, or at least his students, allowed considerable leeway in the performance of such details.

Together with the evidence that Bach's revisions sometimes took the form of embellishment (see table 1), this may encourage more extensive ornamentation and embellishment of his music in performance than is usual today. But Bach seems to have left few keyboard pieces in which opportunities for significant embellishment were not eventually realized in notation. Apparent exceptions must be carefully scrutinized. For example, the B-minor prelude in Part 2 of the Well-Tempered Clavier contains a fermata at a point (m. 57) where one might wish to add a brief cadenza. Yet Bach had revised the movement at least once without seeing a need for any such elaboration.[5]

The care with which Bach selected embellishments for his works is evident from the sarabande of the E Minor Partita, perhaps the most heavily embellished movement in Bach's keyboard music. Although we do not possess an "original" unembellished form, we can at least examine the embellishment in two distinct versions. Both the nature of the decoration and its revision suggest that the embellishment can be understood as intensifying an essentially simple series of underlying progressions. Moreover, the embellishment plays a role in articulating not only the local harmonic motion but the structure of the movement as a whole, which resembles a simple sonata form.

The main theme can be understood as a few chords embellished through elaborate arpeggiation (ex. 1). Near the end of the movement this opening

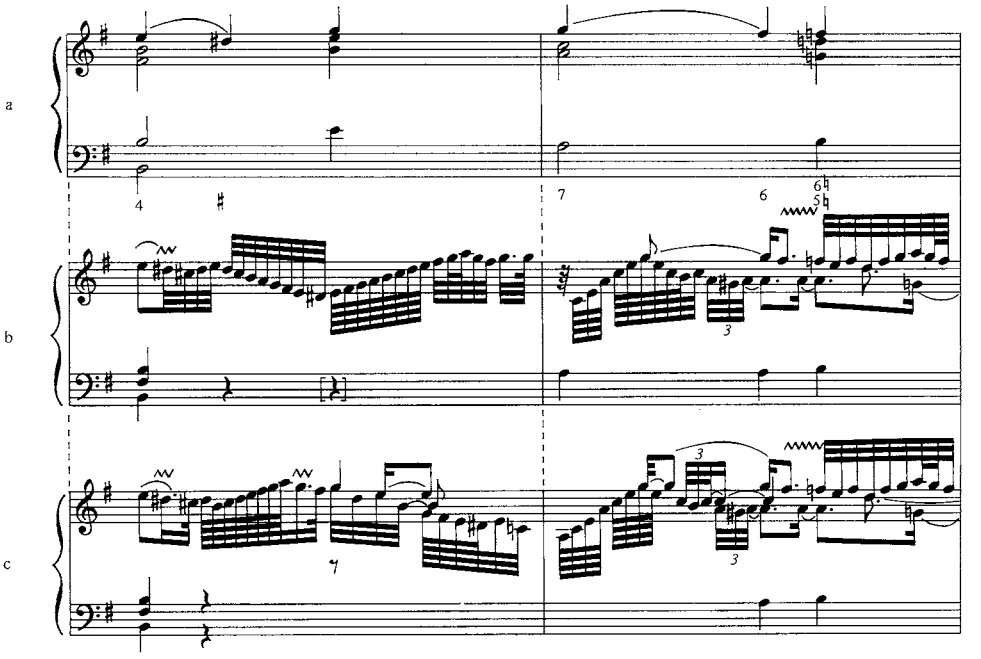
Ex. 1. Partita No. 6 in E Minor, BWV 830, Sarabande, mm. 1–2: *a.* analysis; *b.* final version (print).



music is recapitulated in a somewhat differently embellished form; the passage leading into the recapitulation is embellished with particular vehemence, and it was this passage that was most heavily revised (ex. 2). The revisions were perhaps prompted by a compositional problem: the preceding passage comes to rest on a dominant chord with d♯″ in the upper voice (m. 28, second beat). But the main theme opens with a note that is separated from this d♯″ by the ungainly interval of a diminished fourth. This g″ in the top voice is then held over as a suspension, forming a seventh that resolves to f♯″.

The earlier version of the passage finesses the move from d♯″ to g″ with a sweeping scale through one and a half octaves (ex. 2*b*, m. 28). This version preserves the dotted rhythm on a repeated g″ as the first element of the recapitulated main theme, albeit in diminished note values and with the note g″ moved to the last half of the third beat. The revised version preserves the g″ in its original metrical position on the third beat, that is, as in the upbeat to m. 1; this is accomplished through the ascent of the upper voice from d♯″ through f♯″ on the second beat, as part of the embellishment of the dominant harmony that occupies beats 1 and 2. This version also enhances the unaccented (upbeat) character of the figure on the third beat by reversing the direction of the embellishment at that point; instead of beginning with an accented bass e′, the decorated arpeggio there now moves downward toward bass a on the following downbeat. The decoration of the 7 chord on that a is hardly altered, but the

Ex. 2. Partita No. 6 in E Minor, BWV 830, Sarabande, mm. 28–29: *a.* analysis; *b.* earlier version (*Clavierbüchlein vor A. M. Bach*, 1725); *c.* final version.



suspended g″ now carries greater weight and therefore is likely to seem more expressive, the recapitulation stronger metrically.

POSSIBLE CHANGES IN BACH'S PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

Revisions like those shown in example 2 might well have arisen as consequences of initially unnotated changes in how Bach performed the passage. But even if they arose in improvisation, these changes were committed to paper only after careful forethought; this type of embellishment only seems impromptu. In any case, Bach's revisions here do not betoken a change in the underlying performing practice; both versions embellish the sarabande in the manner of an Italian adagio. Were there, however, more fundamental changes in how Bach played his music? Evidence for this might take the form of revisions that suggest substantially different ways of ornamenting, embellishing, or articulating notes, or changing intentions with regard to the instrumental medium and even the expressive character of particular works.

Unfortunately, Bach's students seem to have taken the same attitude toward his teaching that nineteenth-century editors took toward his works: Kirnberger, C. P. E. Bach, and others evidently saw in Bach's pedagogy one "true manner" (*wahre Art*) that was fixed and unvarying, at least in their redactions of it.[6] Even when reading between the lines, one can find little in their writings to suggest that Sebastian ever changed his approach to performance (or anything else), except of course during his early years, when he would have been discovering the principles later transmitted to his students.[7]

Thus we might expect to find the clearest evidence for such changes within the early works. And indeed some of the very earliest contain what would later appear as oddities, such as figured basses directing the realization of inner voices or repeat signs that cannot be honored without improvised adjustments to cover up discontinuities in the part writing.[8] Yet such things are as much indications of careless or incomplete compositional practice as of changing performance practice. They suggest that the young Bach took a relatively free approach toward notation, but we might have expected this during a period when the young composer had not yet acquired the habit of carefully notating his intentions in works prepared for publication or pedagogy. One would assume that his playing changed in the course of a career of almost half a century as a professional musician. Yet one can point only to occasional indications that his practice was not quite as consistent as his mature scores might suggest, or that younger musicians sometimes found his original notation difficult to interpret.

A favorite bone of contention in this regard has been the initial, dotted, section of the French overture in the harpsichord partita BWV 831. The work's published version, in B minor, introduced a number of revisions that have been interpreted as either an actual sharpening of the dotted rhythms of the earlier, C-minor, version, or merely a more precise way of notating the latter. Current consensus seems to be that the truth lies in some combination of these views,[9] but at any rate some alteration is apparent in performers' understanding of the notational convention, if not of the actual performance practice. Change in the latter is more clearly evident in the heavily embellished copy of the C-minor version preserved in a manuscript by Johann Gottlieb Preller, which points not only to a more ornamented performance but a considerably slower tempo than implied by the original notation.[10] Matthew Dirst, moreover, has pointed out an apparent shift in Bach's conception of the initial section of movements in French overture style from a rhythmic texture that accommodates contra-

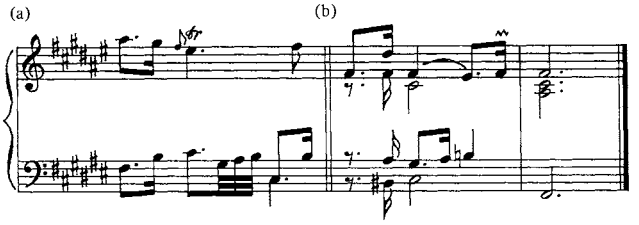
puntal motion in steady sixteenth notes—as is evident not only in BWV 831a but in works such as the C Major Orchestral Suite (BWV 1066)—to one characterized by *tirate* and "jerky" rhythms. This observation is consistent with a general pattern of sharpening rhythm and articulation and of increasingly vigorous, thoroughgoing dotting that is apparent over the hundred-year history of the genre. But to what degree Bach's understanding of the genre changed, and whether such a change can be dated to around 1730, seem open to question.[11]

Another problematic example occurs with the sarabande of the Sixth French Suite, which exists in versions distinguished by the very different ornament signs preserved in copies by two of Bach's students.[12] There is no way of determining which set of signs is the composer's, and both seem equally effective. A somewhat different case, although equally ambivalent, involves the Italian Concerto and the French Overture (Partita), which appeared together in Part 2 of the *Clavierübung* as pieces for two-manual harpsichord. The indications for changes of manual in both works are sometimes awkward to play, and they present some internal inconsistencies; they appear to have been afterthoughts, raising the possibility that Bach originally conceived the pieces for performance on a single-manual instrument.[13]

If Bach could add dynamic markings to these pieces in what was for him a fairly peremptory manner, perhaps he inserted changes of manual or registration in the performance of other works as well.[14] It is even conceivable that many of the early keyboard works—notably the *manualiter* toccatas—were originally written with the organ in mind but later came to be regarded primarily as "clavier" pieces, that is, works for stringed keyboard instruments. Evidence for this is sparse and ambivalent, however: for example, some ties in the early version of the D Major Toccata (BWV 912a) that suggest organ performance, additional virtuoso figuration in the later version (BWV 912) that might be more appropriate to the harpsichord.[15] But, whatever the instrument for which they were originally intended, the relatively early *manualiter* toccatas appear to have raised questions of interpretation for Bach's younger contemporaries, perhaps including his own students.

As no autograph sources survive, it is impossible to determine the authenticity of all the readings found in the manuscripts. But these sometimes give the impression of mid-eighteenth-century attempts to update music composed in what had already become an unfamiliar style. For example, a mildly chromatic passage in the D Major Toccata was rendered more conventional by the

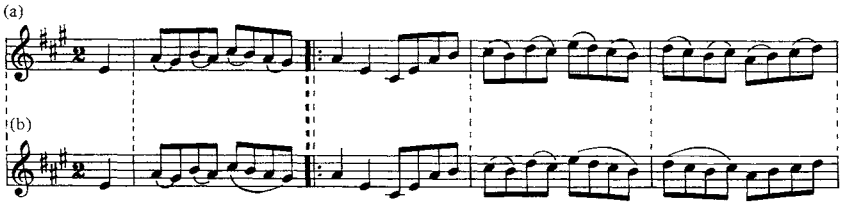
Ex. 3. Well-Tempered Clavier, Prelude in F♯ Major, BWV 882/1: *a.* m. 67; *b.* mm. 74–75.



elimination of several accidentals (mm. 61–62), and chord spacings and voice leading at several points were likewise brought into line with what appear to have been later notions of "correct" writing.[16] Moreover, a few details in the later version are reminiscent of several alterations of the text of the Chromatic Fantasy—discussed below—that were incorporated into nineteenth-century editions.[17] In addition, the early version of the toccata lacks many of the performance markings found in the later version—tempo marks, dynamics, a few ornament signs, and so-called cautionary accidentals—suggesting that freedoms of tempo and other (presumed) conventions of the Baroque *stylus fantasticus* had become unfamiliar before the end of the eighteenth century.

Since Bach is known to have added a few tempo indications to the generically similar preludes of the Well-Tempered Clavier and in free passages in other works,[18] it is conceivable that the markings in the toccatas possess similar authority. Yet, even if so, these markings provide evidence not of change in Bach's performing practice but rather of changing conditions of performance among his younger contemporaries. Similarly with another aspect of performance that was shifting during the eighteenth century: it seems unlikely that Sebastian Bach ever adopted the rules on the length of appoggiaturas given by Emanuel Bach in his *Essay*.[19] Although some of Sebastian's works employ the long appoggiaturas favored in the gallant style, these appoggiaturas seem always to be written out in regular notes; thus ex. 3*b* has a quarter note f♯′ on the second beat. Following the rules given by Emanuel Bach, the little note in m. 67 (ex. 3*a*) would also have been performed as a quarter note. But here as elsewhere Sebastian seems to have made a deliberate distinction between the two types of notation.[20] Indeed, Emanuel does not appear to have applied the rules to his own works prior to the issuance of the first volume of the *Versuch* in 1753.[21]

Ex. 4. English Suite No. 1 in A, Bourrée 1, mm. 1–4 (bass omitted): *a.* from early version, BWV 806a; *b.* from BWV 806.



But even if J. S. Bach remained consistent in his manner of performing appoggiaturas, he was not always consistent in his use of the signs indicating other ornaments. Thus a slanting line is used to mean both the measured breaking of a two-note chord and the insertion of an acciaccatura into a larger arpeggiated chord.[22] Conventions governing the notation of triplets and dotted rhythms also seem to be applied inconsistently or ambiguously in some instances.[23] But perhaps the most vexatious area involving inconsistent or ambiguous markings is that of articulation. For example, in an early version of the A Major English Suite, the steady eighth notes of the first bourrée are grouped consistently in pairs (ex. 4*a*),whereas most later copies give more varied articulation (ex. 4*b*).[24]

John Butt has demonstrated that, although some slurs sometimes appear to have been part of the essential (and first notated) motivic material of a given passage, Bach altered the slurring of other motives as they recurred through the course of a composition.[25] Nevertheless, each authentic slur in Bach's keyboard music, virtually without exception, can be understood as having the primary role of articulating a motive that arises as the embellishment of a single tone or chord. Different slurrings are possible, in effect, because the music permits multiple analyses.[26]

In the A-major bourrée, both sets of slurs are musically plausible. The two-note slurs in both versions represent simple neighbor motion. The four-note slurs of the later version represent, at one point (m. 4), a turn around one note (c♯″), and elsewhere arpeggiation of a third (g♯′/b′ or b′/d″) embellished by passing notes—what Kirnberger called an *accentuirte Brechung*.[27] The less homogeneous slurring of the later version can thus be attributed to more than a simple desire for variety; the melodic figuration varies from measure to measure, and the later slurs can be understood as reflecting greater insight not only

into the varying motivic content of the surface but also into the underlying harmony or voice leading.

In short, Bach, upon reflection, might have performed this piece with articulation different from that taken for granted when it was first composed. But this remains a relatively minute element of performing practice. Although Butt has argued from certain markings in works of the 1720s and 1730s that the composer was then in the process of adopting "a new approach to articulation," he later qualifies this as an "*apparently* new approach."[28] Indeed, Bach's occasional use of relatively long slurs cannot offset the fact that articulation of all sorts is more thoroughly marked in later works (or in later versions). There may well have been a trend toward more flowing or legato keyboard playing in the course of the eighteenth century, but such changes in articulation as Bach specified in notation seem to have involved only the level of the most minute detail.

POSTHUMOUS CHANGES IN BACH PERFORMANCE

The same can hardly be said of the changes that Bach performance has undergone since his death. Changes are already evident in manuscript copies and early printed editions of Bach's music. Some may have arisen in connection with poor textual transmission or misunderstandings of Bach's notation. Often small in themselves, involving only the displacement of a slur or of a dynamic marking by a note or two, these errors nevertheless tended to favor the assimilation of performing practice in Bach's music to that of contemporary works. In so doing, these as well as other, more deliberate, changes in the interpretation of Bach's texts reflected developments in musical aesthetics that had been ongoing since the time of the works' composition.

Thus Preller's highly ornamented version of the overture of BWV 831a might reflect the same trend evident in what has been termed the mannerist style of C. P. E. and W. F. Bach and other midcentury German composers.[29] On the other hand, Johann Nicolaus Forkel, author of the first substantial Bach biography, supposed just a few decades later that the unembellished and often much shorter early versions of certain pieces were actually the final ones. By this reasoning, Bach not only had eliminated the cadenza-like codas and closing pedal points in the preludes in C, C minor, and others in Part 1 of the Well-Tempered Clavier but had also deleted the exquisitely embellished melody of

the E-minor prelude.[30] Forkel printed these early versions as the principal text in his edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier; moreover, at least one other work, the D Minor Toccata, BWV 913, was issued at about the same time by the same publisher in a version that is distinctly simpler and presumably earlier than the one most familiar today.[31]

How could Forkel have regarded these early drafts as final versions "freed from all useless superfluities"?[32] Most likely his aesthetics colored his understanding of the philological evidence, despite his warm correspondence with Emanuel Bach and his contacts with Wilhelm Friedemann. Manuscripts as well as editions associated with Forkel consistently present texts of dubious authenticity, suggesting that Forkel frequently conflated his own opinions and performing practice with whatever he had learned from members of the Bach circle. Editions by Forkel's student Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, which the latter claimed to reflect the playing of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, similarly contain poor texts as well as indications for ornaments, articulation, and other aspects of performance atypical of the first half of the eighteenth century.[33]

Nineteenth-century musicians already expressed their doubts about Forkel's dependability.[34] Yet Forkel has remained influential, particularly in his assertion that the clavichord was Bach's favorite keyboard instrument.[35] Moreover, Forkel evidently shared basic aesthetic positions with his Romantic contemporaries; his rejection of "useless superfluities" is reminiscent of the Romantic admiration for unaccompanied, unembellished Renaissance vocal polyphony.

Indeed, the Romantic distaste for Baroque complexity and rhetoric—including intense embellishment and complex articulation at the local level—can be seen as part of a trend that extended to all aspects of artistic life, including dance and other theatrical arts, where intricate and highly stylized Baroque types of movement were being replaced by what were thought to be more "natural" ones. The complex systems of short slurs characteristic of earlier instrumental music, rarely extending over a beat or a bar line, must have contributed to the impression of eighteenth-century keyboard playing as "choppy" (*zerhackte*), to use a term applied disparagingly in the early nineteenth century to music by C. P. E. Bach.[36] This impression would have been reinforced by an overly literal reading of eighteenth-century sources—not only musical scores, with their short or absent slurs, but also theoretical discussions, notably that of articulation in Emanuel Bach's *Versuch*. It is unclear whether C. P. E. Bach (and by extension, his father and other members of the Bach circle) really

shortened unslurred notes by half their written value, and whether this necessarily leads to a choppy (as opposed to a clear and articulate) style. In any case, even Beethoven's slurs grew longer under editors such as Czerny.[37]

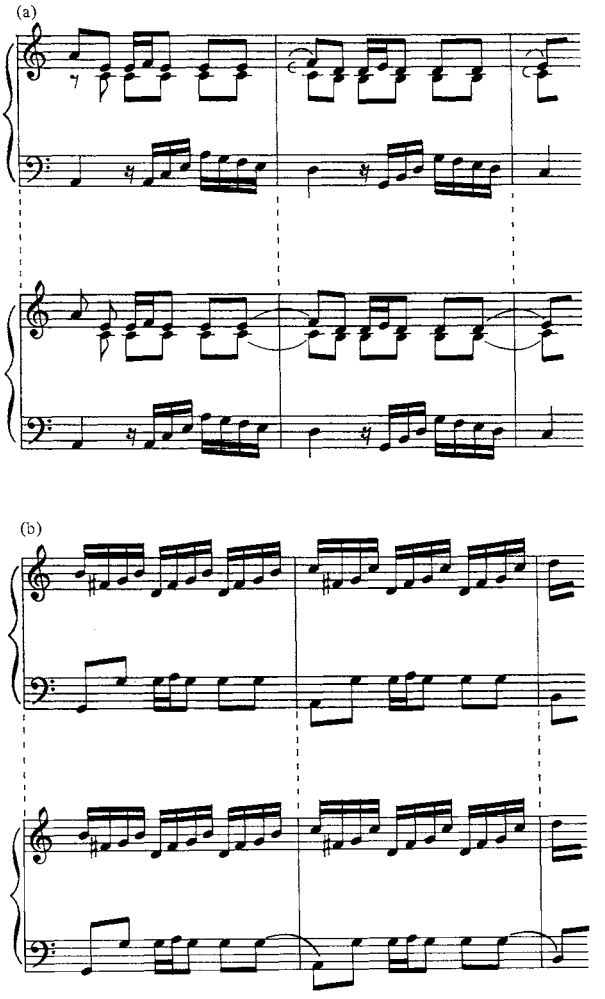
Thus the history of Bach's texts in later nineteenth-century editions resembles that of the Viennese Classical repertory. Not only popular or pedagogic editions were affected; when, for example, the English Suites appeared in 1863 in BG 13, edited by the pianist Franz Espagne, the latter apparently mistook certain appoggiatura signs for slurs and added further slurs in what he regarded as parallel passages (ex. 5).[38] The result was to introduce what Butt calls "cross-beat" slurs, whereas the original notation called for appoggiaturas or *ports de voix* that interrupt the smooth passage of the upper voice at the bar line.

The treatment of the slurs in ex. 5 recalls a type of alteration that occurred in the texts of some of Bach's cantatas. Robert Marshall has reported several instances of editorial tampering;[39] another likely instance occurs in Cantata 84, although the status of some stylistically anomalous slurs there remains uncertain.[40] At issue here are the little slurs from upbeat to downbeat in ex. 6 (mm. 0–1, 3–4, and 5–6), which, together with some of the other articulation signs present here, may represent unauthorized alterations to Bach's text.

Slurs of this type undeniably represent a version of Bach that was fully acceptable in the nineteenth century. Moreover, these short slurs are of a type common in the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven; this fact no doubt has continued to make them plausible to editors and performers to the present day. Most harpsichordists today, however, will regard these cross-beat slurs as contrary to what has come to be regarded as normal articulation in Baroque keyboard music. Bach assuredly did use such slurs, but only in exceptional instances (ex. 7). If genuine examples of such slurs occur in Bach's keyboard music, they are exceedingly rare. Their effect is to produce an agogic stress on the upbeat, a fixture of Classical and later styles; modern "historically informed" views of Bach interpretation, on the other hand, favor an agogic accent on practically every downbeat.

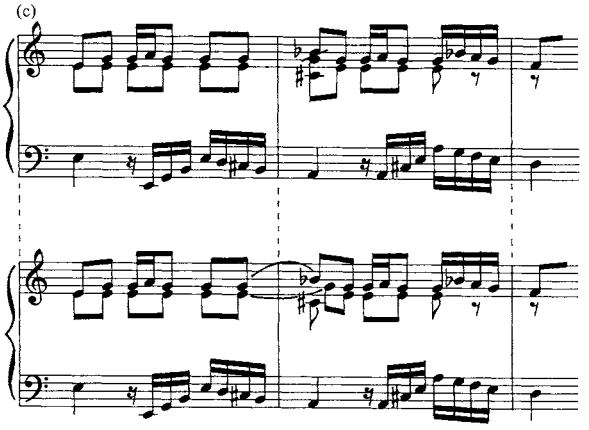
Although the readings of these little slurs are ostensibly a minor detail in the musical surface, the consistent adoption of one reading or another throughout a work will have a profound effect on the latter's character and rhythm—its *mouvement* or *Bewegung*, in eighteenth-century terms. Elimination of the regular agogic accentuation of the downbeat replaces a certain rhythmic formality—which has come to be understood as characteristic of Baroque in-

Ex. 5. English Suite No. 2 in A Minor, Prelude: *a.* mm. 55–57; *b.* mm. 70–72; *c.* mm. 95–97. Top system: readings from NBA V/7; lower system: readings from BG 13.

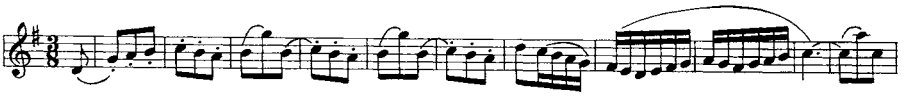


strumental music—with a nonchalance that is more typical of a later style. Certainly the regular atomization of late-Baroque music into neatly ordered metrical units starting on downbeats has become as important an element of the rhythm and character of this music in modern performances as is the proper "swing" in jazz.

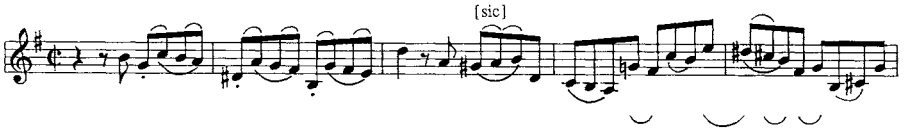
Ex. 5. Continued



Ex. 6. Cantata *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Glücke*, BWV 84, aria, "Ich esse mit Freuden," mm. 1–11 (oboe part only).

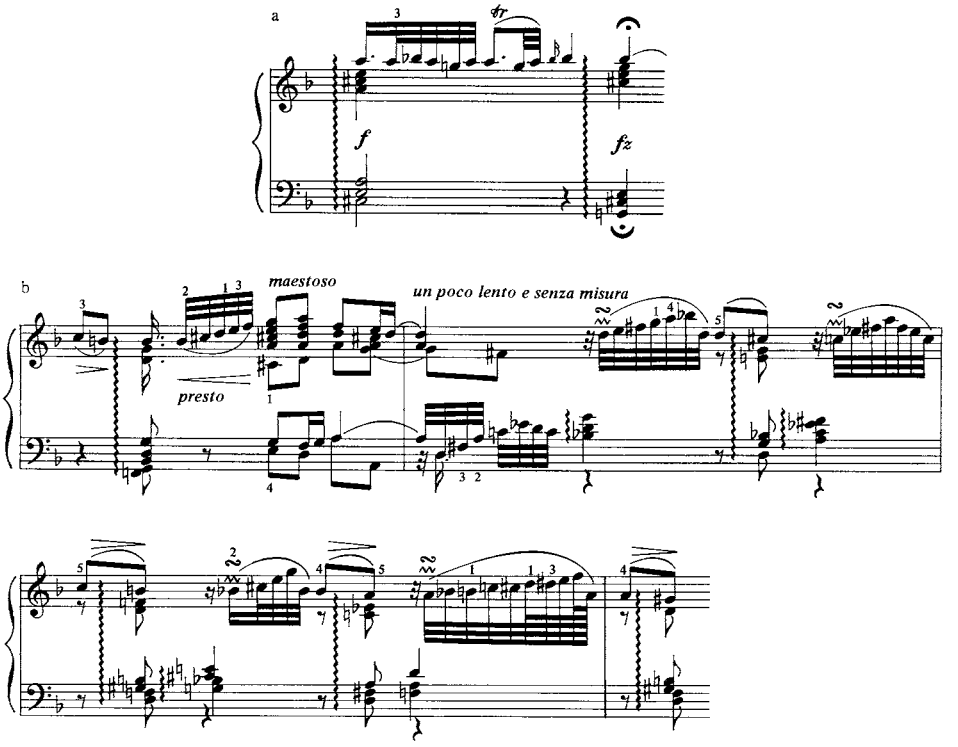


Ex. 7. (a) Cantata *Süsser Trost, mein Jesus kommt*, BWV 151, aria, "In Jesu Demuth," mm. 1–5 (violin parts only). Main text: from original parts (SBB St 89); slurs added above: from autograph score (Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste); slurs added beneath: from nonautograph second violin part (Coburg). From Butt, *Bach Interpretation*, ex. 39.



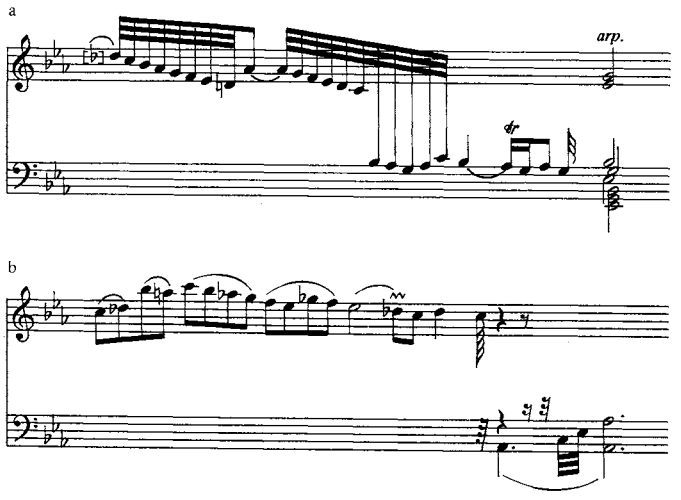
Within this performance tradition, the occasional cross-beat slurs that do occur in the music of Bach function as extraordinary, expressive exceptions to the rule. And if such was also the early-eighteenth-century tradition, then the minute slurs in ex. 5 represent a version of Bach that, at least at the local level, significantly assimilated the music to that of the mid-nineteenth century, when the edition appeared. An aspect of the music was rewritten, and with this came a distinct change in its expressive character.

Ex. 8. Chromatic Fantasy in D Minor, BWV 903/1: *a.* m. 30; *b.* mm. 74–77. From Griepenkerl-Czerny edition.



Of all of Bach's keyboard works, the one that was most obviously affected by such a process was the Chromatic Fantasy. Griepenkerl's edition of this work (ex. 8) was followed by the now notorious one by Hans von Bülow.[41] Von Bülow's preface reveals that he accepted Griepenkerl's assertion that the numerous indications of dynamics, articulation, and embellishment in the latter's edition stemmed from W. F. Bach. Yet neither Sebastian's nor Friedemann's extant keyboard music contains anything like the variant figuration in ex. 8. The anticipation of the note b♭″ at the end of the trill in m. 30 and the *prallende Doppelschläge* at the beginnings of the embellishments in m. 75 seem foreign to both composers' notation and use of ornaments. Still, something comparable to the little anticipatory notes found here occurs in two relatively early free fantasias of C. P. E. Bach, and at least this aspect of Griepen-

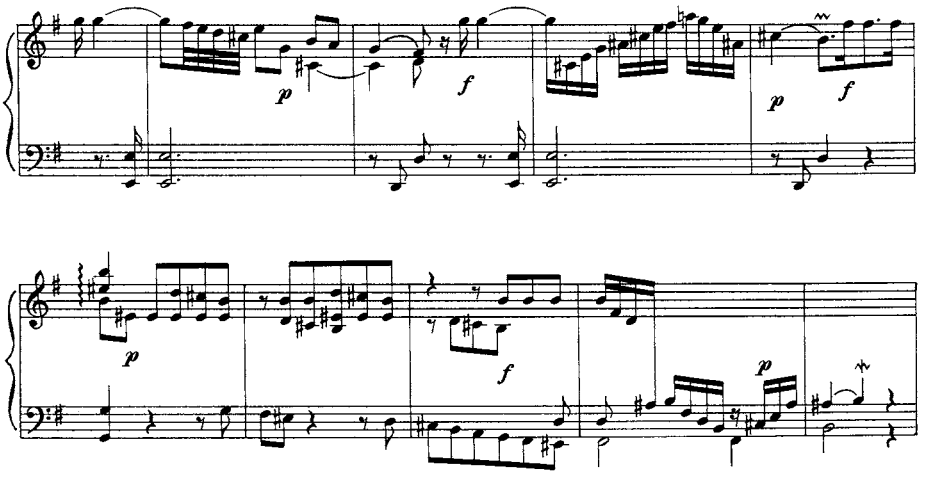
Ex. 9. C. P. E. Bach: Fantasia in E♭, H. 348.



kerl's version could therefore derive from an otherwise unattested Bach-circle practice in use at midcentury (ex. 9). Another seemingly anomalous figure, the Chopinesque chromatic scale in m. 76, in fact has approximate models in authentic works of J. S. Bach.[42] But the rhythmic displacement of the left-hand chords in mm. 76–78 seems antithetical to harpsichord style, in which full chords rarely accompany the resolutions of appoggiaturas.[43] And Bach's constantly varied arpeggio figuration on the even-numbered beats of mm. 75, 76, and 77 is replaced by new figures, of which four take essentially the same form. Although Griepenkerl might have had access, through Forkel, to some otherwise lost authentic version of the work, it is difficult to see his edition as anything other than an early-nineteenth-century revision of Bach.

Yet Romantic performance did not necessarily correspond to modern stereotypes, which tend to be based on what are actually the post-Romantic performance traditions of the earlier twentieth century. Griepenkerl, if not von Bülow, might have come somewhat closer to Bach's own performances in certain respects, such as the free substitution of one ornament for another and the use of what Teri Noel Towe characterizes as "relatively straightforward expression."[44] Even von Bülow, although seemingly far from Bach in many respects, may not have been any farther than we are.

Ex.10. C. P. E. Bach, Sonata in G Minor, H.47 (W.65/17), mvt.2, mm.9–17.

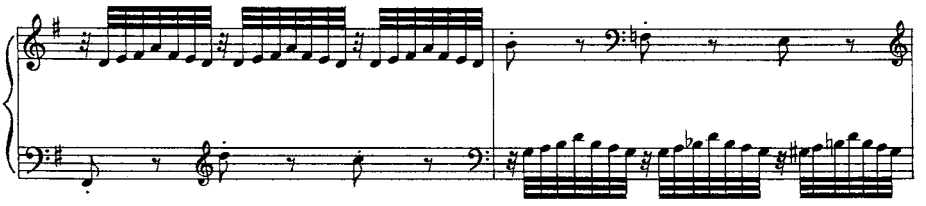


CURRENT VERSIONS OF BACH

There exists more than one "version" of Bach today. Increasingly, however, the Bach of the late twentieth century has been one who played and composed for the harpsichord, to the exclusion of other stringed keyboard instruments. Still, the next generation of musicians, including Bach's sons and students, undoubtedly played most of their keyboard music—and his—on the newly available fortepianos and unfretted clavichords. C. P. E. Bach's works of the 1740s already evince an idiomatic clavichord or fortepiano style, most obviously in the occasional use of closely spaced dynamic markings. This music frequently seems to call as well for a more sustained, less articulate manner of playing than is now associated with the harpsichord. Certainly it is difficult to imagine a passage such as that shown in ex.10, from a sonata composed in 1746, as being conceived with the harpsichord in mind.[45] Not only is the placement of the dynamic markings inappropriate to an instrument of fixed dynamic levels; in mm.13–14 the music also seems to call for independent dynamic control over each note in each harmony as well as a sustained legato, both in order to give the principal melodic line (d″–c♯″–b′, g–f♯–e♯, etc.) a "singing" character apparently well suited to it. To be sure, this would not rule out the use of agogic accents as well (e.g., before the c♯″ on the downbeat of m.12).

We might consider the possibility that by the 1740s, if not earlier, members of the Bach circle were at least sometimes playing keyboard instruments in a

Ex. 11. Goldberg Variations, BWV 988, var. 14, mm. 13–14.



way quite different from the cleanly articulate style to which many modern harpsichordists and organists have grown accustomed. Even Bach's own late works present occasional suggestions for the use of seemingly pianistic types of articulation. For instance, the dots in ex. 11 look very much like indications for accents, and a modern pianist will instinctively strike these notes with extra percussive force while making the surrounding notes relatively legato, perhaps even slurring them into the staccato notes in mm. 15–16. The work is explicitly for a two-manual harpsichord, on which performance in the manner described will not make the dotted notes sound any louder; if they seem accented, this is likely to stem from their registral isolation, not from any dynamic emphasis.

If Bach or members of the following generation employed a "pianistic" or "modern" keyboard technique not only here but in other contexts as well, then the crisply articulate style dependent on agogic accentuation that is currently favored by players of Bach's keyboard works might be a product of doubtful assumptions about historical performance practice—assumptions that have no doubt been influenced by current performance traditions and modern thinking about musical aesthetics. For instance, musicians today, unlike Bach and his students, frequently use his solo keyboard music for public performance, not solely for private study. Moreover, contemporary musicians, reflecting a modernist concern for clearly delineating musical structure, may place greater emphasis than did an eighteenth-century player on the clear projection of the meter (particularly in passages such as those shown in exx. 5–7). Articulate playing is often essential for conveying the meter to an audience when performing on a nondynamic keyboard instrument; hence, harpsichordists and organists may have arrived at a style of performance that is largely an artifact of current prejudices.

Still, there is reason to suppose that crisp, clear articulation of each beat was not atypical of Bach's practice. Most of his organ music and his harpsi-

chord concertos were presumably composed for public presentation, yet their keyboard idiom does not differ fundamentally from that of his other keyboard works. In the concertos, however, the string parts—including the original solo violin parts of which the keyboard parts are transcriptions—employ slurs that tend to support the modern articulate style of performance, and there is further support in the evidence concerning eighteenth-century instrumental practice. For example, wind and string tutors of the period show that players of other instruments employed complex, highly rationalized systems of minute articulations, in which agogic emphasis of accented notes plays a crucial role. Still, although one might imagine that keyboard players adopted similar approaches to articulation, historical keyboard sources make no mention of them.[46] Moreover, even if we accept some version of this style as a historically attested norm, it does not follow that it applied in all works and in all passages. Evidence that Bach employed it is at best circumstantial, and there is no reason to think that he would have used any one practice throughout his career, or that his keyboard music requires the same. We in fact possess many versions of Bach—and so, in all likelihood, did he.

NOTES

1. I observe here a distinction between *ornaments*—small formulas that can be notated by signs—and *embellishments*, which involve more elaborate decoration that can be indicated only through actual written notes.

2. See NBA V/8. The NBA includes further versions of some of the French Suites: those from the *Clavierbüchlein vor Anna Magdalena Bach* (in NBA V/4), and alternate versions of Suites 3 and 4 (BWV 814a and 815a, in NBA V/8, Appendix).

3. Here I use the expression "historically inauthentic" to mean "not corresponding with a performing practice that can be demonstrated or inferred as being intended or employed by the composer and members of his immediate circle." Cf. my "Expression and Authenticity in the Harpsichord Music of J. S. Bach," *Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990): 464–66.

4. For Scheibe's criticism of Bach and the reply by Birnbaum, see BDOK 2:286–87, 296–306 (items 400 and 409); translation in BR, 238, 245–46. Birnbaum, citing several French composers as also indicating all ornaments, defends the practice as necessary in the absence of properly trained performers.

5. Emanuel Bach, whose B Minor Württemberg Sonata H.36 (W.49/6) pauses under a fermata in a very similar passage (mvt. 1, m. 64), likewise declined to fill in the

pause when he prepared an embellished version of the piece. The embellishments, catalogued separately under H.164 (W.68), can be consulted in Darrell Berg, ed., *The Collected Works for Solo Keyboard by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 1714–1788* (New York: Garland, 1985), 6:161.

6. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1753–62), frequently appeals to his father as an authority; Johann Philipp Kirnberger claims to present J. S. Bach's pedagogy as the basis of his own in *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie* (Berlin and Königsberg, 1773).

7. Thus C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch*, i.1.7, credits his father with devising a new approach to fingering; this evidently took place "in his youth" (*in seiner Jugend*), in response to a then ongoing "change in musical style" (*Veränderung mit dem musicalischen Geschmack*).

8. Figured bass: in the Capriccio BWV 992 and the Sonata BWV 967; problems at repeats: in the trio of the Ouverture BWV 820. See the discussions of these works in my *Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992).

9. Matthew Dirst, "Bach's French Overtures and the Politics of Overdotting," *Early Music* 25 (1997): 35, accepts this view, stated by the present author in *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 305; Ido Abravaya, "A French Overture Revisited: Another Look at the Two Versions of BWV 831," *Early Music* 25 (1997): 47–61, reaches the same conclusion.

10. As I suggested in *The Keyboard of J. S. Bach*, 421, n.17, followed, with an extract from Preller's copy, by Dirst, "Bach's French Overtures," 39–40.

11. The dating of BWV 831a and other works is less certain than is suggested by Dirst's table of selected overture-style works ("Bach's French Overtures," 38). Dirst's table omits BWV 822, one of the earliest overtures attributed to Bach—it is characterized by *tirate* and "jerky" rhythms—as well as his last substantial movement in dotted overture style, Contrapunctus 6 *in stile francese* from the Art of Fugue, which employs running sixteenths in a number of passages.

12. The two copies are edited together in NBA V/8, as alternate texts for what is designated version B.

13. Further discussion in Schulenberg, *Keyboard Music*, 301–8. A previously unknown source that gives the first movement of the Italian Concerto in a substantially variant form appears to confirm the original absence of manual changes; see Kirsten Beißwenger, "An Early Version of the First Movement of the *Italian Concerto* BWV 971 from the Scholz Collection?" in *Bach Studies 2*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–19.

14. Few other keyboard pieces, however, possess authentic dynamic markings, and there is no evidence that these were late additions. Examples include the gigue of the First English Suite and the Prelude in G♯ Minor from Part 2 of the Well-Tempered Clavier.

15. On the medium of the *manualiter* toccatas, see Robert Marshall, "Organ or 'Klavier'? Instrumental Prescriptions in the Sources of Bach's Keyboard Works," in *J. S. Bach as Organist: His Instruments, Music, and Performance Practices*, ed. George Stauffer and Ernest May (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 212–39. On the Toccata in D, see also Schulenberg, *Keyboard Music*, 81–82.

16. For example, in mm.16 and 40 the early version, BWV 912a, doubles the third of the chord on the second beat. See the edition by Robert Hill, *Keyboard Music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 46–47 (this edition gives the tenor note on the third beat of m.16 as a′; in the manuscript it is the third, c♯″). Hill, xxiv–xxv, suggests that the work was originally notated in tablature; evidence for this might be seen in the octave transpositions of notes in mm.63 and 141 and in various readings suggesting uncertainty about accidentals, as well as in variants involving ties in mm.1–6 and 83–84. If the later version indeed originated as a transcription of a tablature original, some new errors might have been introduced in the process, e.g., f♯′ for e′ in m.175, a′ for g♯′ in m.188, f𝄪″ for the first g♯′ in m.226—although these could also have been intentional revisions.

17. See the revised scale figure at the end of m.119, found in only a few late manuscripts, and the revised termination of the trill at the end of m.121.

18. See, e.g., Christoph Wolff, "Text-Critical Comments on the Original Print of the Partitas," in *Johann Sebastian Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 218.

19. Previously I suggested that Emanuel Bach's rules on the lengths of appoggiaturas did stem from his father's teaching; see my "Performing C. P. E. Bach: Some Open Questions," *Early Music* 16 (1988): 549.

20. For further examples, see Schulenberg, *Keyboard Music*, 157, 292–93. The small note in m.67 is found only in copies; the autograph here has the sign for an *accent und trillo.*

21. The Prussian and Württemberg Sonatas (1740 and 1742, respectively), as well as many works preserved in manuscript, fail to employ many of the ornament signs and the precise values for *petites notes* recommended in the *Versuch.*

22. As in the First English Suite; see Schulenberg, *Keyboard Music*, 239–40.

23. Examples and further discussion in Schulenberg, *Keyboard Music*, 208–9, 218, 291.

24. Paired slurring occurs in version A of NBA V/7; many sources of version B, however, evidently continue to give the two-note slurring or do so inconsistently (see NBA V/7, KB, 120).

25. John Butt, *Bach Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), esp. 208.

26. For an early statement of this view of eighteenth-century slurs, see Heinrich Schenker, "Weg mit dem Phrasierungsbogen," in his *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik* (Munich: Drei Masken, 1925–26, 1930), 1:43–60.

27. Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1771), 217.

28. Butt, *Bach Interpretation*, 166, 175, my emphasis.

29. The term is from Charles Rosen, "Bach and Handel," in *Keyboard Music*, ed. Denis Matthews (New York: Praeger, 1972), 105.

30. Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802; facs. rpt., Frankfurt: Grahl, 1950), 55; translation in BR, 342.

31. The Leipzig firm of Kühnel and Hoffmeister—forerunner of Edition Peters—issued both Forkel's edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier and an edition of BWV 913 in 1801.

32. Forkel, 63 (BR, 348–49).

33. Beside the edition of the Chromatic Fantasy, discussed below, Griepenkerl published an edition of Friedemann's extraordinary twelve polonaises; both editions were claimed to present the Bach tradition as handed down to Griepenkerl through Forkel. The edition of the polonaises gives the first six in an early version; see Peter Wollny, "Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sources and Style" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993), 205.

34. Carl Friedrich Zelter's sharply critical handwritten annotations are interleaved in his copy of Forkel's Bach biography, now in the Harvard University library; extracts in Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzertbearbeitungen nach Vivaldi und anderen: Studien- oder Auftragswerke?" *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft für 1973–1977* (Leipzig: Peters, 1978), 81. See also Franz Kroll's remarks (BG 14: 221) about the parallel octaves in Forkel's edition of the E Major Prelude of Part 1.

35. For the main arguments against Forkel's position, see the editorial footnote in BR, 311.

36. See George Barth, *The Pianist as Orator: Beethoven and the Transformation of Keyboard Style* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 41–45.

37. Ibid., 103–12. It is hard to believe that C. P. E. Bach meant the prescriptions in *Versuch* i.3.22 to be applied literally, but see Étienne Darbellay, "C. P. E. Bach's

Aesthetic as Reflected in His Notation," *C. P. E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 47–49.

38. The identity of the editor, not named in the volume, was established by Heinz Becker, "Ein unbekannter Herausgeber der Bach-Gesamtausgabe," *Die Musikforschung* 6 (1953): 356–57.

39. See Robert Marshall, " 'Editore traditore': Suspicious Performance Indications in the Bach Sources," in *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), 241–54. A "Postscript" (254) identifies performance markings in other Bach manuscripts as the work of Zelter—who was so scandalized by Forkel's misrepresentation of certain Bach works (see note 34 above).

40. Werner Neumann noted the peculiarity of certain markings but accepted them in his edition, as they occur in Bach's original performing parts (see NBA I/7, KB, 38). Butt, *Bach Interpretation*, 182, finds that certain of the slurs are "possibly not in Bach's hand," referring to the long slurs shown in mm. 8–10 of ex. 6. Such long slurs are unusual but by no means unknown in Bach's works; long slurs on what are essentially embellished arpeggiations of single chords occur elsewhere. Butt (183–84) gives further examples of this sort.

41. Lacking access to an exemplar of Griepenkerl's edition, I have used a copy of a reprint containing further alterations and annotations by Carl Czerny (Frankfurt: Peters, n.d.). Most of the dynamic markings in this edition are apparently Czerny's. Von Bülow's edition of Bach's works appeared at Berlin, 1859–65; the portion containing the Chromatic Fantasy and several other pieces is still available in reprints, e.g., that of G. Schirmer (New York, 1896).

42. Notably the Augmentation Canon from the Art of Fugue (mm. 15–16); also in the (probably authentic) keyboard arrangement of the Adagio from the C Major Violin Sonata (BWV 968, mm. 14, 32, etc.). On the fantasia illustrated in ex. 9, see Douglas A. Lee, "C. P. E. Bach and the Free Fantasia for Keyboard: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Mus. Ms. Nichelmann 1N," in *C. P. E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 180.

43. Such chords make it difficult, on a nondynamic instrument, to give the impression that the resolution of the appoggiatura is softer than the appoggiatura itself. There is, of course, no certainty that the Chromatic Fantasy was written for harpsichord, although at least two eighteenth-century sources designate the medium as "cembalo" and one as "clavecin"; see the study of the sources by George Stauffer, " 'This fantasia . . . never had its like': On the Enigma and Chronology of Bach's

Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 903," in *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 160–82. For the quiet resolution of appoggiaturas, see C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch*, i.2.2.7.

44. Teri Noel Towe, "Present-Day Misconceptions about Bach Performance Practice in the Nineteenth Century: The Evidence of the Recordings," in *A Bach Tribute: Essays in Honor of William H. Scheide*, ed. Paul Brainard and Ray Robinson (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Hinshaw, 1993), 229.

45. Dates for C. P. E. Bach's works are given in the *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Hamburg, 1790). This work may be one of several reportedly composed on a clavichord with a short octave, according to a much later letter from Emanuel Bach to Forkel; see *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Edition* 1/18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 110.

46. The information yielded by historical fingerings is, at best, ambiguous; for an example of the judicious application thereof, see Peter LeHuray, *Authenticity in Performance: Eighteenth-Century Case Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 8–12.

39. Praeludia et Fugen del Signor Johann Sebastian Bach?

The Langloz Manuscript, SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 296

William Renwick

Partimento fugue, a single-staff, figured-bass representation of keyboard fugue used as pedagogical material for thoroughbass accompaniment, improvisation, and composition, flourished in the decades around 1700.[1] SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 296, one of the largest extant Germanic collections of partimento fugues, is particularly intriguing because of its attribution to J. S. Bach. Despite its central position as a bridge between the theory and practice of figured bass and its possible connection to the Bach circle, P 296 has received scant critical attention.

Known as the Langloz manuscript after its scribe, P 296 is listed as item 22 in the preface to Schmieder's catalogue of Bach's works.[2] P 296 contains two sets of partimento compositions comprising sixty numbered items and seventy-five movements in all. Each set appears to consist of two gatherings of bifolios. Table 1 provides an inventory of the manuscript.

The cover of the 17 × 20.5 cm oblong octavo volume is marked *Bassi cifrati* in an unknown hand. The title page reads: "39. / PRAELUDIA *et* FUGEN / *del Signor* / Johann Sebastian Bach." In the lower right corner the same hand has inscribed: "Possessor / A. W. Langloz / ANNO 1763." According to Hans-Joachim Schulze, August Wilhelm Langloz (or Langlotz) (1745–1811) lived and worked in Erfurt and may have been a student of Bach's pupil Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809).[3] The name Langloz has been stricken out, and a later "Possessor / J. C. Westphal" inscribed above. This would signify one of the two Hamburg organists and music publishers, Johann Christoph Westphal (1727–99) or, more likely, his son Johann Christian (1773–1828), sometimes also known as Johann Christoph.[4] To the left of these two is the notation

TABLE 1. Inventory of SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 296

page	item	length in measures
1	Fuga. 1. C. dur.	27
2–3	Fuga. 2. C. mol.	34
3	Fuga. 3. C. mol.	21
4–5	Fuga. 4. C. mol.	21
5	Fuga. 5. D. dur.	32
6	Fuga. 6. D. dur.	16
7	Fuga. 7. D. dur.	17
8–9	Fuga. 8. D. dur.	55
9	Fuga. 9. D. mol.	21
10–11	Fuga. 10. D. mol.	24
11	Fuga. 11. D. mol.	15
12–13	Fuga. 12. Dis. dur.	27
13	Fuga. 13. Dis. dur.	41
14	Fuga. 14. Dis. dur.	30
15	Fuga. 15. E. mol.	15
	Fuga. 16. E. dur.	20
16	Fuga. 17. E. dur.	29
17	Fuga. 18. E. mol.	49
18	Fuga. 19. F. dur.	16
18–19	Fuga. 20. F. dur.	66
20	Fuga. 21. F. dur.	22
21	Fuga. 22. F. dur.	29
22	Fuga. 23. F. dur.	24
23	Fuga. 24. G. mol.	17
24–25	Fuga. 25. F. mol.	43
	[no Fuga 26 appears]	
25	Fuga. 27. G. dur.	34
26–27	Fuga. 28. A. dur.	32
28–29	Fuga. 29. A. dur.	27
29	Fuga. 30. A. mol.	28
30	Fuga. 31. A. mol.	14
30–31	Fuga. 32. B. dur.	36
32	Fuga. 33. B. dur.	22

TABLE 1. (*continued*)

page	item	length in measures
33	Fuga. 34. B. dur.	20
34	Fuga. 35. B. dur.	20
34–35	Fuga. 36. H. mol.	34
36	Fuga. 37. H. mol.	19
36–37	Fuga. 38. H. mol.	22
38–39	Fuga. 39. H. mol.	59
40	Fuga. 40. H. mol.	
	[only the title and six blank staves appear]	
41	Praeludium et Fuga. 41. C. dur.	21
42–43	Praeludium et Fuga. 42. C. dur.	54
44–45	Fuga. 43. C. dur.	23
46–47	Praeludium et Fuga. 44. C. mol.	50
48–49	Praeludium et Fuga. 45. C. mol.	47
50–51	Praeludium et Fuga. 46. D. dur.	47
52–53	Praeludium et Fuga. 47. D. dur.	62
53	Praeludium et Fuga. 48. D. mol.	38
54–55	Praeludium et Fuga. 49. D. mol.	49
56–57	Praeludium et Fuga. 50. Dis. dur.	39
58–59	Praeludium et Fuga. 51. Dis. dur.	46
60–61	Praeludium et Fuga. 52. Dis. dur.	28
62–63	Praeludium et Fuga. 53. Dis. dur.	50
64–65	Praeludium et Fuga. 54. E. mol.	46
65	Praeludium 55. E. mol.	30
66–67	Praeludium et Fuga. 56. F. dur.	57
68–69	Fuga. 57. F. dur.	25
69	Aria	12
	[incipit: "Alles liebt und paart sich wieder"]	
70	Fuga. 58. F. dur.	21
71	Fuga. 59. F. dur.	22
72	Praeludium 60. G. dur.	35
73	Praeludium et Fuga. 61. G. dur.	32
74	Praeludium 62. A. mol.	25
75	[six compositional sketches]	4–12 each

"Voss / aus der Westphalschen / Auction," indicating that the manuscript was purchased by Graf von Voss-Buch in the 1830 auction of Westphal's Nachlass. "1326. Ad. No 4" in the lower left-center of the title page refers to the listing of this item in the auction catalogue. Graf von Voss-Buch (end of 18th cen.–mid-19th cen.) acquired much of Westphal's Bach *Nachlass* and developed what was to become the third largest collection of Bachiana to be acquired by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, after those of Georg Polchau and the Singakademie. The Königliche Bibliothek, precursor of the SBB, obtained the Langloz manuscript in 1851 along with many others from the estate of Graf von Voss-Buch.[5]

Since the main body of the title page, the titles of the individual pieces, and the figures appear to be in a single hand, we can confidently identify the scribe as A. W. Langloz, and we can assume that he made the copy for his own purposes in 1763, probably while an eighteen-year-old student of Kittel in Erfurt. According to Yoshitake Kobayashi, no watermark appears.[6] The verso of the title page is blank, after which the music begins on the following recto. This and the following pages are numbered 1 through 75 in a later hand.

The majority of the pages have six staves; on the pages where seven staves appear (pp.1, 5, 15, 25, 32, 52, and 53) all seven staves contain music, except on p.1, where the seventh staff is blank. The layout is well planned, and only on pages 5 and 25 does a seventh stave appear to have been squeezed in at the bottom of the page. We can surmise that Langloz copied the layout of an earlier source, most likely in the possession of Kittel, page for page.

The first set of compositions, pages 1–40, contains thirty-eight fugues ordered according to an ascending series of the fifteen most familiar major and minor keys, from C major through B minor (see table 1). These pieces are numbered consecutively from 1 through 25 and 27 through 39—hence the number 39 on the title page.[7] Fuga 26 is missing. Of Fuga 40 appear only the title and the key indication *H mol* (B minor).

The second set of pieces (pp.41–74) contains twenty-two works: fifteen preludes and fugues, three preludes, and four fugues, all numbered sequentially from 41 through 62 and arranged in an ascending sequence of only nine keys.[8] The less orderly nature of the second set and its omission of the higher keys G minor, A major, B♭ major, and B minor suggests that it is incomplete and may have been originally planned to include approximately thirty prelude-and-fugue pairs. Many of the preludes and fugues are arranged so as to span a verso and recto, as are several of the more lengthy independent fugues.

Page 75 contains six blank staves on which a later hand penned six short compositional drafts on a single theme for a treble melody instrument such as the violin.[9] The four blank staves at the bottom of page 69 were later used for an aria, "Alles liebt und paart sich wieder," seemingly in a different hand again.

The first set of pieces contains all of the white-key major and minor tonalities except B major, plus two flat keys, B♭ major and E♭ major, ordered for the most part in an ascending sequence of major and minor keys. The key sequence of the second set is an incomplete replica of that in the first set (see table 2). The selection of keys is identical to that found in Bach's Inventions and Sinfonias, and is also very similar to what Don Franklin identifies as the early-stage key schema for Part 2 of the Well-Tempered Clavier (WTC 2).[10] Other contemporaneous sources do not include exactly the same set of keys. Niedt's listing of keys in the *Musicalische Handleitung*, for example, omits E♭ major, which was considered problematic on the organ, but includes both B♭ minor and B major, although Niedt cautions against using the former on the organ. A priority for Niedt was the pairing of parallel major and minor for each key.[11] The key scheme represented in P 296 is entirely consistent with Bach's practice and with contemporaneous theory of the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Langloz, or the copyist or composer of his *Vorlage*, was careful to avoid page turns within pieces. Consideration of a page turn may account for an apparent reordering of Fugas 24 and 25 and may also have been a factor in the omission of Fuga 26. Fuga 24 is in G major and Fuga 25 is in F minor, breaking the established sequence of keys. Langloz may have reversed these pieces to accommodate the more lengthy Fuga 25 across a verso-recto pair and then used recto 23 for the next piece, the G major fugue.

The second set contains primarily *Praeludium et Fuga* combinations. These appear with considerable consistency from no. 41 through no. 54, following which the series concludes with isolated preludes and fugues and only two further prelude-and-fugue pairs, nos. 56 and 61, giving the impression of a score that was abandoned in an incomplete state.

Plate 1 illustrates some of the features of the Langloz manuscript. The piece shown also appears in Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung*. The most obvious difference between the two versions is that in m. 21 the subject statement in the Langloz version is a fifth higher than Niedt's. Although this may be simply a scribal error of transposition, the result does make musical sense. The Langloz version also contains several small differences that could have arisen through

TABLE 2. Keys used in selected early-eighteenth-century works. To facilitate comparison, keys are listed from left to right in series of fifths from flats through sharps, with major and relative minor keys aligned vertically.

Langloz manuscript, Set 1										
		E♭	B♭	F	C	G	D	A	E	
	f	c	g	d	a	e	b			
Langloz manuscript, Set 2										
		E♭		F	C	G	D			
		c		d	a	e				
Bach, Inventions and Sinfonias (ca. 1720)										
		E♭	B♭	F	C	G	D	A	E	
	f	c	g	d	a	e	b			
Bach's clavier and organ music, not including the Well-Tempered Clavier (the E♭ minor composition is the second minuet from the suite BWV 819)										
		E♭	B♭	F	C	G	D	A	E	
e♭	f	c	g	d	a	e	b	f♯		
F. E. Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung* vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1700) (Niedt cautions that B♭ minor sounds poor on organs)										
			B♭	F	C	G	D	A	E	B
b♭	f	c	g	d	a	e	b			
Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), *tabula* vii										
		A♭	E♭	B♭	F	C	G	D	A	E	B
e♭		f	c	g	d	a	e	b			

error or intentional modification from Niedt's presumed original. The Langloz version incorporates eight 7–6 suspensions as against Niedt's three. These changes seem too systematic to be the haphazard work of a student copyist and more likely stem from some teacher's revision of Niedt's work.

Whereas the preludes are confined to the bass clef, except for two brief passages in Prelude 49, most of the fugues use soprano, alto, tenor, and bass clefs, just as continuo accompaniments to choral fugues do. Eight fugues include a

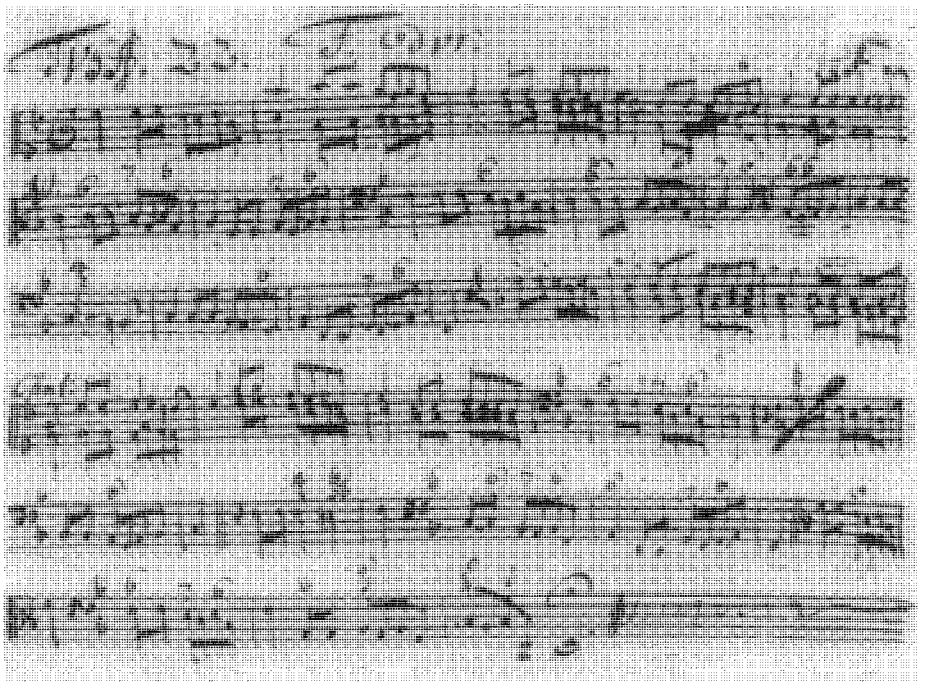
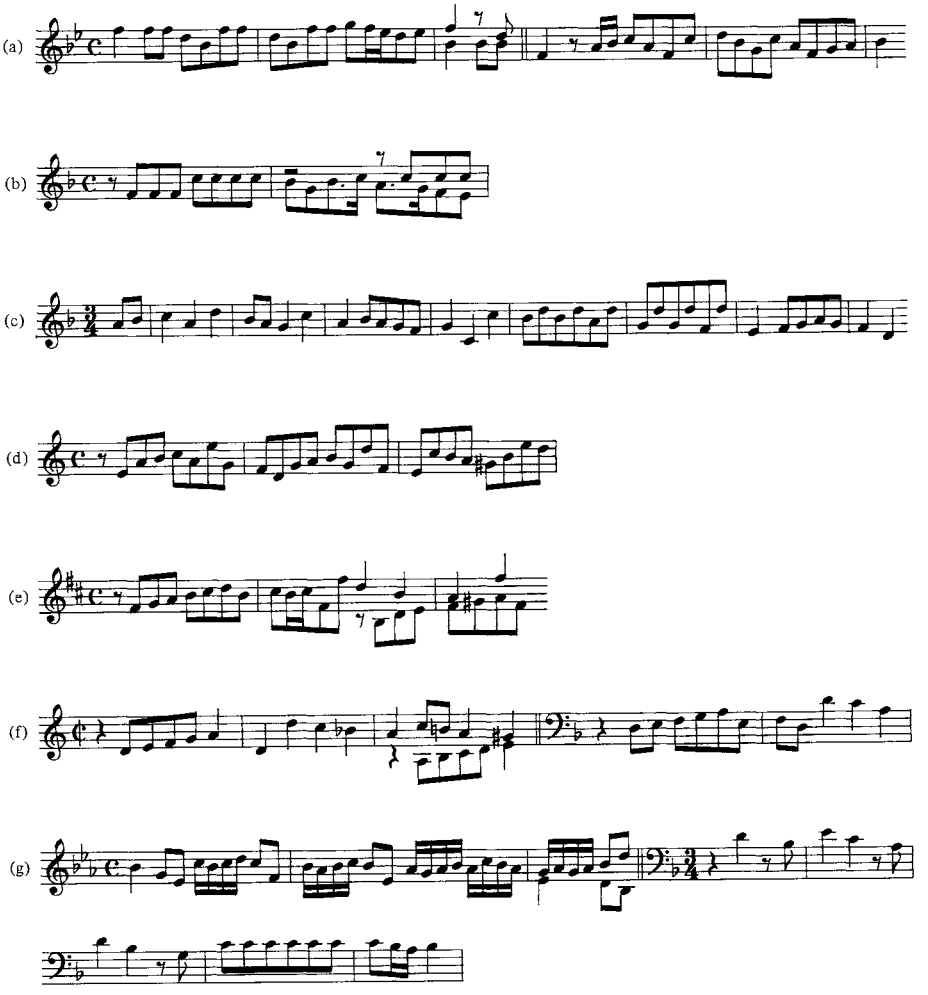


Plate 1. SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 296, No. 21. FUGA. 22. *F. dur.* By courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung.

treble clef in order to accommodate an extended range; all but one of these are in the first set. In none of the prelude-and-fugue pairs, and in no piece from no. 44 onward, does a treble clef appear. In some instances the word "Cant:," "Alt:," "Ten:," or "Bass:" appears in conjunction with a clef change. This practice occurs throughout Fuga 1, as if to establish a model, whereas in the majority of cases only one or two such indications appear.[12]

Fugas 14, 21, and 32 are set apart from the rest of the collection in that they use treble and bass clefs only. Two of these fugues are exceptional in other ways as well. The subject of Fuga 14 (see ex. 3*a* below) bears close rhythmic and intervalic relationships to the Fugue in G Minor from Part 1 of the Well-Tempered Clavier and to Fuga V in E♭ Major from Fischer's *Ariadne Musica* (1702). The imitative counterpoint of Fuga 14 is also rather more sophisticated than others in the manuscript: mm. 11–12 attempt a stretto at the octave, and m. 18 accommodates the subject above, since the countersubject occurs in the bass. Fuga 32 is unique in its adoption of a binary form with repeats and

Ex. 1. Selected incipits of fugues from SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 296: *a.* Fuga 32; *b.* Fuga 21; *c.* Fuga 20; *d.* Fuga 30; *e.* Fuga 37; *f.* Fuga 11; Buxtehude, Toccata in D Minor, BUXWV 155, mm. 29–30; *g.* Fuga 12; Bach, WTC 2, Fugue 16, mm 1–5.



projects something of a concerto style that is unusual in the collection. Each of the two parts of Fuga 32 uses a different subject (see ex. 1*a*); the second is very similar to the subjects of two of Handel's fugal partimenti.[13]

Errors in the manuscript include occasional missing notes, ties, and bar lines and, more frequently, missing figures or incorrect figure placement—to judge from the implied voice leading—and divergences between accidentals and key

signatures. In plate 1, for instance, the final figure on the second line should appear on the penultimate eighth note, and the preceding figure should be 7. In m.18 the first note of the lower part is missing, and in m.24 the first figure should be on the first eighth note. Errors such as these occur throughout the work.

The fugue subjects may not be on the level of Bach's great fugue subjects, but they are by no means trifling either. Spitta's main argument against their authenticity, that "there is no single fugue theme which can be recognized as like anything of Bach's elsewhere, and the composition is so poor that I do not believe it to be by him,"[14] becomes weak indeed when these partimenti are seen in the context of other contemporaneous collections. The subjects of P 296 are more lengthy and complex than those found in the *Vorschriften und Grundsätze* attributed to Bach,[15] for example, or in the work of Bernardo Pasquini, and are entirely comparable with Handel's partimento subjects. Indeed, composed with pedagogical purposes in mind, partimento fugues predominantly contain commonplace motives rather than exceptional features.

Many of the subjects in P 296 have a repeated-note opening, as in Fuga 21 (ex.1*b*). Longer ones such as Fuga 20 (ex.1*c*) and Fuga 30 (ex.1*d*) are often sequential. The subject of Fuga 37 (ex.1*e*) is the only one that does not project a simple and immediately understandable tonal structure. Its initial ascent through the upper tetrachord of B natural minor suggests the Phrygian mode.

It is intriguing to try to link subjects of P 296 to other subjects in definitely attributable sources. The following represent some of the more compelling examples. The subject of Fuga 11 (ex.1*f*) is similar to one of those in Buxtehude's Toccata in D Minor, BUXWV 155 (tenor, mm.29–30), and the sequential subject of Fuga 12 (ex.1*g*) is reminiscent of the underlying structure of the Fugue in G Minor, WTC 2. In addition, the latter fugue has the potential for invertible counterpoint at the tenth and the twelfth such as actually occurs in Bach's fugue. The subject of Fuga 17 resembles the C♯-major subject in WTC 2 (see ex.3*b* below). Fuga 25 (see ex.6 below) bears comparison with the middle section of the C-minor organ fugue BWV 537/2 (mm.56ff.) as well as Pachelbel's Ricercar in C Minor. The subject of no.42 resembles that of Bach's G-major organ fugue BWV 541/2, and the head of the fugue subject of no.48 is the same as that of the Art of Fugue, as Schmieder has noted.[16] Despite these many resemblances, the propensity of composers to borrow subjects from one another during this period prevents us from inferring any definite attributions on this

basis. Rather, these connections locate P 296 within a broadly conceived school of German and perhaps Thuringian fugal practice.

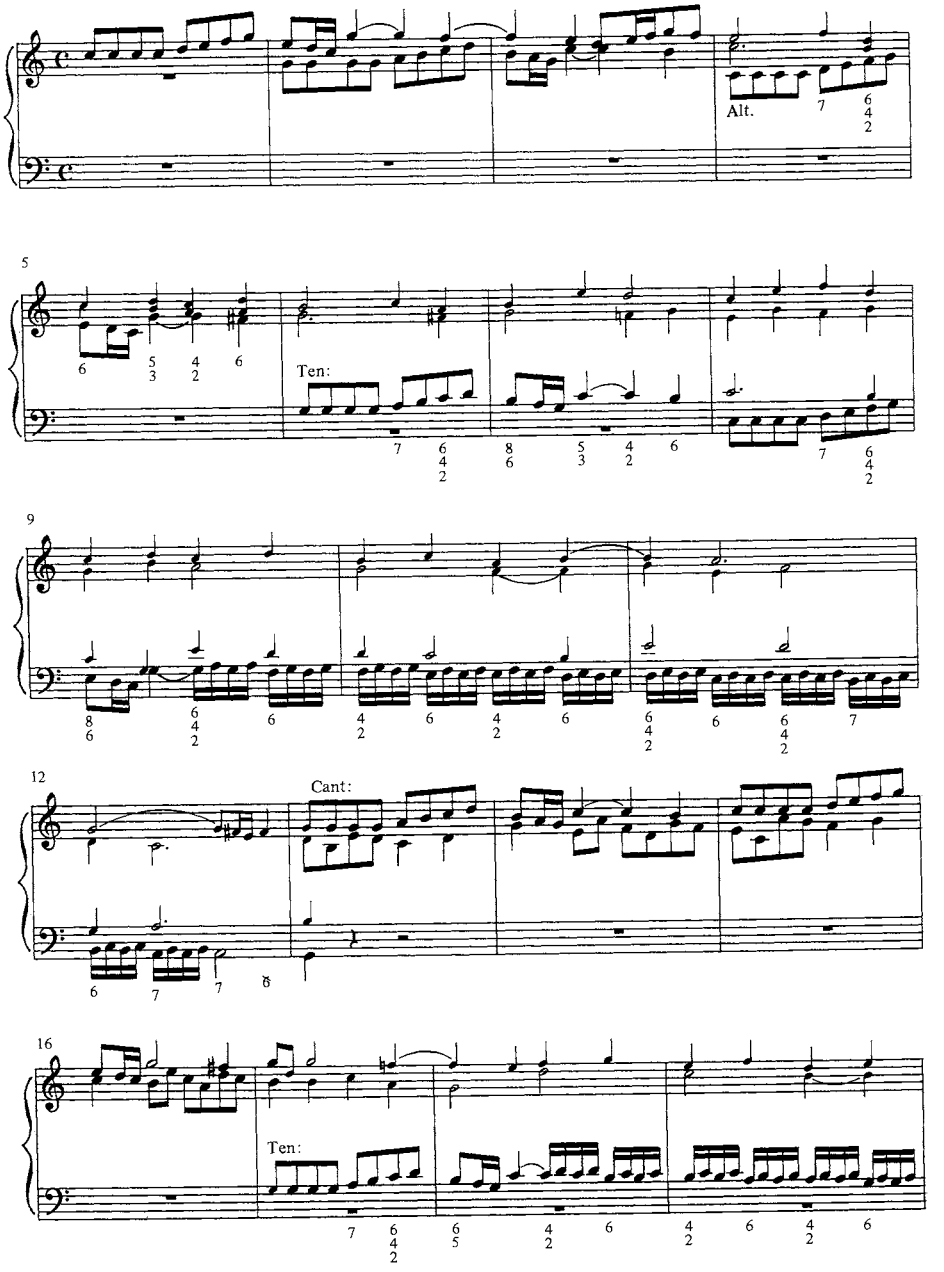
Although the great majority of the fugues contain opening expositions of four entries in the descending order soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, other patterns occasionally appear. Several fugues have five entries in the opening exposition, providing the formal structure subject-answer-subject-answer-subject (Fugas 1, 4, 8, 18, 39, 43). Only a handful of fugues begin with the alto (Fugas 7, 14, 21, 22 and 59). Fuga 7 (D major) appears to have only three entries, but it can accommodate a tenor entry in the realization immediately after the bass entry. In Fuga 21, only three entries appear in the opening exposition. Fuga 38 is the only one in which the opening exposition begins in the bass, marked *tasto solo.*

Partimento fugues can accommodate considerable freedom in their realization as to number of parts, complexity of texture, and degree of motivic imitation. The uppermost part in particular can be in a simple accompanimental style as might be done in the case of an accompanied choral fugue, or it can be elaborated into a more coherent voice with a well-developed contour. Example 2 illustrates one possible realization of Fuga 1 in which the added parts, for the most part in slower note values, join with the original to constitute simple yet genuinely contrapuntal four-part music.[17] The realized upper parts provide faster motion only where the given bass contains long notes, in mm. 12, 21, and 26. However, maintenance of strict four-part texture is by no means obligatory in this repertoire. Extensive use can be made of both three-part realization and fuller harmonies. Frequently the beginning of an upper-voice subject entry occurs simultaneously with a cadence in the bass, creating an elision. Typically in these cases the first few notes of the subject are not notated in the original, in order to accommodate the notated bass part. In ex. 2 this occurs at m. 13. (Fuga 32, shown in ex. 5*b*, contains a more extensive overlap at m. 28.) Because the bass in mm. 23–24 is essentially the same as the cantus of mm. 2–3, the suggested realization takes the opportunity to include an answer in invertible counterpoint in the cantus.

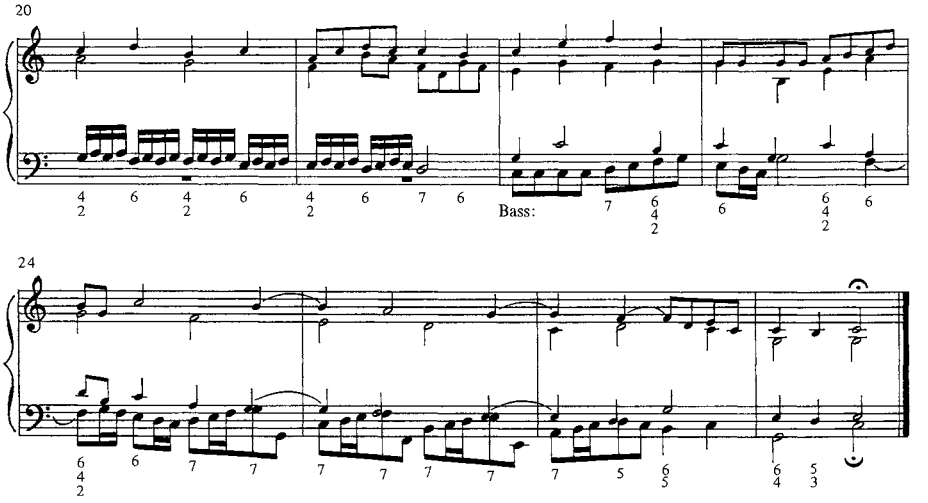
Example 2 is also representative of the way in which simple sequential episodes contribute to the clear expression of form in the fugues of P 296. Here the contrasting episodes delineate the tonal and formal divisions of the fugue in the simplest possible manner. Other fugues in P 296 contain episodes that are based directly on motives of the subject.

Although Fuga 1 is one of the simpler pieces in P 296, it nevertheless serves

Ex. 2. Fuga 1 from SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 296 (author's realization in small notes).



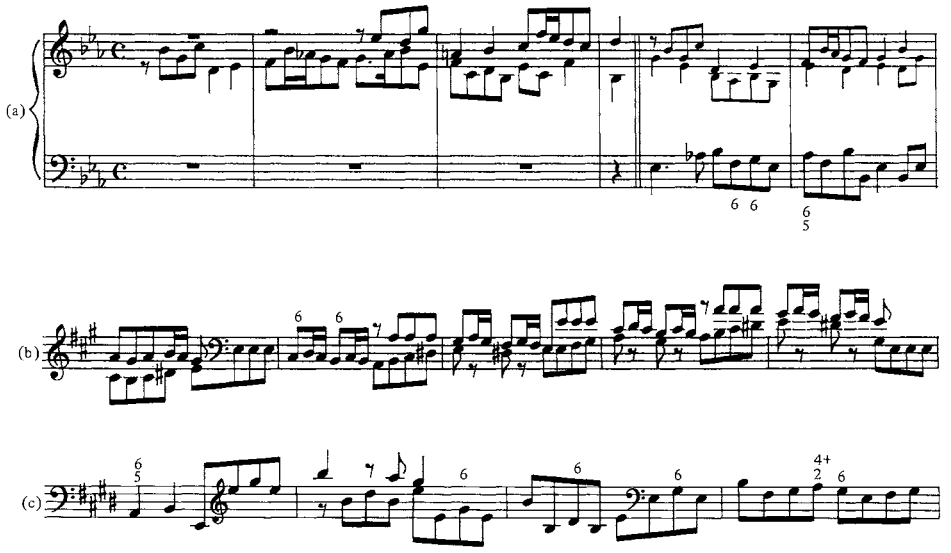
Ex. 2. Continued



as an example of the collection's clear and well thought-out compositional method, with its decisive sequences and cadences and well-timed subject entries. P 296 as a whole is replete with a fine variety of styles and textures, yet it never strays from its focus on a traditional keyboard style. It thus emphasizes standard figuration and passagework, rather than exceptional or original ideas. But this characteristic, which Spitta and Schmieder have interpreted as a shortcoming of the work, is in fact its strength, for the ability to use standard figuration and textures is much more important for the development of a fluent improvisational ability than is the cultivation of unique qualities.

The average length of the fugues in P 296 is twenty-five to thirty measures. The shortest fugue, no. 41, is only thirteen measures in length, and the longest, no. 39—the concluding piece of the first set—occupies fifty-nine measures of common time. The most basic form which these fugues exhibit is an exposition of four entries (SATB) followed by a modulation and cadence on a closely related key, such as V (major keys) or III (minor keys), and a pair of additional entries in the order SB, continuing to a formal cadence on I at the end. Fugues 6, 11, 15, 16, 19, 31, 47, 50, 56, and 61 follow this plan precisely. This structure is sometimes expanded to accommodate additional entries, larger groups of entries (such as ASB or ATB), or more groups of entries, and perhaps a modulation and cadence in another related key. More elaborate fugues, such as Fuga 17,

Ex. 3. Selected design elements: *a.* Fuga 14, mm. 1–4, 18–19; *b.* Fuga 28, mm. 17–21; *c.* Fuga 17, mm. 21–24.

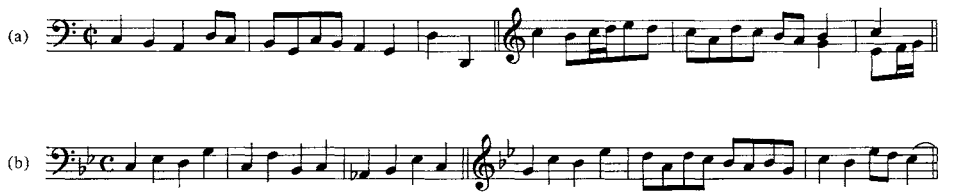


include additional complete sets of entries. Fuga 28 presents a rising series of entries (BTAS) in mm. 17–21—unusual among partimento fugues, where descending series are the norm (see ex. 3*b*). Stretto groupings are occasionally found, as in Fuga 17 (see ex. 3*c*), Fuga 21, and Fuga 30.

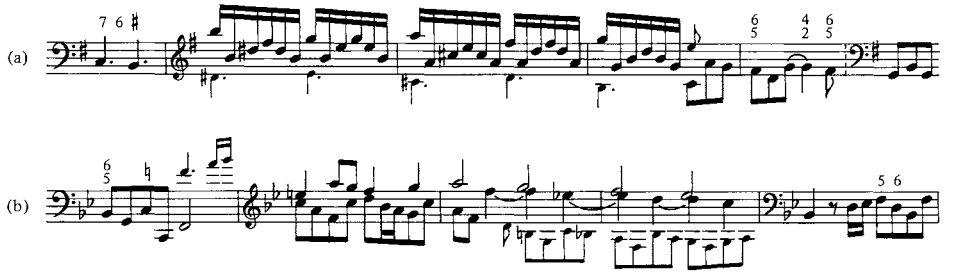
Subject statements occur only at the tonic and dominant levels throughout the fugues, with exceptions in only six fugues, all contained in the first set. In these cases additional subject entries occur in closely related keys, defining secondary harmonic areas. There are no plagal answers of the type that one frequently finds in Pasquini's work, for example.

Prelude-and-fugue pairs always share the same meter, and the similarity of their rhythmic values suggests that in performance these pairs should maintain a single tempo. In addition, in some instances prelude and fugue share motivic elements. The fugue subject of no. 41, for example, incorporates the eighth-note figure of its prelude, whereas in Fuga 44 the fugue subject uses the first four notes of its prelude (see ex. 4). Fuga 39, the final one in the first set, changes meter at the halfway point from common time to $\frac{6}{8}$ and continues with a rhythmically altered form of the subject, in the manner of the praeludia and toccatas of Buxtehude.

Ex. 4. Selected incipits of prelude-fugue pairs: *a.* no. 41; *b.* no. 44.



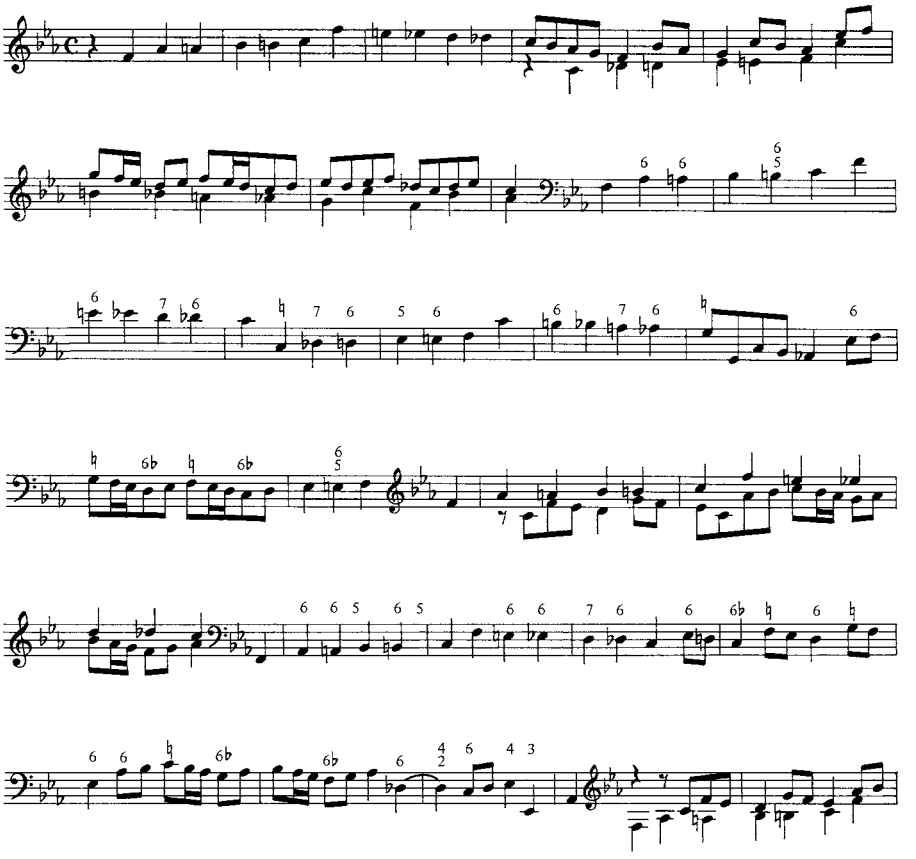
Ex. 5. Improvised accompaniment of upper part(s) (author's realization in small notes): *a.* Fuga 27, mm. 17–22; *b.* Fuga 32, mm. 28–32.



In three or four treble passages of P 296, the addition of a simple accompaniment in a lower part seems warranted, even though none is indicated within the partimento score. One such example is notated in Fuga 4, where on two occasions block chords accompany a treble statement of the theme. Example 5 illustrates two other instances that invite the creative performer to respond to the context with imagination.

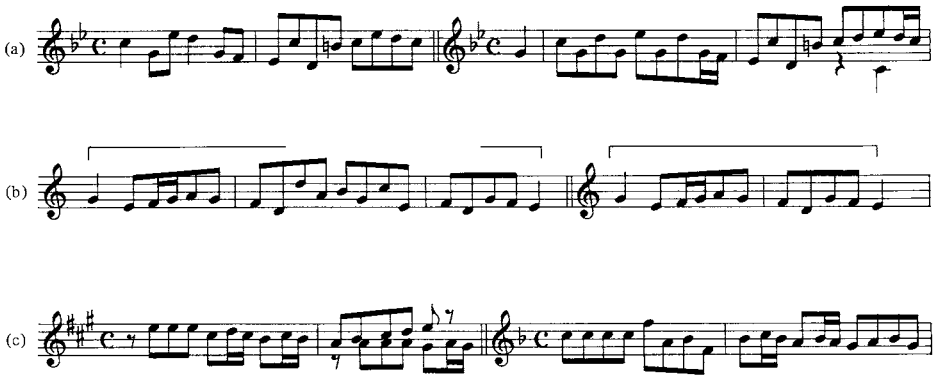
A most interesting facet of this manuscript is its frequent use of invertible counterpoint, whether actual or implied.[18] The combination of subject and countersubject that arises with the entry of the second part is often written in invertible counterpoint. Occasionally such a counterpoint is indicated at subsequent locations through figures such as 3 or 8, which would otherwise be superfluous. Invertible counterpoint is explicit in the subject-countersubject patterns of twelve fugues, in the stretto opening of Fuga 38, and in the episodes of three other fugues. Nine other fugues have a potential for invertible counterpoint that is never realized, as the countersubject never appears in the lowest-sounding part. Five other fugues imply but do not demand invertible counterpoint. Thus, fully thirty of the fifty-eight fugues include some form of invertible counterpoint.

Ex. 6. Fuga 25 in F Minor, mm. 1–28.



Fuga 25 is elaborately conceived in terms of invertible counterpoint that bears comparison to the second contrapuntal pattern of the fugue of BWV 537 (mm. 57 ff.), as well as to Pachelbel's Ricercar in C Minor (see ex. 6). Each of these pieces employs a similar two-part invertible counterpoint that operates in melodic inversion as well. The underlying structure is a simple alternation of sixths and thirds against a rising or descending chromatic line. Example 6 illustrates the deployment of this counterpoint through the first half of the fugue. Mattheson cited the identical structure and its contrapuntal extrapolations, apparently borrowed from the fugue of Bach's Sonata in C Major for Unaccompanied Violin, BWV 1005, as an example of what might be expected in an improvised fugue such as would be required in an examination for a major organ post like that of the Hamburg Cathedral.[19] An organist who had

Ex. 7. Similarities between subjects: *a.* Fugas 2 and 3; *b.* Fugas 16 (transposed from E to C) and 41; *c.* Fugas 28 and 57.



mastered the patterns embodied in P 296 would have excelled at this part of Mattheson's exam.

Several of the fugues in P 296 have unusual elements that merit attention. The subject of Fuga 3 appears to be an expansion of that of Fuga 2 (see ex. 7*a*), suggesting some sort of compositional relationship between the two and also illustrating an important facet of compositional technique: the borrowing and manipulation of preexisting materials. The fugue of no. 41 uses a shortened form of the subject of no. 16, although beginning with the answer (ex. 7*b*). The fugue of No. 49 is essentially the same as Fuga 9, the subject in No. 49 being differentiated only by the employment of a dotted rhythm that provides a motivic connection to the prelude. Fugues 9 and 49 also share the concluding figure of their subject with Fuga 54. The subject of Fuga 57 contains all the notes of the subject of Fuga 28 plus an additional four eighth notes interpolated in the middle (ex. 7*c*). The head of the subject of Fuga 45 is the retrograde of the head of the subject of Fuga 44. That many of these similarities involve pieces from both sets suggests that even if the two sets were originally separate they were largely the work of a single musician.

Fuga 4 contains a fermata in m. 11, at a full cadence in the relative major and preceding a direct return to the tonic and a restatement of the subject alone in the soprano. This unusual design creates a pronounced binary form. Fuga 6 contains repeat signs embracing mm. 3–14, similar to those noted above in Fuga 9. Although repeated passages such as this are most unusual in fugues,

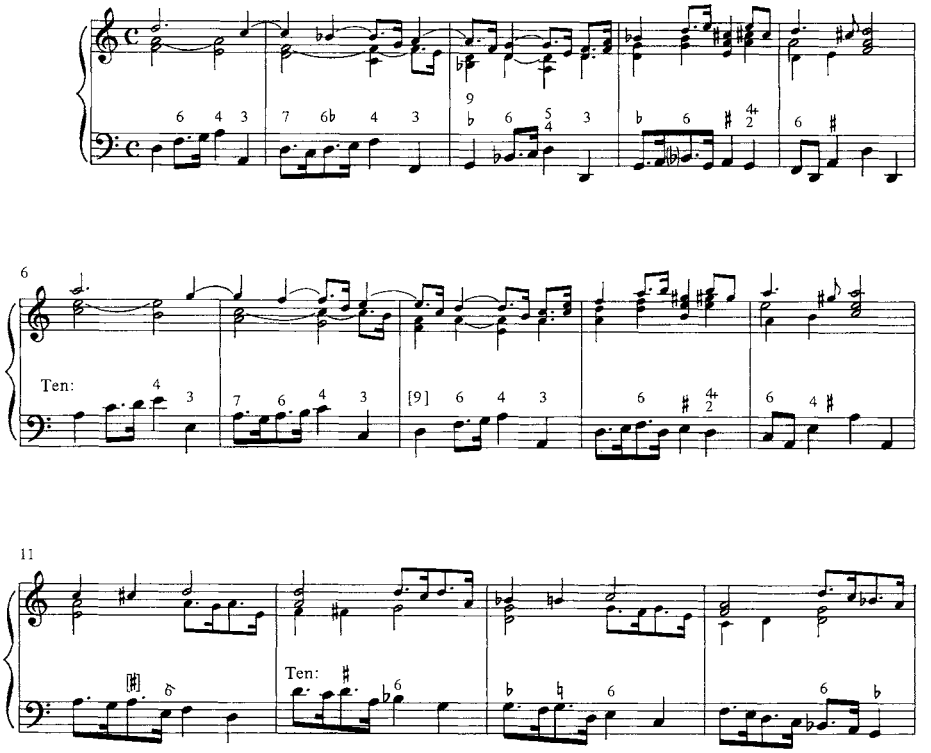
they do occur occasionally; Telemann employs the type of repetition found in Fuga 6 in nos. 3 and 15 of his XX *kleine Fugen* (Hamburg, 1731).[20]

Varying in length between eight measures (no. 41) and thirty-four measures (no. 60), the preludes suggest a full texture throughout, whether in block chords or arpeggiated patterns. The most significant design aspect of the preludes is that many of them follow the tonal plan used in the *Vorschriften*'s "Principles of Playing in Four Parts" (pp. 37–43): transposed repetitions of a given passage in tonic, dominant, and relative minor, followed by a restatement in the tonic. Fully ten of the eighteen preludes in the Langloz Manuscript are based on this type of plan: preludes 44, 45, 46, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 60, and 62. The opening passage shown in ex. 8 (mm. 1–5) is repeated in the dominant (mm. 6–10) and, following a brief sequence, in the relative major (mm. 17–21), after which it returns again in the tonic (mm. 22–26) in a written-out da capo. This pattern of repetitions, which establishes an effective if rudimentary form, is analogous to the major-key designs of the *Vorschriften*. Two preludes, nos. 55 and 60, use patterns of descending scales as a structural basis, again reminiscent of the patterns found in the same part of the *Vorschriften*.

The pedagogical value of the music of P 296 is manifold. It teaches harmony, key relationships, elementary form, transposition, imitation, invertible counterpoint, and style simultaneously. It in fact represents ideal material for an intermediate level of instruction in figured bass and improvisation, and it contains sufficient examples to reflect a considerable diversity of ideas and patterns.

At present, the only positive attribution that can be made concerning the contents of P 296 is for Fuga 22, which we must attribute to F. E. Niedt and date at 1700 or earlier. At the end of part 1 of his *Musicalische Handleitung*, Niedt explains that he intends to write a treatise on the extempore performance of fugues: "God willing, proper instruction on how Fugues are to be extemporized will be given to the kind Music Friend in the other [i.e., later] parts."[21] Perhaps P 296 contains material that was destined for Niedt's unfinished work. On the other hand, Spitta's opinion of P 296 may well be close to the truth: "Possibly they were pieces for practising figured-bass playing, collected by a pupil of Bach's, and transcribed by the said Langloz." Elsewhere Spitta adds: "There can scarcely be any doubt that [P 296] served as the continuation of his [Bach's] thoroughbass instructions."[22] Schulze views Spitta's comments as contradictory, the first denying, the second accepting, Bach's responsibility for

Ex. 8. Prelude 49 in D Minor, mm. 1–14 (author's realization in small notes).



the music of the Langloz manuscript, but this was surely not Spitta's intention.[23] Alfred Mann suggests that in P 296 "we might be dealing with a document preserving Bach's teaching as transmitted through the work of a pupil."[24]

The only indication that P 296 is the work of Bach is the attribution on the title page. However, no author that treats of Bach's teaching methods or compositional practice—neither C. P. E. Bach, nor Forkel, nor Kirnberger, nor Kittel—ever refers to this set of didactic pieces, even though it would be an obvious point for defense of Kirnberger's claim that in Bach "even the fugue originates in thoroughbass."[25] The possibility that each set is the work of a different composer might also be considered; likewise the possibility that it is an anthology compiled from a variety of sources. However, the general similarity of style between most of the pieces and the occasional close connections between pieces in both sets argue strongly for a single composer for the bulk of the work.

Gottfried Kirchhoff, too, ought to be considered. Born in Mühlbech in 1685, Kirchhoff was a pupil of Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow in Halle and later organist there until his death in 1746. Marpurg mentions that Kirchhoff had composed a set of partimento fugues, now lost, "to teach his students figured bass together with the manner of the various entries in a fugal composition."[26] The volume was entitled *L'ABC Musical: Praeludia und Fugen aus allen Tönen*, and it is not out of the question to consider the Langloz manuscript as a copy of all or a part of Kirchhoff's work, especially in that it includes all of the usual keys.[27] In this connection we may also consider the Fantasies and Fughettas in B♭ Major and D Major (BWV 907 and BWV 908), which have been credited to J. S. Bach, and apparently reattributed to "Kirchof" by Kirnberger.[28] Although these works are more extensive than any pieces in P 296, this does not rule out the possibility that the Langloz manuscript represents at least part of Kirchhoff's lost collection.

A pivotal figure in the history of P 296, whatever its genesis, is Kittel. Kittel was a pupil of Jakob Adlung in Erfurt and also studied with J. S. Bach in Leipzig from 1748 until the latter's death in 1750. Upon returning to his birthplace of Erfurt in 1756, Kittel attracted numerous pupils and became the center of an extensive group of organists, composers, and copyists, to whom he made much of Bach's keyboard music available for study. We can conjecture that Langloz was among this group of students.[29] Since Kittel's collection consisted partly of works in his own hand and partly of copies by his students, we can conclude that if Langloz was a student of Kittel, P 296 or its *Vorlage* might have belonged to Kittel at one time.

There is considerable evidence of connections between Kittel and the Westphal family. In 1794 the younger Westphal traveled with his father to Erfurt, where under Kittel's tutelage he undertook to learn to play the organ, returning to Hamburg in 1796.[30] At this time Langloz would have been age fifty. Already by 1774 Westphal senior was offering several of J. S. Bach's works for sale in Hamburg, either in print or in manuscript, indicating that the elder Westphal had made significant contact with the Thuringian keyboard school even before the pilgrimage of 1794.[31]

During 1800–1801 Kittel undertook an extensive concert tour through Göttingen and Hannover to Altona and Hamburg, where he paused for an entire year. While in Hamburg he carried out much of the preliminary work for his *Neues Choralbuch für Schleswig-Holstein*, which was published in 1803.[32]

During this time he saw many of his former students. This provides another, later, link between Kittel and Westphal. On the other hand, since Westphal junior was still collecting Bachiana as late as 1826,[33] he in fact could have obtained the manuscript at any point.

The lack of a definitive attribution at the present time does not diminish the central position that this collection holds in the understanding of the eighteenth-century approach to fugal composition through thoroughbass. For the eighteenth-century musician, performance, thoroughbass, improvisation, composition, and theory were aspects of a single art. Thoroughbass studies, including the partimenti of the Langloz manuscript, provide a wonderful bridge that unites theory and composition, performance and improvisation, in a manner that we may well envy in our age of specialization and diversity.

NOTES

1. David Schulenberg, "Composition and Improvisation in the School of J. S. Bach," BP 1 (1995): 13–16, and William Renwick, *Analyzing Fugue: A Schenkerian Approach* (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995), 5–10, discuss partimento fugue and its relationship to improvisation and composition.

2. Schmieder gives the date as 1756. Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958), 21, lists P 296 as *Incerta 65*, and the scribe is identified as "W. Langloz."

3. Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Cembaloimprovisation bei Johann Sebastian Bach: Versuch einer Übersicht," in *Zu Fragen der Improvisation in der Instrumentalmusick der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Blankenburg: Harz, 1980), 52.

4. Kast erroneously identifies the Westphal of P 296 as the Mecklenburg organist and collector Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal (1774–1835), no relation to the Hamburg Westphals (*Bach-Handschriften*, 21, 148). Miriam Terry provides further information in "C. P. E. Bach and J. J. H. Westphal: A Clarification," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1969): 106–15.

5. I am indebted to Dr. Joachim Jaenecke of the SBB for clarifying the transmission history of the manuscript.

6. Dr. Yoshitake Kobayashi (Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göottingen), personal communication to the author, 9 September 1985.

7. The title page nevertheless refers to thirty-nine fugues with preludes; the latter are absent.

8. For this reason, Kast and others describe the collection as "62 Praeludien und Fugen."

9. Kast (*Bach-Handschriften*, 21) describes these sketches as belonging to the "Kittel-Schule."

10. Don O. Franklin, "Reconstructing the *Urpartitur* for WTC II," in *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 255–60. Bach's original ordering in the inventions was not the ascending sequence of its final presentation but an interspersion of ascending and descending major and minor keys. See NBA V/5, KB, 11–12.

11. Friederich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung*, vol.1 (Hamburg, 1700), trans. Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor as *The Musical Guide* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 52–54.

12. These notations are distinct from the indications of upper-voice subject entries occasionally found in partimento fugues such as those of Handel.

13. See George Frideric Handel, *Aufzeichnungen zur Kompositionslehre*, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Supplement, Band 1, ed. Alfred Mann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 49, 63.

14. Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, trans. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland (London: Novello, 1889), 2:107, n.153.

15. Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, 27.224. See *J. S. Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-Bass or Accompanying in Four Parts*, trans. Pamela L. Poulin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). On the provenance of the manuscript, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Peters, 1984), 126.

16. The subject of the Fugue in E Minor, BWV 945 (of doubtful atribution), is also very similar in style to those of P 296. The subject of Fuga 31 begins in the same way as that in the spurious Fugue in D Minor, BWV ANH. II 98.

17. Heinichen illustrates an appropriate manner of realizing the figured bass of an accompanied fugue in *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728), 516–20.

18. Handel included examples of double fugue in his collection of partimenti. See Handel, *Aufzeichnungen zur Kompositionslehre*, 44–52. See also David Ledbetter, *Continuo Playing According to Handel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Heinichen's example of partimento fugue in *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (1728), 516–20, is also a double fugue. Invertible counterpoint is assumed in both Handel's and Heinichen's examples. See George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen*, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986), 208–10.

19. Johannes Mattheson, *Grosse General-Bass-Schule; oder, Der exemplarischen Organisten-Probe* (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kistner, 1731), 36–39.

20. Ed. Walter Upmeyer, Nagels Musik-Archiv, 13 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1928).

21. *The Musical Guide*, 49. Niedt died without completing part 3, which would have included a section on fugues. Excerpts from Niedt's work recur in the *Vorschriften*, published as *J. S. Bach's Precepts and Principles* (see note 15).

22. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach* 2:107, n.153; 3:120.

23. Schulze, "Cembaloimprovisation bei Johann Sebastian Bach," 52.

24. Alfred Mann, "Bach and Handel as Teachers of Thorough Bass," in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 257.

25. Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Gedanken über die verschiedenen Lehrarten in der Komposition, als Vorbereitung zur Fugenkenntniss* (Berlin, 1782), 4–5; trans. in BR, 262.

26. ". . . daß er seinen Schülern zugleich den Generalbass und die Art der verschiedenen Eintritte eines Fugensatzes beybrächte," *Abhandlung von der Fuge* (Berlin, 1753–54), 1:150. Marpurg's reference to Kirchhoff was noted by Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 124–25.

27. Niedt published a music primer with a similar title: *Musicalisches* ABC (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1708).

28. See Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 80–81.

29. As suggested by Schulze, "Cembaloimprovisation bei Johann Sebastian Bach," 52.

30. *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart, 1838; facs. rpt., Hildesheim: Olms, 1974), 6:854.

31. Ludwig Finscher, "Bach in the Eighteenth Century," in *Bach Studies*, 291.

32. Albert Dreetz, *Johann Christian Kittel: Der letzte Bach-Schüler* (Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel, 1932), 24–25.

33. Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 30, n.86.

Fugue in the Music-Rhetorical Analogy and Rhetoric in the Development of Fugue

Paul Walker

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are generally understood to belong to two different eras in the history of Western music: the Renaissance and the Baroque. In one important respect, however, they form a distinct era of their own, which one could with justification call the Age of Rhetoric. Before this time, during most of the fifteenth century, composers such as Dufay and Ockeghem worked to establish such fundamental techniques of Renaissance composition as functional bass lines, control of dissonance, and learned contrapuntal devices, but often left text underlay to chance while writing extremely long melodic lines for few syllables of text. By the end of the seventeenth century, Italian composers had developed a harmonic basis that served Western music until the beginning of the twentieth century and whose systematic nature allowed for such autonomous musical structures as ritornello structure and the so-called sonata-allegro form. In between, from the time of Josquin des Prez until that of Corelli and Vivaldi, composers had by contrast allowed their compositional decisions to be guided first and foremost by text. The musical means of achieving this expressive end might vary considerably during this two-hundred-year span, but Josquin's *Praeter rerum seriem*, Lassus's *Timor et tremor*, Marenzio's *Solo e pensoso*, Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna*, Schütz's *Saul, was verfolgst du mich*, Carissimi's *Jephte*, and Purcell's *Hail, Bright Cecilia* all share the same principal goal of projecting both the individual words and the inherent meaning of the text to the listener. Here is musical rhetoric at its finest.

At the same time, these two centuries also witnessed the creation and establishment of fugue, widely recognized as one of the most abstract and purely

musical genres ever devised in Western music. On the surface, fugue would seem to have nothing to do with text-based composition or the discipline of rhetoric, and indeed the question of whether imitative counterpoint and text belonged together at all was periodically raised during these two centuries by musicians who worried that the words would not be apprehended and their expressiveness would be crushed beneath the burden of technical sophistication. Nevertheless, the first systematic fugal imitation, in the guise of point-of-imitation technique in the early sixteenth-century motet, was almost certainly devised as a way to bring compositional sophistication and textual clarity and expressiveness into balance, and the subsequent development that led ultimately to the late-Baroque fugue also included extramusical influence from the discipline of rhetoric.

One of those musicians to live through the transition from this Age of Rhetoric to the Age of Tonal Harmony was J. S. Bach, and in many ways he and his music straddle this divide. His early cantata *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*, BWV 106, demonstrates mastery of the older, text-based approach to composition, but such later works as the St. Matthew Passion, with their ritornello structures and da capo arias, continue to emphasize the expressiveness of individual words and phrases. It is a difficult question of Bach scholarship, therefore, to determine the extent to which the master's compositional decisions rest on such purely musical considerations as counterpoint, harmony, or musical structure, and when they reflect such extramusical influences as rhetoric or theology. The purpose of this essay is to explore, for the music of Bach and his predecessors, the relationship between rhetoric and fugue.

This study is not a journey into uncharted waters; already twenty years ago Gregory G. Butler contributed an entire article on the topic.[1] Nevertheless, scholarly activity has in the meantime taught us much about both the development of fugue up to Bach's time and the Renaissance and Baroque understanding of rhetoric and music, and it is now time for a reevaluation of the evidence.[2] In particular, I would advocate that the nature of the relationship between rhetoric and fugue be stated somewhat more cautiously than Butler felt it necessary to do in 1977. Although it is true that many musicians of the time recognized such a relationship, that rhetoric played a role in the creation and development of the genre of fugue, and that the technique of fugal counterpoint played a role in musicians' thinking about the music-rhetorical analogy, I argue that the nature of these interrelationships was for all but a few

musicians of the time simpler, more general, less detailed, and less extensive than Butler attempted to assert. A historical survey that follows the development of fugue and of contemporaneous thinking about the music-rhetorical analogy can illustrate these points most clearly.

* * *

In part 3 (On Counterpoint) of his *Institutioni harmoniche* (1558, rev. ed. 1573), Gioseffo Zarlino places heavy emphasis on the purely technical aspects of writing contrapuntal music, without any rhetorical focus. Yet Zarlino bears considerable responsibility for much of the terminology that still today is associated with fugue.[3] Although most of his definitions failed to survive even his own century, many of the words and categories he codified are still with us, including the division of imitative counterpoint into fugue (*fuga*) and imitation (*imitatione*), the labeling of leading and answering voices as guide (*guida*) and follower (*consequente*)—these survive in their Latin synonyms *dux* and *comes*, as translated by Seth Calvisius in 1592—and his use of the word "subject" (*soggetto*) to label thematic material.[4] He was less successful in convincing his contemporaries to adopt "consequence" (*consequenza*) in place of the word *canon*, which, strictly speaking, meant "rule" and should be applied, in Zarlino's opinion, only to the rubric explaining how a canonic piece is realized, not the piece itself.

All of these words carry nonmusical meanings (*fugue*, for instance, refers to the act of chasing or fleeing), but three—*imitation*, *subject*, and *consequence*—also play a role in rhetorical treatises. Of greatest importance for our topic is *imitation*, which appears several times in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[5] The Latin *imitatio* means the same thing as its English cognate, and Quintilian uses the word when discussing the way in which a speaker might imitate the words or actions of another. Although other musicians used the word *imitation* in this sense, to describe the copying of other composers' styles or even specific works, Zarlino's definition suggests no specifically rhetorical connotations. Rather he uses the Italian words *fuga* and *imitatione* to denote his two principal subcategories of imitative counterpoint, which are defined in purely technical terms: *fuga* denotes imitative counterpoint in which all voices preserve exactly the rhythms and intervals of all other voices participating in the imitation, *imitatione* in which rhythms and intervals are not preserved by all voices. Zarlino gives us no reason to infer any underlying rhetorical meaning

to the word *imitatione* or to doubt the commonsense presumption that musicians applied the word *imitation* to imitative counterpoint for much the same reason that they applied *fugue*. That is, in both cases the general, nonmusical, nonrhetorical meanings of the words ("to mimic" in the former case, "to flee or chase" in the latter) provide some sort of verbal analogy for the phenomenon of two or more voices producing the same or similar melodic lines in staggered fashion.[6]

Most of Zarlino's fugal terminology has survived to this day, but his distinction between exact and inexact imitation was already archaic in 1558 and failed to persuade his contemporaries. The wave of the future was not canonic writing of the sort found in his teacher Adrian Willaert's works, but the new motet style based on pervasive imitation and championed by Willaert's contemporaries Nicolas Gombert and Jacobus Clemens. For these northerners, the word *fugue* continued to refer to all sorts of imitative counterpoint just as it had before Zarlino tried to restrict its meaning. When applied to the new, noncanonic type, the word *fugue* might have two meanings: either the technique of noncanonic imitation or the principal manifestation thereof, the point of imitation.

The most important theorist to describe this style, the German Gallus Dressler, was also the first to bring rhetoric into writings about music in a significant way. His unpublished manuscript treatise *Praecepta musicae poeticae* (written in Magdeburg and dated 1563) introduced two aspects of rhetoric into the teaching of composition: *dispositio*, how to lay out a speech or essay, and *elocutio*, how to make its content effective through the use of figures of speech.[7] As Butler points out, sixteenth-century musicians were particularly fond of the second of these, and it has also received the most attention by twentieth-century scholars. When Dressler drew up his list of figures of music, however, he made no attempt to select particular figures of speech and search out a musical equivalent for each one, nor did he assign the names of any figures of speech to any musical phenomena. Instead, he kept the analogy quite general by relating the idea of figures of speech to the fundamental techniques of musical composition. He chose as his only three figures of music the basic building blocks of the motet style: suspensions (*syncopationes*), cadences (*clausulae*), and points of imitation (*fugae*). Butler speculates that fugue was "elevated to such a preeminent position as a musical-rhetorical element" primarily because the "movement [bringing together rhetoric and music] was largely highly learned

and intellectual, even academic, in nature, and of course the *fuga* was looked upon as a highly learned element of composition."[8] Dressler's other musical figures, however, suggest that fugue was included simply as a result of its fundamental importance to the motet style of Clemens and Gombert.

Of ultimately greater importance for the history of fugue was Dressler's application of the rhetorical *dispositio* to the motet. Again he kept things simple and adopted the most basic design of beginning (*exordium*), middle (*medium*), and end (*finis*). The motet of Clemens and Gombert lacks unifying thematic material, of course, since each point of imitation comprises both a verbal phrase and a unique musical subject crafted to fit that phrase. Dressler's interpretation of the music-rhetorical analogy, therefore, expected the *exordium* merely to get the piece off to a good and proper start, not to introduce thematic material that would continue to be treated as the piece progresses. In musical terms he defined the *exordium* as the opening point of imitation and understood a proper start to be one that above all else presented the mode clearly. In practical terms, therefore, if a motet began with a fugue, then the voices of that fugue should begin on the proper modal notes of final and reciting tone, and their melodic motion should emphasize the most important modal notes. Fugues in the body of the piece, by contrast, could be handled more freely, with entrances on notes other than final and reciting tone, and with greater freedom in the handling of the imitation. At the end of the piece, the original mode should once again be clear as the final cadence approaches.

In sum, Dressler took a flexible and creative approach to the incorporation of rhetorical thought. On the one hand, be drew an analogy with figures of speech but chose for their musical counterparts purely musical techniques, with no attempt to match particular verbal phenomena with particular musical ones. On the other hand, he drew a direct parallel between the three parts of a good speech or essay and the three parts of a good musical composition, again without trying to relate specifically verbal techniques to musical ones. It is easy to believe that composers of the early sixteenth century were influenced in just this way by the ideals of their literary colleagues.

Most German writers on music in the century after Dressler's pioneering work remained content with this sort of general analogy, but Joachim Burmeister, a teacher of Latin grammar and composition in Rostock, did not.[9] Whereas Dressler had enumerated three figures of music, Burmeister in the first of his three books offered twenty-two; by the time of his third book the num-

ber of musical figures had grown to twenty-six, most of them borrowed from rhetoric. One can scarcely conceive of twenty-six fundamental techniques of musical composition comparable to Dressler's fugue, cadences, and suspensions, and in fact Burmeister took the analogy between figures of speech and figures of music far beyond this general model to the level of compositional surface detail.[10] Before Burmeister, theorists had largely focused their attention on the basics of writing music: how to handle the modes; how to write counterpoint in two, three, and four voices; how to set up suspensions; how to lay out a point of imitation. When it came time for the student to write real music of his own—that is, to set a text artistically with sensitivity and expression—the teacher directed the student, usually without further guidance or comment, to the works of highly respected composers. It was at precisely this level that Burmeister wished to offer guidance. Burmeister preferred the word *ornament* to describe his figures of music, highlighting their role in fleshing out or making more elegant the basic, skeletal framework of a musical composition. We might think of the use of these devices as that which separates the truly first-rate composer from the merely competent, just as the effective use of figures of speech separates the persuasive speaker from the rest of the pack. One could therefore make a case that Burmeister's musical ornaments provide a better analogy to Quintilian's figures of speech than do Dressler's fundamental compositional techniques.

When, however, one immerses oneself in the details of Burmeister's work, one becomes aware that the analogies are not entirely successful. One example will suffice to illustrate this. To the rhetorician, *anocope* is a figure in which a final letter or syllable is excised from a word. Lucas Lossius, one of Burmeister's teachers in Lüneburg, described it in his treatise on rhetoric as *abscisio dictionis in fine vel literae vel syllabae* (cutting off the end of an expression by either a letter or a syllable).[11] The Englishman Henry Peacham the Elder, who published a rhetoric text in 1577, gave as an example "Thus lovingly Dame Dian did" (for "Diana").[12] Burmeister's musical definition reads as follows:

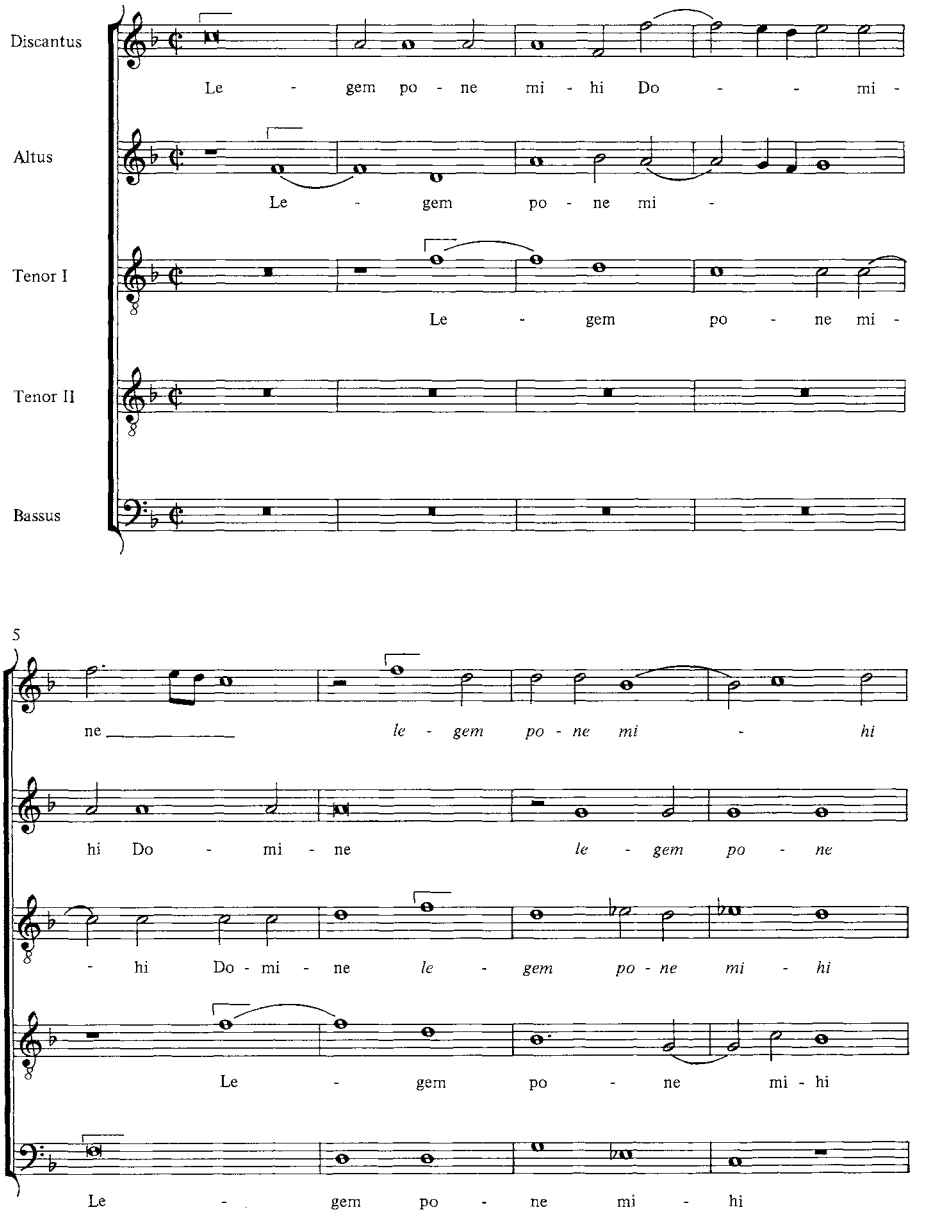
> Apocope est Fuga, quae ex omni parte per omnes voces non absolvitur, sed cujus affectionis, quae in fugam abrepta est propter aliquam causam in una aliqua voce fit amputatio.
>
> *Apocope* is a fugue that is not completed in all [its] parts by all the voices. Instead, its subject, interrupted in mid-fugue, is cut off in one voice for some reason.[13]

Here Burmeister seems to describe a point of imitation in which a theme is presented several times but with one of those statements shortened. This is, in any event, the interpretation accepted by most other modern scholars (including Butler), but it does not fit Burmeister's favorite example, the beginning of the motet "Legem pone mihi" by Orlande de Lassus. The first eight measures of "Legem pone mihi" appeared in *Musica autoschediastike* (fols. 14v–K1r) in a version different from that of the familiar modern edition;[14] ex. 1 reproduces Burmeister's version (originally notated in parts).

The theme of this point of imitation begins with a falling third (C–A in the discantus, F–D in the other four voices) but has no further melodic identity. That is, the altus follows this head motive with the upward leap of the fifth, tenor I with a downward second, tenor II with a downward third, and discantus and bassus with a unison. In short, beyond the opening two-note motive there is no consensus about the melodic identity of the theme, and thus there is no clearly defined theme that one of the voices "amputates." Instead, one might best describe the example as a fugue whose subject is truncated by its very nature—that is, consists of only two notes—rather than one whose subject is truncated by one voice. Burmeister offers other examples, all of which support this interpretation. The weight of evidence thus suggests that by *apocope* Burmeister understood a fugue constructed with a truncated subject. In the end, Burmeister's last definition is more reflective of its rhetorical counterpart than of the musical technique it is supposed to describe: the word *amputatio* suggests Lossius's *abscisio*, and both men refer to this amputation as happening in one place (i.e., a word or voice). One must conclude that Burmeister settled on this particular definition precisely because of its similarity to its rhetorical counterpart, not because of its value in deepening our understanding of the musical device.

The next important innovation in the music-rhetorical analogy came over half a century later, in the manuscript *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (ca.1660) of Christoph Bernhard. Bernhard's approach to the figures of music took as its starting point the dispute between Artusi and the Monteverdi brothers concerning dissonance treatment. In the arguments advocating daring dissonances to match expressive, emotional texts, Bernhard recognized an equivalent to the figures of speech and their role of moving and persuading the listener. He therefore replaced the traditional German analogy between

Ex. 1. Lassus, "Legem pone mihi," mm. 1–8 (Burmeister, *Musica autoschediastike*, fols. 14v–K1r). Text underlay is Burmeister's own. Italicized texts are editorial.



figures of speech and compositional techniques with a completely new one relating figures of speech to dissonance treatment; in doing so, he removed fugue entirely from the music-rhetorical analogy and gave it its own separate chapter. There he concentrated on purely technical phenomena, most prominently the relationship between fugal imitation and the modes, which, even at this late date, he discussed in the context of late-Renaissance motet style and especially the works of Palestrina.

Four recent advances in our understanding of fugue and its development during the seventeenth century bear particular significance. First, in the years after 1600 several German musicians introduced the word *fugue* for the first time as a genre designation for noncanonic pieces. The most important of these were extended pieces in learned style by Hans Leo Hassler, who almost certainly conceived them under the influence of his teacher Andrea Gabrieli. Gabrieli called such pieces ricercars, and Michael Praetorius, a colleague of Hassler, tells us that in fact the genre designations are equivalent. Praetorius's explanation dwells on the learned nature of the genres but makes no mention of any rhetorical influence.[15]

The second important development, from about the same time, was a codification of the theory of tonal answers. This theory can be traced to the Italian organists Girolamo Diruta and Adriano Banchieri and grew out of the kind of relationship between fugal imitation and mode that Dressler and other Renaissance musicians had stressed. Fugue's relationship to mode, one of its central defining characteristics throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was presented by Diruta and Banchieri as a purely technical phenomenon, again without recourse to rhetorical language.[16]

Third, in the first half of the seventeenth century a group of northern Italian violinists that included Tarquinio Merula and Giovanni Legrenzi began to experiment in their sonatas with movements based on fugal counterpoint and organized like our modern fugue, that is, with an opening exposition followed by a series of groups of thematic statements, sometimes including one or more in closely related keys, all based on the same theme.[17] Compared to the grand keyboard ricercar/fugue of Hassler and Praetorius, these movements are much more modest in length, with relatively compact points of imitation and more quickly moving themes. Their approach to fugal structure was described, probably in the years after midcentury, by a northern Italian violinist working in Vienna, Antonio Bertali, who called it fugue.[18]

The fourth and final piece of the puzzle to be added in the seventeenth century was the countersubject. This idea grew out of experiments combining fugue with invertible counterpoint undertaken during the 1660s and 1670s by a circle of musicians in Hamburg and Lübeck that included Bernhard, Matthias Weckmann, Johann Adam Reinken, and Dietrich Buxtehude. Their inspiration seems to have been principally the writings on invertible counterpoint by Gioseffo Zarlino, whose work was transmitted to them through their teachers' teacher, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck.[19]

Of these four developments, only the third seems to have involved any significant influence from rhetoric. These northern Italian violinists took the old Renaissance motet model and began to experiment with an instrumental counterpart in which all points of imitation were based on the same theme. This thematic unity ensured musical coherence in the absence of text, but it also posed the obvious question of how to ensure sufficient variety in the body of the work. As described by Bertali, the composers devised a plan by which successive points of imitation, optimally totaling four or five, should differ from one another in some way. For instance, the voices should not always enter in the same order, and if they should happen to retain the same order in two successive points of imitation, they ought to swap starting notes. Later thematic statements might enter on other notes than final and dominant of the mode, just as Dressler had allowed for inner points of imitation in the motet. As for the end, Bertali particularly recommended the use of stretto, for, as he said, "Thus will the general proverb, desired in all the arts, also be verified in this one: Finis bonus."[20] Or, as we say in English, "All's well that ends well." Here, as in Dressler's writing, we find principles from the discipline of rhetoric applied to the art of composition but in the most general of ways. No attempt was made to draw specific analogies between verbal and musical techniques, but the overarching principles of a commanding beginning, a body characterized by variety and coherence, and an impressive conclusion remained the same.

By 1700, then, as Bach and Handel were poised to begin their careers, all elements of the modern textbook fugue, with the exception of the episode and the more systematic incorporation of tonal harmony, were in place. All available evidence suggests that the details of fugal writing—its relationship to mode, the rules of counterpoint by which it is written, and the technique of invertible counterpoint necessary for double fugue, countersubjects, and stretto—developed independently from any rhetorical influence. This influence exerted

itself instead at the level of the whole piece, where the composer strove to create with notes a piece that, using its own means, could boast as great an effect on the listener as that of a great speech or essay. Butler cites several writers from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries who referred to the theme of the fugue as analogous to the theme of a speech and who likened fugal texture to a conversation or debate. In other words, analogies between fugue and rhetoric, if kept sufficiently general, worked well.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, however, interest in the music-rhetorical analogy seems to have intensified. Virtually all those taking an interest were Germans, and Butler characterizes their accomplishments as "rigorously apply[ing] the rhetorical disposition scheme in its complete form to such musical structures as fugue."[21] At the center of this renewed interest stood Johann Mattheson, who shortly before 1720 engaged in an extended quarrel with certain professional colleagues on the relative merits of fugue and canon. Among other things, Mattheson argued that these techniques were scarcely suitable for vocal music because they caused the words to be obscured, and to this the Dresden Capellmeister Johann Christoph Schmidt took great exception. Schmidt supported his counterargument by noting how important it was for a composer of fugue to understand and be able to apply the principles of rhetoric:

> For in treating a fugue, I must take my craft from the oratory just as [is done] in the modern style, even though harmony dominates [a fugue] more than words do. For the *dux* is the *propositio;* the *comes* the *aetiologia; oppositum* is the varied inversion of the fugue; *similia* give the altered figures of the *propositio* according to their value; *exempla* can refer to the fugal theme [stated] on other notes, with augmentation and diminution of the subject; *confirmatio* would be when I "canonize" on the subject; and *conclusio,* when I allow the subject to be heard near the [final] cadence in imitation above a pedal point; not to mention other artifices which can be introduced and observed in statements of the subject.[22]

The specific form of oratory that Schmidt chose for his analogy is generally known as a *chria,* a short essay whose thesis was most often some sort of famous saying. The author of a *chria* (1) stated the thesis (*propositio*), (2) gave a reason (*aetiologia*) for the validity of the thesis, then elaborated further on these reasons through (3) the refutation of statements to the contrary (*contrarium*) and the offering of (4) supportive examples (*exemplum*), (5) similes (*simile*),

and (6) third-person testimony (*testimonium*) before (7) concluding the essay in appropriate fashion (*conclusio*). Schmidt felt that a composer of fugue faced the same task with respect to a particular theme. Its answer supplied the initial reason for the theme's existence, after which the theme was further elaborated upon through thematic statements in inversion (*contrarium*), with altered rhythm (*simile*), and at different pitches or in augmentation or diminution (*exemplum*). In place of the *testimonium*, which could scarcely be translated into fugal procedure, Schmidt chose the traditional "confirmation of the thesis" that often preceded the conclusion of a longer essay. He drew the analogy between it and the use of stretto near the end and suggested finally that the fugue close with freer use or stretto over a pedal point. In similar fashion to those who likened fugue to "conversation," Schmidt likened it to "explanation": not only was the theme of a vocal fugue "explained" and elaborated upon through its many varied statements, but the technique was an appropriate vehicle for text setting because it allowed the theme's text to be similarly "explained" through its varied repetitions.[23]

Mattheson similarly related rhetorical *dispositio* to a musical composition in the following passage from *Der vollkommene Capellmeister:* "Our musical Disposition differs from the rhetorical arrangement of an ordinary speech only in the subject, the matter at hand, the object. Hence it must observe the same six parts that are normally prescribed for the orator, namely: the *introduction*, the *narration*, the *proposition*, the *proof*, the *refutation*, and the *closing*, otherwise known as: Exordium, Narratio, Propositio, Confirmatio, Confutatia, & Peroratio."[24] At the end of this chapter, Mattheson led the reader to expect the detailed analogy between fugue and rhetoric that Butler postulates: "One more thing is to be mentioned, namely that among the great figures for elaboration, of which there are some thirty and which serve more for lengthening, amplification, embellishment, ornamentation, or show than for real persuasion of the intellect, the familiar and renowned clever device, the *fugue*, is quite properly to be classed, wherein the *Mimesis*, *Expolitio* [embellishing], *Distributio*, together with other little flowers which seldom ripen to fruit find their residence, as in a greenhouse. More instruction on this will follow in its place."[25]

In the treatment of fugue to be found later in the book, however, rhetoric plays a surprisingly small role. Mattheson divided the material on imitative counterpoint into four chapters devoted to simple fugue, imitation, invertible counterpoint, and double fugue, and he kept the focus overwhelmingly on

such purely technical features as tonal answers and the writing of invertible counterpoint. He introduced no terminology from the classical *dispositio* and in fact laid out a model for fugal structure that is surprisingly close to the modern one. Mattheson's model began with an orderly exposition, to which he, like his predecessors, gave no special name, followed by a transition (*transitio*) of free counterpoint and then a series of groups of thematic statements (which he called *Durchführungen*) separated from one another by brief ornamental passages (called variously *Zwischenspiele*, *Schmückungen*, and *Zierrathen*). In short, the traditional tripartite disposition of Dressler and Bertali applies nicely, but Butler's attempt to subdivide further the body of the fugue into *confutatio*, *similia*, *exemplum*, and *confirmatio* finds no supporting evidence in Mattheson's work.

We might summarize the history of the relationship between fugue and rhetoric from the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries as follows: In its early guise as a point of imitation in motet style, fugue first entered the music-rhetorical analogy as a compositional device analogous to a figure of speech. The only writer to try to match specific sorts of fugal counterpoint with specific figures of speech, however, was Joachim Burmeister, and his attempts, not entirely successful, remained without influence. During the course of the seventeenth century, the word *fugue* came to refer to a genre, and the characteristics by which we still define it today had largely come together by about 1700. Fugue in this guise never served as a figure of music, since just after midcentury Bernhard refocused the figure-of-speech analogy on dissonance treatment and thereby removed compositional techniques such as fugue from the analogy. Meanwhile, although most of the detail of fugal writing continued to develop in purely technical terms and without recourse to rhetorical ideas, fugal structure borrowed the tripartite design of *exordium*, *medium*, and *finis* from the classic rhetorical *dispositio*. By the time early-eighteenth-century musicians "rediscovered" or, more precisely, reacquired enthusiasm for a more detailed music-rhetorical analogy, the genre of fugue was already firmly established.

An exchange between Mattheson and the Bach pupil Lorenz Christoph Mizler sheds additional light on eighteenth-century approaches to the music-rhetorical analogy. In his *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft*, a preliminary draft of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Mattheson used the classic *dispositio* as the basis for an analysis of an opera aria by Benedetto Marcello. In his review of the

book, Mizler criticized this analysis as follows: "I do not know if the admirable Marcello would wish to apply the six parts of an oration here, in so much as it is not at all necessary to apply everything in every section of a piece. Rather, it is highly likely that the incomparable composer of this aria, while writing it, did not think about exordium, narratio, confutatio, confirmatio, or the order of how the said parts should follow upon one another. The matter thus seems forced, because Herr Mattheson uses one and the same [musical] phrase [*Satz*] for the introduction, the narration, and the proposition."[26] To this criticism Mattheson made the following response in the introduction to his *Vollkommene Capellmeister:* "Marcello, to be sure, has given as little thought to the six parts of an oration in composing the aria I quoted in the *Kern*, as in his other works: but one concedes that I have *quite plausibly* shown how they must be present in the melody. That is enough. Experienced masters proceed in an orderly manner, even when they do not think about it."[27]

In this exchange, Mizler and Mattheson are arguing a question that scholars still consider today: the role of analysis and its proper relationship to authorial intent.[28] Mattheson recognized in rhetoric a discipline that had exerted influence on the course of musical composition, and thus he found it an appropriate model with which to examine pieces. The purpose of this exercise was manifestly not to show how the composer conceived the piece but rather to deepen one's appreciation of it. From Mizler's objection we might surmise that his teacher, J. S. Bach, did not make much use of the rhetorical analogy in teaching composition to his students and that, if he used rhetorical models for his own composition, his students were not aware of it. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, in a letter of 1774 to Forkel, tells us further that when his father listened to other composers' fugues he focused first and foremost on the technical details of thematic material and counterpoint: "When [J. S. Bach] listened to a rich and many-voiced fugue, he could soon say after the first entries of the subjects, what contrapuntal devices it would be possible to apply, and which of them the composer by rights ought to apply, and on such occasions, when I was standing next to him, and he had voiced his surmises to me, he would joyfully nudge me when his expectations were fulfilled."[29]

C. P. E. Bach describes here the fugal phenomena that are the most purely musical and least obviously analogous to verbal language. The goal of rhetoric, however, is not merely to dazzle or impress but also to persuade and convince; in musical terms, we might say that the mere presence of contrapuntal devices

does not guarantee an artistically successful fugue. It is at this point, where the anecdote leaves off, that rhetoric can make its contribution. To put it another way: if Emanuel Bach had asked his father after the performance for a subjective evaluation of the fugue—that is, whether the various contrapuntal devices added up to a terrific piece or an interminable bore—how would Johann Sebastian have articulated his answer?

Let us examine briefly one of J. S. Bach's own fugues with the aid of rhetorical principles. The Fugue in B♭ Minor, BWV 867, from the first book of the Well-Tempered Clavier is, like most of the fugues in this collection, a masterpiece of compactness and artistry. Its technical basis is quickly summarized: five voices and a brilliantly devised subject that despite unremarkable rhythmic motion of half and quarter notes is made memorable through the upward leap of a minor ninth and that is well crafted to allow for its treatment in stretto. Quintilian writes that "the sole purpose of the *exordium* is to prepare our audience in such a way that they will be disposed to lend a ready ear to the rest of our speech," more specifically "by making the audience well-disposed [*benevolum*], attentive [*attentum*], and ready to receive instruction [*docilem*]."[30] Bach commands our attention in his opening exposition almost entirely through the theme itself, with its searing ninth, and the impressive fullness of five-voice texture. There is no countersubject, and Bach does not tip his hand regarding what he intends to do with the material. The audience is ready to learn.

It is in the body of a fugue that analogies with rhetoric become the trickiest to apply. Quintilian directs his remarks primarily to trial lawyers and hence concentrates to a large extent on two aspects of the lawyer's craft; the statement of facts (*narratio*) and the proof of those facts (*confirmatio*).[31] He allows a great deal of flexibility in the handling of this portion of the speech, and we may do the same in our fugal analysis. In place of statements of fact, fugue offers instead the potential for contrapuntal complexity and ingenuity, and Bach's B♭ Minor Fugue progresses inexorably to ever-greater levels of this complexity. Bach's mastery in the handling of this progression resides both in its incremental nature and in the manipulation of intensity and relaxation that allows the listener to prepare for its most important moments. In the first set of thematic entries after the exposition (mm. 25–33) the almost constant presence of stepwise quarter notes taken from the second half of the subject and the quick succession of thematic entries introduces the first level of complexity and suggests the stretto to come. The third set of entries (mm. 46–56) begins

with two statements of the subject in proper succession but then introduces the first stretto, in the top voices where it can be readily perceived. After three statements in stretto, Bach concludes this set of entries with two final statements (mm. 53–56) that are not overlapped. The contrapuntal tour de force, which acts quite like Quintilian's "confirmation," appears in mm. 67–71, where all five voices bring in the subject in the tightest possible stretto.

Bach regulates the ebb and flow of tension in the body of the piece through the careful handling of episodes. The stepwise quarter notes of the second half of the subject provide him with sufficiently common material that he is able by incorporating them to drop the level of tension while retaining thematic unity. Also worthy of mention is his manipulation of range. To add interest to the second set of entries, before the introduction of stretto, Bach allows the texture to rise to the highest notes of the piece. For the entries in stretto, such highlighting through range is unnecessary. This set of entries is also distinguished harmonically through its beginning in the relative major, D♭, followed by a relatively unstable series of harmonies.

Regarding the conclusion, Quintilian writes, "There are two kinds of peroration, for it may deal either with facts or with the emotional aspect of the case," and he maintains that it should be "as brief as possible."[32] One could make a case for the final set of entries as equivalent to Quintilian's conclusion dealing with facts, but I prefer to view these entries as the final confirmation of the fugue's body, and I see the conclusion as the closing few measures, where Bach "deals with the emotional aspect" of the piece. After the incredible sequence of stretto entries in mm. 67–71, the listener needs time, however brief, to "come down" before the final cadence sounds. No thematic statement burdens these measures, although the by now almost ubiquitous stepwise quarter notes remind us of the subject, and the fugue moves to a quiet close.

Whether or not Dressler and Burmeister originally introduced rhetoric to musical analysis because it lent legitimacy to the study of musical composition, its retention by later writers may have more to do with the way we humans express ourselves about music. Despite occasional attempts to create nonverbal analytical systems,[33] in the end most of us want to be able to express our reactions to music just as we express our reactions to most things in life: through words. Given that public speaking and musical performance share many of the same goals, the words we use to describe the effects of music and speech, though these effects are achieved through very different means, will ultimately

be similar. Fugue puts on display everything that counterpoint and tonality have to offer, and it does so according to the nonverbal laws of musical notes. What separates the great fugue from the mediocre one, however, is rhetoric.

NOTES

1. "Fugue and Rhetoric," *Journal of Music Theory* 21 (1977): 49–109. Related to this article are two additional contributions by Butler from about the same time: "The Fantasia as Musical Image," *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974): 602–15, and "Music and Rhetoric in Early Seventeenth-Century English Sources," *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980): 53–64.

2. On fugue, see in particular the author's "Fugue in German Theory from Dressler to Mattheson" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1987), and his forthcoming book, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach*, to be published by the University of Rochester Press. Some scholars have urged a cautious approach to the topic of musical rhetoric in the Baroque; others express greater enthusiasm for it. Among the former are Peter Williams, "The Snares and Delusions of Musical Rhetoric: Some Examples from Recent Writings on J. S. Bach," in *Alte Musik: Praxis und Reflexion*, ed. Peter Reidemeister and Veronika Gutmann (Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus, 1983), 230–40, and Brian Vickers, "Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?" *Rhetorica* 2 (1984): 1–44. Representative of the latter are Elaine R. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 21–22; Robert Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 159, n.12; and Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), esp. 86–90.

3. Zarlino is not mentioned in any of Butler's three articles previously cited.

4. Seth Calvisius, *Melopoeia sive melodiae condendae ratio* (Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1592), fol. H5r.

5. See *The Institutio oratoria of Quintilian* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 4:540, for an index of all its appearances.

6. Certainly Zarlino was inclined to refer to a word's rhetorical meaning when he felt it important, as was the case when he redefined *consequenza* for the 1573 edition of *Le istitutioni.*

7. The *Praecepta* resides in SBB, Mus. ms. theor. 4° 84. A modern edition by Bernhard Engelke can be found in *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 49/50 (1914–15): 213–50; for fugue and rhetoric, see esp. 243–50.

8. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," 50.

9. Burmeister's writings on fugue and rhetoric appeared in three books of overlapping content: (1) *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae* (Rostock: Stephan Myliander, 1599); (2) *Musica autoschediastike* (Rostock: Christoph Reusner, 1601), incorporating the first twelve chapters of the *Hypomnematum* (folio number citations from the *Hypomnematum* refer to this reprint); and (3) *Musica poetica* (Rostock: Stephan Myliander, 1606; facs. rpt., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955). The last of these has been translated into English under the title *Musical Poetics* by Benito Rivera (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993).

10. See Burmeister's introduction to the chapter on figures or ornaments of music in Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 154–59.

11. Lucas Lossius, *Erotemata dialecticae et rhetoricae Philippi Melanchthonis* (Leipzig, 1562), quoted in Martin Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister: Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600*, Schriften des Landesinstituts fur Musikforschung Kiel, no. 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), 150.

12. Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H. Jackson, 1577; facs. rpt., Menston, England: Scolar Press 1971), fol. E2v.

13. Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, 59; the translation is adapted slightly from Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 163, 165. The difficulties in interpreting Burmeister's Latin in this passage are characteristic. Burmeister uses the word *vox* in the preceding paragraph of *Musica poetica* to mean unequivocally "voice," and thus Rivera and I infer that meaning here. The word *affectio* Burmeister defined elsewhere (*Musica autoschediastike*, fol. O2v) as that which we understand by melodic subject or theme but with additional rhetorical connotation of "moving the hearts of men."

14. Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Carl Proske and Franz Xaver Haberl (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894–1926), 9:73–76.

15. Praetorius's description of the fugue/ricercar appears in his *Syntagma musicum*, vol. 3 (Wolfenbtüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619; facs. rpt., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 21–22 (p. 22 is misnumbered 24). The entire topic is treated in greater detail in Paul Walker, "Fugue as a Genre Designation in the Early Seventeenth Century," unpublished paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Heinrich Schütz Society, Washington University, St. Louis, April 1990.

16. See Paul Walker, "Modality, Tonality, and Theories of Fugal Answer in the Baroque," in *Church, Stage, and Studio: Music and Its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, ed. Paul Walker (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1990), 361–88, esp. 365–68.

17. See, e.g., the fugal movements in Merula's *Il primo libro delle canzoni a quattro voci* (1615), ed. Adam Sutkowski in *Opere complete*, vol.1 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1974), and in Legrenzi's op.2 (1655), ed. Stephen Bonta in *The Instrumental Music of Giovanni Legrenzi: Sonate a due e tre, Opus 2, 1655* (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1964).

18. See Paul Walker, "Vienna's Contribution to the Development of Fugue during the Seventeenth Century," in *Austria 996–1996: Music in a Changing Society*, forthcoming. Bertali's treatise survives in three manuscripts of overlapping but not identical content, all written in German. Two of these are attributed to Bertali, the third (wrongly) to Carissimi.

19. On this development, see Walker, "Zur Geschichte des Kontrasubjekts und zu seinen Gebrauch in den frühesten Klavier- und Orgelfugen Johann Sebastian Bachs," in *Das Frühwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Karl Heller and Hans Joachim Schulze (Cologne: Studio, 1995), 48–69. See also Walker, "Die Entstehung der Permutationsfuge," BJ 75 (1989), 21–42, and a slightly revised rendering into English as "The Origin of the Permutation Fugue," in *Studies in the History of Music 3: The Creative Process*, ed. by Ellen Beebe (Williamstown, Mass.: Broude Brothers, 1992), 51–91.

20. "und wird alss dann, das allgemeine proverbium so in ailer Künsten desideriret wird, nehmlich Finis bonus, auch in dieser verificirt werden" (Giacomo Carissimi [recte: Bertali], *Regulae compositionis*, Berlin Mus. ms. theor. 170, p.17; the translation is mine).

21. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," 68.

22. "Denn eine *Fugam* zu *tracti*ren, muss ich die *artificia* so wohl aus der *Oratoria*, als bey dem *Style moderno*, nehmen, ob gleich darinne mehr die *Harmonia* als *Oratio, domini*ret: Denn *Dux* ist *Propositio; Comes Aetiologia; Oppositum* ist *Inversio varia Fugae; Similia* geben die veränderten *Figur*en der *Proposition, secundum valorem; Exempla* können heissen die *propositiones Fugae* in andern *Chord*en, *cum augmentatione & diminutione Subjecti; Confirmatio* wäre, wenn ich über das *Subjectum canoni*sire; und *Conclusio*, wenn ich das *Subject* gegen die *Cadenze, in Imitatione*, über eine *notam firmam* hören lasse, der andern *artificiorum* zu geschweigen, welche in Eintretung des *Subjecti* anzubringen und zu *observi*ren sind" (Schmidt to Mattheson, 28 July 1718, published in "Die Orchester-Kanzeley," *Critica Musica* 2 [1725]: 267–68; the translation is my own).

23. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," 72–99, seizes upon Schmidt's analogy and, after comparing it with the classic rhetorical disposition, which he identifies as *propositio*,

confutatio, *similia*, *exemplum*, *confirmatio*, and *conclusio*, tries to show how eighteenth-century musicians took the latter plan as the norm for fugal writing. It is important to recognize, however, that Schmidt's choice of a more detailed analogy than Bertali's came about primarily because he wished to show the common bonds between fugue and text.

24. "Unsere musicalische Disposition ist von der rhetorischen Einrichtung einer blossen Rede nur allein in dem Vorwurff, Gegenstand oder Objecto unterschieden: dannenhero hat sie eben diejenigen sechs Stücke zu beobachten, die einem Redner vorgeschieben werden, nemlich den Eingang, Bericht, Antrag, die Bekräfftigung, Wiederlegung und den Schluß. Exordium, Narratio, Propositio, Confirmatio, Confutatio & Peroratio" (*Der vollkommene Cappellmeister* [Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739; facs. rpt., Kassel: Bärenreiter 1954], 235; the translation is by Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric*, 85–86).

25. "Noch eins ist zu erinnern, daß nehmlich unter die grossen Erweiterungs-Figuren, deren etliche dreißig seyn werden, und die mehr zur Verlängerung, Amplification, zum Schmuck, Zierrath oder Gepränge, als zur gründlichen Uiberzeutung [*sic*] der Gemüther dienen, nicht mit Unrecht zu zehlen ist das bekannte und berühmte Kunst-Stück der *Fugen*, worin die Mimesis, Expolitio, Distributio samt andern Blümlein, die selten zu reiffen Früchten werden, ihre Residenz, als in einem Gewächs-Haus, antreffen. An seinem Orte wird davon mehr Unterricht folgen" (*Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 244; the translation is by Ernest C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary* [Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981], 484).

26. "Ich weiß aber nicht ob der vortrefliche Marcello daselbst die erwähnte sechs Theile einer Rede anbringen wollen, indem es auch gar nicht nöthig ist, alles in allen Theilen eines Stückes anzubringen. Es ist vielmehr höchstwahrscheinlich, daß der unvergleichliche Verfasser besagter Arie, weder an *exordium*, *narrationem*, *confutationem*, *confirmationem*, noch an die Ordnung, wie besagte Theile nach einander folgen sollen, gedacht habe, wie er sie verfertiget. Die Sache scheinet auch daher gezwungen zu seyn, weil Herr Mattheson einen und denselben Satz zum Eingang, Erzehlung und Vortrag machet" (Mizler, review of Mattheson's *Kern melodischer Wissensahaft*, in Mizler's *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek*, vol.1 [Leipzig, 1738], part 6, 38–39; translated by Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric*, 87).

27. "Marcello had freilich, bey Verfertigung der im Kern aus ihm angeführten Aria, so wenig, als bey seinem andern Wercken, wol schwerlich an die 6 Theile einer Rede gedacht, von welchen man doch gestehet, daß ich *gar wahrscheinlich* gezeiget

habe, wie sie in der Melodie vorhanden seyn müssen. Das ist genug. Gewiegte Meister verfahren ordentlich, wenn sie gleich nicht daran gedencken" (*Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 25; the translation is adapted by Bonds from Harriss; see Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric*, 87).

28. See the summary of current thinking on this topic in George Dickie and W. Kent Wilson, "The Intentional Fallacy: Defending Beardsley," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 53 (1995): 233–50.

29. "Bey Anhörung einer starck besetzten u. vielstimmigen Fuge, wuste er bald, nach den ersten Eintritten der *Thematum*, vorherzusagen, was für *contra*puncktische Künste möglich anzubringen wären u. was der Componist auch von Rechtswegen anbringen müste, u. bey solcher Gelegenheit, wenn ich bey ihm stand, u. er seine Vermuthungen gegen mich geäußert hatte, freute er sich u. stieß mich an, als seine Erwartungen eintrafen" (BDOK 3:285; translation from BR, 277).

30. "Causa principii nulla alia est, quam ut auditorem, quo sit nobis in ceteris partibus accommodatior, praeparemus. Id fieri tribus maxime rebus inter auctores plurimos constat, si benevolum, attentum, docilem fecerimus" (*Institutio oratoria of Quintilian* 2:8–9; the translation is by H. E. Butler).

31. On the former, see ibid., 48–121; on the latter, 154–311.

32. "Eius duplex ratio est posita aut in rebus aut in adfectibus." "In hac, quae repetemus, quam brevissime dicenda sunt" (both quotes ibid., 382–83; translation, H. E. Butler).

33. See Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 75–79 (on Hermann Keller) and 79–85 (on Heinrich Schenker).

Bach Recordings since 1980

A Mirror of Historical Performance

John Butt

In the two decades since 1980, "historically informed performance"—hereafter HIP—has been an unquestionable presence in classical performance (in the record catalogues, if not always in the concert hall). The present essay focuses on two issues: first, the trends that seem evident over this period—whether they suggest a general development in a particular direction or whether they demonstrate a pattern of action and reaction between recorded performers—and second, Richard Taruskin's bold argument that HIP is really not historical at all, but one of the last outposts of high modernism. Several subsidiary questions inform these central issues: How does the actual performance accord with the verbal claims made by the performers? How does scholarly hypothesis influence the actual practice of recorded performance? How influential are the development of the performers' technique and their growing familiarity with historical instruments? For data, I concentrate on recordings of certain key works, such as the Brandenburg Concertos and the Goldberg Variations, and on recordings that have had particular significance for HIP in the 1980s and 1990s: the final volumes of the complete cantata series recorded under the direction of Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Gustav Leonhardt, and choral recordings that show the direct or indirect influence of Joshua Rifkin's theory that Bach performed the majority of his choral music with but one singer to a part. This is, after all, by far the most extreme and contentious scholarly proposal regarding Bach performance in recent years.

Several scholars and critics have noted a development in HIP that began in the late 1980s and continues to the present (1997). Michelle Dulak, following Taruskin's claim that HIP has hitherto shown every sign of twentieth-century high modernism, observes a softening of the verbal rhetoric and a more luxuriant performing style: "The 'vinegar' that record reviewers once found in

'period' violin tone has turned to honey in the hands of the latest generation of players. . . . this new sound-quality is not just a retreat toward 'mainstream' ideals, but a distinct new timbre, gentler than the 'modern' string sound, more plaintive and more resonant, more suggestive of the physical gestures of performance."[1] In the field of Bach performance, Dulak notes one reviewer's slight embarrassment about enjoying Anner Bylsma's second recording of the cello suites (1992), which displays a degree of expressive "romanticism" that would be all but banned from "mainstream" performances.[2] Another reviewer attributes Bylsma's style more to a "sense of strain" that tends to detract from the spirit of the dances.[3] This observation might reflect just how unfamiliar certain forms of expression (whether or not labeled "romantic") have become. Bylsma's choice of instrument is also significant: an "original" instrument, to be sure, but as a Stradivari from the Smithsonian Institution it is not in its original state—no restorer would dare "put back" an instrument of such value. Interestingly, Elizabeth Blumenstock's recording of the violin sonatas with harpsichord was released at around the same time (1993) as Bylsma's, and for this she likewise uses an updated Stradivari, reequipped with gut strings and played with a Baroque bow.[4] These two instances of the use of "impure" yet superlative instruments would have been less readily admitted in HIP a decade before and add weight to the argument that we are becoming less squeamish about historical accuracy, particularly if there are expressive and sonic benefits to be gained. George Stauffer also observes a change of attitude in HIP interpretations of Bach, noting Nikolaus Harnoncourt's second recording of the Mass in B Minor (1986), for which he uses a mixed chorus, since, according to Harnoncourt, women's voices "bring the sensuous flair of adults to the music." Stauffer suggests that such a compromise may mark something new, an era "in which performers knowingly—and unabashedly—seek a middle ground between what they know of Bach's conventions and their own personal tastes."[5]

It is not difficult to find further examples to substantiate observations such as these. Jordi Savall's recording of the Brandenburg Concertos with the Concert des Nations is notable for its luxurious sound and very characterful interpretation.[6] We should also consider the latter volumes of the most impressive Bach recording project in recent decades, the complete HIP recording of Bach's sacred cantatas by Harnoncourt and Leonhardt, which was released by Teldec between 1971 and 1989. Both directors adopted an approach that stood in stark contrast to anything that was previously available: both took the meter and

rhetoric of speech as a principal mode of interpretation, something that often ran in the face of conventional musical expression. On the other hand, their respective results differed markedly from one another: Harnoncourt tended to go for shock value, never afraid to let technical deficiencies contribute to the "grit" of the oration if this served the overall message; Leonhardt, by contrast, tended toward rather more musical elegance and metrical poise, although he was clearly not averse to syllabic weighting (particularly in chorales) that often verged on mannerism.

As the 1980s progress, both directors retain something of their respective styles, particularly in the choral sounds they seem to encourage. But whereas their earlier cantata recordings are striking for their dry, detached articulation, in the later recordings the note lengths are considerably longer, and the articulation, dynamic nuances, and tone are considerably more subtle. If anything, the two directors have become less easily distinguished from one another: Leonhardt takes some of the expressive force of Harnoncourt, and Harnoncourt in particular develops something close to the metrical pacing of Leonhardt. The last two cantatas of the set, BWV 198 (*Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl*) and BWV 199 (*Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*), are apportioned to Leonhardt and Harnoncourt respectively.[7] Both benefit from a more generous acoustic than the first recordings of the 1970s, and in both the performers seem to relish the sounds they produce. Harnoncourt calls on Barbara Bonney for the solo soprano part of BWV 199; she sounds a world apart from most of the boy soloists who grace virtually every disk in the collection (including the boy used for BWV 196, on the same disk). It is difficult to know how conscious the two directors were of the development; it is, after all, a persistent fault in recording reviews to attribute absolutely every element of a performance to the director's intention. What is certain here is that the performers (particularly the instrumentalists) have improved immensely since 1971, that they may well be able to offer expressive possibilities that were simply not available before. Directors will often develop their own interpretative style as much in response to what they hear as from their own abstracted viewpoint.

Although it is certainly possible to find many more recordings displaying a growing sensuousness in Bach performance and HIP in general, there are still plenty of examples to suggest that the more generic style of the early 1980s is still alive and well. Many recent releases of the Brandenburg Concertos are indistinguishable from one another in many respects, although virtually all

show great technical advances over earlier recordings. I could not be confident of distinguishing in a blind test the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (1989) from the Linde-Consort (1982/91), the Taverner Players (1989), the Brandenburg Consort (1991), or La Petite Bande (1995).[8] Even the latest "mainstream" recording, by the Bargemusic group, often approaches the same style, although the tempos are slower, the tone heavier, and the general mood more staid.[9] When HIP was young, critics often saw it as a pale substitute for what they considered "real," mainstream performance;[10] now it seems almost that the situation is reversed, with the mainstream offering little more than an imperfect facsimile of the HIP.

All these recordings have their striking moments, their star performers and slight variations of balance, but all seem to belong to the same family, and none speaks with a particularly individual voice. Of course, it is probably part of the intention behind these recordings that they should not present an overly individual interpretation: individual genius is, after all, the concept of an age later than Bach's. But one cannot help thinking that efficiency and conformity are more specifically virtues of a particular strain in the present age, one that sits opposite the trend toward greater expressivity. Moreover, Sigiswald Kuijken's notes to his recording with La Petite Bande could be used as a counterexample to the trend—noted above, with reference to Bylsma and Blumenstock—toward using instruments that are historical mongrels in order to gain a more sumptuous sonority. Kuijken explains that he uses horn instead of trumpet in Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 because he could not find a trumpet player with command of the historically correct playing technique ("without auxiliary valves and with the right bore"), whereas certain horn players can play without "the present practice of compromise when it comes to tromba playing." Thus it seems that the quest for instrumental purism was still so strong in 1995 that a director would rather opt for the wrong instrument at the wrong octave than for the right one played "wrongly" (to my ear the musical result, in matters other than octave and timbre, is essentially similar); there is almost a sense of historical bookkeeping or a moral imperative that works more or less independently of the empirical results.

Given, then, that not all Bach performance has unequivocally moved toward a freer, more luxurious style, perhaps the best way to examine recent recorded performances is by means of a reactive model, one in which some performances can be heard as reactions either to earlier performances or to a generic

norm. Of course, it is not always possible to tell whether it is really the players who react to one another or the recording companies that choose the performances they think best suit the current market.

Glenn Gould's famous second recording of the Goldberg Variations on piano (1982) sets the benchmark for "objective," impersonal performance for the entire period under discussion.[11] His method of performance—totally eschewing any audience presence—conforms like no other to what many see as the worst aspect of HIP, a musical high modernism that presents much of the music in a mechanical, equally detached, and measured way. The variations occupy a single track on the CD—there is thus no opportunity to use the randomizer—and one is forced to listen to a continuous piece in which many of the tempos seem related in simple proportions to one another (this is perhaps the most productive insight of the performance). The primary human component is Gould's humming, which sounds almost as incongruous, eerie, and disembodied as the Ondes Martenot in Messiaen's *Turangalîla* symphony. The reactive element here is, I suggest, Gould's response to harpsichord and early-music culture, almost as if he is trying to beat harpsichordists at their own game (harpsichordists, that is, as seen in the popular imagination as inexpressive, twanging sewing-machine peddlers); whatever expressive potential the piano might have is virtually absent here. That such an ascetic style should have achieved cult status is, I suppose, grist to the mill for those who affirm that contemporary performance reflects a necessity of the modern, alienated age, but it does so to an extreme that would make the alleged sins of HIP pale into insignificance.[12]

A reaction to Gould can be found precisely a year later—perhaps too close to constitute an intended reaction—in the Goldberg Variations as recorded by Andras Schiff. This is virtually the polar opposite to Gould's.[13] Whereas Gould ignores the expressive potential of the piano, Schiff discovers sounds of which few pianists could conceive. Schiff, while he seemingly rides on Gould's success at having reestablished piano performance of the work, is now more free to exploit the possibilities of the medium. Schiff's achievement may lie in his attentive listening to what many of the greatest harpsichordists had achieved during the previous twenty years: techniques by which expression and musical sense can be conveyed without any absolute dynamic facility. One can almost hear the ghost of Gustav Leonhardt in the subtle delaying of certain notes and the infinite varieties of articulation and touch. Indeed, if one plays the record-

ing at a very low level, the sound, which obviously involves subtle dynamic variation too, is not unlike that of a clavichord.

Ton Koopman's Goldberg recording was released in 1988, and, as with so many of his recordings, one can get the sense that this performer considers all the standard agogic and articulative devices of harpsichord playing to be exhausted, so he resorts to more radical solutions. If one compares Koopman's performances to those of his teacher, Gustav Leonhardt (or to the latter's pianistic equivalent Andras Schiff), one may perceive a classic case of the anxiety of influence. The basic playing style sometimes contains the same subtlety of timing and articulation, but sometimes not. What is immediately evident is the incessant ornamentation added to virtually every measure, often regardless of whether there is already obvious ornamentation in the notation.[14] Sometimes these seem intended to underline particular expressions and connections in the original music, but sometimes they almost seem random additions that virtually recast the original lines. There can be no doubt that in adding unwritten ornaments Koopman is realizing a particular historical style, one for which there is ample documentation (both in terms of positive advice and negative observation), but my most immediate reaction is often that this performance's principal message is "Not Leonhardt."

Another highly original response to the "Goldberg discussion" comes from Bob van Asperen (1991) who, in contrast to Koopman's ornamented road away from Leonhardt, takes the latter's rhythmic subtlety to a new extreme and perhaps presents the most rhythmically nuanced account of the work, one that will be ideal to some and mannered to others.[15] One of the most recent recordings, Christophe Rousset's (1995), comes from an artist who has received extremely favorable publicity in recent years.[16] This is a "meat and potatoes" account with steady rhythm, even articulation, and a matter-of-fact presentation with little extra ornamentation. In style it could be compared with Trevor Pinnock's 1980 recording (although the latter takes the fast movements considerably faster), suggesting that the pattern of action and reaction has come full circle, at least with regard to this work. On the other hand, it might belong to the relatively stable and generic style of HIP as evidenced in the group of Brandenburg recordings mentioned above; certainly Rousset does not seem to count among the "radical reactivists" such as Koopman and van Asperen.

"Radical reactivists" are evident in other areas of Bach performance, too. Most notable is the German violinist and director Reinhard Goebel (Musica

Antiqua Köoln), who is nothing less than a HIP fundamentalist, dismissing virtually all previous attempts in the movement as merely "a stylistic phenomenon of the twentieth century, and sometimes, in fact, far removed from historical truth."[17] Most specifically, this leads to his rejection of the uniform overdotting and coordination of short notes that has become standard practice for many in HIP, and to his view that the notation often gives us all we need to know. As Goebel remarks with regard to the Brandenburg Concertos: "The autograph score speaks a perfectly clear language: astringent, rough, surprising and sometimes unlike anything else, grandiose and startling."[18] Here there is not only a reaction to the received wisdom of performance practice (namely, to the rules he sees as abstracted from treatises postdating Bach's death) but also the attempt to remove Bach from the mainstream canon: "We must remember, too, that Bach, at thirty-five, was not yet the monument—three hundred years old and more—that we are inclined to take him for when we bid him welcome into our sitting rooms."

If Goebel's actual performances do indeed resonate with the historical environment of the younger Bach, it is not in purely musical matters but in their total avoidance of the political egalitarianism we associate with the latter part of the eighteenth century. The music is continually whipped forward, as if by a slave driver, and many of the trends notable in HIP style of the time seem more parodied than imitated, most particularly the predominantly fast tempos, which seem elevated almost beyond human capabilities (e.g., in the last movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 or the first of Brandenburg Concerto No. 6). Goebel's fundamentalist dictatorship stands in direct contrast to a group such as the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, which most represents the "enlightened," prodemocracy movement within HIP: their recordings flaunt the group's self-governing status, with no permament conductor (ironically, nothing could be further from the political system of Bach's own time). Although each of their Brandenburg Concertos (1989) is directed by whoever happens to be playing the most prominent solo part (and most of these are outstanding performers), the overall effect is one of agreeable neutrality, civilized but never too challenging.[19] In fact, the polarity between these two groups encapsulates one of the most fundamental dynamics working within the HIP movement over the last two decades or so, particularly with regard to instrumental groups. The antiauthoritarian, democratically oriented stream of HIP (often these are the English groups—which must surprise many Ameri-

can critics) provides a foil for those Continental groups that are driven more by the force of a single personality. With regard to Bach performance, the English stream often represents a tidied-up reaction to the characterful direction of Harnoncourt, whereas the "absolutists" either try to create their own difference with Harnoncourt (something Harnoncourt himself has done with his rerecordings of greater Bach works during the 1980s) or do something to shock the HIP democrats.

Perhaps the most interesting chain of influence and reaction is that stemming from Joshua Rifkin's theories of Bach's choral performance and his mildly notorious recording of the Mass in B Minor, released in 1982.[20] Here is the point at which exhaustive musicological research and HIP come closest together (i.e., in one person), where a specific hypothesis implies a radical revision of the existing HIP. This is something much more precise than Goebel's injunction that we should ignore the standard post-1750 lore, since it comes down to the specifics of how the performing materials were formatted, how many singers read from one part. Rifkin concludes that the vast majority of Bach's choral literature was sung by one singer per part. Furthermore—given that more singers were needed for the regular motet performance (often in eight voices), and that Bach seems to have tried performance with extra ripieno singers on his arrival in Leipzig but soon gave it up—he suggests that this was quite possibly Bach's preference.[21] The long, tortuous debates that have since transpired between Rifkin and his critics concerning Bach's specifications in the 1730 memorandum to the Leipzig council will probably elicit a groan from most informed readers today. But several developments in both scholarship and performance are worth noting, not least because the Rifkin theory represents a watershed in Bach performance, the most extreme challenge to tradition, and the most minimalist, sparse, and—to some—alienating moment in the movement as a whole. Whatever the academic arguments or the discussions of Rifkin's approach to performance, one thing comes across clearly in his performances: the vocal parts can be heard as strands within, but not dominating, the combined texture of vocalists and instrumentalists.

First, as I have noted elsewhere, Rifkin's single-voice performance of Bach's Mass in B Minor has led at least two subsequent directors to adopt a compromise solution.[22] Many years before, Wilhelm Ehmann had suggested that Bach's choruses in the Mass could be divided along concertino-ripieno lines, so that some choral sections could indeed be taken by soloists while the fuller

textures would employ the full chorus.[23] As if Rifkin's more extreme conclusion had pushed Ehmann's into the middle ground, the latter's was the solution adopted by recordings of the Mass in B Minor by Andrew Parrott and John Eliot Gardiner.[24] Elsewhere, Parrott has followed the Rifkin scoring precisely, notably in a daring juxtaposition of two Easter cantatas, one from the Mühlhausen period (*Christ lag in Todes Banden*, BWV 4) and the other from the Leipzig era (the Easter Oratorio, BWV 249).[25] By emphasizing the enormous difference in instrumental forces required by the two works, he draws attention to the fact that the vocal forces remain precisely the same.

Parrott undertakes a further experiment with his recording of the St. John Passion.[26] In this case, as Rifkin acknowledges, Bach does seem to have used ripienists to double the solo singers. Parrott basically follows this model but takes the opportunity to test a remarkable idea with regard to the soprano and alto parts. He adds single boys to the soprano and alto parts as ripienists to boost the female soloists (both boys coming from the Tölzer Knabenchor). This scheme of adding a "modern" boy to a female voice is designed to suggest the kind of sound, agility, and insight that Bach might have expected from his students, who were still singing high parts in their late teens. Whatever the historical accuracy, this recording must rank as one of the most successful of the work, one that is lucid, dramatic, and spontaneous in every respect.

Whereas Parrott, and to some extent Gardiner, clearly take a positive stance toward Rifkin's theories, others set themselves in direct opposition. The first volumes from an entirely new series of the complete cantatas by Ton Koopman (which promises to be a vibrant and expressive set) present the early cantatas with choral forces of the proportions specified by Bach's "Entwurff" of 1730 (three to four singers per part). With their flaunting of Christoph Wolff as musicological consultant and lack of any reference to Rifkin, they seem virtually to defy the latter's theories.[27] In the booklet accompanying Philippe Herreweghe's B Minor Mass recording, there is also no doubt that Rifkin is the unspoken enemy as the director's notes begin with a discussion of the vocal forces at Leipzig (with all the usual quotes from the 1730 Memorandum).[28] This is followed by the following, extraordinarily contorted argument: "Going on the 1730 memorandum [in fact not, if it is read at face value], one might well envisage performances with only one singer per part, but if a minimalist approach of this kind were adopted for the Mass in B Minor, we feel that it could only create balance problems unacceptable outside the recording studio.

Modern musicology [meaning what?] thus enables one to put together a vocal and instrumental ensemble fairly close to what churchgoers would have heard in the Thomaskirche." Herreweghe goes on to remark that Baroque style has been hitherto largely dominated by instrumentalists, and that he adopts an approach based on a rhetorical system of organizing musical structure. This represents an obvious distancing from the (surely rhetorical) style of Leonhardt, for whom Herreweghe prepared the chorus in the later issues of the complete cantata series. The difference with Leonhardt is clearly evident in the smooth, flat vocal lines although ironically, the somewhat understated choral texture is most strongly reminiscent of Rifkin's own Mass recording.

Rifkin has made several further recordings with the Bach Ensemble for the L'Oiseau-Lyre label, mainly of relatively well-known cantatas, all now performed with a vocal quartet. One of the tenor soloists on these recordings, Jeffrey Thomas, has formed the American Bach Soloists, a group that has consistently tried to gather the best Baroque performers in North America. Thomas seems to react to Rifkin in two almost diametrically opposed ways. First, the debut recording for the group presents cantatas for solo voices, thus resulting in roughly the same texture as Rifkin's performances, even though the full vocal quartet is not normally present (a four-part vocal choir makes an appearance for a single final chorale).[29] Thomas has proceeded to concentrate on the Mühlhausen and Weimar works, recorded with only one voice to a part.[30] His recording of the Mass in B Minor, on the other hand, represents the polar opposite to this practice. Here a full chorus makes an appearance, although the lead singers on each part are, in fact, the soloists, and even sections such as the Et iterum venturus (from the chorus Et resurrexit) are sung by the full complement.

In sound and musical interpretation, both the solo-style and choral-style approaches differ, in varying degrees, from Rifkin's. A useful comparison can be made between their respective recordings of Cantata 106, *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*.[31] Rifkin tends toward fleetness, in a relatively dry acoustic with relatively short notes, whereas Thomas aims for a more sumptuous, resonant sonority, slightly slower tempos, and slightly longer notes. It sounds almost like a case of the single-voice idea's mellowing after the initial shock has passed. Although both these single-voice recordings of early cantatas have much in common, the differences between the two B Minor Mass recordings could hardly be greater. Thomas not only opts for the choral format but also aims

for a much weightier, luxurious sound and approach. The slow tempo of the opening Kyrie has probably not been heard for a decade or two, and the highly evocative interpretation of the Crucifixus, nails and all, might recall the days when directors did not feel they always had to have the composer's notated direction before embarking on a vivid interpretation of the text.

The split between Thomas's approaches to the early cantatas and to the Mass might also underline Bach's odd status in contemporary culture, in which some works are unequivocally "mainstream" whereas others belong to the field of early music. The mainstream work thus receives the more "traditional," expansive performance, whereas the esoteric pieces are performed in a more intimate, HIP-inspired manner. Thomas's defiance of HIP norms is perhaps strongest in a work that does not really belong to the Bach canon at all, Bach's arrangement of Pergolesi's Stabat Mater, *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, with Benita Valente and Judith Malafronte as the soprano and alto soloists.[32] Here the singing style is virtually indistinguishable from mainstream opera singing, and the "period" string band plays as lusciously as possible.[33]

These last observations of vocal and choral style close the circle, joining the two approaches outlined earlier in this study: the reactive stance in this case leads directly to the more sumptuous, luxuriant style noted by Dulak and Stauffer. The move toward greater sonority can also be seen as a reaction against the dryer, fleeter idioms of the 1970s and 1980s. What is equally certain, however, is that HIP performing styles are diversifying: the Rifkin scoring is being developed at the same time that it is entirely contradicted.

Greater tolerance for Rifkin's views may reflect that many scholars and performers no longer feel compelled to approve of absolutely everything that Bach might have done (whether by volition or necessity) in performance. As soon as it becomes acceptable to dislike what Bach might have done, it is easier to allow that he might indeed have performed the majority of his choral music with single singers. If I am correct here, this would again suggest that there is a more liberal mood in the air with regard to HIP: historical evidence can be treated critically, and one can acknowledge that there is no absolute distinction between the choice of personal insight—or opinion—and historical accuracy.

Taruskin argues that HIP is hardly historical at all and, in fact, represents the most modern of performing practices.[34] According to him, virtually all the traits of HIP are precisely those that define the high modernism of Eliot and Pound as expounded by Ortega and musically exemplified in the writings, com-

positions, and performance style of Stravinsky. These characteristics include, above all, a depersonalizing attitude or one that at least defines the "personal" as irrelevant; modernism is concerned with objective order, precision, timeless constancy, geometric style, streamlining, and the equalization of tensions. Transmission takes precedence over interpretation, pathos is banned, and (as Adorno also complained) Bach is reduced and lightened to the average accomplishments of his age.[35]

Much of this will immediately strike a chord with both those who support and those who abhor HIP. Taruskin surely has a point when he notes that HIP performances are usually much closer in style to recent mainstream performance than both HIP and the mainstream are to the "vitalist" (i.e., late Romantic) style of a Strauss or a Furtwängler. By this token HIP is more an extension of, rather than a reaction to, the recent mainstream, and its countercultural credentials are, to a large degree, forged. The traits of HIP on which Taruskin most heavily pounces are its reliance on "objective" document (i.e., performance pretending to be a mode of accurate scholarship), its increasing lightness (which, in its commercialized form, easily becomes "liteness"), its equalization of beats, and its increasingly fleet tempos. The latter are neatly displayed in Taruskin's table of tempos for Brandenburg Concerto No. 5, showing a steady increase from Furtwängler to Hogwood, with the two HIP recordings merely evidencing the extreme continuation of a consistent pattern. However, Taruskin notes the "joyful results" and "human gait" of Leonhardt's recording of the concerto, as well as the remarkable character of Harnoncourt's, which differs radically from Leonhardt's and may even represent a reworking of the vitalist performance aesthetic of earlier twentieth-century performers.

These two approaches, together with that of Hogwood, which is Taruskin's main target, represent three streams of HIP. Surely both Leonhardt and Harnoncourt are central to contemporary Bach performance, and although both are clearly influenced by the modernist spirit, by no stretch of the imagination could they be considered more modernist than the mainstream. Thus, in modification of Taruskin, I would suggest that HIP has resulted in an extraordinary diversification of performance style. The three styles within HIP that even Taruskin acknowledges can be augmented with many more names in recent Bach performance; one could add Reinhard Goebel, Jordi Savall, Ton Koopman, and Anner Bylsma, to list the most idiosyncratic figures. Furthermore, in certain key mainstream performances, such as Gould's 1982 Goldberg

recording, we have an extreme modernism that makes Taruskin's examples from HIP pale into insignificance. If one were to add another Brandenburg recording to Taruskin's survey, such as the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra set (1980),[36] this would surely count as the most modernistic in terms of its rigid tempos, straightness of tone, and equalization of beats.

Another point is that what Taruskin would call "authentistic" rhetoric about historical accuracy in performance does not necessarily add up to the most modernistic, objective, and depersonalized performance. Goebel provides a case in point with his pseudo-scholarly remarks accompanying his Brandenburg recording; these point to a rigid fundamentalism based on the sacred text of the autograph (reverence toward the score, or course, being a characteristic of such high-modernist performers as Artur Schnabel and Arturo Toscanini). Yet the interpretations are the most bizarre on record, having nothing obvious to do with the letter of the score, and taking Taruskin's "modernist" tendencies toward fast tempos to such an extreme that this can no longer represent the tacit acceptance of an objectifying norm. This must be one of the most subjective, personalized reworkings of modernist signifiers available.

To cite a further example, Harnoncourt's first recording of the Bach Overtures (recorded in 1967 and rereleased in 1987) comes with the following note:

> For Bach differed in one important respect from all composers of his generation: he rejected the freedom of the performer, that essential feature of all baroque music, entirely. Perhaps it was just because he . . . knew the dangers that threatened the best compositions of his colleagues . . . that he left no place for this in his own works. . . . Just as he wrote out the execution of the ornaments in detail . . . he also laid down himself the final and unequivocal form.[37]

Although this rhetoric implies a new austerity, the sound of the set (admittedly stiffer and less sumptuous than the newer recording of 1984/85)[38] is certainly very characterful in comparison to other recordings of the time; it is surely an interpretation demonstrating the "freedom" of this talented performer and not merely the dutiful "reading" that the note may imply.

Exactly the same point can be made with an opposite example, Herreweghe's B Minor Mass recording (1989), where the HIP rhetoric of his liner note promises something new and exciting, whereas the results are fairly generic:

> For many years, Baroque style was defined by instrumentalists who had singers imitate the way they played; in so doing, they were of invaluable use to them in helping them question their style, which was so thoroughly rooted in nine-

> teenth century tradition. But whether one likes it or not, the central element in [the] Baroque is the work itself, and particularly the work as shaped by the rhetorical system organising the overall musical structure. So for the past few years, our aim has been to move in the opposite direction, basing our approach on rhetoric, not only with the singers but with the instrumentalists as well.[39]

Nothing could sound less rhetorical than the beautiful, safe, and largely uninflected singing of the Collegium Vocale, the sort of sound and interpretation that one could have found in an English cathedral or college chapel for decades.

The fashionable rhetoric of restoration and authenticity covers a multitude of sins and, indeed, blessings. At its best, the movement toward HIP has resulted in newly imaginative approaches to musical interpretation; at its worst, it has merely helped to consolidate a preexistant style (what Taruskin defines as high modernism). Dulak has optimistically—and convincingly—described a more recent turn away from Taruskin's "authentisticity" that moves "toward the use of a newly expanded catalogue of expressive resources, developed in the shadow of the modernist mainstream—a set of resources whose applications will surely not long be confined to 'period' instruments."[40] She notes that this surely results from a discomfort with the "modern" and may represent the beginnings of a postmodern performance practice, while acknowledging the ambiguity and ever-expansive category of the "postmodern."

Dulak's diagnosis rings true for the field of Bach performance, although I believe there is still plenty of HIP in the generic "modernist" mode and even, in some instances, what I can describe only as "the new blandness." If postmodernism means a more liberated attitude toward historical evidence, a less guilty (and more conscious inclination) to follow one's own intuitions, then there are certainly more postmodern performers around than there were ten years ago. Taruskin very convincingly portrays a high-modernist strand within HIP (specifically in Bach performance), but he relegates the alternative strands to the end of his essay. None of these strands represents the polar opposite of modernism, but seen together, I believe, they point toward a postmodernism that represents a twist to, and a fragmentation of, high modernism.

Fredric Jameson shows how many features often associated with late modernism—pastiche and nostalgic art, the "death" of the subject or authorial personality—actually become functions of postmodernism in a symbiotic or a parasitic relationship.[41] The difference lies in the fact that such functions are no longer oppositional, or associated with autonomous cultural artifacts; high

modernism is now conflated with mass culture. Many writers associate this postmodernism with the commercially aestheticized world of late capitalism, where nothing has absolute value, and culture—high and low—is reintegrated into everyday life. With this often comes a play of superficial surfaces, a reluctance to search for deep, unique meanings, and a belief that there is nothing more to uncover.

All this has much in common with many of the characterizations of HIP, most strikingly with Taruskin's complaint that HIP performers often forsake their own subjectivity and that they see nothing deep in great pieces of music. Furthermore, the movement would hardly have grown so powerful without its commercialization, the sophistication of recording technology, and the enticing packaging that advertises "authenticity." Perhaps the most pessimistic picture comes from Jean Baudrillard, with his concept of the simulacrum, a world in which everything is a copy (infinitely reproducible through technology) of a nonexistent original, where the saturation of media messages is such that the real and imaginary are frequently confused.[42] There is no need to point out here the close parallel with the HIP ideal of reproducing a historic performance, and with the extraordinary transmission of such "reproductions" through recording and the frequent duplications of performing style—resulting, for instance, in the illusion that one has an infinite choice between all those Brandenburg recordings, many of which are in fact virtually the same. The recording medium itself has been vital to the success of HIP: the CD is a token of the "original," the "authentic," when in fact it corresponds neither to an original historical performance (which today exists only in the realm of conjecture) nor even, in most cases of edited recording, to an actual contemporary performance; it is usually a collage invented by the sound engineer.

But there is a bright side too: the sheer diversity of value systems, the lack of a single standard for musical legitimation, is surely challenging and healthy. Jean-François Lyotard's injunction that we "wage war on totality" has been amply exercised by HIP,[43] even if some of the trends within the movement have been toward a totality more stifling than the last. Charles Jencks has taken an optimistic view of postmodernism (primarily in architecture) as an opportunity for the democratization of art and for its critique from within; both have been features of HIP from the time of its inception. Postmodernist HIP has helped to overcome one of the prime components of modernism, the division of labor in the cause of great efficiency of production (a heritage of the indus-

trial revolution). In much performance of this century performers have been mere cogs—albeit expert ones—in musical production, parts of an extremely efficient machine of musical performance (Stravinsky being the most obvious advocate of this role). HIP has, at its best, caused performers to question their roles by studying instruments, composers, and notation. The best performers not only know where they stand in the process of production but profoundly influence that process itself.[44]

NOTES

1. Michelle Dulak, "The Quiet Metamorphosis of 'Early Music,'" *Repercussions* 2, no.2 (fall 1993): 39.

2. Ibid., 51–52. Dulak cites Nicholas Anderson's review in *Gramophone* 70 (January 1993): 49, of *J. S. Bach: Suites for Violoncello Solo*, Anner Bylsma (cello), Sony Classical, S2K 48047 (1992).

3. Malcolm Boyd, in *Early Music* 21 (1993): 319.

4. *J. S. Bach: Eight Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord*, Elizabeth Blumenstock and John Butt, Harmonia Mundi, 907084.85 (1993).

5. George B. Stauffer, "Changing Issues of Performance Practice," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 217. Harnoncourt's recording is on Teldec, 8.35716.

6. Astrée, E 8737 (1991).

7. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Das Kantatenwerk*, vol.45, Teldec, 244.194-2 (1989).

8. See, respectively, Virgin Classics, VCD 7 90747-2 (1989); EMI Classics, CMS 7 63434 2 (1982/1991); EMI, CDS 7 49806 2 (1989); Hyperion, CDA 7611/2 (1991); Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, 05472 77308 2 (1995).

9. Koch, 3-7294-2 Y6X2 (1996).

10. The most famous early critique of HIP performance of Bach is Paul Henry Lang's "Editorial" in *Musical Quarterly* 58 (1972): 117–27.

11. CBS Records, MK 37779 (1982).

12. In fairness to Gould's admirers, I note that most seem to prefer his earlier recording of 1955, rereleased on Columbia, MS 7096 and Chant du Monde, LDX 78799.

13. London, 417 116-2 (1983).

14. One of my students, Pamela Kamatani, also an outstanding professional pastry chef, described this style as "a bit like adding buttercream rosettes to whipped-cream decorations."

15. EMI, CDC 7 54209 2 (1991).

16. L'Oiseau-Lyre, 444 866-2 (1995).

17. Sleeve notes (1986) to Goebel's 1982/86 recording of Bach's Orchestral Suites on Archiv, 415671-2.

18. Archiv, 423 116-2 (1987).

19. For details of this recording, see note 8, above.

20. Nonesuch, 79036 (1982).

21. See Joshua Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus: A Preliminary Report," *Musical Times* 123 (1982): 747-54.

22. John Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 40-41.

23. Wilhelm Ehmann, " 'Concertisten' und 'Ripienisten' in der h-moll-Messe J. S. Bachs," *Musik und Kirche* 30 (1960): 95-104, 138-47, 227-36, 255-73, and 298-309; reprinted in Ehmann, *Voce et tuba* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 119-77.

24. On EMI Angel, CDCB47292 (1985), and Archiv, Polydor, 415 514-2 (1985), respectively.

25. Virgin Classics, 7 243 5 45011 2 8 (1994).

26. EMI, 7 54083 2 (1991).

27. *J. S. Bach: Complete Cantatas*, vols. 1 and 2, Erato, 4509-98536-2, 0630-12598-2 (1995).

28. Virgin Classics, 7 90757-2 (1989).

29. American Bach Soloists, *Solo Cantatas*, BWV *51*, *54*, *55*, *82*, Koch, 3-7138-2 H1 (1992).

30. Ibid., vols. 3-5, Koch, 3-7164-2 H1 (1993), 3-7235-2H1 (1995), 3-7332-2H1 (1995).

31. Rifkin, on L'Oiseau-Lyre, 417 323-1 (1987); Thomas, on Koch, 3-7164-2 H1 (1993).

32. Koch, 3-7237-2H1 (1995).

33. It is interesting that virtually the only appearance of a modern (i.e., wobbly) soprano in a HIP recording during the 1980s occurs in Christopher Hogwood's recording of Handel's *Athalia*, on L'Oiseau-Lyre, 417 126-2 (1986), where the title role is taken by Joan Sutherland; it is perhaps no accident that this sound was chosen at that time for one of the most evil women in Hebrew history.

34. Taruskin lays out his thesis in greatest detail in "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past," in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 137-210, reprinted with postscript in Taruskin, *Text and Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 90-154. Harnoncourt was

perhaps the first to note that HIP is "modern," in the closing sentence of his essay on performance practice in vol.1 of the Bach cantata series (1971): "We do not in the least regard this new interpretation as a return to something that has long since passed, but as an attempt at releasing this great old music from its historical amalgamation with the classical-symphonic sound and, by means of the transparent and characteristic selection of old instruments, at finding a truly modern interpretation" (Telefunken–Das Alte Werke, SKW 1/1–2, 1971).

35. Theodor W. Adorno, "Bach Defended against His Devotees," in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 133–46.

36. Gerard Schwarz and the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra, EMI Angel, DSSC 4504 5129568 1 (1980), rereleased on CD, EMI Angel, CDCB 7 47201 8 (1986).

37. Teldec, 8.43633/4 ZS (1967/87).

38. Teldec, 8.43051/2 ZS (1984/85).

39. Virgin Classics, 7 90757–2 (1989). Herreweghe seems to be unaware of the considerable degree of scholarly skepticism that has greeted earlier twentieth-century theories of rhetoric as the primary organizing factor of Baroque music. Furthermore, the concept of "the work itself" is a blatantly nineteenth-century invention that can hardly be "the central element" of Baroque composition, however skillful the musical writing.

40. Dulak, "The Quiet Metamorphsis," 60–61.

41. Fredric Jameson, "Periodising the 60s" (1984), in *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 1971–86*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1988), 2:178–208.

42. Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*, trans. Paul Foss, Paul Patton, and Philip Beitchman (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983).

43. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 82.

44. I am most grateful for the work of members of my 1996 seminar at the University of California at Berkeley, on historical performance: Alyson Ahern, Pamela Kamatani, Beth Levy, and Henry Spiller. They have funished me not only with much interesting information about recent recordings but also with some excellent observations and ideas. I am also most indebted to Michelle Dulak and Steven Lehning for their many suggestions.

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