

J. S. Bach's
Concerted
Ensemble Music,
The Overture

EDITED BY Gregory G. Butler

Bach

Bach

BACH PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME SIX

J. S. Bach's Concerted Ensemble Music,
The Overture

BACH PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME SIX

Editorial Board

Gregory G. Butler, University of British Columbia

Don O. Franklin, University of Pittsburgh

Walter B. Hewlett, Center for Computer-Assisted Research in the Humanities

Robert A. Leaver, Westminster Choir College of Rider University

Michael Marissen, Swarthmore College

Daniel R. Melamed, Indiana University

George B. Stauffer, Mason Gross School of the Arts, Rutgers University

Russell Stinson, Lyon University

Christoph Wolff, Harvard University

Bach

Perspectives

VOLUME SIX

J. S. Bach's Concerted Ensemble Music,
The Overture

Edited by Gregory G. Butler



**UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS PRESS**
Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield

© 2007 by the Board of Trustees
of the University of Illinois

This book is freely available in an open access edition thanks to a grant from the Monte Fund of the American Bach Society. For information about the American Bach Society, please see its web site at www.americanbachsociety.org. This title is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution NonCommercial 4.0 International Public License (CC BY-NC). Read the license at creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/.

ISSN 1072-1924
ISBN 978-252-03042-0 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-0-252-09950-2 (ebook)
ISBN 978-0-252-04815-9 (open access)

Bach Perspectives is
sponsored by the
American Bach Society
and produced under the
guidance of its Editorial
Board. For information
about the American Bach
Society, please see its
Web site at this URL:
www.americanbachsociety.org

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Editor's Preface	ix
Abbreviations	xi
 The "B-Minor Flute Suite" Deconstructed: New Light on Bach's Overture BWV 1067	 I
BY JOSHUA RIFKIN	
 A Comparison of Bach's and Telemann's Use of the Overture as Theological Signifier	 99
BY JEANNE SWACK	
 Bach and the <i>Concert en ouverture</i>	 137
BY STEVEN ZOHN	
 Contributors	 157
General Index	159
Index of Bach's Compositions	161

PREFACE

This series, *Bach Perspectives*, was begun in 1995 as a forum for exploring various facets of the life and works of the composer Johann Sebastian Bach. Three volumes are devoted to studies of the reception of Bach's music in subsequent generations. Contributions in BP 2 focus on the Leipzig publishing house of Breitkopf and the dissemination of Bach's music in the eighteenth century; those of BP 3 trace the impact of Bach's creativity on the compositional activity of composers "from Mozart to Hindemith"; and essays in BP 5 collectively explore many facets of Bach reception in America, from *Dwight's Journal* to Brubeck's jazz. Other volumes deal more directly with Bach's music.

In BP 1 the authors investigate compositional issues, such as the role of improvisation in the keyboard works, and address cyclic structures and parody in cantatas, and concerto styles in instrumental works. In BP 4 the studies center on analysis and interpretation regarding specific forms and styles of a wide range of Bach's music. In this and the following volume (*Bach Perspectives* 6 and 7), concerted ensemble music by Bach takes center stage, and in many respects this topic further develops the issues raised in both BP 1 and BP 4.

Many of the works discussed in these two volumes would have been heard in Zimmermann's coffee house or garden, as part of performances of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum directed by Bach. Heinrich Zedler's *Grosses Universal Lexicon* included the following entry in 1739:

Musicum collegium is a gathering of certain musical connoisseurs who, for the benefit of their own exercise in both vocal and instrumental music and under the guidance of a certain director, get together on particular days and in particular locations and perform musical pieces. Such collegia are to be found in various places. In Leipzig, the Bachian *Collegium musicum* is more famous than all others.¹

The fame of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum was not simply due to the technical proficiency and musicianship of its members but also, and in large measure, arose from the superlative and ingenious creativity of its director, Johann Sebastian Bach, whose music they performed. Such works continue to be appreciated and applauded, and the studies presented in BP 6 and BP 7 investigate their respective origins, characteristics, forms, and significance.

Robin A. Leaver, past President
The American Bach Society

1. *Grosses Universal Lexicon* 22 (Leipzig: Zedler, 1739), col. 1488; trans. NBR, 203.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume of *Bach Perspectives*, along with its sister volume, to be published next in the series, marks the extension of a project begun with my early collaboration on volume 4 of the series, edited by David Schulenberg and published in 1999. The intention to bring out a collection of essays devoted entirely to Bach's concerted ensemble music, only partly realized in two studies by Jeanne Swack and myself in the earlier volume, has now come to fruition in volumes 6 and 7. The first of these focuses on the overture, a genre of concerted ensemble music that has received remarkably little attention in the scholarly literature of late.

The opening essay by Joshua Rifkin is a seminal study of the early source history of the B-minor orchestral suite BWV 1067. It not only elaborates on his discovery that the work in its present form for solo flute goes back to an earlier version in A minor, ostensibly for solo violin, but also takes this discovery as the point of departure for a wide-ranging discussion of the origins and extent of Bach's concerted ensemble music. The other two studies in the present volume mark a continuation of the focus of the two earlier studies in volume 4, referred to above—that of genre. Jeanne Swack presents an enlightening comparison of Georg Phillip Telemann's and Bach's approach to the overture as concerted movements in their church cantatas, highlighting the somewhat idiosyncratic approach of the former. Finally, Steven Zohn views the overture BWV 1067 from the fascinating generic standpoint of the “concert en overture.”

This volume is innovative in at least one respect. Zohn's study acts as a response to Rifkin's in suggesting that the early version of the B-minor suite may also have been scored for flute. Thus *Bach Perspectives* 6 continues not only to present issues at the heart of Bach studies, but also to reflect the atmosphere of healthy scholarly debate that informs and animates the field.

Gregory Butler

Vancouver, British Columbia

ABBREVIATIONS

BDOK	Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds. <i>Bach-Dokumente</i> . 4 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1963–78.
BG	[Bach-Gesamtausgabe.] <i>Johann Sebastian Bach's Werke</i> . Edited by the Bachgesellschaft. 47 vols. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851–99.
BJ	<i>Bach-Jahrbuch</i> .
BOM	Siegbert Rampe and Dominik Sackmann. <i>Bachs Orchestermusik: Entstehung, Klangwelt, Interpretation</i> . Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000.
BOW	<i>Bachs Orchesterwerke</i> , ed. Martin Geck and Werner Breig. Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen 1. Witten: Klangfarben-Verlag, 1997.
BWV	[Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis.] Wolfgang Schmieder, ed. <i>Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach</i> . Rev. ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990.
KB	Kritischer Bericht (critical report) of the NBA.
NBA	[Neue-Bach-Ausgabe.] <i>Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke</i> . Edited by the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen, and the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1954–.
NBR	Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds. <i>The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents</i> . Revised and enlarged by Christoph Wolff. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1998.
P	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. Bach P (Partitur).
ST	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. Bach St (Stimmen).
TVWV	[Telemann-Vokalwerke-Verzeichnis.] Werner Menke, ed. <i>Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann</i> . 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Klosterman, 1981–83.
TWV	[Telemann-Werke-Verzeichnis.] Martin Ruhnke, ed. <i>Georg Philipp Telemann: Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke: Instrumentalwerke</i> . 3 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984–.

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed

New Light on Bach’s Overture BWV 1067

Joshua Rifkin

Johann Sebastian Bach’s Overture for Flute, Strings, and Continuo (BWV 1067)—in common parlance, “the B-Minor Flute Suite”—has long enjoyed a favored position both within his own instrumental output and in our musical practice at large. Indeed, for generations of performers and listeners, the work has become virtually emblematic of the flute itself. As its continued preeminence reminds us, moreover, the overture has evaded the scholarly scythe that has so painfully diminished the body of Bach’s instrumental music with flute—identifying this piece as a transcription from a different medium, disqualifying that one as a product of his authorship altogether.¹ If anything, recent scholarship seems only to have heightened the overture’s sig-

This essay, originally scheduled for publication in *Bach Perspectives* 4 and completed in something very close to its present form by the autumn of 1997, became a casualty of editorial upheavals and software problems; it appears now thanks to the persistence, encouragement, and, in the end, forbearance of Gregory Butler. I presented a version at the Bach Symposium held at the University of Dortmund in January 1996; I thank my colleagues there, especially Werner Breig and Martin Geck, for several valuable observations. Reports of my findings surfaced at various places soon after the Dortmund meeting, among which I would note references in *BOW* 5, 29 n. 4, and 31, and Wolfgang Hirschmann’s report in *Die Musikforschung* 49 (1996): 407–8, at 408; these accounts made it possible for some to retro-engineer essential portions of my work even as it remained unpublished (cf. *BOM*, 258–60). Other authors have drawn on my research with my cooperation; see, for instance, Jeanne Swack’s entry “badinerie” in *J. S. Bach*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and John Butt, Oxford Composer Companions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 58. In preparing my final text, I have benefited greatly from the kindness of Helmut Hell and his co-workers at the Music Division of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz in providing access to the original sources. My relationship to BWV 1067, and Bach’s flute music in general, would no doubt have remained an essentially passive one if not for the good fortune of performing these works with Christopher Krueger in concerts of the Bach Ensemble. Though not unmindful of a certain irony, I thus offer the present article to Chris as a token of gratitude for many years of friendship and musical collaboration. Plates 1–4 appear by permission of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz—Musikabteilung mit Mendelsohn-Archiv.

1. See Section V. Irving Godt, “Politics, Patriotism, and a Polonaise: A Possible Revision in Bach’s Suite in B minor,” *Musical Quarterly* 74 (1990): 610–22, has in fact posited an early version of the

nificance: with most authorities now agreed on placing its creation in the late 1730s, it ranks as the very latest of Bach's original compositions for larger instrumental ensemble, the capstone to a rich succession of works stretching back at least as far as the Brandenburg Concertos.²

The present study will upset—or at least seriously qualify—this gratifying picture. Let me immediately forestall any worry that I shall seek to remove BWV 1067 from the canon of Bach's works: both the transmission and, surely, the music itself leave no room for doubt that he composed it.³ But on every other count, we shall see that the evidence tells a very different story from the one familiar to us.

I

The *ouverture* BWV 1067 survives in only one source from Bach's lifetime, a set of six parts preserved—together with several more added later by Carl Friedrich Zelter—in ST 154.⁴ Table 1 lists the original parts in detail.⁵ As it makes clear, Bach himself wrote

B-minor *ouverture* lacking both some of its present movements and the solo flute part. But his arguments, though not without insight on a number of points, strike me as far-fetched; and in any event, as I hope the present study will show, they rest on presuppositions that we can no longer regard as tenable.

2. See Section II, which begins on p. 12.

3. Although Bach's parts to the *ouverture* (see immediately in the main text) no longer have their original wrapper, leaving us without an attribution in his own hand or that of a scribe directly associated with him, all the eighteenth-century manuscripts carry his name, as do entries plainly referring to BWV 1067 in the catalogues of C. P. E. Bach's estate and the library of Princess Anna Amalie of Prussia; Peter Wollny, moreover, has identified the script of the existing wrapper as that of C. P. E. Bach's daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina. See, for details, NBA VII/1 (*Vier Ouvertüren Orchestersuiten*), ed. Heinrich Besseler and Hans Größ, KB, 23, 37–39; BOK 3:384 (no. 887) and 492 (no. 957); and Peter Wollny, "Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Der Quellenbesitz Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," BJ 82 (1996): 7–21, at 16 n. 46.

4. Cf. the descriptions in NBA VII/1, KB, 34–37 and 40–41. The editors of NBA VII/1 call the six original parts "incomplete," as they lack duplicate copies of the violins and a third continuo part (*ibid.*, 36). This assumption, however, rests on patterns of transmission in Bach's Leipzig church music that do not necessarily apply to his instrumental output. None of the surviving sources for Bach's instrumental music includes duplicate violin parts or a third copy of the continuo, and for most of them, at least, there seems little reason to imagine that they ever did; see Joshua Rifkin, "More (and Less) on Bach's Orchestra," *Performance Practice Review* 4 (1991): 5–13, at 7–9, as well as *idem*, "Besetzung—Entstehung—Überlieferung: Bemerkungen zur Ouvertüre BWV 1068," BJ 83 (1997): 169–76, at 172–76. On a possible original score of BWV 1067, see the Postscript.

5. In the table and elsewhere, I follow the numbering of the parts adopted in NBA VII/1, KB, which differs from that used by the library. References to movement titles follow Bach's orthography, as seen in the two autograph parts as well as in revisions to parts nos. 2, 3, and 6, rather than the normalized

the flute and viola parts; each of the rest shows the hand of a different, anonymous copyist.⁶ Yoshitake Kobayashi’s investigation of the paper and script assigns the set as a whole to “ca. 1738–39”; but Bach’s viola part, although written on the same paper as the others, appears to postdate them by some years—presumably it replaces an earlier copy that had suffered damage or got lost.⁷ No. 5, the unfigured continuo, also occupies a secondary position, but of a somewhat different sort: as a direct copy of no. 6, it offers no independent testimony on the origins or readings of the music.⁸ For obvious reasons, therefore, the discussion that follows will concern itself essentially with parts nos. 1, 2, 3, and 6.

forms used in NBA VII/1 and elsewhere today. The form *Bourée* comes from the viola; other autograph versions (not all reported accurately in NBA VII/1, KB, 53) read *Bourée* (Flute, Continuo no. 6), *Bouree*, or *Bouree* (both Violin 2).

6. Yoshitake Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750,” BJ 74 (1988): 7–72, at 29, labels the scribes of Violin 1 and the unfigured continuo “Anon. N 2” and “Anon. N 3,” respectively. NBA VII/1, KB, 36, suggests that the scribe of the figured continuo did not draw his own F-clefs in the margins of the part, as clefs written within the staff for Bourée 2, Menuet, and Battinerie show a different form; but since—as the editors in fact note—the clef at the start of Bourée 1 matches the shape of the clefs in the margins, we may better explain the discrepancies by assuming that the copyist drew these in advance of writing the actual notes. See also n. 11.

7. See Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 21–22 and 53. For more on the dating of the parts, see Section IV.

8. NBA VII/1, KB, 42, describes no. 5 as “probably a copy” of no. 6, “evidently made before the correction” of this latter part. This does not quite describe the situation accurately: although no. 5 omits the figuring and many other additions—it lacks all of Bach’s trill signs after the first twenty measures and has no dynamic indications except for that of the Double and the possibly nonautograph indications in the Polonoise and at m. 36 of the Battinerie (see nn. 103 and 212)—it incorporates an altered reading at mm. 45 and 176 in the first movement (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 48 and 50, also the Postscript in this essay) as well as the autograph movement titles (see also n. 188) and even the marking *tasto solo* at m. 198 of the Ouverture. These items, indeed, confirm the dependency of the one part on the other, which might otherwise seem open to question, as the two do not show the same line endings; see also the observations on clefs in NBA VII/1, KB, 42, and in n. 11. No. 5 does not, however, reflect the correction to no. 6 at m. 27 of the Sarabande detailed in Table 2, nor the ones at m. 179 of the first movement and mm. 15 and 20 of Bourée 1 reported in n. 12, even though tablature letters in all but the third of these—and Bach’s figures in the second and third—leave no ambiguity concerning the intended pitch (see also n. 184), and the figures confirm further that the scribe had at least half of the newer readings before him. At m. 51 of the opening movement, moreover, Anon. N 3 initially followed the uncorrected reading of his model (cf. Table 2), although here, too, the figuring makes the intended version plain; and in m. 14 of the Sarabande, he overlooked both a sharp placed very high and very far to the left of the first note by the scribe of the unfigured part and a natural, by the same scribe, in front of the last note (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 52, but noting the following modifications: the sharp

Table 1. Ouverture BWV 1067: Original parts

Part	Scribe ^a
1. Traversiere	JSB
2. Violino 1	Anon. N 2 + JSB (heading, title, clef, time and key signatures + revision)
3. Violino 2	Singular + JSB (heading, title, clef, time and key signatures + revision)
4. Viola	JSB
5. Continuo (unfigured)	Anon. N 3 + JSB (heading, title, clef, time and key signatures)
6. Continuo (figured)	Singular + JSB (heading, title, clef, time and key signatures + figuring and revision)

^a JSB = Johann Sebastian Bach; on Anon. N 2 and N 3, see Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 29.

All parts on paper with watermark of crossed hammer and iron in ornamental shield (NBA IX/1, no. 105)

Of these, we must first consider the three nonautograph parts. In each instance, Bach himself appears to have got the copyist started: not only did he write the heading at the top of the page, but he also entered the movement title, clef, key signature, and time signature. We may perhaps take this as more than a simple courtesy. On several occasions where Bach provided the initial elements of a part, he did so to signal a notational change—usually to tell the scribe to copy the music in a key different from that of the parent manuscript. I might cite two examples here. In 1724, Bach amplified the scoring of the Weimar cantata *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt* (BWV 18) with a pair of recorders that double Violas 1 and 2 of the original instrumentation at the upper octave. While the violas, tuned to the high Chorton pitch standard inherited from the original version, play in G minor, the recorders play in A. The wind parts thus involved transposition to both a new register and a new key, not to mention a new clef; Bach eased his copyist’s task by writing out the opening bars of each part as a guide.⁹ In the 1740s, Bach prepared a version of the cantata *Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben* (BWV 8) that transposed the work from E major to D. Although he wrote

on the *custos* at the end of the preceding system remains intact, and I would think the sharp directly before the first note of m. 14—rather thickly squeezed in but not crossed out—the later addition).

9. For a facsimile of the second recorder part, see NBA I/7 (*Kantaten zu den Sonntagen Septuagesimae und Sexagesimae*), ed. Werner Neumann, p. vi. For details of the copying—including information on the preparation of a further such transposed part—cf. *ibid.*, KB, 105; on the date of the performance, see Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 2nd edition, Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 26 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 9 and 64.

most of the instrumental parts himself, the three that he did not all show autograph title, clef, and signatures.¹⁰

I do not mean to imply that the entry of initial clefs by Bach inevitably denotes transposition; indeed, the unfigured continuo part of BWV 1067 offers a useful reminder on this very point.¹¹ Nevertheless, in light of the other examples just considered, we

10. See NBA I/23 (*Kantaten zum 16. und 17. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*), ed. Helmuth Osthoff, KB, 65; in the viola part, Bach wrote the first four bars of music, as well. For the date, see Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 55. The practice continued right up to the end of Bach’s life; see the discussions of Johann Christoph Bach’s motet *Lieber Herr Gott, wecke uns auf* in Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 179, and, more fully, Daniel R. Melamed, *J. S. Bach and the German Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182–84, and Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 451–53.

11. Compare Table 1 with the discussion on pp. 2–3 and, particularly, n. 8. Bach provided a similar non-transposing guide, again with autograph heading, for the same copyist in a violoncello part to Locatelli’s Concerto Grosso op. 1 no. 8; cf. Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorke: Bachiana und andere Handschriften und Drucke des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts*, Bibliographische Veröffentlichungen der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig 8 (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1977), 15 and plate 2 (p. 170), as well as Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 29, and Kirsten Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, Catalogus Musicus 13 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 120–21 and 302–3. Perhaps this means that the scribe simply lacked experience—something we might infer as well from the way he apes the different clef forms of his model in BWV 1067, where Bourée 2, Menuet, and Battinerie all adopt the variant design of the figured continuo part (cf. n. 6; the Locatelli part shows this latter clef throughout, which suggests that it became the scribe’s normal form after BWV 1067—a point, incidentally, that helps resolve the problem of chronology raised in Kobayashi “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 29 and 42). Yet with the Locatelli concerto, the title and incipit still indicate a deviation from the copyist’s source, as the new part depends on one meant for violone (see Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, 120 n. 47). Much the same applies to the one further example of a nontransposing incipit from this period known to me, the violone part of the Harpsichord Concerto in A Major (BWV 1055, ST 127), which presents a reduced version of an older part labeled simply “Continuo”; see principally the illustrations in Christoph Wolff, “Bach’s Leipzig Chamber Music,” *Early Music* 13 (1985): 165–75, at 171–72, or as reprinted in idem, *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 223–38, at 232–33, as well as the discussion in Werner Breig, “Zur Werkgeschichte von Johann Sebastian Bachs Cembalokonzert in A-Dur BWV 1055,” in *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire: Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium Utrecht 1990*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU, Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1992), 187–215, at 205–6. So the situation with the unfigured continuo of BWV 1067 remains unclear; could Bach at first have meant Anon. N 3 to copy the part directly from the parent manuscript of the ouverture while he himself figured the other part? In any event, whether or not this scribe needed Bach’s assistance to get parts started, the same does not apply to the scribe of Violin 1, who also wrote the recorder parts to the Harpsichord Concerto in F Major (BWV 1057), ST 129; cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 35 n. 3, and Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 29).

may well suspect that Bach and his assistants took the music of BWV 1067 from a source notated in a key other than B minor. It does not, in fact, take much effort both to confirm this suspicion and to establish the key in question. As we see from Table 2, the violin and continuo parts show a number of corrections and other features suggestive of transposition up a tone.¹² The autograph flute part, although it does not contain any clearly altered notes, reveals an unusually high percentage of accidentals placed squarely a degree too low, as well as a single appoggiatura written as f#" instead of g" and two more on a" that lack their leger lines.¹³ As the viola part could in principle

both of these show the copyist's hand from the very start, including the part titles, the designation "Concerto" in the second recorder, and the fairly uncommon French violin clefs. We should note, however, that this scribe too evidently gained some experience between his work on BWV 1067 and BWV 1057; see Section IV, which begins on p. 43.

12. Unless otherwise indicated, references to the continuo always denote no. 6. Obviously, not every one of the examples necessarily indicates transposition; taken together, however, they hardly seem to allow any other interpretation. In Violin 1, a rather heavily written accidental at m. 144 of the first movement looks at first sight like a flat changed to a natural; closer inspection reveals, however, that Anon. N 2 in fact started to draw the symbol as a natural sign, although further details of the correction remain unclear. NBA VII/1, KB, 50, reports a revision up a tone—from g to a—in the continuo at m. 179 of the opening movement; but whereas the greatly thickened note head does not allow an unambiguous reading, the length of the stem sooner implies a revision down from b, and the unfigured part reads b at this juncture. I should note, in any event, the presence of several revisions down a tone elsewhere in the continuo—Overture, m. 106 (nn. 2 and 3); Bourée 1, mm. 15 and 20 (last note in both); and Battinerie, mm. 28 and 29 (last note in both)—and an even greater number in Violin 2: Overture, mm. 17 (note 8), 36 (last note), 51 (last note), 88 (last note; see the Postscript, and esp. n. 184), and 196 (first note); and Rondeaux, mm. 17 (first note) and 36 (note 4). In this part, too, the first note of m. 176 in the opening movement, although not altered in any way, lies unusually high. At least some of these corrections—in the continuo, those in Bourée 1; in Violin 2, those at mm. 17, 36, and 51 of the first movement—seem to show the scribe simply maintaining a pattern set in the previous notes or writing the linearly more "obvious" note rather than the one actually called for. Taken as a whole, however, the corrections in the violin could equally suggest that this part derived from a model in soprano clef, a notation commonly used in French ouvertures—not least those of Johann Bernhard Bach, which J. S. Bach performed at Leipzig (cf. Section II); if so, we could see these downward revisions, too, as indications of an A-minor source. Beyond these problem cases and the musical changes referred to in nn. 8 and 17 (see also Table 6 in the Postscript), the parts contain other corrections, as well, but most of these at least do not seem liable to shed any significant light on the copying history of ST 154; for a possible exception, see n. 16.

13. For the accidentals, see Overture, mm. 5, 25, 48, 58, 70, 73, 74, 76, 102, 109, 122, 152, 153, 158, 163, 167, and 205; Rondeaux, mm. 15, 32, and 39; Sarabande, mm. 12 and 14; Bourée 1, m. 11; Double, m. 10; Menuet, mm. 6 and 17; and Battinerie, mm. 12, 13, 14, and 15. For the appoggiatura written a tone low, see m. 213 of the opening movement; for those missing leger lines, see m. 198 of the same movement, m. 36 of the Rondeaux and m. 18 of the Menuet. Readers can readily check

derive from its lost predecessor in the set—and hence from a model in B minor—we might not so readily think to investigate it for hints of transposition. Yet not only does it contain its own share of misplaced accidentals, but the composer unmistakably thickened the first note in m. 9 of the Sarabande upward from a low start, and he just as unmistakably wrote the third note of m. 8 in the Battinerie as e' rather than the f# that the harmony demands.¹⁴

A final, if more circuitous, pointer arises from a detail in the second-violin part. At m. 15 of the Menuet, the first note as entered by the copyist read g'; as Plate 1 makes clear, someone other than the copyist, no doubt Bach himself, carefully excised it and replaced it with the same note an octave lower.¹⁵ With the original reading restored, the string and continuo parts descend to exactly one tone above the lowest limit of the violin, viola, and cello: A, D, and D, respectively. By all indications, therefore, Bach and his copyists drew the parts to the ouverture from a source—more likely than not a score—that presented the music in A minor.¹⁶

What can we establish about the A-minor version of the ouverture other than its key? As Bach entrusted the string and continuo parts of the transposed version to copyists, we

some of these observations through the facsimile reproductions in NBA VII/1: viii–ix—although I should note that these show what look like many thickened notes not in fact altered in the manuscript. While more than a few things can, of course, affect the placement of accidentals—meaning that not every low accidental may indicate transposition—the overall picture does seem clear.

14. Accidentals placed a tone too low occur at mm. 35, 38, and 118 of the opening movement, and m. 21 of Bourée 1; the part as a whole contains far fewer accidentals than that of the flute. On m. 8 in the Battinerie, cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 55.

15. My thanks to Werner Breig for valuable discussion on this matter. The correction, although visible even in photocopy, goes unreported in NBA VII/1, KB, 55.

16. A curious double-stop at the end of the Menuet in Violin 2—f#–b', which the close of every other movement indicates should have read f# alone (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 55)—could imply a parent score that compressed the final measures of Violin 1 and Violin 2 into a single staff. A score would seem indicated as well by the fact that none of the parts lower than Violin 1 contains movement titles in the scribe's hand; that Violin 1 alone contains a scribal *piano* at the start of Bourée 1 or m. 18 of the Battinerie (although cf. n. 103), where the entire ensemble would reduce its volume; and that Bach inserted virtually all of the performance indications, including the continuo figuring, in the parts that he did not copy himself (see the Postscript, and esp. n. 188). Further evidence of a score model possibly comes from m. 208 of the first movement, where the first note of Violin 2 originally read a' rather than e' with a preceding tie (cf. NB VII/1, KB 50), perhaps a sign that the scribe's eye wandered to the viola part, or that his exemplar compressed Violin 2 and Viola onto one staff; in this instance, however, the difference in rhythmic values—underscored by the dot of augmentation directly after the a' in Violin 2 as first entered—makes the argument harder to sustain. Whatever the case, the strong possibility remains that an “original score” of the B-minor ouverture—in the sense of an autograph composing document—never existed. But see the Postscript, p. 73.

Table 2. Indications of transposition in the violin and continuo parts of BWV 1067

Movement, Measure	Part	Remark
Overture		
8	Violin 2	Last note originally a step lower
15	Violin 2	5th note originally a step lower
47	Violin 2	3rd note begun a step lower
51	Continuo	4th note originally a step lower
81	Violin 2	4th note originally a step lower
97	Violin 1	Last note begun too low ^a
109	Violin 2	2nd note probably begun a step lower
146	Violin 2	2nd note begun a step lower
158	Violin 2	Whole note placed considerably too low
208	Violin 2	2nd note possibly begun a step lower
Rondeaux		
11	Violin 2	Last note originally a step lower
18	Continuo	1st note originally a step lower (?)
40	Violin 1	Second half of measure stemmed as if a step lower (cf. m. 42, as well as Overture, m. 88)
Sarabande		
23	Violin 2	3rd note originally a step lower
27	Continuo	1st note originally a step lower
30	Violin 2	Last note originally a step lower
Bourée 1		
19	Violin 2	2nd note originally a step lower
Menuet		
1	Violin 1	4th note originally a step lower
24	Violin 2	Lower note of double-stop (cf. n. 16) originally a step lower
Battinerie		
2	Violin 1	Notes 2–3 stemmed as if a step lower
12	Continuo	2nd note placed considerably too low
39	Continuo	Last note placed considerably too low

^a Misreported in NBA VII/1, KB, 49, as a correction down a tone; but while the g' understood by Bessler and Größ as the final reading, and correspondingly printed in the score, does not create an unacceptable dissonance, it both breaks the upper pedal held from m. 96 to m. 98 and produces a needless doubling of the seventh.

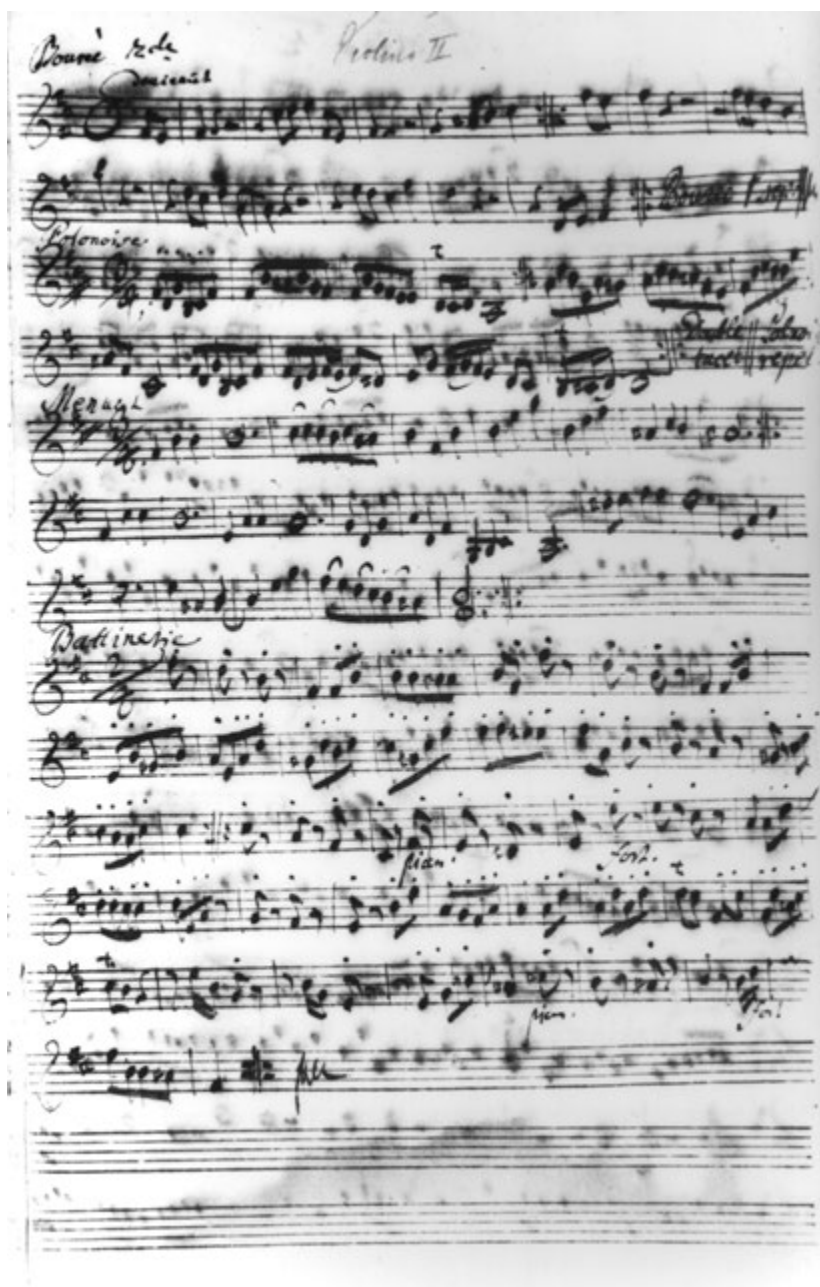


Plate 1. ST 154, Violin 2, f. 2^v and Menuet, mm. 14–16

can assume that they simply followed their model verbatim; in this respect, therefore, the *overture* as we know it—barring any revisions made after copying—would not have differed at all from its predecessor.¹⁷ But the solo part, clearly, did not go unchanged, otherwise Bach would hardly have gone to the trouble of writing it out himself.¹⁸ This fact obviously raises the question of the original solo instrument. We can safely eliminate the flute. Even if we could imagine the solo line written in a way that would avoid the present occurrences of *d'*—the lowest note on the Baroque flute—in both solo and tutti passages, the overall tessitura would still put the music uncomfortably low for the instrument;¹⁹ and in any event, it seems hardly credible that Bach would have written a concerted work with so little regard for the properties of its featured instrument that he ultimately felt obliged to transpose it to a more favorable key.²⁰

The next obvious candidate, the oboe, also appears unlikely. Here, the lower end of the range poses no problem, although a single *d#'* in a tutti section would have had to read differently—*c#'*, as it would have become in A minor, does not lie within the capabilities of the Baroque oboe.²¹ But the particular sorts of agility required have no parallel in any oboe music of Bach's that I know; and we would have to imagine both

17. See, however, the *Postscript*, and esp. n. 229. If, as Godt ("Politics, Patriotism, and a Polonoise") contends, the immediate precursor of BWV 1067 had a different succession of movements, we might surely expect to find some trace of this in the parts themselves, such as autograph indications analogous to those by which Bach evidently signaled transposition. Among revisions actually present, the most important, aside from the octave shift in Violin 2 just described, affect the first movement: the measures in the continuo line already referred to in n. 8, and two passages in Violin 2 discussed in NBA VII/1, KB, 35, and also in the *Postscript*. The lost viola part at these latter places presumably underwent a similar correction; for other possible readings from this part, see n. 183. For Bach's other revisions to the parts, see the *Postscript*.

18. The various discrepancies between Flute and Violin 1 in unison passages—most notably at m. 36 of the first movement (cf. Example 11 and the discussion there)—no doubt reflect changes undertaken by Bach while copying the solo part; presumably, the original readings matched those still preserved in Violin 1.

19. In solo passages, *d'* occurs in m. 78 of the *Overture* and m. 4 (first and second endings) of the *Double to the Polonoise*; in tutti, *d#'* occurs in unison with Violin 1 in m. 115 of the *Overture*.

20. Admittedly, the prominent flute part of BWV 8 appears as originally composed to have lain beyond the capabilities of the instrument or player at Bach's disposal, occasioning several revisions in the original performing materials and ultimately, it would seem, leading to the downward transposition discussed earlier; cf. NBA I/23, KB, 76–78. But since the composing score no longer survives, several details of the process remain unclear; and in any event, considerations not present in a purely instrumental piece would no doubt have contributed to the initial choice of key. On the problem of whether some of the Violin Concerto in A Minor (BWV 1041) may have originated in a different key, see n. 52.

21. Although *c#'* occurs even in some autograph oboe parts, its presence would clearly seem a matter of oversight rather than intention, as Bach's numerous and well-known efforts to avoid the note make plain.

the Polonoise and its Double in a form more radically different from the surviving one than the neat script of the autograph flute part gives us any warrant for doing.²²

Barring the remote possibility of an instrument in another register entirely, only one alternative remains: the violin. Admittedly, the part does not seem to contain much distinctively idiomatic writing; even the most determined attempt to locate opportunities for multiple stops comes up empty, and places where Bach might have exploited the lowest string prove almost as hard to find.²³ But the relative absence of display may reflect conventions specific to the genre. Johann Adolph Scheibe, for one, drew a distinction between the relatively modest demands on the solo instrument in what he called the *Concertouverture* and the greater virtuosity typical of the Italianate concerto.²⁴ An overture in G minor for violin and strings by Bach’s cousin Johann Bernhard Bach illustrates the point nicely: here, too, the solo part lacks any multiple stops, and it descends beyond the d’ string in only a single measure.²⁵ Within BWV 1067 itself, moreover, a passage heard initially within a few bars of the first solo entry effectively removes any doubts about the original instrumentation; as Example 1 makes clear, Bach surely conceived mm. 60–62 and 124–26 of the opening movement with a play on the open e” string in mind.²⁶ Should this evidence not suffice, I might draw attention to a detail in the autograph flute part noticed by Klaus Hofmann after I sent him an early draft of this paper: even a fleeting glance at Plate 2 reveals unmistakably that Bach fashioned the first letter of the heading “Traversiere” out of a “V.”²⁷

22. I would take the difficulties with the Double as self-evident. As for the Polonoise, unless Bach had the oboe pause here he would have had to have it double the first violin at the unison rather than the upper octave used by the flute; but unison doubling would have led to trouble in the final measure, which goes out of the oboe’s range.

23. Following the readings of the existing version, the solo part would have gone below the d’ string only in the places listed in n. 19, and, presumably, at mm. 4 and 12 of the Polonoise—the doubling of the melody at the upper octave surely belongs exclusively to the flute adaptation. One could also imagine mm. 94³–102¹ of the Overture and much of the Double an octave lower.

24. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1745; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), 672, quoted by Hans-Werner Boresch, *Besetzung und Instrumentation: Studien zur kompositorischen Praxis Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Bochumer Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), 78.

25. The violin reaches b^b and g with the last two notes of the Loire; cf. Hans Bergmann, ed., *Johann Bernhard Bach: Overture in g*, Carus-Verlag 40.527/01 (Stuttgart: Carus, 1988).

26. Nor does it take much fantasy to perceive a chain of arpeggios shimmering behind mm. 152–62 of the same movement; mm. 133–37³ and 139⁴–143¹ could offer further possibilities for open-string work, although not without some shuffling of octave positions. But neither these speculations nor those in n. 23 can count as evidence in the way the measures cited in the main text surely do.

27. My thanks to Dr. Hofmann for spotting what I so embarrassingly missed. In principle, of course, the correction could mean only that Bach started work with the intention of copying one of the



Ex. 1. Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, mm. 59–63 (= mm. 123–27),
flute, transposed.

II

My reference in the last paragraph to the G-minor overture of Johann Bernhard Bach had more behind it than simply the wish to lend substance to some comments of Scheibe. Johann Bernhard's overture owes its survival to J. S. Bach: it comes down to us through a set of parts written largely in his hand.²⁸ Andreas Glöckner has dated their copying to 1730; some of the evidence he presents could even suggest limiting the time frame to the later months of the year.²⁹ Bach clearly intended the materi-

two ensemble violin parts; but given the availability of scribes for this task, the weakness of such an explanation would appear self-evident.

28. For details of the parts (ST 320), see Bergmann, *Johann Bernhard Bach: Overture in g*, 3; or Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, 234–35. Bach's parts clearly served as the model for the only other known source of Johann Bernhard's overture, a score copied by the Berlin musicians Hering in the second half of the eighteenth century (P 291; cf. Beißwenger, 117; Bergmann, *Johann Bernhard Bach: Overture in g*, 3).

29. For the assignment of the parts to 1730, see Andreas Glöckner, "Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender zwischen 1729 und 1735," BJ 67 (1981): 43–75, at 48–49. C. P. E. Bach's script in the continuo part stands particularly close to his flute and oboe parts for the cantata *Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild* (BWV 79), which Glöckner can fix to October 31, 1730; see "Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender," 49, as well as the excerpt from the continuo part reproduced in Bergmann, *Johann Bernhard Bach: Overture in g*, 4. A late-summer or autumn dating for ST 320 might also seem indicated by the appearance in the second Violin 1 part of the scribe Anon. Vb, whose scarce contributions to Bach's performance materials include one of the parts for the cantata *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen* (BWV 51), a work supposedly performed on September 17, 1730 (cf. Glöckner, 48 n. 9, and Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 101 and 154). But whereas the parts to BWV 51 all but certainly belong to 1730 (cf. Dürr, 53–54, 101), their dating within the year rests on a liturgical assignment that Bach seems to have added only as an afterthought, possibly in conjunction with a later performance; see Klaus Hofmann, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantate 'Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen' BWV 51: Überlegungen zu Entstehung und ursprünglicher Bestimmung," BJ 75 (1989): 43–54, at 44 n. 7, although not without reference to the qualifying comments in Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen* (BWV 51). *Faksimile nach dem Partiturautograph der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek Berlin* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1988), 3–4.

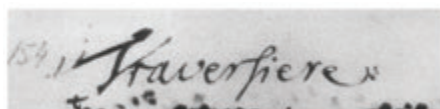


Plate 2. ST 154, Traversiere, f. 1^r and Overture, Heading

als for use with the student Collegium Musicum that he had taken charge of in the spring of 1729.³⁰

Given this background, we may find it more than a little provocative that the opening movement of Johann Bernhard's *ouverture* displays a striking number of resemblances to the first movement of BWV 1067, both in the overall rhythmic character of the quick fugal sections and in specific details of structure and thematic material.³¹ Example 2a, for instance, shows a passage heard near the end of the fast section in Johann Bernhard's piece; its alternation of rocking solo figures and tutti interjections inevitably recalls the passage from BWV 1067 reproduced in Example 2b. A still more telling relationship links Example 3a and Example 3b, which show the end of the first tutti and start of the first solo episode in their respective movements. Like his cousin, J. S. Bach has the solo instrument enter running, so to speak. This itself might not seem especially noteworthy; much the same thing occurs in the first movement of Bach's *ouverture* BWV 1068, as well.³² But what happens next brings home the connection. Johann Bernhard's solo lead-in settles onto a decorated version of his fugal theme; as we see from Example 3c, J. S. Bach, while disguising his tracks more art-

30. On Bach and the Collegium, see Werner Neumann, "Das 'Bachische Collegium Musicum,'" BJ 47 (1960): 5–27, esp. 5–6, or the reprint in *Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Walter Blankenburg, *Wege der Forschung* 170 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), 384–415, esp. 384–85. Leipzig parts from 1730 survive for two further *ouvertures* of Johann Bernhard Bach (ST 318 and 319; cf. Glöckner, "Neuerkenntnisse, zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender," 66, and Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, 232–33), and J. S. Bach presumably had materials prepared for two more—a fourth still extant in a copy by Hering, and a fifth listed along with the others in the catalogue of C. P. E. Bach's estate (cf. *ibid.*, 105–6, and Hermann Max's preface to Bergmann, *Johann Bernhard Bach: Overture in g*, esp. 2 n. 4, where he raises the possibility of identifying the fifth *ouverture* with BWV 1070—an ingenious suggestion, but one I think contradicted by the style of the music; cf. also NBA VII/1, KB, 11).

31. Karl Geiringer already offered a summary reference to these resemblances in his article "Artistic Interrelationships of the Bachs," *Musical Quarterly* 36 (1950): 363–74, at 366–67, and noted them once more in passing in his and Irene Geiringer's book *The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1954), 101. Hermann Max has also spoken of "manifold . . . similarities between the *ouvertures* of both cousins . . . , most strikingly between Bernhard's . . . *ouverture* with concerted violin and that in B minor of Johann Sebastian"; see Bergmann, *Johann Bernhard Bach: Overture in g*, 2.

32. I should point out, however, that I have not discovered this feature in the—admittedly relatively few—works that I have managed to examine among the *ouvertures* of Telemann, Graupner, and other composers referred to elsewhere (see esp. nn. 42 and 49). The parallel between BWV 1068 and Johann Bernhard's *ouverture*, incidentally, reinforces the suspicion that Bach meant the first-violin part of BWV 1068 for a single player; cf. Rifkin, "Besetzung—Entstehung—Überlieferung," 174–76.

fully, does exactly the same.³³ Given these similarities, it hardly comes as a surprise to find a more than passing degree of kinship between the fugal themes themselves, with their upbeat kickoffs, prominent syncopation, and descent from the fifth degree—something readers comparing Example 4a with Example 4b can hardly fail to notice.³⁴ The initial rhythmic gesture, moreover, not only cements the bond between the two themes but also sets BWV 1067 apart in a small but significant respect from the rest of Bach’s French ouvertures. In every one of these, the subject of the central fugal section begins within the final cadential measure of the introduction, creating a rather breathless transition of the sort illustrated in Examples 5a–c; in BWV 1067 and Johann Bernhard’s overture, on the other hand, the upbeat start produces the more relaxed cadential articulation illustrated in Examples 5d–e.³⁵ The difference even extends to note values of the music that follows: although BWV 1067 and the work of Bach’s cousin have the same time signature as BWV 1066 and 1068, they move in values twice as large—eighths, quarters, and halves instead of sixteenths, eighths, and quarters.

I would think these examples go beyond the similarities that we might expect to find in any two works adopting the format of the concerted overture. At minimum, we may take them as further—if supererogatory—confirmation that Bach composed the original version of BWV 1067 for violin. But the affinities between BWV 1067 and Johann Bernhard’s overture may have other implications, as well. In 1961, Martin Bernstein challenged the longstanding tradition that assigned the B-minor overture to Coethen.³⁶ The demands on the soloist, he observed, greatly exceed anything we can infer about the capabilities of the flute players there; and “Kast and von Dadelsen

33. Compare, too, the counterpoint of the solo line and first violin with the harmonization of the fugue subject in mm. 107–10 and 175–78.

34. For more on these themes, see pp. 27–28.

35. For a convenient list of all Bach’s pieces in the style of the French overture, see Matthew Dirst, “Bach’s French Overtures and the Politics of Overdotting,” *Early Music* 25 (1997): 35–45, at 38. Upbeat fugal starts and a pause on the last chord of the introduction occur with some frequency in Telemann’s ouvertures; cf. the thematic catalogue in Adolf Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns TWV 55, mit thematisch-bibliographischem Werkverzeichnis* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel, 1969), 79–183; or, slightly less informative in this regard, 3: 89–250.

36. For an extreme manifestation of this tradition, see the critical report to NBA VII/1, which—although published in 1967—begins its chapter on the chronology of the ouvertures with the unqualified assertion that “the material used in Köthen no longer exists” (12, similarly 7).

RIFKIN

The musical score is written for four parts: Violino concertato, Violino 1, Violino 2 Viola, and Continuo. The key signature is G minor (two flats). The score is divided into two main sections: a 'solo' section and a 'tutti' section. The 'solo' section begins with the Violino concertato playing a rapid, ascending scale-like figure, while the other instruments provide harmonic support. The 'tutti' section follows, marked with a 'tutti' instruction, where all instruments enter with more complex, rhythmic patterns. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with 'f' for fingering, which are noted as omitted in the caption.

Ex. 2. *a*, Johann Bernhard Bach, Overture in G Minor, mvt. 1, mm. 137–58
(figuring omitted).

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed

Traversiere

Violino 1

Violino 2
Viola

Continuo

tutti

p

f

sf

Ex. 2. *b*, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, mm. 133–44 (figuring omitted).

a)

Violino concertato

Violino 1

Violino 2
Viola

Continuo

solo

p

Ex. 3. *a*, Johann Bernhard Bach, Overture in G Minor, mvt. 1, mm. 44–50
(figuring omitted).

b)

Traversiere

Violino 1

Violino 2
Viola

Continuo

solo

p

sf

Ex. 3. *b*, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, mm. 53–59 (figuring omitted).



Ex. 3. c, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, fugal theme compared with mm. 55-59, flute.



Ex. 4. a, Johann Bernhard Bach, Overture in G Minor, mvt. 1, fugal theme.
b, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, fugal theme.



Ex. 5. a, J. S. Bach, Overture in C Major (BWV 1066), mvt. 1, mm. 15-16 (strings only; first ending, figuring omitted).
b, J. S. Bach, Overture in D Major (BWV 1068), mvt. 1, mm. 23-24 (strings only; first ending, figuring omitted).
c, J. S. Bach, Overture in D Major (BWV 1069), mvt. 1, mm. 23-24 (strings only; first ending, figuring omitted).

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed



Ex. 5. d, Johann Bernhard Bach, Overture in G Minor, mvt. 1, mm. 17–18
(first ending, figuring omitted).

e, J. S. Bach, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, mm. 19–20
(strings only; first ending, figuring omitted).

agree that the few autograph parts . . . show Bach’s late hand, no earlier than 1735.” The overture, he concluded, “is certainly not an early work, copied late.”³⁷ Although the critical report to the edition of the overtures in the NBA passed over these remarks in silence, by 1979, Hans-Joachim Schulze—who also does not mention Bernstein—could write that “according to the present state of knowledge the orchestral suite counts as a late work.”³⁸ Six years after that, Christoph Wolff drove home the point with an argument that in effect recapitulates and extends the considerations first brought into play by Bernstein:

37. See the panel report “Bach Problems,” in *International Musicological Society: Report of the Eighth Congress New York 1961*, ed. Jan LaRue, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961–62), 2:127–31, at 127; also in German translation as “Bach-Probleme” in Blankenburg, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 416–24, at 417. The remarks on Bach’s script—now superseded by Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs” (cf. n. 7)—depend on Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek*, Tübinger Bach-Studien 2/3 (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958), 76, and Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Tübinger Bach-Studien, 4/5 (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958), 113.

38. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzerte—Fragen der Überlieferung und Chronologie,” in *Bach-Studien 6: Beiträge zum Konzertschaffen Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Peter Ahnsehl, Karl Heller, and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel, 1981), 9–26, at 10; the volume contains the proceedings of a colloquium held at Rostock in May 1979. See also n. 117.

A comparison of the flute parts of the fifth Brandenburg Concerto . . . and BWV 1067 demonstrates immediately that there are worlds between them, but not merely on technical grounds. There is no indication that Bach experimented in Cöthen with hybrid forms combining the idea of a suite with that of a concerto. . . . The conflation of genres in BWV 1067 seems to reflect a trend characteristic of Bach's compositional concerns in the later 1730s, namely that of presenting unprecedented and often daring approaches to musical genres of a rather conventional nature. . . . Apart from this general overview, various features of this intricate, polyphonic score—namely, a fine balance between dense and transparent textures, rhythmic refinement and penetrating use of dissonance and consonance, especially in the *Grave* [*sic*] of the *Overture*—show a degree of sophistication without equal in any earlier period of Bach's compositional life.³⁹

Wolff's synthesis of instrumental, source-critical, and stylistic evidence has, for all practical purposes, crystallized the present consensus on the dating of BWV 1067.⁴⁰ As we now see, however, the subject hides a complication previously unsuspected. On the one hand, we can affirm the late origin of the B-minor overture: by every indication, the parts document the actual creation of the piece, not merely its copying. But with the revelation that the music had already existed in an earlier version, the question of chronology shifts to a different plane; and here, it would seem, we have even less to go on than before. The flute writing no longer has any bearing on the issue. Nor, on reflection, does the "conflation of genres" remain compelling. Although we cannot demonstrate that Bach in Coethen did indeed essay "hybrid forms combining the idea of a suite with that of a concerto," he certainly pursued other hybrids during this period—witness, if nothing else, the remarkable synthesis of fugue, concerto grosso,

39. Wolff, "Bach's Leipzig Chamber Music," 174–75 (*Bach: Essays on his Life and Music*, 37); Wolff, too, makes no reference to Bernstein. Bernstein's point about the flute writing, incidentally, had already received strong, if indirect, support from the remarks on Coethen flute parts in Robert L. Marshall, "J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute: A Reconsideration of Their Authenticity and Chronology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 463–98, at 477–78, or as reprinted, with revisions and slightly altered title, in idem, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, The Style, The Significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), 201–25 and 316–28, at 211 and 321; these observations seem to have gone unnoticed by Ardal Powell, who challenges Bernstein's assessment of the flutists at Coethen in "Bach and the Flute: The Players, the Instruments, the Music" (with David Lasocki), *Early Music* 23 (1995): 9–29, at 10. In light of the present article, of course, the issue becomes moot.

40. Martin Geck, "Köthen oder Leipzig? Zur Datierung der nur in Leipziger Quellen erhaltenen Orchesterwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Die Musikforschung* 47 (1994): 17–24, at 21–22, has raised some pertinent questions about the details of Wolff's case but seems inclined nevertheless to accept a late origin for the overture.

and solo concerto in the final movement of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto (BWV 1049).⁴¹ Even if Scheibe may have coined the name *Concertouverture*, moreover, his treatment of it as a phenomenon evidently requiring no special introduction alerts us to the fact that the specific generic combination encountered in BWV 1067 reflects a tradition established at least a decade before Wolff’s “later 1730s.” Telemann wrote a substantial number of ouvertures with concerted solo parts, many of which—as Table 3 makes clear—survive in manuscripts from the 1720s.⁴² Whether or not Bach knew

41. Cf. Carl Dahlhaus, “Bachs konzertante Fugen,” BJ 42 (1955): 45–72, esp. 45–50 and 58–59. Malcolm Boyd has also taken issue with Wolff’s formulation, citing the First Brandenburg Concerto as counterevidence; see in his review of Wolff, “Bach: Essays on His Life and Music,” *Music & Letters* 73 (1992): 446–47, at 447. I think, however, that this misreads the spirit, if not the letter, of Wolff’s remark: surely, Wolff meant the infusion of concerted elements into the suite rather than the other way around.

42. Independently of me, Geck (“Köthen oder Leipzig,” 21) has also drawn attention to Telemann’s concerted ouvertures. The roster of pieces in Table 3 depends essentially on the two catalogues cited in n. 35, collated with Horst Büttner, *Das Konzert in den Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns. Mit einer Bibliographie der Orchestersuiten*, Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Musikgesellschaft 1 (Wolfenbüttel: Georg-Kallmeyer-Verlag, 1935), 80–81; and Ortrun Landmann, *Die Telemann-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek: Handschriften und zeitgenössische Druckausgaben seiner Werke*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens 4 (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1983); see also, more recently, the list in Steven Zohn, “Telemann, Georg Philipp,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd edition, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 25:199–232, at 224–25. As I have not inspected every one of these ouvertures—at the time of writing most did not have modern editions—I cannot assert without qualification that each puts its solo instrument to featured use in the opening movement, as does BWV 1067; but of those that I have examined (TWV 55: D 6, D 8, Es 2, and a 2 in editions cited by Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns*; D 7 as ed. Ian Payne, Severinus Urtext Telemann Edition 33; A 8 as ed. Willi Maertens, Breitkopf & Härtels Partitur-Bibliothek 3949), only TWV 55: D 7 does not do so. Apart from two pieces—D 8, for trumpet, and A 8, for violin—all of the solo concerted ouvertures survive at the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt or the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden. The datings in the table for the former group of sources come from a study of the papers in Darmstadt manuscripts carried out by Brian Stewart in the summer of 1988 and communicated by him to a circle of colleagues later that year (“Penn State Telemann-Nachrichten,” October 18, 1988); my thanks to Dr. Stewart for sharing this information. Dates for the Dresden manuscripts rely essentially on Landmann, *Die Telemann-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek*; Manfred Fechner, *Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten deutscher Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Dresdner Konzert-Manuskripte von Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann David Heinichen, Johann Georg Pisendel, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel und Johann Gottlieb Graun. Untersuchungen an den Quellen und thematischer Katalog*, Dresdner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Laaber: Laaber, 1999), 134–35; and Steven Zohn, “Music Paper at the Dresden Court and the Chronology of Telemann’s Instrumental Music,” in *Puzzles in Paper: Concepts in Historical Watermarks. Essays from the International Conference on the History, Function and Study of Watermarks*, Roanoke, Virginia, ed. Daniel W. Mosser, Michael Saffle, and

Table 3. Telemann's concerted ouvertures with one solo instrument

TWV 55			
No.	Solo Instrument	Source ^a	Date
C 2	Oboe	Darmstadt 1034/25	?
D 6	Viola da gamba	Darmstadt 1034/18	ca. 1730
D 7	Trumpet	Darmstadt 1034/43	ca. 1725
D 8	Trumpet	Darmstadt 1034/48	1724
		Schwerin 5399/6	?
D 14	Violin	Darmstadt 1034/81	1726–30
		Dresden 2392-O-5	ca. 1725 ^b
Es 2	Recorder	Darmstadt 1034/14	ca. 1725–30
E 2	Oboe d'amore	Darmstadt 1034/96	1736 and later
E 3	Violin	Dresden 2392-O-7	ca. 1740
e 10	Flute/oboe	Dresden 2392-O-23	ca. 1725 ^b
F 13	Violin	Dresden 2392-O-10 ^a /10 ^b	ca. 1730 [?] /ca. 1725–33 ^c
G 6	Violin	Darmstadt 1034/47	ca. 1725
G 7	Violin	Darmstadt 1034/63	1726–30
G 13	Violin	Dresden 2392-O-2 (lost)	—
g 7	Violin	Dresden 2392-O-16 ^a /16 ^b	ca. 1730 [?] /ca. 1725–33 ^c
A 4	Violin	Darmstadt 1034/34	ca. 1725
A 7	Violin	Dresden 2392-O-6	1741
A 8	Violin	Schwerin 5399/7	Before 1730 ^d
a 2	Recorder	Darmstadt 1034/5	1725
h 4	Violin	Dresden 2392-O-15	Before 1741

^a Darmstadt = Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Mus. Ms.

Dresden = Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus.

Schwerin = Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Mus.

^b See n. 42 above.

^c Cf. Landmann, *Die Telemann-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek*, 145–46 and 151, as well as Fechner, *Studieren zur Dresder Überlieferung*, 66–91, and the information on two of the papers used by the scribe of 2392-O-10a and 16a in Zohn, “Music Paper,” 158 (no. 18) and 161 (no. 325).

^d Date from Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns*, 19.

Ernest W. Sullivan II (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2000), 125–68, which Prof. Zohn kindly made available to me before its publication and has had the further kindness to discuss since. I must differ, however, over the dates he proposes for the manuscripts of TWV 55 D 14 and e 10 (*ibid.*, 148–49). Zohn describes the watermark of these sources—his no. 10, a posthorn in a crowned shield—as “probably a variant of the very similar Watermark 9,” which he assigns to the decade 1710–20; noting further that it “appears only in manuscripts copied by Pisendel and an unidentified Dresden copyist” apparently “active in the years around 1720,” he suggests that its use falls roughly between 1712, when Pisendel arrived in Dresden, and 1720. But the two watermarks

these pieces, Johann Bernhard’s overture leaves no doubt that by 1730 at the latest, he had become familiar with the type they represent.⁴³

This said, however, I do not mean to suggest that we should push the original version of BWV 1067 all the way back to Coethen. Surprising as it may seem, even Spitta never came right out and claimed that Bach composed this music there, although he did strongly imply it; and I can think of no real grounds on which such a case might rest.⁴⁴ Whatever qualifications I may have expressed about some of Wolff’s observations, moreover, intuition tells me that his point about texture, rhythmic refinement, and dissonance treatment still holds. Certainly, a considerable distance separates the B-minor overture from its generic siblings in Bach’s output—a distance already apparent in our discussion of Example 5, and more palpable still in the broader span of music that leads to the measures considered there. In the three other ensemble overtures, the harmonic motion of the opening section remains confined almost exclusively to the level of the half note and whole note; BWV 1067, on the other hand, moves predominantly in quarters or halves, expanding to dotted halves only rarely and to whole

do not resemble one another so closely as to encourage the assumption of contemporaneous, or even directly successive, use, nor can I find any source among the manuscripts cited by Zohn that mixes them; and our only real chronological anchor for the unidentified copyist—or rather copyists: the hands listed by Fechner as “P(1)” and “P(2)” (*Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung*, 134–35 and 194–97) all but certainly belong to different scribes—comes from a paper type that neither Fechner nor Zohn can trace before the mid-1720s (see Zohn, “Music Paper,” 142–43 and 167 n. 34, and Fechner, *Studien*, 60–63, 128–29, 212–13, and 229).

43. The impetus for Johann Bernhard’s overture no doubt came directly from Telemann: the obituary for J. S. Bach of 1754 explicitly states that Johann Bernhard “wrote many fine *ouvertures* in the manner of Telemann”; see NBR, 298, and, for the original text, BDOK 3:81 (no. 666). Johann Bernhard and Telemann both worked at Eisenach in the years 1708–12; given what we shall see about the dating of Telemann’s concerted overtures, however, I would hesitate in attributing Johann Bernhard’s work too directly to contacts in this period.

44. Spitta placed his discussion of BWV 1067 and Bach’s three other ensemble overtures within the division of his biography devoted to the Coethen period, and he characterized the script of the autograph parts in BWV 1067 as conforming to Bach’s “Köthen type”; see Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873–80; reprint, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1979), 1:748–51 and 833–34. On the other hand, in a discussion of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum, he goes no further than to write (*ibid.*, 2:616), “Which of his orchestral partitas he composed afresh for the musical society cannot be said with certainty. It is very probable that Bach already involved himself with this form in Köthen as well.” Godt, “Politics, Patriotism, and a Polonaise,” 617, writes that Forkel “assigned all four orchestral suites to Bach’s work in Cöthen.” But Godt appears to have credited Forkel with the work list appended to the English-language version of his biography; cf. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art, and Work*, trans. Charles Sanford Terry (London: Constable and Company, 1920; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 158.

notes only at the approach to the first and second endings.⁴⁵ The imitative treatment of the outer voices in the first two measures has no parallel elsewhere, nor does the neatly articulated bipartite structure created by the firm cadence on the mediant and restatement of the opening material at m. 11.⁴⁶ Even the harmonic language reveals a significant difference: BWV 1067 relies considerably less on suspension figurations, considerably more on overt fifth progressions than do BWV 1066, 1068, or 1069.⁴⁷ BWV 1066 and 1069 without question date from Bach's Coethen years, and BWV 1068 most likely comes from Coethen, as well.⁴⁸ As it hardly seems possible that BWV 1067

45. The opening section of BWV 1066 moves in quarters only when approaching the cadence at m. 15; BWV 1068 quickens the harmonic pace at mm. 6 and 9, BWV 1069 at mm. 7–8, 16, and 22.

46. Although BWV 1069 restates the opening music on the dominant at m. 9, the approach through a half-cadence, with an attendant reinterpretation of the harmony, effectively vitiates the articulation; a similarly masked return of opening material occurs in the keyboard overture BWV 831 at m. 13.

47. If we discount "ornamental" dominants such as those in BWV 1068, mm. 3, 6, 13, and 15, or BWV 1069, mm. 4, 7, 12, and 14, the basses in these two overtures move all but entirely by step. BWV 1066 has a clear string of dominant bass patterns in mm. 3–6 but otherwise remains prevailingly linear in its progressions.

48. The use of music from BWV 1069 in the cantata *Unser Mund sei voll Lachens* (BWV 110) means that at least an early version of the overture must have existed by December 25, 1725. BWV 1066 survives in a non-original set of parts copied late in 1724 or early 1725 but clearly dependent on another set written at an earlier time; see Joshua Rifkin "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke—Miszellen zu Bachs Instrumentalkomposition," in *BOW* 59–77, at 59–61 and 69–71. Although the surviving original parts for BWV 1068 date from 1731, the work itself—in a version without trumpets, drums, and oboes—probably has an earlier origin. See Rifkin, "Besetzung—Entstehung—Überlieferung," as well as Werner Breig, "The Instrumental Music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 123–35, at 135, and *BOM*, 261–64; the objections registered by Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Probleme der Werkchronologie bei Johann Sebastian Bach," in *"Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht": Zur Chronologie des Schaffens von Johann Sebastian Bach. Bericht über das Internationale wissenschaftliche Colloquium aus Anlaß des 80. Geburtstag von Alfred Dürr*, Göttingen, 13.–15. März 1998, ed. Martin Staehelin, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Folge 3, 240 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 11–20, at 19, confuse—not for the first time—personal and aesthetic bias with historical evidence, and wind up implying as well that the Preludio to the E-major violin partita (BWV 1006) does not exist. The stylistic distance between BWV 1067 and BWV 1068—which we can see further exemplified in their rhythmic profiles as defined by the shortest consistent note values (see Dirst, "Bach's French Overtures and the Politics of Overdotting," 36, 38)—strengthens the case for assigning the latter piece to Coethen rather than Leipzig, as do similarities between BWV 1068 and BWV 1069 observed in Joshua Rifkin, "Klangpracht und Stilauffassung: Zu den Trompeten der Ouvertüre BWV 1069," in *Bach und die Stile: Bericht über das 2. Dortmunder Bach-Symposium 1998*, ed. Martin Geck and Klaus Hofmann, *Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen* 2 (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1999), 327–45, at 339 and 344 n. 47. The rhythmic profile of BWV 1067, I might note, separates it not only from BWV

would have preceded the other three ouvertures in origin, its stylistic differences from them surely argue for placing it in Leipzig.

We may also wonder if the concerted overture as a genre itself existed much before the end of Bach’s Coethen period. By all available indications, Telemann’s pieces of this sort had no real predecessors—the rather sparse literature on the history of the overture does not identify any, nor have I succeeded in doing so on my own.⁴⁹ Sig-

1068 but from Bach’s other ouvertures or movements in French overture style, as well (cf. Dirst, “Bach’s French Overtures,” 38); significantly, all but two of these pieces—the opening chorus of the cantata (BWV 97) *In allen meinen Taten* and Variatio 16 of the Goldberg Variations (BWV 988)—date from before 1730. While the introductory sections of both the keyboard variation and the cantata movement exhibit the slower harmonic motion that I associate with Bach’s earlier practice, the former merely follows the pattern of the underlying theme in this regard, and the latter resembles the opening of BWV 1067 in its reliance on root motion in the bass and its tendency towards imitative treatment of the outer voices.

49. I sought to trace the early history of the overture as an autonomous multimovement instrumental genre in an unpublished paper, “Bach und die ‘Französische Art’: Gedanken zu den Ouvertüren BWV 1066–1069,” read at the Dortmund Bach-Symposium of January 1998; readers will find essential portions summarized in BOM, 252–55. I would also draw attention to the useful recent discussions in Christoph Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken: Studien zur Darmstädter Hofmusik und thematischer Katalog*, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte, 32 (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 39–50, and Ewan West, “The Ouvertüren of Johann Friedrich Fasch in Historical Context,” in *Fasch und die Musik im Europa des 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht der Internationalen Wissenschaftlichen Konferenz 1993 zu den III. Internationalen Fasch-Festtagen in Zerbst*, ed. Guido Bimberg and Rüdiger Pfeiffer, Fasch-Studien 4 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), 97–111. The incorporation of concerted elements requires further investigation. Although trio episodes for oboes and bassoon enjoyed long familiarity in dance movements of operas or even some early German overture suites, their first appearance known to me in a French overture proper—if still not within a fully worked-out structure or ritornello-like repetitions—does not occur until Agostino Steffani’s *Orlando generoso* (1691) and *La libertà contenta*, or *Alcibiade* (1693); cf. Colin Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque: Agostino Steffani and His Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 202–5, and Hugo Riemann, ed., *Agostino Steffani: Ausgewählte Werke, Dritter Teil*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern 23 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hrtel, 1912), 100–102 and 117–19. Among multimovement instrumental works not drawn from operas, I find both the first comparable use of wind trios and the first truly concerto-like formal layouts in the overture movements of Francesco Venturini’s *Concerti da camera* of ca. 1714; my thanks to Michael Talbot for bringing this publication to my attention and sharing transcriptions of its contents with me. David Schulenberg reminds me that Handel uses solo instruments in the ouvertures to three of his early operas: *Agrippina* (1708–9) has passages for both oboe and violin; *Rinaldo* (1711) includes solos for recorder, oboe, and violin; and *Il pastor fido* (1712) contains extensive dialogues between oboe and orchestra. But even leaving aside the fact that only this last piece features a single instrument throughout, none of them shows a regular concerted layout of the sort encountered in Venturini or later composers. So far as I can tell from the discussion and thematic catalogue in Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 85–118 and 301–86, as well as the remarks in Colin Lawson, “Graupner and the Chalumeau,” *Early*

nificantly, few of the works listed in Table 3 have a source that seems likely to predate even the mid-1720s, and none of the admittedly few Telemann ouvertures we can definitely trace to the previous decade puts a solo instrument to concerted use.⁵⁰

All in all, then, Coethen would seem to remain a distant possibility for even the first version of BWV 1067. The best guess for its creation would put it in the later

Music 11 (1983): 209–16, at 214, and Michael Jappe, “Zur Viola d’Amore in Darmstadt zur Zeit Christoph Graupners,” in *Basler Studien zur Interpretation alter Musik*, ed. Veronika Gutmann, Forum Musicologicum 2 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1980), 169–79, at 170, Graupner wrote only a single concerted overture in the sense understood here, the work with recorder catalogued by Großpietsch as F 5 and ed. Klaus Hofmann, Nagels Musik-Archiv 220 (Kassel: Nagel, 1983); otherwise, he used concerted instruments only in occasional dance movements but rarely if ever in the opening movement, nor consistently throughout an entire work. None of his ouvertures, moreover, survives in a source dating from much before 1730 (cf. Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 283–93, although also n. 68). Graupner’s Darmstadt colleague Johann Samuel Endler composed no true concerted ouvertures; see Joanna Cobb Biermann, “Johann Samuel Endlers Orchestersuiten und suiteähnliche Werke,” *Bow* 341–53, at 344–45. Among other contemporaries of Telemann, Fasch seems to have left only one piece of the type, FWV: A 1—and this, according to Rüdiger Pfeiffer, *Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Friedrich Fasch (FWV): Kleine Ausgabe, Dokumente und Materialien zur Musikgeschichte des Bezirks Magdeburg* 1 (Magdeburg: Rat des Bezirkes Magdeburg, 1988), 63–64, dates from ca. 1740. Großpietsch (*Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 85–86) mentions the existence of four *Ouverture alla Concerto* with solo violin by J. C. Hertel among the manuscripts of the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek destroyed in World War II; but given Hertel’s dates (1699–1754), these surely did not precede Telemann’s contributions to the genre. I can locate only a single further concerted overture, thanks to the now-defunct RISM online database of music manuscripts after 1600: a work for violin and strings by Johann Martin Doemming, dated “Limburg, 1733,” in Rheda, Fürstlich zu Bentheim Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek, Ms. 172.

50. A keyboard transcription of the overture TWV 55: Es 4 figures among the earlier entries of the Andreas Bach Book (MBLPZ III.8.4), for which Robert Hill appears to suggest a date of ca. 1710 or even earlier; cf. *Keyboard Music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript*, ed. Robert Hill, Harvard Publications in Music 16 (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1991), xxii–xxiii, although in the light of idem, “Johann Sebastian Bach’s Toccata in G Major BWV 916/1: A Reception of Giuseppe Torelli’s Concerto Form,” in *Das Frühwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kolloquium veranstaltet vom Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Rostock* 11.–13. September 1990, ed. Karl Heller and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Cologne: Studio-Verlag, 1995), 162–75, at 165 n. 10. Stewart (see n. 42), can date Darmstadt sources for the following pieces from TWV 55 to before 1720: D 16 (1716), d 1 (1716), e 6 (1716), and G 5 (1715 or earlier); in addition, he provides early dates for the two smaller-scale ouvertures formerly numbered among TWV 55 but now listed as TWV 44: 7 (= TWV 55: F 4; 1714 or earlier) and 44: 8 (= TWV 55: F 5; 1714–16). Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns*, suggests placing TWV 55: c 3, Es 5, e 6, G 11, g 3, and B 2 before 1716, as treble-bass versions of their dance movements all appear as partitas in Telemann’s *Kleine Cammer-Music*, published that year.

1720s or early 1730s.⁵¹ At this point, the full relevance of Johann Bernhard Bach’s overture becomes clear. For it would seem an obvious, if unprovable, inference that J. S. Bach composed what eventually became BWV 1067 under the direct impact of his cousin’s composition; and in all probability, this means at the time he performed Johann Bernhard’s overture and had its music “in his ear.” With due caution, therefore, we might assign the original version of BWV 1067—the lost Overture in A Minor for Violin and Strings—to the latter part of 1730 or to 1731. Thus situated, the overture becomes one of a flush of instrumental pieces traceable to the year or so immediately following Bach’s accession to the directorship of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum; in particular, it now lies close to a series of works featuring the violin—the D-major overture BWV 1068 and, above all, the A-minor concerto BWV 1041 and the double concerto BWV 1043.⁵² To these compositions, moreover, we may surely

51. See also n. 62.

52. Cf. Wolff, “Bach’s Leipzig Chamber Music,” 169 and 175 (*Essays*, 228–29); on the dates, see Glöckner, “Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender,” 49–51, 71. As already mentioned (see n. 48), the version of BWV 1068 prepared in 1731 more likely than not represented an instrumental amplification of an earlier composition. Geck, “Köthen oder Leipzig,” 19, emphasizes that BWV 1041, too, might have a pre-history. Dietrich Kilian argues in NBA VII/3 (*Konzerte für Violine, für zwei Violinen, für Cembalo, Flöte und Violine*), ed. Dietrich Kilian, KB, 17, that the distribution of hands in the original parts (ST 145), as well as the relationship between these parts and the autograph of the later harpsichord arrangement BWV 1058, could suggest that Bach took the first two movements of BWV 1041 from a source other than that used for the last movement; according to Kilian, too, copying errors in the second-violin part could suggest that the first two movements originally stood in G minor. But while the possibility that Bach assembled the concerto from disparate sources would indeed seem considerable, the hypothesis of transposition from G minor appears less promising, as all three nonautograph parts—Violin 1, Violin 2, and Continuo (from movement 1, m. 141)—reach their lowest note at least once in the first two movements: Violin 1 hits g in mvt. 1, m. 130, Violin 2 in mvt. 2, m. 16, and the continuo descends to C at m. 166 of the first movement and the very last note of the second. Whatever the internal history of BWV 1041, I would suggest that its outer movements at least cannot have originated at great distance from BWV 1043—the Leipzig origin of which, I might note, Geck does not bring into question. The first movements of both works share a formal property unique in Bach’s concertos. Not only do they close without a full restatement of the opening ritornello—a characteristic found otherwise only in the da capo movements BWV 1042/1, 1049/1, 1050/3, 1053/1, and 1053/3, and the fugal finale of BWV 1049—but they reach their conclusion by “sliding into” a ritornello epilogue that itself lies embedded in the transposition of an earlier passage: in BWV 1041/1, mm. 146²–171 equal mm. 59²–84, which in turn present an expanded version of mm. 8²–24 (with exact correspondence in the last six measures; hence mm. 19–24 = 79–84 = 166–171); for BWV 1043, see Hans Eppstein, “Zum Formproblem bei Johann Sebastian Bach,” in *Bach-Studien 5: Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen*, ed. Rudolf Eller and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel, 1975), 29–42, esp. 32–34 and Table 1 (p. 40), and also Jeanne Swack, “Modular Structure

add the G-minor sonata BWV 1030a, which also shares thematic affinities to Johann Bernhard's overture.⁵³ Spitta long ago called attention to the resemblance between the fugue subject of the overture and the opening theme of the sonata.⁵⁴ Hans-Joachim Schulze subsequently extended Spitta's observation with the suggestion that the sonata theme—in the B-minor transposition of the final version with flute, BWV 1030—in turn served as an inspiration for the fugal theme in BWV 1067.⁵⁵ Schulze, however, proceeded on assumptions concerning the origin of BWV 1067 that we can now recognize as invalid; we can more simply understand BWV 1030a and the earliest version of BWV 1067 as part of a chronologically contiguous nexus centered around the G-minor overture of Johann Bernhard Bach—all the more so as Klaus Hofmann has pointed to other considerations suggesting a date around 1730 for BWV 1030a, as well.⁵⁶

and the Recognition of Ritornello in Bach's Brandenburg Concertos," BP 4 (1999), 33–53. In the last movements, too, the closing ritornello, while stated fully, blurs the demarcation between solo and tutti through the absence of a strongly articulated preceding cadence—again, a trait not often found elsewhere; the nearest parallels occur in the outer movements of BWV 1060. I see no reason to think, incidentally, that BWV 1043 ever existed in the form of a trio sonata, as recently argued in BOM, 108–9. The assertion that the solo parts and continuo can stand entirely on their own (ibid., 109) overlooks not only the observation on the slow movement in Rifkin, "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke," 71–72 n. 28, but also mm. 31, 35, 70, and 74 of the first movement, where the solo violins lack the necessary third supplied by the ripieno. In these measures and their immediate predecessors, moreover, the hypothesis makes it hard to explain the juxtaposition of rather neutral melodic material in the soloists with citations of the head motive in the ripieno; nor can it very well account for mm. 80–85 and 199–122 of the last movement, in which Bach not only manages to insert a derivative of the principle theme as an accompanying figure but in so doing keeps the prevailing rhythmic motion from breaking down, or for the rhythmic and motivic lacuna that the absence of the ripieno would create at m. 4 of the same movement.

53. On the scoring of BWV 1030a, see Klaus Hofmann, "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung: Diskurs zur Vorgeschichte der Sonate in h-Moll für Querflöte und obligates Cembalo von Johann Sebastian Bach," BJ 84 (1998): 31–59 (with a "critical postscript" by Hans Eppstein, 60–62), esp. 50–53; my thanks to Dr. Hofmann for sharing this work with me before its publication.

54. See Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 1:26.

55. See Schulze, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzerte," 22 n. 7. Peter Schleuning, *Johann Sebastian Bachs "Kunst der Fuge": Ideologien—Entstehung—Analyse* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), 88, and Klaus Hofmann ("Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung," 55–56 n. 67) have both located further themes similar to that of BWV 1030, but these seem less likely to have any real significance.

56. See Hofmann, "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung," 53–57, esp. 55–56 n. 67.

III

Placing the original form of BWV 1067 in 1730 or not long afterward exposes two further relationships of interest not only for themselves but because they reinforce, and possibly even tighten, the chronological net around the overture. The Polonoise marks one of the rare appearances in Bach’s output of the sharply rhythmic version of this dance sometimes considered under the rubric “mazurka.”⁵⁷ His other instrumental polonaises—those in the First Brandenburg Concerto (BWV 1046) and the Sixth French Suite (BWV 817)—belong to a more smoothly rhythmicized type lacking the distinctive dotted figure at the start of the first measure; so, too, do most of his vocal movements based upon the polonoise.⁵⁸ Provocatively, we can discern something like a small flurry of interest in the mazurka on Bach’s part right at the end of the 1720s. His first known reference to the idiom occurs in a piece composed in January 1729, the aria “Großer Herzog, alles Wissen” from the secular cantata *O! angenehme Melodei* (BWV 210a).⁵⁹

57. Cf. Doris Finke-Hecklinger, *Tanzcharaktere in Johann Sebastian Bachs Vokalmusik*, Tübinger Bach-Studien 6 (Trossingen: Hohner, 1970), 54 and 58. Although the musical example *ibid.*, 54, seems to imply that the term “mazurka” already appears in Sperontes’ *Singende Muse an der Pleiße*, the various editions of the original in fact label the piece in question “Tempo di Pol.” or “Air en Polon.”; see *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* 35/36 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909; repr. Graz: Akademische Verlags-Anstalt, 1968): xxx, 27. According to Jan Steżeswski, “Mazurka,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter and Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994), *Sachteil*, vol. 3, cols. 1699–1708, at 1699, the term “mazurka” does not actually surface until 1753.

58. Cf. Finke-Hecklinger, *Tanzcharaktere in Johann Sebastian Bachs Vokalmusik*, 54–58, and Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 194–98. The Polonoise in BWV 817 bears the title “Menuet. Poloinese” in one of its sources; see NBA V/8 (*Die sechs französischen Suiten* BWV 812–817, 814a, 815a. *Zwei Suiten a-Moll, Es-Dur* BWV 818, 819, 818a, 819a), ed. Alfred Dürr, KB, 153, and David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 274.

59. For the date, dedicatee, and text of BWV 210a, see Hildegard Tiggemann, “Unbekannte Textdrucke zu drei Gelegenheitskantaten J. S. Bachs,” BJ 80 (1994): 7–22, at 7–9 and 11–14; Bach subsequently reused the music of “Großer Herzog” in the secular cantata *Angenehmes Wiederau* (BWV 30a) as well as in further variants of BWV 210a and its final version, *O! holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit* (BWV 210); (cf. p. 50 and nn. 101 and 119). Werner Neumann, “Johann Sebastian Bachs ‘Rittergutskantaten’ BWV 30a und 212,” BJ 58 (1972): 76–90, at 80, and Klaus Häfner, *Aspekte des Parodieverfahrens bei Johann Sebastian Bach: Beiträge zur Wiederentdeckung verschollener Vokalwerke*, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 12 (Laaber: Laaber, 1987), 97–106 and 566, have raised the possibility that he actually composed the aria as early as 1725 to a text beginning “Großer Flemming, dein Vergnügen,” which appears under the inscription “Aria tempo di Polonoise” in a serenata by Picander. I see no reason to believe this, however. Both the A and the B section of “Großer Herzog” begin with a pair of rhyming lines, and Bach’s setting clearly reflects this feature. Picander’s text, on the other hand, leaves its first line unrhymed, resulting in a shorter A section; attempting to match it with Bach’s music

Later that year, he exploited the same rhythmic hallmarks in the aria “Aufgeblasne Hitze,” the penultimate solo movement of *Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan* (BWV 201).⁶⁰ Beyond these two pieces, we might also point to the G-minor polonaise (BWV anh. 119) copied no later than 1732 by Anna Magdalena Bach in the second of her two music books and all but identical with a composition found in a manuscript dated “Leipzig, 1729.”⁶¹ After this, the mazurka remains absent from Bach’s music until the aria “Fünffzig Taler bares Geld” in the Peasant Cantata (BWV 212) of 1742. Its return here, of course, warns us against relying too strongly on the Polonoise of BWV 1067 as a chronological indicator; but one cannot deny that the movement would seem more at home around 1730 than at a much later date.⁶²

(cf. the examples in Häfner, 100–102) leads both to an unidiomatic repetition and to a discrepancy in prosody between the A and B sections.

60. “Aufgeblasne Hitze” in effect maps the rhythmic profile of the mazurka onto the harmonic and phraseological model of the *folia*. Just where in 1729 BWV 201 falls remains uncertain; cf. Glöckner, “Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender,” 47–48, 64, 66, 70, and 73. But Bach surely did not compose it before he took over the Collegium Musicum in the spring of the year.

61. For the concordance, see Karol Hlawicka, “Zur Polonaise g-Moll (BWV anh. 119) aus dem 2. Notenbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach,” BJ 48 (1961): 58–60. The copy of BWV anh. 119 shows what Georg von Dadelsen calls Anna Magdalena’s early script, the transition from which to her later hand he places in the years 1733–34; see Dadelsen, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seines Kreises*, Tübinger Bach-Studien 1 (Trossingen: Hohner, 1957), 27–37, esp. 33, as well as NBA V/4 (*Die Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach*), ed. Georg von Dadelsen, KB, 70–72, and the facsimile *Johann Sebastian Bach: Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach 1725*, ed. idem (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988). But BWV anh. 119 precedes by a good five items—including two in other hands—a series of entries by C. P. E. Bach (BWV anh. 122–25) that Glöckner (“Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender,” 46–53) assigns to 1732. Even this dating, moreover, may err slightly on the late side, as the various forms of the F-clef in Emanuel’s pieces would seem if anything to fall between those of the two cantatas BWV 29 and BWV 70, which date from August 27, 1731, and November 18, 1731, respectively (cf. *ibid.*, 45–46, and especially Table 1, nos. 10 and 11). The quarter-note rests, of a type found in no dated manuscript between BWV 29 and the *Missa* of 1733 (cf. *ibid.*, 46, and Table 1, no. 6), do not argue against this assumption, as Emanuel’s contribution to BWV 70 does not include any. With due caution, then, we may narrow the date of BWV anh. 119 to 1729–31.

62. Godt, “Politics, Patriotism, and a Polonaise,” 617–22, attempts to set the Polonoise—which he regards as a later addition to the overture—in the context of Bach’s campaign to win favor from the Saxon-Polish crown in the mid-1730s. Since, as already indicated (cf. n. 17), we have no reason to think that BWV 1067 did not have the present sequence of movements from the start, Godt’s interpretation of the Polonoise would lead to a substantially later dating for the entire overture than the one advanced here. But the examples cited in the main text surely rob his thesis of any compelling force.

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed

a)

Traversiere
Violino I
Violino 2
Viola
Continuo
staccato

Ex. 6. *a*, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), Battinerie, mm. 1–8, transposed (figuring omitted).

b)

Ex. 6. *b*, Scherzo in A Minor (BWV 827/6), mm. 1–7.

Ex. 7. Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (?), Scherzo in E Minor (BWV 844a), mm. 1–5.

The second relationship will require more extensive discussion but may have more powerful consequences. As Example 6 makes clear, the Battinerie—especially when read in its original key—has a close counterpart in the Scherzo of the A-minor keyboard partita (BWV 827). Beyond the common tonality and meter, we may observe a more specific connection in such things as the anacruistic opening built on an ascending tonic arpeggiation in the bass, or the pervasiveness of the snap-like rhythmic figure exposed at the start of the Scherzo and from m. 6 onward in the Battinerie. The names, too, provide a link—surely no one will fail to recognize that both titles mean the same thing in their respective languages. Further evidence of the affinity between the two pieces comes from the scherzo BWV 844a/br ii a 55b, a work attributed in some late

sources to J. S. Bach but almost certainly composed by his son Wilhelm Friedemann.⁶³ More than one scholar has recognized a close similarity between BWV 844a and the scherzo of BWV 827; indeed, David Schulenberg has called the latter work “the probable ‘starting point’” for the former.⁶⁴ Yet the opening of BWV 844a, reproduced in Example 7, suggests that the E-minor scherzo in fact had a dual parentage, for the nervously syncopated chains and wide melodic leaps of mm. 2–3 unmistakably bring mm. 6–8 of the Battinerie to mind. The same rhythmic gesture confronts us as well in a third scherzo by a composer of the Bach circle, a short piece included by Johann Ludwig Krebs in his *Clavier-Übung* II.⁶⁵ As Example 8 makes plain, the beginning shows no particular resemblance to any of the other music just considered; but the final measures of the B section bring us once more into the realm of BWV 827/6, BWV 844a, and the Battinerie.

Bach’s use of the title Battinerie presents something of a mystery. Not a single composition labeled “badinerie”—to restore the word to unaccented French—survives in a source dating from much before 1730.⁶⁶ As we see from Table 4, the term then makes what looks like a fairly concentrated succession of appearances in three ouvertures by Telemann and two by Graupner.⁶⁷ At first sight, this could appear to signal the

63. On the authorship of BWV 844a, see Hartwig Eichberg, “Unechtes unter Bachs Klavierwerken,” BJ 61 (1975): 7–49, at 20–28, and Peter Wollny, “Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sources and Style” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1993), 91–92; the alternate br numbers cited here and elsewhere refer to Wollny’s forthcoming *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Wilhelm Friedemann Bachs*, Bach-Repertorium 2, as cited in idem, “Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 2:382–87, at 386.

64. See Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 384, and Eichberg, “Unechtes unter Bachs Klavierwerken,” 27–28. Eichberg, however, speculates that the dependency may have run in the opposite direction—a suggestion not terribly plausible in and of itself and weakened both by the observations in Wollny, “Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,” 91–92, and by the considerations raised in my later discussion of early scherzos.

65. I owe my knowledge of this piece to Andrew Talle, whom I gratefully thank for his assistance. The work appears in *Clavier-Übung I besteht I in einer nach den heutigen Gout I wohl eingerichteten Suite I . . . I componiret I von I Johann Ludwig Krebs I . . . I Zweyter Theil* (Nuremberg: Johann Ulrich Haffner, n.d.).

66. Erich Schwandt, “Badinage, Badinerie,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 2:10, reproduced almost unchanged *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 2: 457–58, found no “badinerie” at all beyond the last movement of BWV 1067; but see the discussion immediately following.

67. Cf. Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 234–35, as well as Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns*, 60; I wish to thank Dr. Großpietsch for calling these examples to my attention. Catalogue numbers for Graupner’s ouvertures come from the thematic inventory in

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a Scherzo by Johann Ludwig Krebs. Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).
 System a) shows a piece in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a lively melody in the right hand with many eighth and sixteenth notes, and a supporting bass line. There are two trill ornaments marked with a double squiggle (~~) above the first and fifth measures.
 System b) shows a second version of the piece, also in 2/4 time and one sharp. The melody is more varied, including some chords and rests. It also has trill ornaments in the first and fifth measures.
 The third system continues the piece, ending with a double bar line and the instruction 'Da capo' below it.

Ex. 8. Johann Ludwig Krebs, Scherzo from *Clavier-Ubung II. a*,
mm. 1–8. *b*, mm. 25–32.

Table 4. Badineries by Telemann and Graupner

Composer	Title	Key, Meter	Parent Work	Source ^a	Date
Telemann	La Badinerie	F major, $\frac{2}{4}$	Ouverture twv 55 F 3	Darmstadt 1034/12	ca. 1730
Telemann	La Badinerie italienne	F# minor, ϕ	Ouverture twv, 55 fis 1	Darmstadt 1034/52	1729–1730
Telemann	Badinerie	G major, ϕ	Ouverture twv 55 G 8	Darmstadt 1034/68	1738 or later
Graupner	Badinerie	B $\flat$ major, $\frac{2}{4}$	Ouverture B 3	Darmstadt 464/78	ca. 1735– 1737
Graupner	Badinerie	B $\flat$ major, $\frac{2}{4}$	Ouverture B 7	Darmstadt 464/20	ca. 1735– 1737

^a Darmstadt = Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, ms mus.

emergence of a newly fashionable genre, with predictable repercussions for Bach. Yet caution would seem in order. For one thing, the provenance and chronology of the existing manuscripts suggest that Graupner wrote his badineries in direct response to Telemann's lead; and in any event, Graupner's music seems hardly to have circulated outside his native Darmstadt.⁶⁸ Beyond the use of binary form and a lively duple meter, moreover, I find it hard to see any resemblance between the Battinerie of BWV 1067 and the badineries of either Telemann or Graupner. Those that I have managed to examine in their entirety lack the distinctive snap figure. Graupner's examples both start on the downbeat, and while Telemann's have upbeat starts, these belong either to the short quarter-bar variety or echo the simple two-note pickup of the gavotte.⁶⁹ It would seem more than likely, then, that Bach wrote his Battinerie without any im-

Großpietsch, 301–86. A search through all the ouvertures registered on the RISM online database (cf. n. 49) uncovered no further instance of the badinerie. The title does occur considerably later among the harp and keyboard pieces of Johann Ludwig Köhler's *XXIV. Leichte und angenehme Galanterie-Stücke . . . Erster Theil* (Nuremberg: Johann Ulrich Haffner, [1756]); see Mark A. Radice, "The Nature of the Style *galant*: Evidence from the Repertoire," *Musical Quarterly* 83 (1999): 607–47, at 618 and 633. Köhler's badinerie—a copy of which Prof. Radice kindly placed at my disposal—shows no discernible resemblance to Bach's Battinerie.

68. The sources of all five ouvertures originated at Darmstadt during Graupner's tenure there; Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns*, 15, identifies the scribe of TWV 55: F 3 as Johann Samuel Endler, that of TWV 55: fis 1 as Graupner himself. The dates given in Table 4 for the Telemann manuscripts come from Brian Stewart (cf. n. 42); on the date of the Graupner sources—both of them autograph scores—see Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 287–93. Großpietsch suggests that Graupner may have composed many of his ouvertures some time before the preparation of the existing fair copies, but we have no real evidence on the matter one way or the other; see *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 289, as well as "in Deutschland nicht mehr üblich"?—Suite, Gattung, Zeit, Geschmack in Orchesterwerken Bachs und Graupners," in *Bow*, 321–28, at 323–24. On the circulation of Graupner's music, we may note that virtually nothing by him survives anywhere but Darmstadt; see the overviews in anon., "Graupner," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., *Personenteil*, vol. 7, cols. 1525–32, at 1527–28, or Andrew D. McCredie, "Graupner, Christoph," in *The New Grove*, 2nd ed., 10:312–14, at 313–14, as well as the observations in Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 51 and 281.

69. For a complete reproduction of the badinerie from Graupner's overture B 3, see Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 235; for a modern edition of TWV 55: fis 1, see Friedrich Noack, ed., *Georg Philipp Telemann: Musikalische Werke* 10 (*Sechs ausgewählte Ouvertüren für Orchester mit vorwiegend programmatischen Überschriften*) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), 101–14 (Badinerie: 108–10). For the rest, see the incipits in Großpietsch, 386, and Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns*, 124 and 143. Großpietsch, 232–83, draws attention to a close thematic resemblance between the Bach's Battinerie and the Réjouissance of Graupner's overture E 8; the latter piece, however, starts on the downbeat, producing a wholly different metric orientation.

mediate reference to other pieces of similar title. Indeed, given his heavily Teutonic orthography, we may well think that he never even saw the word *badinerie* but only heard it and thus in effect coined it himself—as a Gallic equivalent for *scherzo*.

This reasoning suggests, of course, that Bach composed his scherzo before the Battinerie. But once again, we must proceed carefully. Bach’s Scherzo itself has a murky generic background. Although some have proposed that he borrowed the title from Francesco Bonporti’s *Inventioni* of 1712, which has three movements so labeled, nothing in Bonporti’s music implies even a superficial kinship with the Scherzo of the A-minor Partita.⁷⁰ Nor has an obvious antecedent emerged thus far from other quarters.⁷¹ Table 5 lists the few scherzos beyond BWV 827/6, BWV 844a, and Krebs’s piece that research has managed to locate in the years separating Bonporti from the later Viennese products of Wagenseil and Haydn.⁷² All come from the pens of com-

70. Cf. Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 286 and 419 n. 19, as well as *ibid.*, 407 n. 50, and Francesco Antonio Bonporti: *Invenzioni per violino e basso continuo Opera Decima—1712*, ed. Roger Elmiger and Micheline Mitrani, 2 vols., Collana per la storia della musica nel Trentino 7/1–2 (Trent: Società Filarmonica di Trento—Sezione studi musicali trentini, 1983), 1:16–17 and 60, and 2:90–91 and 106–7. For the early history of “scherzo” as a musical designation, see, most fully, Tilden A. Russell, “Minuet, Scherzando, and Scherzo: The Dance Movement in Transition, 1781–1825” (Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1983), 30–37; grateful thanks to Prof. Russell for placing his dissertation at my disposal. See also Wolfram Steinbeck, “Scherzo,” in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Albrecht Riethmüller (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972–), 13. Auslieferung (Winter 1985–86), 5–7; and *idem*, “Scherzo,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., *Sachteil*, vol. 8, cols. 1054–63, at 1058.

71. Cf. Russell, “Minuet, Scherzando, and Scherzo,” 38–39; but note that Steinbeck (“Scherzo,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, col. 1058) points to possible links with the “pohlnische Styl” and explicitly describes the snap figure at the start of BWV 827/6 as Polish in rhythm. To Peter Williams, “Is There an Anxiety of Influence Discernible in J. S. Bach’s *Clavierübung I*?” in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 140–56, at 143, the very title *scherzo* seems “of questionable aptness.”

72. The list of pieces—restricted to single movements or single-movement compositions, and hence excluding collections like Telemann’s *Scherzi melodichi* of 1734 (cf. Zohn, “Telemann,” 227), the individual items of which have different titles anyway—derives principally from Russell, “Minuet, Scherzando, and Scherzo,” 37–38. For the scherzos in Scheuenstuhl’s *Clavier-Übung*, Part 2, and Köhler’s *Galanterie-Stücke*, see Radice, “The Nature of the *Style galant*,” 625 and 633; Prof. Radice kindly furnished me with copies of both works. The scherzos BWV Anh. II 134 and 150 survive among a series of musical-clock pieces that oral tradition assigns with little credibility to J. S. Bach. Wollny has identified two members of the group as works of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (BWV Anh. II 133 = f. 22 = br II a 63; BWV Anh. II 150 = f. 13/2 and f. 6/2A = br II a 80), finds another (BWV Anh. II 146 = br II a 56) in a manuscript very likely devoted wholly to works of Friedemann, and, indeed, credits the entire set to Friedemann—although the basis for the blanket attribution seems less than entirely

posers belonging either to the same generation as Bach or the one immediately following: Johan Agrell, Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch, Johann Ludwig Köhler, Michael Scheuenstuhl, and perhaps Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. All but one share the same minimal identifying traits as BWV 827/6, BWV 844a, Krebs's scherzo, and the various badineries: duple meter and binary form.⁷³ In principle, therefore, this entire body of music could spring from a common forebear or set of forebears not yet identified; and on that basis, we could just as well reverse the proposed sequence of Bach's Scherzo and Battinerie. Considering the repercussions that such a move would have for the chronology of the overture, we might surely hope to find a way of resolving the impasse. Fortunately, a closer look at the pieces in Table 5 makes such a resolution possible.

Even a casual glance at the table reveals a curious imbalance among the composers represented: Hurlebusch uses the term *scherzo* with a frequency that almost implies a proprietary interest. Given the publication date of his sonatas, the appearance of the snap figure in several of them may not seem especially noteworthy.⁷⁴ But the scherzo in the suite that opens Part II of Hurlebusch's *Compositioni musicali* demands closer attention.⁷⁵ Unlike the composer's later scherzos—but like BWV 827/6, BWV 844a,

clear; see "Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach," 98–103, 189–90, 208, 415, and 443. The first of the two pieces credited to Agrell, while catalogued under his name in Joachim Jaenecke, *Die Musikbibliothek des Ludwig Freiherrn von Pretlack (1716–1781)*, Neue musikgeschichtliche Forschungen 8 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1973), 92, very likely does not belong to him; it occurs in a keyboard miscellany written at Darmstadt in 1743 (cf. *ibid.*, 50, 57, 236) among a series of pieces without attribution that follow an "Allegro del Sigr. Agrell" but do not seem to make up a suite. The catalogue number for the Agrell symphony comes from the thematic index by Jeannette Morgenroth Sheerin in *The Symphony, 1720–1840: A Comprehensive Collection of Full Scores in Sixty Volumes*, ser. c, vol. 1 (New York: Garland, 1983), xxxix–xliv; for the date of the manuscript cited in Table 5, see *ibid.*, xli. The table omits the "scherzo" movements of Telemann's late *divertimenti* TWV 50: 22 and 23, as these date from after the period of concern to us here and in any event show no real similarity to any of the pieces from the Bach circle; cf. Zohn, "Telemann," 227.

73. The exception, the Scherzo from the Sonata op. 6 no. 1 of Hurlebusch, stands apart as well in its position as the opening number of a multimovement work.

74. For the duple-meter scherzos among the sonatas, see *Keyboard Sonatas by Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (1696–1765)*, ed. Agi Jambor, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Elkan-Vogel, 1965–66), 1:5, 23, and 27–28, and 2:15, 25, and 34; the snap figure occurs in op. 5 nos. 1 and 4 and op. 6 nos. 3 and 4. Although Hurlebusch obviously could have composed his sonatas considerably earlier, at least some of this music must surely postdate his move to Amsterdam in 1743; see William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, vol. 2 of *A History of the Sonata Idea*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 781.

75. Cf. *Compositioni musicali per il cembalo divise in due parti di Corrado Federigo Hurlebusch, Hamburg (ca. 1735)*, ed. Max Seiffert, Uitgave XXXII der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis

Table 5. Scherzos between Bonporti and Wagenseil
(excluding BWV 827/1, 844a, and Krebs)

Composer	Title	Key, Meter	Parent work, medium	Source	Date
Agrell (?)	Scherzo	G major,	— (Suite?), keyboard	SBB MUS. BP 711	1743
Agrell	Scherzo	D major,	Symphony D:135175, orchestra	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Instr. mus. i hs. 12:2	before 1748
W. F. Bach (?)	Scherzo (BWV ANH. II 134/ BR II A 64)	G major, $\frac{2}{4}$	—, keyboard (?)	Musical clock, Köthen (anon., attr. orally to J. S. Bach)	ca. 1750?
W. F. Bach (?)	Scherzo (BWV ANH. II 148/ BR II A 78)	G minor, $\frac{6}{8}$	—, keyboard (?)	Musical clock, Köthen (anon., attr. orally to J. S. Bach)	ca. 1750?
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	D major, $\frac{2}{4}$	Suite, keyboard	<i>Composizioni musicali per il cembalo . . . parte seconda</i>	1735
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	G major, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 5, no. 1 (E major), keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 5	ca. 1746
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	F major, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 5 no. 3, keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 5	ca. 1746
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	G major, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 5 no. 4, keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 5	ca. 1746
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	A minor, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 6 no. 1, keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 6	ca. 1746
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	G minor, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 6 no. 2, keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 6	ca. 1746
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	G major, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 6 no. 3, keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 6	ca. 1746
Hurlbusch	Scherzo	B $\flat$ major, $\frac{3}{4}$	Sonata op. 6 no. 4, keyboard	<i>VI Sonate di Cembalo</i> , op. 6	ca. 1746
Köhler	Scherzo	G major, $\frac{3}{4}$	—, harp or keyboard	XXIV. <i>Leichte und angenehme Galanterie-Stücke</i>	1756(?)
Scheuenstuhl	Scherzo	G major, $\frac{2}{4}$	—, keyboard	<i>Gemüths- und Ohr-ergötzende Clavier-Übung . . . IIter. Theil</i>	1744(?)

and that of Krebs—it uses $\frac{2}{4}$ rather than C or C as its time signature, and as Example 9 makes clear, it cultivates the snap figure almost to the point of obsession.

Although Hurlebusch did not publish the *Compositioni* until the mid-1730s, at least a good portion of its contents originated considerably earlier.⁷⁶ As Hans-Joachim Schulze first noticed, two pieces survive in copies by Bach's Leipzig scribe Christian Gottlob Meißner that seem to date from about 1727.⁷⁷ Hellmut Federhofer, moreover, has found the suite to which the scherzo belongs in an Austrian manuscript all but surely written before 1725.⁷⁸ Since the scribe who made the copy contributed nothing else to the manuscript but an otherwise unknown work by the Viennese court musician Nicola Matteis, Federhofer suggests that the inclusion of the suite reflects the composer's visit to Vienna in 1716–18 and his contacts there with members of the imperial musical establishment.⁷⁹

The early date for the Hurlebusch scherzo and the transmission of his music in

(Amsterdam: G. Alsbach & Cie; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), 53–54; my thanks to Gregory Butler for providing me with a copy of this volume.

76. The publication itself came in response to an unauthorized, and highly corrupt, edition brought out by the Amsterdam organist Witvogel in 1733 or 1734; cf. BDOK 2:262–63 (no. 373).

77. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Johann Sebastian Bach und Christian Gottlob Meißner,” BJ 54 (1968): 80–88, at 86–87 (also *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, 107). To judge from the C clefs, quarter rests, and eighth rests on a sample page, Meißner's script forms in the Hurlebusch copies (both in SBB Mus. ms. 30 382) fall between those of the cantatas *Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen* (BWV 56), performed October 27, 1726, and *Vergnügte Pleißenstadt* (BWV 216), from June 5, 1728; my thanks to Klaus Hofmann for valuable assistance on this matter.

78. See Hellmut Federhofer, “Unbekannte Kopien von Werken Georg Friedrich Händels und anderer Meister seiner Zeit,” in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg, Jan LaRue, and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 51–65, at 52 and 59–60. The manuscript—Graz, Diözesanarchiv, Bestand St. Lambrecht, Ms. 24—includes contributions by three scribes, the first of whom wrote the Hurlebusch suite; a companion volume written by the third scribe on identical paper, Bestand St. Lambrecht, Ms. 25, carries an ex libris dated 1725 (cf. *ibid.*, 55–56). Ms. 24 labels the Hurlebusch scherzo “Villanela”; whether this represents the composer's original title or a scribal variant remains uncertain. According to Federhofer, the musical readings of the suite also differ from those in the *Compositioni musicali*.

79. See Federhofer, “Unbekannte Kopien,” 59; for Hurlebusch in Vienna, see Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), new ed. with original pagination ed. Max Schneider (Berlin: Leo Liepmannssohn, 1910; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), article “Hurlebusch,” 120–25, at 121. The possible Viennese connection for Hurlebusch's suite could help explain the curious bifurcation of scherzo transmission, which appears to follow independent courses in Germany and Austria; perhaps the two branches stem from a common root.

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed



Ex. 9. Conrad Friederich Hurlebusch, Scherzo in D Major, mm. 1–18.

Leipzig obviously provoke the question of a possible tie to Bach.⁸⁰ This possibility brings us back to the well-known account—published anonymously but unmistakably by C. P. E. Bach—of a meeting between the two composers “of which I was witness”:

Bach once received a visit from Hurlebusch, a clavier player and organist who was then quite famous. The latter was prevailed upon to seat himself at the harpsichord; and what did he play for Bach? A printed minuet with variations. Thereupon Bach played very seriously, in his own style. The visitor, impressed with Bach’s politeness and friendly reception, made Bach’s children a present of his printed sonatas, so that they might, as he said, study them, although Bach’s sons were already able to play pieces of a very different kind.⁸¹

The narrator does not reveal when this episode took place. As more than a few commentators have emphasized, Hurlebusch published nothing for keyboard before

80. Contacts with Hurlebusch or his music, incidentally, might well account for the appearance of the term *scherzo* in Agrell’s symphony and in the keyboard piece ascribed to him by Jaenecke (cf. n. 72): Hurlebusch served from 1722 to 1725 as chapel master to the king of Sweden, the brother of Agrell’s patron Prince Maximilian of Kassel, and he visited Kassel itself in 1725; Kassel had close dynastic and musical ties, moreover, with Darmstadt, where the manuscript containing the questionable scherzo originated. For Hurlebusch in Sweden and Kassel, see principally Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 121–23; for Agrell, Kassel, and Darmstadt, see *The Symphony, 1720–1840*, c/1, pp. xvi–xvii and xxi–xxiv.

81. NBR, 408; for the original, see BDOK 3:443 (no. 927). On the authorship, see principally Dragan Plamenac, “New Light on the Last Years of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” *Musical Quarterly* 35 (1949): 565–87, at 575–87, as well as *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 281 (NBR, 401), and David Schulenberg, “C. P. E. Bach and Handel: A Son of Bach Confronts Music History and Criticism,” *Bach* 23, no. 2 (1992): 5–30, at 11.

the *Compositioni*, which appeared in the spring of 1735.⁸² Bach served as agent for this collection; thus it would seem plausible to imagine Hurlebusch stopping at his house with a consignment of the volumes, then giving one of the copies to Bach's children. But this reading has its problems. For one thing, Carl Philipp Emanuel left Leipzig for Frankfurt-an-der-Oder at or near the beginning of September 1734, some eight months before the announcement of the *Compositioni* in May 1735.⁸³ More important, the reference to "children" and "sons"—no doubt meant synonymously—makes little sense in the context of the early 1730s. Wilhelm Friedemann, already older than twenty, moved to Dresden in the spring of 1733; and of Bach's other sons alive at the time, only Gottfried Heinrich, born in 1724, comes into question as a recipient of Hurlebusch's generosity—Johann Gottfried Bernhard, born 1715, would no longer have counted as a "child," and Johann Christoph Friedrich, born 1732, could surely not yet "play pieces of a very different kind." Even if we expand the circle to include Bach's daughters, the picture hardly changes: only Elisabeth Juliana Friderica, born in 1726, would qualify for consideration.

The reference to Bach's sons would fit perfectly, however, in 1726, which Hans-Joachim Schulze has also brought into play as a possible date for the Hurlebusch visit.⁸⁴ In this year, Hurlebusch would have encountered Wilhelm Friedemann at the age of fifteen or sixteen, Carl Philipp Emanuel at the age of eleven or twelve, and Johann Gottfried Bernhard at ten or eleven. Indeed, the version of the incident transmitted by Forkel says explicitly that Hurlebusch presented his sonatas to Bach's "eldest sons."⁸⁵ Whether Forkel added this information on his own or got it from Philipp Emanuel,

82. See particularly *The Bach Reader*, 457–58, and BDOk 3:444. For the date of the *Compositioni*, as well as Bach's involvement in their distribution, see BDOk 2:256–57 (no. 363) and 262–63 (no. 373).

83. Cf. BDOk 1:235, 2:256–57 (no. 363), and 3:444. Philipp Emanuel enrolled at the University of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder on September 9, 1734.

84. See BDOk 3:444. In his autobiography, Hurlebusch noted that he went to Bayreuth in January 1726 for a stay of two months and from there traveled to Dresden, a route that would have taken him through Leipzig; see Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 123. Gregory Butler, *Bach's Clavier-Übung III: The Making of a Print. With a Companion Study of the Canonic Variations on "Vom Himmel Hoch,"* BWV 769 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), 4, also considers the possibility of a meeting between Hurlebusch and Bach in 1726 but treats this as a different occasion from the episode reported by C. P. E. Bach.

85. J.[ohann] N.[ikolaus] Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke: Für patriotische Verehrer echter musikalischer Kunst* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel [Bureau de Musique], 1802), 46, translation in NBR, 460; Arthur Mendel (in *The Bach Reader*, 457) already emphasized the absence of just such a formulation from Emanuel's report.

or even Wilhelm Friedemann, remains uncertain—no reference to the episode appears, at any rate, in Emanuel’s surviving letters to Forkel.⁸⁶ But whatever the case, Forkel’s account certainly bears out what logic would seem to indicate. Perhaps, then, we should read Philipp Emanuel’s reference to “printed” works as a shorthand for compositions that eventually did appear in print.⁸⁷

Needless to say, assigning Hurlebusch’s visit to 1726 would make sense as well in regard to Meißner’s copies, especially as one of them contains the very set of variations that Hurlebusch played for Bach.⁸⁸ The dating also fits neatly—almost too neatly, one could think—with the history of Bach’s Scherzo. As copied by the composer into Anna Magdalena’s music book of 1725, the A-minor Partita stills lacks this movement; Bach evidently added it for the publication of BWV 827 in the late summer of 1727.⁸⁹ Given the entire confluence of circumstances, it seems hard to avoid the conclusion that he got the idea for his Scherzo from the Hurlebusch piece; the unmistakable distance in quality between them probably does nothing more than remind us yet again that Bach cared less about where he found useful ideas than about what he could make of them.⁹⁰

86. Cf. BDOX 3:263–64 (no. 785), 276–79 (nos. 791–95), and 284–90 (nos. 801 and 803). Only a single letter of Wilhelm Friedemann’s to Forkel appears to survive; see *ibid.*, 291 (no. 805). Forkel did state, however, that he also gathered information in conversations with Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel; see *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*, x. For more on Forkel’s treatment of his sources, see recently Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, “Forkel und die Anfänge der Bachforschung,” in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, ed. Michael Heinemann, Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, and Joachim Ldtke, interpretation, 4 vols. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997–2005): 1:193–253, at 209–13.

87. Nevertheless, this raises the question of the form in which Hurlebusch would have given his music to the Bach sons: surely he could more readily dispose of a printed copy than of a manuscript.

88. Cf. Schulze, as cited n. 77. As Schulze points out, the readings of the Meißner copies do not derive from the printed edition.

89. For the history of BWV 827, see, most conveniently, Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 284–86; for the announcement of the publication, dated September 19, 1727, see BDOX 2:169 (no. 224). As Schulze has demonstrated, Bach probably did not begin work on Anna Magdalena’s book—in which the A-minor Partita stands as the first entry—until the second half of 1725, possibly as a gift for her birthday (September 22) or the couple’s anniversary (December 3); see Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Ein ‘Dresdner Menuett’ im zweiten Klavierbüchlein der Anna Magdalena Bach: Nebst Hinweisen zur Überlieferung einiger Kammermusikwerke Bachs,” BJ 65 (1979): 45–64, at 63–64.

90. Cf. the well-known report of Theodor Lebrecht Pitschel on Bach’s recourse to the music of other composers as a stimulus for his own, BDOX 2:397 (no. 499; transl. NBR 333–34). Butler (*Bach’s Clavier-Übung III*, 4–9) has already suggested that Bach took a greater interest in Hurlebusch than the tone of Philip Emanuel’s report would lead us to suspect. The argument, however, rests on chronological presuppositions different from those adopted here, and the evidence strikes me as equivocal. In Butler’s

With the lineage of Bach's Scherzo finally clarified, the implications for BWV 1067 fall readily into place. The dependence of BWV 827/6 on Hurlebusch means that the creation of the Battinerie—and with it, obviously, the entire overture—must indeed come after the expansion of the A-minor Partita in 1727. Unlike the duple meter and snap figure, moreover, the extended anacrusis at the opening of both the Scherzo and the Battinerie belongs to these pieces alone; the very specificity of this relationship surely means that a great deal of time cannot have separated them.⁹¹ The date of the scherzo, of course, already brings it into broad proximity with the A-minor overture. But without wishing to indulge in undue speculation, I think we can see a more immediate point of focus in 1731, when Bach brought out all six partitas in a single, revised edition.⁹² Some of the changes made to the plates concern the Scherzo of BWV 827, so this piece clearly came under Bach's eyes at the time.⁹³ Perhaps, then,

view, Bach took essential ideas for the Prelude and in Fugue in E^b (BWV 552) that frame the third part of the *Clavier-Übung* from pieces in the *Compositioni*; the fugue allegedly draws on a fugue in D major in Part II (*Compositioni*, ed. Seiffert, 78–80), the prelude on the overture that directly precedes the scherzo under discussion here (ibid., 47–52). Although the subjects of the two fugues do indeed show considerable similarity, Butler fails to persuade me that their elaboration does, as well—and as he observes, “this particular fugue subject is not unique to Hurlebusch and Bach” (*Bach's Clavier-Übung III*, 8). I have similar misgivings about the relationship between Bach's prelude and Hurlebusch's overture. Despite the evident resemblances in Butler's single-line examples (ibid., 4, example 1a), the melodic and gestural configurations have quite different harmonic underpinnings—which surely weakens the supposed connection no less than the similarities of texture and diastemic succession argue for it. To my eyes and ears, moreover, the putative formal correspondences between the two pieces (ibid., 4–5) make greater sense in Butler's Figure 1 than in the actual music: not only does the designation of mm. 94–111 in Hurlebusch's overture as A¹ seem optimistic, but the undifferentiated succession of elements labeled A, B, and C obscures the difference between the standard overture form employed by Hurlebusch—with B, C, and A¹ all falling within the quick middle section—and Bach's rotation of ideas within a single-tempo structure.

91. The scherzos in Hurlebusch's op. 5 nos. 1 and 4 begin with half-measure upbeats; those of op. 5 no. 3 and op. 6 no. 3 have a bourrée-like pickup of two eighths, and the scherzo of op. 6 no. 4 starts like a gavotte with an upbeat of two quarters. But not only does the date of these pieces make their relevance to Bach questionable, they also reach a strong accent on the downbeat of the first measure.

92. Cf. NBA V/1 (*Erster Teil der Klavierübung*), ed. Richard Douglas Jones, KB, 17; Christoph Wolff, “The Clavier-Übung Series,” in *Essays*, 189–213 and 416–17, at 196–200 and 416; or Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 276–78. The precise date of the edition remains unknown, as no announcement appears in any contemporary newspaper or fair catalogue.

93. Cf. NBA V/1, KB, 20. I distinguish these changes from the handwritten corrections found in some exemplars; see particularly ibid., 27, as well as Christoph Wolff, “Textkritische Bemerkungen zum Originaldruck der Bachschen Partiten,” BJ 65 (1979): 65–74, translated as “Text-Critical Comments on the Original Print of the Partitas,” in *Essays*, 214–22 and 417–18.

this renewed contact with his earlier composition left its mark in the creation of the *Battinerie*. If nothing else, this possibility would accord nicely with the hints that the performance of Johann Bernhard Bach’s *ouverture* took place in the later months of 1730 rather than earlier in the year.⁹⁴

IV

Barring unexpected discoveries, we shall probably never succeed in dating the A-minor *ouverture* with greater precision. Before leaving matters of chronology, however, we might pause over the creation of the existing version in B minor with flute. As already indicated, Kobayashi assigns all but the viola part of ST 154 to the late 1730s—“ca. 1738–39,” he writes at two places, “ca. 1739” at a third, and in a related proviso at yet another location, “1738 is . . . not to be excluded.”⁹⁵ A fresh examination of the subject, drawing in part on evidence not yet available to him, refines his conclusions to a slight—yet, we shall see, not insignificant—degree.

The paper of ST 154 appears in two items of secure, or reasonably secure, date: an autograph letter of January 18, 1740, and the aborted fair copy of the St. John Passion that Bach evidently undertook in anticipation of a performance in March 1739.⁹⁶ Other sources with the same paper include the four autograph parts to the Harpsichord Concerto in A Major (BWV 1055); the three remaining original parts to the concerto for the same instrument in F major (BWV 1057); and twelve bifolios in the so-called London autograph of the second Well-Tempered Clavier.⁹⁷ Don Franklin has

94. See n. 29. Obviously, we would wish also to know more in this connection about the origins of BWV 844a; but in the absence of early sources, these remain cloudy. See, however, the remarks in Wollny, “Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,” 91–92.

95. Cf. n. 7, and Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” variously at 11, 23, 45, and 53.

96. See Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 11 and 44, also NBA IX/1–2 (*Katalog der Wasserzeichen in Bachs Originalhandschriften*), ed. Wiso Weiß and Yoshitake Kobayashi, Textband, 96, and Abbildungen, 95 (no. 105). Whether or not the fundamentally circumstantial evidence for assigning the Passion score to 1739—for which see NBA II/4 (*Johannes-Passion*), ed. Arthur Mendel, KB, 75, as well as BDOK 2:338–39 (no. 439), and Alfred Dürr, *Die Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Werkeinführung* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), 24–25—should ultimately prove correct, the source cannot realistically date from any other year; see Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 20 and 44, as well as the discussion immediately following in the main text.

97. See principally Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 11 and 45–46, and Don O. Franklin, “Reconstructing the *Urpartitur* for *WTC* II: A Study of the ‘London autograph’ (BL Add. MS 35021),” in *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 240–78, at 247 (Table 2) and 248; also the source descriptions in NBA VII/4

observed that three members of this complex—the *ouverture*, the F-major concerto, and the bifolios from the Well-Tempered Clavier—have the same rastrum, as well; and although I have not had a chance to measure the originals, it looks as if BWV 1055 and the relevant pages of the St. John Passion also share a rastrum, one distinguished by a slightly smaller gap between the two uppermost lines than in the lower portions of the staff.⁹⁸

As Kobayashi in particular has shown, the entire group of manuscripts documents a major evolution in Bach's hand, which we can most easily follow in his manner of drawing downstemmed half notes.⁹⁹ Until the end of 1737, these virtually always show the stem to the right of the note head unless the note sits above the staff on a leger line, in which case the stem will sometimes descend from the center or the left—although this in fact seems to become very rare precisely in the mid-1730s.¹⁰⁰ By the summer

(*Konzerte für Cembalo*), ed. Werner Breig, KB, 123–24 and 179–80, and NBA V/2.2 (*Das Wohltemperierte Klavier II—Fünf Präludien und Fughetten*), ed. Alfred Dürr, KB, 25–27, as well as the facsimile *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier II / Johann Sebastian Bach*, introd. by Don Franklin and Stephen Daw, British Library Music Facsimiles 1 (London: British Library, 1980).

98. See Franklin, “Reconstructing the *Urpartitur*,” 247 (Table 2) and 248; although the author noted the difference between the Passion and most of the other manuscripts with the same paper, he did not have access to BWV 1055 at the time he wrote. My thanks to Prof. Franklin for sharing with me this and other details of his work.

99. See Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 20–21.

100. The score and autograph performance materials for BWV 30a, from September 1737 (SBB Mus. ms. Bach P 43, ST 31), provide the last secure *terminus* for this phase of Bach's script; both show the older form of the half note exclusively, at least on notes within the staff. Cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Angenehmes Wiederhau, freue dich in deinen Auen, Drama per Musica BWV 30a. Faksimile der autographen Partitur*, ed. Werner Neumann, Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke 16 (Leipzig: veb Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1980), and the reproduction of a page from the oboe d'amore part in NBA I/39 (*Festmusiken für Leipziger Rats- und Schulfeste—Huldigungsmusiken für Adlige und Bürger*), ed. Werner Neumann, ix, noting that an apparent exception in the tenth system actually represents a correction. Among manuscripts definitely or probably written in 1736 or 1737, I find no half notes above the staff with stems from the left or center in the autograph score of the St. Matthew Passion (P 25; note, however, that this does not include the repairs to the manuscript made in the 1740s; cf. Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 52) or the dual autograph of the Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C Minor (BWV 1062) and Flute Sonata in A Major (BWV 1032, P 612), and only one in the flute sonata BWV 1030 (P 975; see mvt. 3, m. 74, flute). For these works, readers may usefully consult the facsimile reproductions *Johann Sebastian Bach: Passio Domini nostri J. C. secundum Evangelistam Matthaeum*, ed. Karl-Heinz Köhler, Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke 7 (Leipzig: veb Deutscher Verlag für Musik, n.d.); *Johann Sebastian Bach: Konzert c-Moll für zwei Cembali und Streichorchester BWV 1062—Sonate A-Dur für Flöte und Cembalo BWV 1032*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, Documenta musicologica, ser.

of 1740 or at most a year later, the stems have shifted definitively to the left of the note head regardless of staff position.¹⁰¹ On this basis, we can safely place the bifolios from the Well-Tempered Clavier later than either the Passion, the *ouverture*, or the two harpsichord concertos; among these four pieces, in turn, BWV 1057 clearly occupies the latest position, as it alone uses the newer form of the half note more than sporadically. Beyond this point, however, things become harder to pin down. The Passion, for example, slightly exceeds the *ouverture* in its representation of half notes with left-hand stems, and the—admittedly very few—downstemmed half notes in the A-major concerto include none whatever with the stem to the left, even when they go above the staff.¹⁰² Conversely, both the A-major and F-major harpsichord concertos tend to abbreviate the *piano* sign to *p*, which occurs at most once in the *ouverture* and not at all in the Passion; whether alone or in combination, moreover, the *p* itself assumes a fairly unusual form—marked by a vertical downstroke and uncommonly large

II, vol. 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980); and *Sonata a Cembalo obligato e Travers. solo di J. S. Bach*, ed. Werner Neumann, Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke 4 (Leipzig: veb Deutscher Verlag für Musik, n.d.).

101. The first *terminus* comes from the autograph oboe and viola parts to *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* (BWV 206, SBB Mus. ms. Bach ST 80), whose script enables Kobayashi (“Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 47) to assign the revival of the work from which they stem to August 1740. The second, and more certain, one comes from BWV 210 (ST 76), which—as Michael Maul has now shown—Bach wrote for the wedding of the Berlin doctor Georg Ernst Stahl on September 19, 1741; see Maul, “Dein Ruhm wird wie ein Demantstein, ja wie ein fester Stahl beständig sein: Neues über die Beziehungen zwischen den Familien Stahl und Bach,” BJ 87 (2001): 7–22, esp. 16–19. The autograph voice and violone parts in ST 76 show left-hand stems exclusively; cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: O holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit. Hochzeitskantate* BWV 210, ed. Werner Neumann, Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke 8 (Leipzig: veb Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967), and NBA I/40 (*Hochzeitskantaten und weltliche Kantaten verschiedener Bestimmung*), ed. Werner Neumann, viii. After 1741, Bach’s downstems move to the center of the note head, where they remain in all further autographs; cf. Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 21.

102. For the Passion, see the reproduction of the autograph pages included as a supplement to NBA II/4; among the fair overall number of downstemmed half notes in this portion of the manuscript, those on the staff show a left-hand stem only at no. 10, m. 25, Continuo, and—as the continuation of a similarly stemmed pair of tied notes above the staff—no. 1, m. 38, Oboe 1. Further half notes above the staff with stems drawn to the left or from the middle of the note head occur in the oboe parts of the opening chorus at mm. 4, 10–11, and 24; the movement includes thirty-two half notes above the staff in all. The flute part of the *ouverture* has a single half note with a downstem in the center of the note, almost to its left (*Ouverture*, mm. 177), and one other (Polonoise, m. 4) that shows the stem moving decisively toward the center of the note; in all its half notes above the staff—thirteen, by my tally—the stems keep solidly to the right. The Concerto has eleven downstemmed half notes in its first movement, all but two of them (Violin 1, mm. 69–70) on the staff. See also n. 104.

loop—again found nowhere in the Passion and at best rarely in the *ouverture*.¹⁰³ In a time of transition, of course, we cannot necessarily expect an absolutely consistent progression from one manuscript to the next.¹⁰⁴ The small size of the sample further reduces the prospects of achieving an airtight chronology. But assuming my eyes have not deceived me about the ruling of the Passion and the parts to the A-major concerto, we can still narrow the options to some degree. For one thing, even if the script leaves open some chance of dating the *ouverture* and the concerto before the Passion, the use of a clearly later *rastrum* for the *ouverture* suggests that neither of the instrumental works could have anticipated the Passion by a significant margin. Indeed, if we consider the script and the ruling together, it would seem more plausible than not to arrange the *ouverture* and its related manuscripts in the sequence BWV 245, 1055, 1067, 1057. At most, the dynamics could suggest reversing the position of the middle two pieces; but this has no effect on the overall picture. Whatever the case, I think it safe to abandon 1738 as a possible terminus for anything in this group.¹⁰⁵

103. The use of *p* for *piano* does have precedents in Bach's manuscripts from at least the fair copy of the Brandenburg Concertos (SBB Am.B. 78), often with the letter in much the same form as in BWV 1055 and 1057; cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Brandenburgische Konzerte. Faksimile des Autographen* (Frankfurt/M: C. F. Peters, 1996). In the immediate context, however, the differences remain striking. The single isolated *p* in BWV 1067—Polonoise, m. 10, Continuo—requires some comment on its own. For one thing, its use may reflect nothing more than a concern to avoid the figures immediately to its right (cf. also n. 212). More important, the letter itself, though not unlike its counterparts in the harpsichord concertos, does not entirely match them, either; indeed, at first sight, none of the dynamics in the continuo for the Polonoise and Battinerie would seem assuredly autograph: both the abbreviation *f* and the written-out *piano* show an uncharacteristic upright orientation in their script, and the *piano* lacks the hiatus between the second and third letters customary in Bach (cf. Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 18). Nevertheless, the *forte* at m. 20 of the Battinerie, the first letter of which matches exactly the abbreviated signs elsewhere in both movements, seems unquestionably his, and the *p* of the *piano* at m. 36 in the Battinerie looks precisely like the first letter in the manifestly autograph marking at the same spot in Violin 1. Violin 2 also has *piano* markings with a similar *p* at mm. 95 and 152 of the first movement, but these appear less likely to come from Bach's hand and could even date from a later time. See also n. 188.

104. As if to emphasize the point, the two half notes above the staff in the autograph score of the A-major concerto—which quite obviously originated before the parts (cf. NBA VII/4, KB, 127)—both have left-hand stems; cf. n. 102, as well as the reproduction in Breig, "Zur Werkgeschichte von Johann Sebastian Bachs Cembalokonzert in A-dur BWV 1055," 197. BWV 1055 occupies the fourth position among the six harpsichord concertos (BWV 1052–57) entered as a series on pp. 1–94 of P 234; cf. Werner Breig, "Zum Kompositionsprozeß in Bachs Cembalokonzerten," in *Johann Sebastian Bachs Spätwerk und dessen Umfeld: Perspektiven und Probleme. Bericht über das wissenschaftliche Symposium anlässlich des 61. Bachfestes der Neuen Bachgesellschaft Duisburg, 28.–30. März 1986*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), 32–47, at 44–47, and NBA VII/4, KB, 19–20. See also following note.

105. On the basis of this discussion, and given the date for the St. John Passion score (see n. 96), we can also refine the chronological estimates for both the parts to BWV 1057 and the second Well-

This conclusion all but shuts the door on one scenario for the creation of the overture that has gained some currency, at least in the English-speaking world. In his discussion of BWV 1067, Martin Bernstein speculated that Bach composed the work for the Dresden court, home of the great flute virtuoso Pierre Gabriel Buffardin.¹⁰⁶ Robert Marshall, too, has flirted with a Dresden connection, suggesting more than once that Bach “had Buffardin in mind” in this music.¹⁰⁷ Yet even allowing for the fact that Bach could at most have arranged BWV 1067 for Buffardin rather than actually have composed it for him, he can hardly have intended the piece for Dresden. So far as we know, he made no journey there after May 1738, nor do we have any evidence that he planned to visit Dresden in the months that followed.¹⁰⁸ We also have no grounds for thinking that he prepared the parts with the idea of sending them to the Saxon capital; in any event, they clearly remained in his possession.¹⁰⁹ The entire idea of linking BWV 1067 with Dresden, moreover, rests on a premise that no longer holds water. Bernstein developed his hypothesis in the context of biographical research that set the end of Bach’s involvement with the Leipzig Collegium Musicum in 1736 or

Tempered Clavier in Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 45–46, and Franklin, “Reconstructing the *Urpartitur*,” 247; for the concerto, Kobayashi’s “ca. 1739” might better read “1739–40” or even, if we accept his dating for the oboe and viola parts of BWV 206 (cf. n. 101), “April 1739–August 1740”; this in turn could well mean that the earliest layer of the London autograph should now have the date 1740–41, the second 1741–42—indeed, the latter estimate looks all the more likely in view of the new findings on BWV 210 (cf. n. 101), which shares its rastrum, and at least a closely related paper type, with the second layer of the London autograph (cf. Franklin, “Reconstructing the *Urpartitur*,” 247–49, and Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie,” 45–46, although also 16–17; in an e-mail of September 16, 2003, Prof. Franklin informed me that a beta-radiogram of one leaf in the London autograph appears to show small differences against his tracing of a mark from BWV 210). It would now appear all but certain as well that at least the latest items in P 234—BWV 1055, 1056, and 1057—belong to 1739 rather than the previous year (cf. Breig, “Zum Kompositionsprozeß in Bachs Cembalokonzerten,” 44–47, and Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke,” 41). See also n. 112.

106. See “Bach Problems,” 127 (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Blankenburg, 417).

107. See Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 487 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 217), as well as idem, “Bach the Progressive: Observations on his Later Works,” *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976): 313–57, at 335–36 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 23–58, at 38).

108. Cf. *Kalendarium zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, 2nd, rev. ed. (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv, 1979), 50–51.

109. Wollny’s identification of the script on the wrapper confirms the long-held suspicion that the parts to BWV 1067 went from J. S. Bach to C. P. E. Bach; cf. n. 3, as well as NBA VII/1, KB, 36. On the possibility of an early score copy—which in principle could have gone to Dresden, but which in actuality would seem hardly likely to have done so—see the Postscript.

not long afterward.¹¹⁰ From this perspective, it clearly seemed necessary to seek the impetus for the overture outside of Leipzig. Yet at almost the same time Bernstein presented his case for Dresden, Werner Neumann established that Bach in fact returned to the Collegium before the close of the decade—although as we shall see, this fact, too, does not resolve every potential issue.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, with the suppositions changed, the need to look elsewhere obviously diminishes.¹¹²

We might bear this point in mind when considering a more recent suggestion about the origin of the B-minor overture. According to Martin Geck, “Bach was intensely involved with works for the flute” in the later 1730s. Like Peter Schleuning before him, Geck sees a connection here with C. P. E. Bach’s “call to the court of the crown prince and subsequent Prussian king Frederick II in 1738”—and that “the B minor overture in particular would have cut a fine figure at Potsdam goes without saying.”¹¹³ Unfortunately, none of this withstands scrutiny. As evidence for Bach’s involvement with the flute in the late 1730s, Geck cites “some of the sonatas in the sequence BWV 1030–39.”¹¹⁴ Yet not only, as we shall see, do the pieces in question include several of at best dubious authenticity, but with at most one exception—BWV 1035, which a note on a nineteenth-century copy links to a visit of Bach’s to Potsdam in the 1740s—the flute works among them demonstrably or all but definitely predate the start of Philipp Emanuel’s employment by Frederick.¹¹⁵ In other words, we have no more reason to

110. Cf. “Bach Problems,” 127 (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Blankenburg, 417), and Neumann, “Das ‘Bachische Collegium Musicum,’” 6 (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, 386).

111. See Neumann, “Das ‘Bachische Collegium Musicum,’” 6–8 (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, 386–88). Although Neumann’s article nominally appeared in 1960, I hardly consider it a foregone conclusion that Bernstein would have had access to it before the presentation of his arguments in September 1961 (cf. *International Musicological Society: Report of the Eighth Congress* 2: xiii).

112. The refined chronology for the overture and the instrumental works closest to it, and especially the observations in n. 105, also cuts the ground from under speculations connecting the harpsichord concertos to Dresden; cf. Schulze, “Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzerte—Fragen der Überlieferung und Chronologie,” 12–13, and, on the supposed identity between one of the papers in P 234 and a receipt of Bach’s from May 5, 1738, NBA IX/1: 51 (no. 48).

113. Geck, “Köthen oder Leipzig,” 21–22, with reference to Schleuning, *Johann Sebastian Bachs ‘Kunst der Fuge,’* 85–88.

114. Geck, “Köthen oder Leipzig,” 21; in n. 16, Geck adds, “I cite these sonatas as a whole, as I would otherwise have to discuss the transmission of every individual sonata.”

115. On the problems of authenticity, see Section V, p. 54ff. For the dates of BWV 1030 and 1032, see p. 53; on those of BWV 1031 and 1034, cf. nn. 136 and 140, respectively, and the literature cited there. On the dating of BWV 1033, see Glöckner, “Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender,” 50; for BWV 1035, see NBA VI/3 (*Werke für Flöte*), ed. Hans-Peter Schmitz, KB, 22–24, as well

associate the B-minor overture with Potsdam than we do with Dresden. The search for its origins might better at least begin closer to home.

In this connection, the relationship between BWV 1067 and the harpsichord concertos in F and A major can hardly go unnoticed. Although the gap separating the F-major concerto from the other two works reminds us of a need for circumspection, it does not seem extravagant to suppose that all three sets of parts originated with a common purpose. Considering the extent to which the paper and script focus our attention on 1739, one event of that year immediately stands out: Bach’s return to the Collegium Musicum on October 2.¹¹⁶ Hans Größ, in fact, proposed such an association for BWV 1067 some thirty-five years ago, and Don Franklin has more recently brought BWV 1057 into the picture, as well.¹¹⁷ Just as Bach had presumably composed the original version of the overture for the Collegium in the early period of his directorship, we might think it tempting to imagine that he now prepared its transposed and rescored version, together with at least some of his harpsichord concertos, in connection with his resumption of activities. Still, especially given the leeway that remains in the dating, we cannot exclude a private occasion beyond our knowledge.

As for the motivation behind the rescoring, we do not have to look beyond a consideration already implicit in Bernstein’s and Marshall’s speculations about Buffardin—namely, the stimulus of a particular flutist. If anything, this argument becomes more compelling in conjunction with the arrangement than with an original work. In principle, after all, Bach could have felt moved to compose the overture even without a distinguished soloist at hand; but surely he would not have taken the trouble to adapt it to a new instrument unless spurred by the availability of a first-rate player. Wherever this player originally came from, Bach would most likely have encountered him in the circle of predominantly student instrumentalists who flocked to the Collegium; to quote the well-known account of Leipzig concert life published by Lorenz Christoph Mizler in October 1736, “there are always good musicians among them, so that sometimes they become, as is known, famous virtuosos.”¹¹⁸ At least one secular

as Hans Eppstein, “Über J. S. Bachs Flötensonaten mit Generalbaß,” BJ 58 (1972): 12–23, at 18–20, and Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 491–94 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 220–22). For BWV 1038 and 1039, cf., respectively, Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 471 n. 17 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 318 n. 17), and NBA VI/3, KB, 48.

116. Cf. Neumann, “Das ‘Bachische Collegium Musicum,’” 7–8 (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Blankenburg, 388).

117. See Größ’s preface to the Bärenreiter miniature score of BWV 1067 (Bärenreiter-Ausgabe TP 193, forward dated 1973), and Franklin, “Reconstructing the Urpartitur,” 248 n. 17.

118. Translation from NBR, 186; for the original, see BDOk 2:278 (no. 387). The report appears in

vocal work of this time—*Angenehmes Wiederan* (BWV 30a), performed in September 1737—requires a flutist of no small attainment, and so does the music of the solo cantata BWV 210a, a version of which seems likely to have figured in the activities of the Collegium.¹¹⁹ Admittedly, we have no evidence for the participation of Collegium members in the performance of BWV 30a, nor can we say for sure when BWV 210a might have received a hearing; but we may still read Mizler's report as indicating that Bach had no need to rely on imported talent for the flute parts.¹²⁰

Mizler, in fact, may have more to do with our story than simply providing some background color. As a student in the early 1730s, he received instruction from Bach in keyboard playing and composition; his dissertation, completed in June 1734, names Bach as one of its four dedicatees; and on returning to Leipzig in the autumn of 1736 after an extended period of travel and study, he soon established himself as one of Bach's most trusted associates.¹²¹ In the context of this relationship on the one hand,

the first volume of Mizler's *Musikalische Bibliothek oder Gründliche Nachricht*, the forward to which bears the date October 20, 1736.

119. Cf. Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 40. The solo part of BWV 210a, although written in 1729 (cf. n. 59), contains a textual revision addressing its music to "esteemed patrons" ("werte Gönner"); cf. NBA I/39 (*Festmusiken für Leipziger Rats- und Schulfeiern—Huldigungsmusiken für Adlige und Bürger*), ed. Werner Neumann, KB, 99–100.

120. BWV 30a actually fell in the interregnum between Bach's two periods as leader of the Collegium; but see the comments in NBA I/39, KB, 75–76.

121. For Mizler's lessons, see BDOK 3:88–89 (no. 666); for the dissertation, cf. BDOK 2:247–48 (no. 349). Thanks largely to the exemplary edition of Johann Gottfried Walther's correspondence by Klaus Beckmann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, we can clarify the account of Mizler's whereabouts during the years 1734–36 in Franz Wöhlke, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler: Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Gelehrtengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Musik und Geistesgeschichte: Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Würzburg-Aumühle: Konrad Triltsch, 1940), 10–14. By all indications, Mizler returned to his native Franconia immediately after completing his dissertation at the end of June 1734 and remained there without significant interruption until late February 1735; see his letter dated "Heidenheim im Anspachischen. d. 25 Octob. A. 1734" in *Johann Gottfried Walther: Briefe*, ed. Klaus Beckmann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1987), 177–78, and the information on the dedication of his *Lusus ingenii de praesenti bello* communicated *ibid.*, 202–3. The letter would seem to bear out Wöhlke's suspicion (*Lorenz Christoph Mizler*, 10) that the "Reise ins Reich" mentioned in the autobiography written for Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* ("Mizler," 228–33, at 229) in fact refers to this stay, as Franconia formally belonged to the Holy Roman Empire. The subsequent visit to Leipzig also referred to in the autobiography (*ibid.*) cannot have lasted more than a few weeks, as Mizler matriculated at the University of Wittenberg on March 22, 1735; cf. *Walther: Briefe*, 291. Wöhlke (*Lorenz Christoph Mizler*, 13) probably errs in assuming that Mizler made further visits to Leipzig from Wittenberg: Walther's comment, in a letter to Heinrich Bokemeyer of August 3, 1735, that "Herr Magister Mizler is once again in Leipzig" (*Walther: Briefe*,

and our inquiry into BWV 1067 on the other, a passage in a letter of November 6, 1736, to Johann Gottfried Walther in Weimar cannot help but arouse interest:

I have only been back in Leipzig for six weeks, and still in the greatest disarray; but as soon as I've unpacked, I'll send you a cantata of mine on love and monastic life. If I may kindly ask something of you, I would like a concerto for the *traversiere* that's quite difficult. I am a great devotee of beautiful concertos for the flute, and when

186: “der Hr. M. Mizler sich wiederum in Leipzig . . . befindet”) probably depends on a letter that Mizler had sent some months earlier—the reissue of the *Lusus ingenii de praesenti bello* appeared in Wittenberg precisely in August 1735 (cf. *ibid.*, 202–3). For the time of Mizler's return to Leipzig in 1736, see the letter cited further in the main text, as well as Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, 230; see also Walther's letter of January 1737 quoted in the following note. Evidence for Mizler's subsequent relationship with Bach, too well known to rehearse in detail here, comes chiefly from his participation in the dispute with Johann Adolph Scheibe and the activities of the Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften. Klaus Hofmann, “Alte und neue Überlegungen zu der Kantate ‘Non sa che sia dolore’ (BWV 209),” BJ 76 (1990): 7–25, has proposed that Bach wrote the Italian cantata BWV 209 to honor Mizler on his departure from Leipzig in the summer of 1734. While much about the argument seems persuasive—though not to Andreas Glöckner; see NBA I/41 (*Varia: Kantaten, Quodlibet, Einzelsätze, Bearbeitungen*), ed. Andreas Glöckner, KB, 41—some problems remain. The cantata survives only in a score by an unknown scribe to which Johann Nikolaus Forkel added both the text and the attribution to Bach (P 135; cf. Hofmann, “Alte und neue Überlegungen,” 7 n. 1, and NBA I/41, KB, 38–40). Not only does Forkel's underlay often contradict the beaming of the voice part (cf. *ibid.*, 48–49), but at several points, especially in the first aria, “Parti pur e con dolore,” the musical phrases appear to demand a poem of more lines than the text now contains. In both this and the concluding movement, moreover, the verses and their setting violate norms of aria writing so basic that even a poet or a composer with only a minimal knowledge of Italian could scarcely have ignored them unless working under special constraints: in neither of the two arias does the last line of the second section rhyme with one from the first; and the second aria commits a further solecism in splitting its borrowed Metastasian lines between the A and B sections, causing the first to end without syntactic closure. All this raises the possibility that the cantata originally had another text, and that the version transmitted in P 135 represents a none too skillful adaptation undertaken—very conceivably by Forkel himself—for a special set of circumstances. A further detail in the manuscript suggests, too, that Bach can hardly have written this music as early as 1734. The opening Sinfonia contains a number of *pizzicato* markings—more, indeed, than we find preserved either in BG 29.45–66 (*Kammermusik für Gesang*, vol. 3), ed. Paul Graf Waldersee, or in NBA I/41, 45–68 (cf. *ibid.*, KB, 46)—that make little or no musical sense. All occur, however, at places where Bach would routinely have asked for soft playing; and Bach's manuscripts of the later 1730s often show the abbreviation *pia* written in a fashion that the unsuspecting eye could read as *piz* (cf. Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 21, and esp. Figure 6b on p. 18). A score of the harpsichord concerto BWV 1056 (P 239) copied by Forkel from manuscripts based on the lost original—and, we may assume, at least partially autograph—parts would appear to confirm that scribes could fall prey to this danger; cf. the table in NBA VII/4, KB, 166–68, and mm. 8, 15, 38, 56, etc. of the third movement as they appear in NBA VII/4:208–17, or the edition by Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig:

I am exhausted from studying, I can give myself virtually new powers through this instrument. Surely, there will be a virtuoso of the *traversière* in the Weimar chapel. I'll send back the copying charges immediately, and ask that it be written out quite cleanly and large.¹²²

By his own testimony, Mizler, a self-taught flutist, “often made himself heard” on the instrument during his student days.¹²³ The letter to Walther suggests that he did not wholly abandon public performance after his habilitation as a lecturer at the university.¹²⁴ Indeed, since the letter follows close on both his return to Leipzig and his description of the Collegium concerts—where, in his words, “Any musician

Edition Peters 9386a, 1977). The odd *pizzicato* markings in BWV 209, therefore, could well derive from a misreading of an autograph source; and while Bach's potentially ambiguous *piano* indications occur in isolation as early as 1734 (cf. Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke,” 21), they do not appear in the frequency necessary to produce a situation like that encountered in BWV 209 until the second half of the decade. For more on the problems of the cantata, including that of its authorship, see my notes to the recording L'Oiseau-Lyre 421 424-2.

122. *Walther: Briefe*, 201-2: “Ich bin erst 6 Wochen wieder in Leipzig, u. noch in der größten Unordnung, so bald ich aber ausgepackt, werde Ew. WohlEdl. eine *Cantata* vom Kloster-Leben und der Liebe von mir zusenden. Wenn ich mir etwas von Ew. WohlEdl. gehorsam ausbitten darf, so bitte um ein *Concert* auf die *Traversiere*, so etwas schwehr ist. Ich bin ein großer Liebhaber von schönen *Concerten* auf die Querflöte, und wenn ich vom Studieren müde bin, kan ich mir durch dieses Instrument gleichsam neue Kräfte schaffen. Es wird ohnefehlbar in der Weymarischen Capelle ein *Virtuose* auf der *Traversiere* seyn. Die Schreib-Gebühren werde sogleich zurücksenden, bitte es etwas sauber und groß abschreiben zu lassen.” Just when—even whether—Mizler received the concerto, which Walther presumably obtained from a member of the Weimar chapel, remains unclear; on January 21, 1737, Walther wrote to Heinrich Bokemeyer, “At the New Year's fair just passed I answered the Herr Magister's letter and sent him a concerto for flute; but he has traveled back to his home and is not returning from there to Leipzig until this March, according to the word of the agent he has left there, who received the package” (ibid., 199: “An verwichener Neü-Jahrs-Meße habe des H. M. Schreiben beantwortet, und demselben ein *Concert* auf die Quer-Flöte geschicket; er ist aber in seine Heimath verreiset, und kömmt erst im Merz *a. c.* von da wieder zurück nach Leipzig, laut der Aussage des hinterlassenen *Mandatarii*, welcher das Paquetgen in Empfang genomēn”). Credit for introducing Mizler into the larger discussion of Bach and the flute goes to Michael Marissen and Ardal Powell; cf. Powell, “Bach and the Flute,” 14, 20, and 27 n. 70. Powell does not, however, venture any suggestions about associations with specific works. Whether, as Hofmann suggests (“Alte und neue Überlegungen,” 18 n. 40), the prominent role accorded the flute in BWV 209 strengthens the case for linking the cantata to Mizler must remain open.

123. See Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ebnen-Pforte*, 231.

124. Mizler held his inaugural disputation on October 24, 1736, and announced a series of lectures on Mattheson's *Neu-eröffnetes Orchester*—which, in the event, he seems not to have held until the following May; cf. Wöhlke, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler*, 16-17, and *Walther: Briefe*, 199 and 203.

is permitted to make himself publicly heard”¹²⁵—we may wonder specifically if he intended to present the requested concerto with Bach’s ensemble; and this speculation, in turn, leads to the question of whether Bach might have written some of his own flute compositions for Mizler. As his request for something “quite difficult” reveals, Mizler plainly relished music that demanded a more than an ordinary degree of prowess.¹²⁶ It would appear striking, therefore, that two of Bach’s most ambitious pieces for the flute—both, like BWV 1067, adapted from earlier music—originated in close proximity to Mizler’s renewed presence on the Leipzig scene.¹²⁷ The double autograph containing the Sonata in A Major (BWV 1032) and the Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C Minor (BWV 1062) shows two papers whose datable use by Bach all but certainly occupies a period ranging from August 13, 1736, to January 13, 1737; and the paper of the Sonata in B Minor (BWV 1030) covers a range extending only from October 7, 1736, to September 28, 1737.¹²⁸ Hence we must seriously entertain the possibility that these works owe their origin to Bach’s association with Mizler; and clearly, we cannot avoid asking if the same could not also hold true for BWV 1067.¹²⁹

125. NBR, 186; original BDOK 2:278 (no. 387).

126. The partial translation in Powell, “Bach and the Flute,” 20—“please send me a flute concerto—one that is difficult to play”—overlooks the qualifier; presumably, Powell failed to recognize Mizler’s “so” as a relative pronoun and thus read “etwas” as a substantive rather than an adverb. Strictly speaking, one could perhaps read Mizler’s formulation as indicating “not too hard” rather than “not too easy”; but note his use of “etwas” in the reference to copying near the end of the quoted passage.

127. On the original form of both sonatas, see Section V; it begins on p. 54.

128. For BWV 1032, see Schulze’s preface to the facsimile of P 612 (see n. 100), 10–11 (English translation, 17–18), as well as Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 10 and 40—the implicit hesitation in which over the later terminus (cf. *ibid.*, 39) I find difficult to share. For BWV 1030, see *ibid.*, 12, 40, and 46; on the papers of both works, see also NBZ IX/1–2, Textband, 50 (no. 46), 68 (no. 86), and 72 (no. 95).

129. If Bach intended BWV 1032 for Mizler, then he presumably also had Mizler in mind for one of the solo parts in BWV 1062; indeed, this could explain the singular combination of these two pieces in the same manuscript. Previous hypotheses concerning the two flute sonatas have focused on Dresden. According to Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 484–87 (*The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 216–17), “the inordinate difficulty” of the concluding double movement in BWV 1030, “along with the fact . . . that Bach’s connections with Dresden had increased considerably during the 1730s and indeed culminated in November 1736 with his receiving the title of Composer to the Royal Court Chapel, suggest that Bach prepared the final version of his greatest and most difficult flute composition . . . for the master flautist Buffardin.” Schulze (see the preceding note) has speculated that Bach intended BWV 1032 and its sister work BWV 1062 for a visit to Dresden in December 1736; again, he points to Buffardin as the probable intended performer. For a variation on this hypothesis, see n. 138. Needless to say, none of these suggestions has any more evidence

Of course, we cannot foreclose other options, either. Leipzig surely had more than one good flutist, even if none but Mizler has yet to emerge from anonymity.¹³⁰ Nor can we wholly rule out a visiting artist. This latter possibility could, paradoxically, reopen the door to Buffardin. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach wrote that Buffardin visited the elder Bach at Leipzig; and though we have no real idea when this occurred, a ray of hope remains for those who would still like to imagine the Dresden virtuoso displaying his mettle in what Marshall has called “the whirlwind badinerie.”¹³¹ But here, even more than with Mizler, caution remains in order; and in any event, we do not really have to know who inspired the B-minor overture to feel grateful to him.

V

The “deconstruction” of BWV 1067—as a work in B minor, as a work for flute, and as a work untouched by the process of recycling so prevalent in Bach’s instrumental output—has implications that reach beyond the piece itself. These begin with the matter of key. One often hears that Bach had a special attachment to B minor. I have yet to trace this notion to its source; but I need hardly remind anyone of the principal exhibits: apart from BWV 1067, these include the *Trauerode* (BWV 108); the Mass BWV 232; the Overture in the French Style (BWV 831); the flute sonata BWV 1030; the prelude and fugue for organ BWV 544; and perhaps the violin pieces BWV 1002 and BWV 1014. Of these, however, we now see that most originated in other keys. BWV 1030 derived from a model in G minor.¹³² BWV 831 started life in C minor, and it has become apparent that the opening Kyrie of the B-minor Mass did, as well.¹³³ If we

behind it than do ours concerning Mizler—which at least have the virtue of economy, as they keep the music in Bach’s immediate surroundings.

130. Although the survey of flutists known, or possibly known, to Bach in Powell, “Bach and the Flute,” 19–20, includes other musicians active in Leipzig, none of these except the oboist Johann Caspar Gleditsch—whose flute-playing in any event remains hypothetical—resided there after 1735.

131. See BDOK 3:287–88 (no. 400), and Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 487 (*The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 217).

132. Cf. Werner Neumann’s afterword to the facsimile cited in n. 100, or Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 484 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 216 and 324 n. 66), and, most comprehensively, Hofmann, “Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung.”

133. For BWV 831, cf. NBA V/2 (*Zweiter Teil der Klavierübung—Vierter Teil der Klavierübung—Vierzehn Kanons* BWV 1087), ed. Walter Emery and Christoph Wolff, KB, 48–51; on the Kyrie, see my notes to the recording Nonesuch 79036, and John Butt, “Bach’s Mass in B Minor: Considerations of Its Early Performance and Use,” *Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 109–23, at 111–12. Alfred Dürr, “Zur Parodiefrage in Bachs h-moll-Messe: Eine Bestandsaufnahme,” *Die Musikforschung* 45 (1992): 117–38, at 119, objects that the assumption of a transposition from C minor “is supported by only a single

bear in mind that the two B-minor preludes and fugues in the Well-Tempered Clavier owe their specific tonality as much to necessity as to anything else, then we really have little basis for imagining that Bach had a particular affinity for B minor—at least more than he did for any other key.

Our findings on BWV 1067 also continue—and may bring to completion—a process of attrition that has affected Bach’s flute music perhaps more severely than any other part of his output. The past four decades have witnessed a considerable amount of discussion concerning both the authenticity of the works themselves and the extent to which Bach actually conceived them for flute.¹³⁴ In both areas, the results have proved largely negative. One piece that long hovered around the edges of the canon, the sonata with obbligato harpsichord BWV 1020, has definitively fallen by the wayside.¹³⁵ Robert Marshall has prodded us to worry about the weak transmission and

correction of an accidental” (Tenor, m. 35,5) in the autograph of the Mass (P 180). But this argument overlooks at least three further instances of sharps corrected from naturals: m. 11, Continuo, note 2 (cf. Butt, 111–12); m. 63, Violin 1, note 4; and m. 116, Soprano 2, note 4. Cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Messe in b-Moll BWV 232: Faksimile-Lichtdruck des Autographs*, ed. Alfred Dürr, 2nd ed., Documenta musicologica, ser. II, vol. 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983).

134. Three studies above all got the current phase of the debate underway: Hans Eppstein, *Studien über J. S. Bachs Sonaten für ein Melodieinstrument und obligates Cembalo*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia musicologica Upsaliensia, Nova series 2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1966); idem, “Über J. S. Bachs Flötensonaten mit Generalbaß”; and Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute.” While the specific findings of both authors have not always sustained closer scrutiny, their role in exposing the issues remains inestimable.

135. On BWV 1020, see particularly Yoshitake Kobayashi, “Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Bach-Quellen an Hand schriftkundlicher Untersuchungen,” BJ 64 (1978): 43–60, at 53–54; Marshall, “Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 464–67 (*The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 202–4); Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny, “‘Altes Zeug von mir’. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs kompositorisches Schaffen vor 1740,” BJ 79 (1993): 128–204, at 194–96; and Jeanne Swack, “Quantz and the Sonata in E^b Major for Flute and Cembalo, BWV 1031,” *Early Music* 23 (1995): 31–53, at 45–47 and 52–53, which Prof. Swack kindly shared with me before publication. The sources in fact transmit BWV 1020 as a work for violin, but scholarly consensus has long considered flute the more likely solo instrument; indeed, we may well suspect that the piece began its existence as a trio sonata for flute, violin, and continuo—the harpsichord discant never descends below g, and the frequent parallel thirds and sixths in the middle movement contain nothing contrapuntally essential. Whether in this supposed original form or in the version presently transmitted, the authorship of the music continues to present uncertainties. Although J. S. Bach clearly did not write it, Swack and, more forcefully, Leisinger and Wollny have shown that a seemingly unimpregnable attribution to C. P. E. Bach in the hand of his Hamburg copyist Michel does not really resolve matters, either: on the evidence they put forth, it seems clear that Michel relied in this instance on a Breitkopf manuscript of dubious authority. See also the following note.

anomalous style of the continuo sonata BWV 1035, while Jeanne Swack and Siegbert Rampe have uncovered a connection between the obbligato sonata BWV 1031 and the trio sonata QV 2:18 of Quantz so close as to persuade any but the most recalcitrant that Quantz must have written both works—or, if he didn't, that BWV imitates him with a slavishness few would think typical of Bach.¹³⁶ The trio sonata BWV 1038 rests

136. For BWV 1035, see Marshall, "J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute," 491–92 (*The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 220); although he ultimately comes down in favor of accepting the sonata—and although the discovery of new compositional activity connected with Bach's presence in and around Berlin in 1741 (see Maul, "Dein Ruhm wird wie ein Demantstein") could well increase its plausibility—I would take his cautions seriously. On BWV 1031, see Swack, "Quantz and the Sonata in E^b Major"; Siegbert Rampe, "Bach, Quantz und das Musicalische Opfer," *Concerto* 84 (June 1993): 15–23, esp. 17–19; and Dominik Sackmann and Siegbert Rampe, "Bach, Berlin, Quantz und die Flötensonate Es-Dur BWV 1031," *BJ* 83 (1997): 51–85. Swack also finds procedures typical of Quantz in BWV 1020, which previous scholarship had recognized as a virtual sibling of BWV 1031; she expands the circle of relationships, moreover, with a demonstration of similarities between BWV 1031 and the indisputably authentic sonata BWV 1032 strong enough to indicate that whoever composed one of these two pieces must at least have known the other. To the arguments on BWV 1031, I might add that I find it even harder than Swack does to imagine Bach going so far in emulating Quantz as to restrict the flute to a range characteristic of the latter composer but vastly narrower than that otherwise exploited in his own pieces for the instrument (cf. "Quantz and the Sonata in E^b Major," 32). I should note, too, that the recapitulation form employed in the last movement of both BWV 1031 and QV 2:18 has no real counterpart in Bach's unquestionably authentic sonatas—the late "Cembalo solo" in the violin sonata BWV 1019 might appear at first to have the same structure, but Bach approaches the recapitulation from a half-cadence on the dominant, a not insignificantly different gambit; cf. Alfred Dürr, "Johann Gottlieb Goldberg und die Triosonate BWV 1037," *BJ* 40 (1953): 51–80, at 77–78, or as reprinted idem, *Im Mittelpunkt Bach: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), 36–57, at 54. Finally, it seems hard to understand how Bach could have composed both BWV 1031 and BWV 1032. If BWV 1031 came first, BWV 1032 represents a leap in compositional sophistication all but impossible to reconcile with even the most optimistic view of the time-frame involved—QV 2:18 appears not to date from before 1724, and probably not until about 1730, while the original version of BWV 1032 originated no later than the early months of 1736 (cf. p. 53). If BWV 1032 came first, Bach need hardly have relied so directly on Quantz for BWV 1031; and in any event, the incomparably lesser sophistication of BWV 1031—which I do not confuse with the more "modern" style noted by Marshall, "J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute," 473 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 208)—would mark this sonata as an incomprehensible regression. The attempt in Sackmann and Rampe, "Bach, Berlin, Quantz und die Flötensonate Es-Dur," 60–66, to place BWV 1031 in the 1740s not only bypasses this last question but rests on premises dubious in themselves: the supposed resemblances to the trio sonata from the *Musical Offering* and two other pieces allegedly of the same decade—the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro for Lute (BWV 998) and the triple concerto BWV 1063—look tenuous at best, and we have no evidence to date the composition of BWV 1063 this late. On strictly musical grounds—to which, besides those already adduced by Swack, we might add the choice of key (cf. BOM, 66–75)—the simplest explanation for the entire complex would assign BWV 1020 and BWV 1031 as well as QV 2:18 to Quantz and assume that J. S. Bach wrote the original version of BWV

in limbo, and so, despite an ingenious rescue attempt on Marshall’s part, does the solo sonata BWV 1033.¹³⁷ Of the few works with apparently unassailable credentials, three turn out to have begun life in different instrumental guises from the ones familiar to us today. Michael Marissen has exposed the obbligate sonata BWV 1032—or at least its outer movements—as an arrangement of a lost trio for recorder, violin, and continuo.¹³⁸ Klaus Hofmann has shown that Bach originally composed the solo part of

1032 under the impact of an acquaintance with these new *Sonaten auf Concertenart* of his younger Dresden colleague; in this connection, the “strong resemblance” between the opening theme of BWV 1032 and the aria “Halleluia, Stärk’ und Macht” from the cantata *Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir* (BWV 29, noted in Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 490–91) (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 219) becomes newly provocative, as the composition of BWV 29 closely preceded Bach’s visit to Dresden in September 1731 (cf. *Kalendarium zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 40). If BWV 1020 and 1031 indeed derived from trio sonatas, then the arrangements conceivably stem from the Bach household—a thought also recently entertained by Hofmann (“Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung,” 59). As Swack has already implied in connection with BWV 1031 (“Quantz and the Sonata in E^b Major,” 47), this could point toward an explanation for the admittedly still problematic transmission. See also n. 139.

137. On BWV 1038, see particularly Ulrich Siegele, *Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik in der Instrumentalmusik Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1975), 23–46, and David Schulenberg, “Composition as Variation: Inquiries into the Compositional Procedures of the Bach Circle of Composers,” *Current Musicology* 33 (1982): 57–87, at 65–74. On BWV 1033, see Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 467–71 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 204–6), and Hans Eppstein, “Zur Problematik von Johann Sebastian Bachs Flötensonaten,” BJ 67 (1981): 77–90, at 79–83 (Marshall’s brief response in *The Music of J. S. Bach*, 225, does not address Eppstein’s crucial demonstration that BWV 1033 could not, as Marshall contends, really have originated as a composition for unaccompanied flute); also the new source observation in Leisinger and Wollny, “Altes Zeug von mir,” 192–94, as well as the remarks on possible relationships to sonatas of Christoph Förster and C. P. E. Bach in, respectively, Jeanne Swack, “On the Origins of the *Sonate auf Concertenart*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 369–414, at 399–401, and Leta Miller, “C. P. E. Bach’s Instrumental ‘Recompositions’: Revisions or Alternatives?” *Current Musicology* 59 (1995), 5–47, at 15 n. 2.

138. See Michael Marissen, “A Trio in C Major for Recorder, Violin and Continuo by J. S. Bach?” *Early Music* 13 (1985): 384–90, at 387–88; idem, “A Critical Reappraisal of J. S. Bach’s A-Major Flute Sonata,” *Journal of Musicology* 6 (1988): 367–86; Jeanne Swack, “Bach’s A-major Flute Sonata BWV 1032 Revisited,” *Bach Studies* 2, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 154–74, at 171–74; and Klaus Hofmann, “Ein verschollenes Kammermusikwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs: Zur Fassungsgeschichte der Orgelsonate Es-Dur (BWV 525) und der Sonate A-Dur für Flöte und Cembalo (BWV 1032),” BJ 85 (1999): 67–79, esp. 76–78. Swack (“Bach’s A-Major Flute Sonata,” 172) finds the transposition of the sonata from C major—the unquestioned original key of at least its outer movements—to A “puzzling”; in her view, the uppermost line, even if composed for recorder, would have remained playable on the transverse flute in C. Taking her cue from Schulze’s speculations

the obligato sonata BWV 1030 for violin; and the researches of Hans Eppstein and Russell Stinson have made it evident that the trio sonata BWV 1039 derives from a lost piece most likely for two violins.¹³⁹ With the B-minor overture also exposed as an arrangement, the list of securely authentic instrumental works destined from the outset

on BWV 1032, 1062, and Dresden (see n. 129), she suggests that Bach intended the A-major version for Johann Joachim Quantz, whose apparent preference for a lower tessitura the transposition would thus have reflected. But as Marissen has pointed out (“A Trio in C Major,” 387), the transposition would in fact have cost little effort—virtually no more, certainly, than if Bach had left the piece in C, as the change of the top part from French violin clef to treble clef would still have obliged him to shift every note down a “third”; and however well the transverse flute could negotiate the music in C major, A major more naturally preserves the fingerings and resonances of the presumed recorder part. On the sequence of movements, both Marissen (“A Trio in C major,” 390 n. 15) and Hofmann (“Ein verschollenes Kammermusikwerk,” 76–77) have pointed to evidence suggesting that the present Largo e dolce might not originally have belonged to the same work as the surrounding Vivace and Allegro. But Hofmann’s argument for tracing this movement back to a supposed antecedent of the Organ Sonata no. 1 in E^b Major (BWV 525) strikes me as less than compelling. The outer movements of BWV 525 and the middle movement of BWV 1032 occur together only in a “Concerto” in C major for the unlikely combination of violin, violoncello, and bass assembled by an unknown hand in the mid eighteenth century (ST 345). While the octave variants in the bass cited by Hofmann (ibid., 73 n. 21; for details, see NBA IV/7 [*Sechs Sonaten und verschiedene Einzelwerke*], ed. Dietrich Kilian, KB, 71–72) make a plausible case for thinking that the arranger took the outer movements from a source deriving from the same parent as BWV 525, the wide discrepancy in range between them and the central movement—C–b on the one hand, AA–e’ on the other—hardly supports the assumption that all three came from the same place, not least as Hofmann (“Ein verschollenes Kammermusikwerk,” 72–73) has shown that the trio version followed its model literally in restricting the upper end of the bass part in the third movement to b^b, and as the readings of mm. 46–50 in the first movement seem designed to avoid anything that would go below C. The arranger, moreover, would have had good reason to seek another slow movement than the one in BWV 525: this would not only have created uncomfortably dense textures in the lower register at more than a few spots, but would also have taken the cello repeatedly as high as a’, whereas the present sequence of movements only twice takes it even to e’—once in the second movement (m. 68), and once in the third (mm. 46–47). See also n. 146.

139. On BWV 1039, see most prominently Hans Eppstein, “J. S. Bachs Triosonate G-dur (BWV 1039) und ihre Beziehungen zur Sonate für Gambe und Cembalo G-Dur (BWV 1027),” *Die Musikforschung* 18 (1965): 126–37, and the chapter “Kellner as Copyist and Transcriber? A Look at Three Organ Arrangements” in Russell Stinson, *The Bach Manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his Circle: A Case Study in Reception History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989), 71–100 and 165–68, also published in essentially identical form as “Three Organ-Trio Transcriptions from the Bach Circle: Keys to a Lost Bach Chamber Work,” in *Bach Studies*, 125–59. For BWV 1030, see Hofmann, “Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung.” Marissen’s and Hofmann’s findings on BWV 1030 and 1032, incidentally, increase the distance between these works and BWV 1031, as the uppermost line of this sonata clearly belonged to the flute from the outset—a further reason for doubting Bach’s authorship?

for the flute becomes very modest indeed: the solo partita BWV 1013; the continuo sonata BWV 1034; the trio sonata and canon perpetuus from the Musical Offering (BWV 1079); and, in the realm of music for larger ensembles, the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto (BWV 1050).¹⁴⁰

An even more important consequence of our findings concerns Bach’s instrumental production as a whole. If the history of the B-minor overture provides yet another example of Bach’s familiar propensity for adapting his compositions to new use, it also reduces the already exiguous number of works among his instrumental music that remained untouched by such intervention.¹⁴¹ As things now stand, we can identify hardly a concerto, an overture, or a sonata of more than two obbligato parts that did not either undergo some kind of reworking—from changes in readings to transcription for another medium—or owe its very existence to it. The trio sonata of the Musical Offering, of course, went quickly from conception to publication not long before the end of Bach’s life and thus had no real chance of further evolution;¹⁴² and the six violin sonatas BWV 1014–19, although revised in greater or lesser degree between their earliest appearance in the mid-1720s and the version fixed some twenty-five years later in a copy by Bach’s pupil and son-in-law Johann Christoph Altnickol, stand apart as a closed set evidently designed as such and intended from the outset for its present medium.¹⁴³ With these exceptions, however, the list of authentic multivoice pieces

140. Even this list could require some qualification, as some have felt inclined to question the scoring of BWV 1013, and Frans Brüggen’s notes to a recording of Bach’s flute compositions issued by Seon in 1976 and since, available in a variety of other forms, express uneasiness about the music of BWV 1034; my thanks to Michael Marissen for this latter reference. On BWV 1013, however, see Marcello Castellani, “Il ‘Solo pour la flûte traversière’ di J. S. Bach: Cöthen o Lipsia?” *Il flauto dolce* 13 (1985): 15–21, translated as “J. S. Bachs ‘Solo pour la flûte traversière’: Köthen oder Leipzig?” *Tibia* 14 (1989): 567–73, and also Yoshitake Kobayashi, “Noch einmal zu J. S. Bachs ‘Solo pour la flûte traversière,’” *Tibia* 16 (1991): 379–82. As for BWV 1034, the attribution, in a manuscript of Johann Peter Kellner’s assignable to the years 1726–27, strikes me as more powerful than Brüggen’s reservations; cf. Stinson, *The Bach Manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his Circle*, 22–23, and Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 474–75 (*The Music of J. S. Bach*, 209).

141. Indeed, the period between the inception and completion of this study saw the number grew smaller still; see Rifkin, “Besetzung—Entstehung—Überlieferung,” and Klaus Hofmann, “Zur Fassungs-geschichte des zweiten *Brandenburgischen Konzerts*,” in BWV, 185–92.

142. Even here, however, we should not overlook the fragmentary transcription for melody instrument and harpsichord begun—at his father’s behest?—by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach; cf. NBA VIII/1 (*Kanons, Musikalisches Opfer*), ed. Christoph Wolff, KB, 74–75.

143. On the history of the violin sonatas, see Marshall, “J. S. Bach’s Compositions for Solo Flute,” 475–76 (*The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 210, 319–20), and, more fully, Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, 97–98, 110, 112, and 115–19; readers of the latter might want to

not presently known in more than a single version, or not known ever to have had one, includes nothing more than the ouvertures BWV 1066 and, perhaps, 1069, and very possibly the Sixth Brandenburg Concerto (BWV 1051).¹⁴⁴ If we reduce the various clusters of pieces and versions to their underlying common forms, Bach's instrumental output boils down to the rather modest body of music shown in Figure 1.¹⁴⁵

As the figure makes clear, of course, the multiple forms of each individual piece have rarely all come down to us intact. Early versions in particular seem to have vanished to an alarming degree; too often, as with BWV 1067, we can merely deduce their existence through paleographic or, sometimes, analytic evidence.¹⁴⁶ To make things worse, much

note the minor correction concerning the scribe Schlichting in Joshua Rifkin, "'... wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen ...'—Zum Credo der h-Moll-Messe in der Aufführung Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 (1985): 157–72, at 160 n. 9, as well as the new information on the copyist Anon. 300 in Peter Wollny, "Ein 'musikalischer Veteran Berlins': Der Schreiber Anonymus 300 und seine Bedeutung für die Berliner Bach-Überlieferung," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 1995, ed. Günther Wagner (Stuttgart-Weimar: Metzler, 1996), 80–133. See also, most recently, Frieder Rempp, "Überlegungen zur Chronologie der drei Fassungen der Sonate G-Dur für Violine und konzertierendes Cembalo (BWV 1019)," in *"Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht,"* 169–83.

144. Although two versions of BWV 1069 supposedly existed—a lost early one for winds and strings alone, and the known version with trumpets—I have suggested that we have reason to question the authenticity of this latter form; see Rifkin, "Klangpracht und Stilauffassung." On the question of a precursor for 1051 see, most fully, Ares Rolf, *Das sechste Brandenburgische Konzert: Besetzung, Analyse, Entstehung*, *Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen* 4 (Dortmund: Klangfarben, 2002), 82–92 and 130–31.

145. The list omits the following works as questionable or inauthentic: BWV 1020, discussed in nn. 135 and 136; BWV 1022 and its close relative BWV 1038, on which see the literature cited in n. 137; BWV 1025, an arrangement of a piece by Silvius Leopold Weiss with evidently minimal involvement by Bach—see principally Karl-Ernst Schröder, "Zum Trio A-Dur BWV 1025," *BJ* 81 (1995): 47–59; BWV 1036, on which see Siegele, *Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik*, 44, and Leisinger and Wollny, "Altes Zeug von mir," 174–79; and BWV 1037, for which see Dürr, "Johann Gottlieb Goldberg und die Triosonate BWV 1037." See also the following note.

146. We should note, however, that some "lost" instrumental works probably never existed. As shown in Rifkin, "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke," 65–68, 72–74, the Sinfonia to the cantata *Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbats* (BWV 42) comes not from a concerto but from the Coethen serenata *Der Himmel dacht an Anhalts Ruhm und Glück* (BWV 66a); nor, as argued *ibid.*, n. 57, do we have any reason to assume an earlier instrumental model for the first three movements of the secular cantata *Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen* (BWV 249a). Alfred Dürr, "Zum Eingangssatz der Kantate BWV 119," *BJ* 72 (1986): 117–20, proposes that Bach took the opening chorus of *Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn* (BWV 119) from a French overture that no longer survives; but while the evidence clearly points to the reuse of an earlier composition, I would question the specifics of Dürr's identification. All of Bach's instrumental ouvertures (cf. Dirst, "Bach's French Overtures and the Politics of



Figure 1. Bach’s Instrumental Music in Three or More Parts

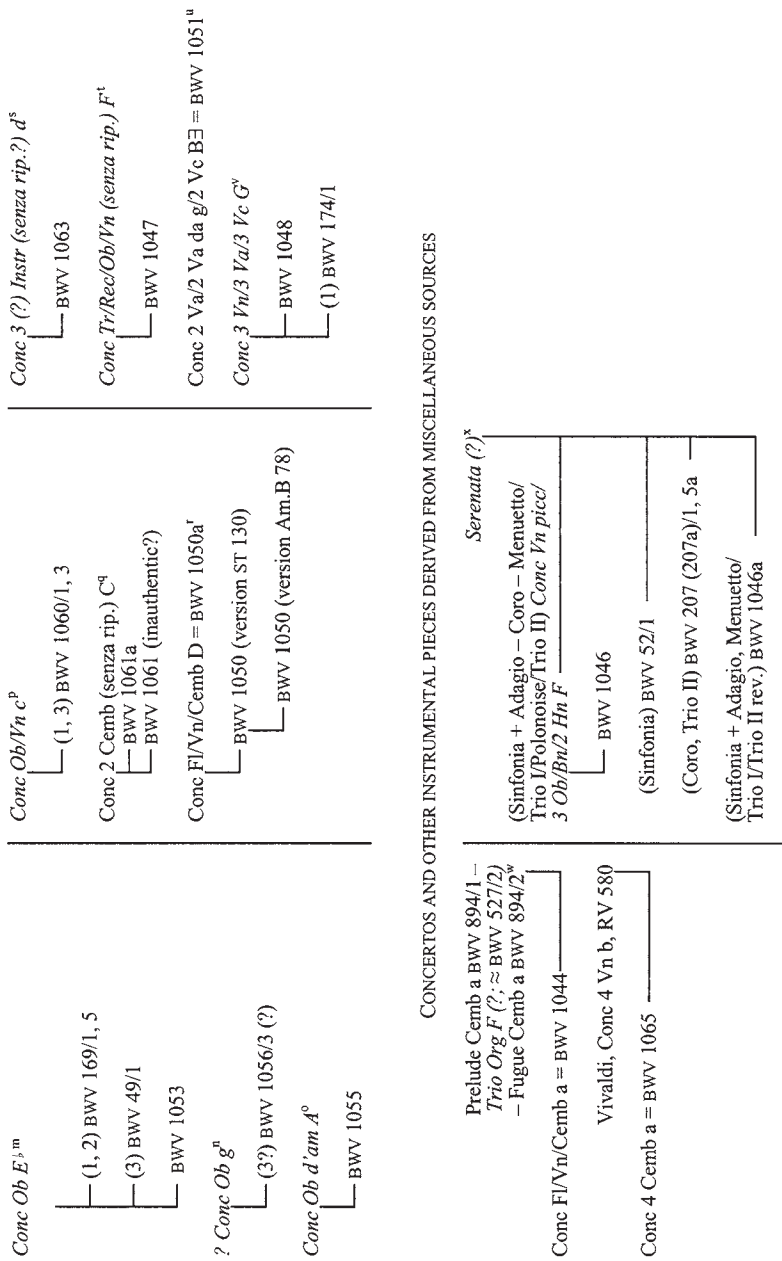


Figure 1. Continued.

OUVERTURES	
Ouv <i>Str D</i>^y — BWV 1068 Ouv <i>Vn/Str a</i> — BWV 1067 Ouv 2Ob/Bn/Str C = BWV 1066^z	Ouv 3Ob/Bn/Str <i>D</i>^{aw} — (1) BWV 110/1 — BWV 1069 (inauthentic?)
WORKS BY BWV NUMBER	
BWV 1027 → <i>Son 2 Vn G</i> BWV 1028 → <i>Son 2 Mel instr (?) D</i> BWV 1029 → <i>Son 2 Mel instr (?) g</i> BWV 1030 → <i>Son Vn/Cemb (Lt?) g</i> BWV 1032 → <i>Son Rec/Vn C</i> BWV 1039 → <i>Son 2 Vn G</i> BWV 1041 = Conc Vn a BWV 1042 = Conc Vn E BWV 1043 = Conc 2 Vn d BWV 1044 → BWV 894, ≈ 527/2 BWV 1046 → <i>Serenata</i> BWV 1046a → <i>Serenata</i> BWV 1047 → <i>Conc Tr/Rec/Ob/Vn (senza ripieno) F</i>	BWV 1048 → <i>Conc 3 Vn/3 Va/3 Vc G</i> BWV 1049 → <i>Conc Vn/2 Rec G</i> BWV 1050 → <i>Conc Fl/Vn/Cemb D</i> BWV 1050a = Conc Fl/Vn/Cemb D BWV 1051 → <i>Conc 2 Va da g/2 Vc B</i> BWV 1052 → <i>Conc Vn d</i> BWV 1053 → <i>Conc Ob E</i> BWV 1054 = BWV 1042 BWV 1055 → <i>Conc Ob d'amore A</i> BWV 1056 → <i>Conc Vn g – Conc Ob d – Conc Ob g</i> BWV 1057 → <i>Conc Vn/2 Rec G</i> BWV 1058 = BWV 1041 BWV 1059 → <i>Conc Ob d</i>
BWV 1060 → <i>Conc Ob/Vn c – Son (Conc? Sinfonia?) 2 Vn c/b?</i> BWV 1061 → <i>Conc 2 Cemb (senza rip.) C</i> BWV 1061a = Conc 2 Cemb (senza rip.) C BWV 1062 = BWV 1043 BWV 1063 → <i>Conc 3 Instr d (?)</i> BWV 1064 → <i>Conc 3 Vn (senza rip.) D (?)</i> BWV 1065 = Vivaldi RV 580 BWV 1066 = Ouv 2 Ob/Bn/Str C BWV 1067 → <i>Ouv Vn/Str a</i> BWV 1068 → <i>Ouv Str D</i> BWV 1069 → <i>Ouv 3 Ob/Bn/Str D</i>	and idem, ed., NBA VI/4 (<i>Drei Sonaten für Viola da gamba und Cembalo</i>), KB, 20–26. f. See Laurence Dreyfus, “J. S. Bach and the Status of Genre: Problems of Style in the G-minor Sonata, BWV 1029,” <i>Journal of Musicology</i> 5 (1987): 55–78, revised and expanded as “The Status of a Genre” in idem, <i>Bach and the Patterns of Invention</i> (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 103–33 and 251–54, but in the light of the evidence for a trio sonata presented variously in Siegle, <i>Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik</i>, 97–100; Walter Emery, “A Neglected Bach Manuscript,” <i>The Music Review</i> 11

Figure 1. Continued.

- (1950): 169–74, at 172–73; Eppstein, *Studien*, 112–19; and NBA IV/5–6 (*Präludien, Toccaten, Fantasien und Fugen für Orgel*), ed. and Dietrich Kilian, KB, 142–44. g. See principally Breig, “Bachs Violinkonzert d-Moll”; idem, “Zum Kompositionsprozess in Bachs Cembalokonzerten,” esp. 33–38; and Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 195–208, 257–58. Given the highly literal approach to his model displayed by Philipp Emanuel in much of BWV 1052a (see Breig, “Bachs Violinkonzert d-Moll,” 9–16), his singular readings in the viola at mm. 81–90 of the first movement (esp. mm. 81–83), or in the solo part at mm. 244–49 of the third movement (cf. BWV 188/1, m. 249) and throughout the second movement, especially at m. 57, indicate that he worked from a source different from that drawn on by Bach for both BWV 1052 and the various cantatas—and given particularly the ornamented reading of the solo line at mm. 7–11 and 22–23 of both BWV 1052/1 and BWV 146/1, we may surely consider the version available to Emanuel the earlier of the two. h. On this work and its problems, see NBA VII/7, KB, 81–86; Bruce Haynes, “Johann Sebastian Bachs Oboenkonzerte,” BI 78 (1992): 23–43, at 37–38; Werner Breig, “Zur Werkgeschichte von Bachs Cembalokonzert BWV 1056,” *Bachs Orchesterwerke*, 265–82, esp. 267; and Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 143–44. The identification of the middle movement with the cantata fragment BWV ANH. 2 suggested by Pieter Dirksen (cf. Breig, “Zur Werkgeschichte von Bachs Cembalokonzert BWV 1056,” 267) does not strike me as persuasive. The music looks far more typical of an aria than the slow movement of a concerto: even in those few instances when such a movement begins with a ritornello (BWV 1041/1058, 1042/1054, 1050, 1052, 1053, 1055, and 1064), the music never shows a medial cadence on the dominant, as occurs here in m. 4 and in numerous arias. Nor does the absence of a voice line necessarily indicate an instrumental movement; see, for instance, the reproduction from the autograph of *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Glücke*, BWV 84 (SBA Mus. ms. p 108), in NBA I/7 (*Kantaten zu den Sonntagen Septuagesimae und Sexagesimae*), ed. Werner Neumann, vii. Finally, the corrections leave no doubt that Bach did not take this piece from an earlier source: if, as it appears, he changed the first note of the second staff in m. 6 from a ♯’ to g’, then the original reading already presupposes the correction at the end of m. 5 (a ♯’ from f’); similarly, nothing could really have preceded the f’ on the second eighth of m. 6 but the g’. Cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit auf, Motette BWV 226. Faksimile-Lichtdruck des Autographs*, ed. Konrad Ameln (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), and Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach* 2:148–49.
- i. See n. 52.
- j. See Werner Breig, “Zur Chronologie von Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzertschaffen: Versuch eines neuen Zugangs,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 40 (1983): 77–101, at 83–90.
- k. See Marissen, “Organological Questions and Their Significance in J. S. Bach’s Fourth Brandenburg Concerto,” 46–47, and Gregory Butler, “The Question of Genre in J. S. Bach’s Fourth Brandenburg Concerto,” BP 4 (1999): 9–32, at 15, 27, 29 n. 10, and 31–32 nn. 28 and 30.
- l. See Joshua Rifkin, “Ein langsamer Konzertsatz Johann Sebastian Bachs,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978): 140–47; also Steven Zoltn with Ian Paynter, “Bach, Telemann, and the Process of Transformative Imitation in BWV 1056/2 (156/1),” *Journal of Musicology* 17 (1999): 546–84. The suggestion that the two instrument-
- tal movements in BWV 35 might not have come from the same work as one another (see Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 124), while obviously impossible to disprove, overlooks the fact that the scribes of the cantata took the continuo part of the first, and most of the remaining instrumental parts (Oboes 1, 2, Taille; first copies of Violin 1 and 2; Viola) but the second, not from the autograph of the cantata but from an otherwise unknown source—surely the score or parts of the original concerto; cf. NBA I/20 (*Kantaten zum 11. und 12. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*), ed. Klaus Hofmann and Ernest May, KB, 188–90.
- m. For the key and the solo instrument, see principally Siegele, *Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik*, 136–42; NBA VIII/7 (*Verschollene Solokonzerte in Rekonstruktionen*), ed. Wilfried Fischer, KB, 132–37; and Rifkin, “Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke,” 72 n. 34, to the evidence in which I might now add the correction of a : to a : in the harpsichord at m. 169 of the third movement (cf. NBA VII/4, KB, 77). The speculations in Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 318 and 497 n. 41, and Konrad Küster, “Orchestermusik,” in *Bach-Handbuch*, ed. Konrad Küster (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 898–935, at 923–24 and 930 (also idem, “Die Vokalmusik,” *ibid.*, 96–513, at 327), on an organ concerto as possible model ignore the manuscript evidence cited in “Verlorene Quellen,” and against the reservations about the suitability of this music to the oboe expressed in Haynes, “Johann Sebastian Bachs Oboenkonzerte,” 31–32. I would note that more than one Baroque oboist of my acquaintance finds this piece eminently playable, and even a gratifying challenge. Of the corrections in the autograph of BWV 1053 that Rampe and Sackmann (*Bachs Orchestermusik*, 131 and 465 n. 22) interpret as signs of a model written a tone lower, only those at mm. 32, 46, and 55 of the first

Figure 1. Continued.

- movement possibly have this implication: the rest either alter readings identical to those in BWV 169/1 as they would appear in E or E^b (no. 1, mm. 3 and 4; no. 2, m. 3) or do not involve revisions of a second (cf. NBA VII/4, KB, 66–72).
- n. See Haynes, “Johann Sebastian Bachs Oboenkonzerte,” 37, and Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 143–44.
- o. See chiefly Werner Breig, “Zur Werkgeschichte von Johann Sebastian Bachs Cembalokonzert in A-Dur BWV 1055,” and idem, “Zur Gestalt von Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzert für Oboe d’amore,” *Tibia* 18 (1993): 431–48. The attempt in Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 135–36 and 138–41, to sustain arguments for the viola d’amore as the original solo instrument rests essentially on a failure to read the autograph of BWV 1055 very knowledgeably: not only the frequent corrections (see Breig, “Zur Werkgeschichte,” 192–93) but also the character of Bach’s script (see the reproduction in NBA VII/7, ix) exclude any realistic chance that the arpeggio figures of the harpsichord in the ritornellos come from the model.
- p. For the double concerto BWV 1060, see chiefly Rifkin, “Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke,” 61–65 and 71–72; the attempted refutation in Sackmann and Rampe, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 161–64, presents such a partial and distorted account of my arguments as to verge on wilful misrepresentation.
- q. See NBA VIII/5 (*Konzerte für zwei Cembali*), ed. Karl Heller and Hans-Joachim Schulze, KB, 92–94; Wolff, 228; and Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 155–56.
- r. While the version of BWV 1050 in AmB 78 unquestionably derives from the one notated in ST 130, the score of Am.B. 78 probably did not depend directly on ST 130. See Dürr and Marshall as in n. 207; note too, in amplification of the latter’s points, that the correspondence between copyist’s marks and page turns in the score falls down midway through the first movement—the parts show a mark at m. 98, but the score has a page turn a measure later.
- s. See NBA VII/6 (*Konzerte für drei und vier Cembali*), ed. Rudolf Eller and Karl Heller, KB, 26–31; NBA VII/7, KB, 141–43; Karl Heller, “Eine Leipziger Werklfassung und deren unbekannte Vorlage: Thesen zur Urform des Konzerts BWV 1063,” *Bach in Leipzig—Bach und Leipzig: Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2000*, ed. Ulrich Leisinger, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bachforschung 5 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002), 90–108; and Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 170–75.
- t. See Hofmann, “Zur Fassungs-geschichte des zweiten Brandenburgischen Konzerts,” which I continue to find persuasive despite the objections in Rampe and Sackmann, *Bach Orchestermusik*, 94.
- u. Cf. n. 144.
- v. See principally NBA I/14, KB, 69–71, 96, and 106–7, and Marissen, “Penzel Manuscripts of Bach Concertos,” 80–84.
- w. See Peter Wolny, “Überlegungen zum Trippelkonzert a-Moll BWV 1044,” *Bachs Orchesterverke*, 283–91; Hans Eppstein, “Grundzüge in J. S. Bachs Sonatenschriften,” BJ 55 (1969): 55–30, at 23–24 and 30; and n. 147 in this essay.
- x. See n. 151.
- y. See n. 48; the further details and speculations in Rampe and Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, 261–64, strike me as mostly questionable, but as they do not affect the basic facts of the matter I need not consider them here.
- z. See Rifkin, “Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke,” 59–61.

Figure 1. Continued.

of the music that we do have survives only in secondary sources, and the transmission even of works for which original manuscripts exist displays painful lacunae—only in the rarest case do we have both the autograph score and the accompanying parts.¹⁴⁷ Yet without wishing to minimize the extent of the damage, I would suggest that these losses have created something of a misleading impression. Scholars have generally read the fragmentary transmission of Bach's instrumental music as a sign that his production in this domain originally encompassed a far greater number of compositions than we

Overdotting," 38) follow the traditional pattern of starting the quicker central section with a fugal exposition unsupported by the bass until the final entry; BWV 119/1, by contrast, maintains continuo involvement throughout and lacks a thoroughgoing imitative structure. Nor do the instrumental ouvertures contain anything remotely like the call-and-response entry of the voices at m. 44. I would think it more likely, therefore, that the movement derives from a chorus in ouverture style, such as Bach wrote in BWV 21, 61, 97, and 194. The instrumental trio that Hofmann ("Ein verschollenes Kammermusikwerk"; see n. 138) proposes as the source of the organ sonata BWV 525 might represent another such phantom. Without the slow movement of BWV 1032, nothing in the music really presupposes ensemble realization—all the more so as Hofmann's reading of the middle line in the outer movements as an oboe part (cf. "Ein verschollenes Kammermusikwerk," 69) depends on a questionable interpretation of some variants in the late trio arrangement (*ibid.*, 73 n. 21): surely, we may better understand the octave transfers in the middle voice at mm. 32–33 of the first movement and mm. 15–17 of the third as attempts to avoid some particularly ungainly part crossing, especially as the second of these introduces an otherwise unmotivated break in the imitation between the upper two voices. Accordingly, I find no reason to believe that the first movement ever began with anything but an idiomatic pedal line of the sort the piece now has (see *ibid.*, 71 n. 14), and even less to imagine any medium but the organ for the last movement, whose principal theme seems designed not least to show off the player's pedal technique. Two further supposed instrumental trios associated with the organ sonatas also merit comment. According to Dietrich Kilian (NBA IV/7, KB, 74), the copy of BWV 527/1 in an early version by Johann Caspar Vogler (P 1089) shows signs of dependency on a set of parts. But while the alignment of treble and bass in mm. 1–7 could give this impression, other features—such as the stemming of the top voice in mm. 3–7 or the spacing of the two upper voices in m. 11—indicate strongly that Vogler worked from a score; and the sextuplet passages at mm. 57–60 and 85–92, ideally suited to the keyboard, do not fit well on flute, oboe, or violin. Hofmann ("Ein verschollenes Kammermusikwerk," 67 n. 1) suggests that the slow movement of BWV 528 comes from a piece with oboe, as the top line of an early version avoids c# in a context where we might sooner have expected it; but I find the spot ambiguous at best, not least because it introduces other variations as well into material it restates. Finally, the trio sonata considered as a source for the slow movement of the concerto BWV 1060 in Rifkin, "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke," 63, 65, and 72, remains too vague a possibility to count without question as a lost composition. On the trio hypothesized as the model for BWV 1043, see n. 52.

147. See Christoph Wolff, "Die Orchesterwerke J. S. Bachs: Grundsätzliche Erwägungen zu Repertoire, Überlieferung und Chronologie," in *Bow*, 17–30.

can account for today.¹⁴⁸ Surely, however, the very intensity with which Bach recycled his instrumental works tells us precisely the opposite—that he in fact wrote only a limited number of such pieces, which he then had constantly to adapt to ever new situations.¹⁴⁹ If, therefore, we orient ourselves to the basic compositional substance and not to each particular manifestation and transformation that it may undergo, it seems fair to suppose that we in fact know the greater part of what Bach created in the instrumental realm.

Two examples may show how this assumption fits with the source situation. The first concerns the Brandenburg Concertos. Manuscripts written after 1750 transmit Concertos 2, 3, and 5 as independent pieces, in versions that clearly represent an earlier—if not necessarily very much earlier—stage of development than those preserved in the dedication score of 1721; a close relative of the first concerto, moreover, survives in a copy of 1760 whose readings also point to models predating the dedication score.¹⁵⁰ These posthumous sources, in other words, show no recognizable connection to the six concertos as a set but derive ultimately from Bach’s original manuscripts of the individual pieces. Yet should we assume that Bach assembled the contents of the dedication copy from a larger supply of similar works, then we must ask at the same time why the very items he selected turn up in the second half of the century but the putative rejected candidates fail to appear—for the surviving corpus of Bach’s music contains not a single further composition of analogous profile.¹⁵¹

148. See, for example, the recent discussion in Peter Wollny, “Abschriften und Autographe, Sammler und Kopisten: Aspekte der Bach-Pflege im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Bach und die Nachwelt* 1:27–62, at 33–34.

149. The degree to which Bach recycled his instrumental music has no match among at least his sacred vocal works, nor, so far as I can tell, among the instrumental works of any of his contemporaries.

150. Cf. Alfred Dürr, “Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des 5. Brandenburgischen Konzerts,” *BJ* 61 (1975): 63–69, and Michael Marissen, “Penzel Manuscripts of Bach Concertos,” in *bow*, 77–87. Marissen has established elsewhere that manuscripts thought by Heinrich Bessler to contain independent versions of the fourth and sixth concertos in fact derived from the dedication score; see Michael Marissen, “Organological Questions and Their Significance in J. S. Bach’s Fourth Brandenburg Concerto,” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 15 (1991): 5–52, at 45–47, and idem, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 121–27.

151. Malcolm Boyd has voiced similar suspicions in *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 16–17. Bach approaches the manner of the Brandenburg Concertos most closely in the sinfonia BWV 42/1—and this piece, as pointed out in n. 146, does not come from a concerto. The supposition that Bach more likely had a fairly narrow base of works on which to proceed when assembling the Brandenburg Concertos receives further

As a second example, I would mention the Violin Concerto in E Major (BWV 1042). In contrast to the Brandenburg Concertos, we know this work solely through manuscripts copied after Bach's death.¹⁵² Against this, however, we have the harpsichord arrangement BWV 1054 in the autograph volume P 234. Once again, the late transmission—which we must surely regard as random—brings us a work that already reaches us, even if in different form, through other channels.

The idea that a large stock of instrumental music by Bach has disappeared without a trace would thus compel us to imagine not one, but two bodies of lost sources—original manuscripts and at least some later copies. Unless, moreover, the missing compositions led an existence utterly different from that of the surviving ones and never underwent recycling, we would in effect have to imagine something like two bodies of lost pieces, as well.¹⁵³ Such a rapidly expanding population of ghosts cannot strike very many as something credible. By every indication, therefore, we can define the scope and nature of Bach's instrumental output to a much greater degree than previously imagined. True, we lack this or that version of this or that work, and doubtless not every concerto, every overture or sonata of his has come down to us even through a single representative.¹⁵⁴ But on the whole, I think it safe to say that relatively little has escaped us completely.

support from the findings of Hofmann, "Zur Fassungs-geschichte des zweiten *Brandenburgischen Konzerts*," and from the heterodox genesis of the first concerto arrived at independently by Michael Talbot and myself; see his "Purpose and Peculiarities of the *Brandenburg Concertos*," in *Bach und die Stile*, 255–89, at 271–76 and 287–88.

152. Cf. NBA VII/3, KB, 21–23, as well as the supplementary information in Wollny, "Ein 'musikalischer Veteran Berlins,'" 102 and 106.

153. Responding to a preliminary version of these findings in "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke," 67–69, Hans-Joachim Schulze observes that their "optimistic conclusion . . . will not win the allegiance of every author"; see his review of Bow in BJ 85 (1999): 201–4, at 202. Yet if, as the context suggests, he rates the number of lost compositions considerably higher than I do, he rates the number of lost versions considerably lower: "The complicated processes of creation or arrangement assumed by various authors for individual concertos presuppose that these various stages would have taken written form. Where all this material could have remained, whether it still existed at the division of Bach's estate or whether Bach during his lifetime had let it out of his hands, made a gift of it, sold it, or lent it and not got it back—these questions have not yet had a satisfactory answer." Schulze does not explain how "these questions" differ from the question of the entirely unknown instrumental pieces whose existence he appears to take for granted.

154. For an apparently "new" lost instrumental work, see the remarks on the slow movement of the double concerto BWV 1060 in Rifkin, "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke," 62–63, 65, and 71–72, but also the cautions in n. 146.

VI

Let us come back to our point of departure—the “B-Minor Flute Suite.” Does all that has emerged in the course of the present exploration change our understanding of the piece? If we choose to listen self-critically, we shall no doubt have at least to qualify the extent to which we hear it as somehow embodying the essence of both B minor and the flute. Less obviously, we may find our perceptions affected by the latest—and presumably last—shift in its chronological position. For a very long time, after all, the musical community associated the overture with Coethen and its princely court, a station in Bach’s career when the still relatively young composer seemed to have enjoyed a degree of contentment never equaled in the remainder of his life.¹⁵⁵ With its assignment to the late 1730s, the work moved to a very different milieu: the conflicted world of Leipzig on the cusp of Bach’s late period—the world of the battle with Ernesti, the attacks of Scheibe, and the trouble over the Passion music in 1739.¹⁵⁶ Now, although pushed back only a few years and still in Leipzig, it appears once again in new surroundings: while following closely on a time of mounting tension with his civic employers, it nevertheless comes at what we might see as the height of Bach’s middle period—indeed, in the first flush of his involvement with an ensemble that more than a few scholars have seen as betokening a revitalization of his powers after a period of increasing tribulation in his ecclesiastical and scholastic duties.¹⁵⁷ To the extent that we think of music as reflecting the circumstances of its creation, we face the prospect that the overture will somehow take on a different guise with each new dating.

Of course, we can take such things only so far. As Laurence Dreyfus reminds us, Bach resists easy contextualization; indeed, it seems almost better to place him dialectically against contexts than within them.¹⁵⁸ Not only that, but the very sort of context

155. Wolff’s assessment in *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 202, can stand for many: “Bach found himself in a musically ideal situation.”

156. Cf., variously, n. 96 and BDOK 1:82–91 (nos. 32–35) and 95–106 (nos. 39–41); 2:267–76 (nos. 380 and 382–83) and 286–88 (no. 400), as well as the further items cited 287; and 3:314 (no. 820). Among modern biographical accounts, that of Arno Forchert comes closest to bringing these episodes into conjunction; see his *Johann Sebastian Bach und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber, 2000), 142–47 and 156–65.

157. As Wolff has put it, Bach “must have felt that, as director of the collegium, he would be able to establish an area where he would be completely independent and free to pursue his own ideas”; see Walter Emery and Christoph Wolff, “Bach, III: (7) Johann Sebastian Bach,” in *The New Grove* 1:785–840, at 798, lightly modified in *The New Grove*, 2nd. ed., 2:309–82, at 323.

158. See Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), esp. the chapters “Bach as Critic of the Enlightenment,” 219–44, and, from a more autonomously musical vantage point, “Composing against the Grain,” 33–58.

routinely invoked in connection with Bach belongs to a rather different world from those in which I have just situated the *ouverture*: whereas few will read, say, Handel without reference to specific constellations of patrons, friends, and collaborators in Rome or London, Bach has a habit of winding up not so much in Weimar, Coethen, or Leipzig as in an abstract German universe governed by the overarching concepts of Lutheranism, Enlightenment, and absolutism.¹⁵⁹ Even allowing for a strong dose of religious, philosophical, and national ideology, I think we may see this tendency as rooted more than a little in the powerfully self-willed logic of Bach's compositional invention and its mechanisms; and that logic, to complete a kind of hermeneutic circle, leaves the *ouverture* untouched not only by vagaries of dating, but also by revelations about its key and instrumentation.

But this conclusion, and indeed the entire train of reasoning behind it, may well miss the point. For one thing, if we can now recognize the *Ouverture for Flute and Strings in B Minor* as a derivative of another composition—an epiphenomenon, if you will, rather than the phenomenon itself—then questions of understanding must inevitably shift to a different object: the *Ouverture in A Minor for Violin and Strings*. Admittedly, some may continue to regard the distinction as trivial. As the *ouverture* itself reminds us, Bach transposed and transcribed his earlier works often enough to make us wonder if he really cared very much about scoring and key. I see no reason, however, to draw such an inference: a readiness to alter the sonority of music already composed does not inevitably translate into an indifference toward sonority when actually conceiving and composing that music. Indeed, in this era of “historical performance,” the point would hardly seem to require a strenuous defense; and in any event, no matter what Bach himself might have thought, we have no obligation to consider specifics of tonality and instrumentation as matters of incidental significance.¹⁶⁰ Even leaving aside facile notions of key characteristics, no one will deny that strings playing in A minor produce, simply by virtue of fingering and resonance, something very different from what the same group will produce in B minor; nor, just as obvious, does an ensemble of strings alone really sound anything like a mixed ensemble of strings and flute. The differences may not register dramatically on the page, nor in an analytic discourse—and an attendant sense of compositional logic—all but inevitably concentrated on internal relationships of pitch and duration. Yet in the

159. See, to name just three familiar examples, Ulrich Siegele, *Bachs theologischer Formbegriff und das Duett F-Dur: Ein Vortrag*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 6 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1978); Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos*.

160. Cf. Rifkin, “Klangpracht und Stilauffassung,” 340.

reality of performance, they prove anything but negligible. As more than a few who have heard the reconstructed A-minor overture have remarked, the darker, more uniform color and the lower pitch together lend the music a gravitas unknown in what has become its familiar garb.¹⁶¹ The solo instrument, too, exposes meanings previously unsuspected. To take just two: the bariolage on its very first entry lends a newly assertive undercurrent to the deportment of the principal actor; and at the opposite end of the work, the imploring gestures in mm. 18–19 and 36–37 of the *Battinerie* speak now with an urgency that few would have recognized before.

These observations, however, could raise another objection: that to supplant, if only in the realm of critical inquiry, the B-minor overture with that in A minor risks fetishizing Bach’s original conception over its subsequent evolution. Yet without wishing to deflate the nimbus of the “Fassung letzter Hand,” I would ask just how well “evolution,” and all that it implies, really fits the present situation.¹⁶² In line with the bias confronted in the last paragraph, we typically locate those revisions of Bach’s that we regard as genuine compositional enhancements in the domain of pitch and rhythm: elaborations of melodic lines, intensifications of harmonic density, sharpening of rhythmic gestures. Changes of key or scoring have a more contingent status, and nowhere more so than when they occur not within a piece otherwise left fundamentally intact—as with, for instance, the addition of flutes to the cantata *Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild* (BWV 79), or the final version of the aria “Zerfließe, mein Herze” in the St. John Passion—but on the level of transferring an entire composition from one medium to another.¹⁶³ Hence Bach’s keyboard adaptations of the three extant concertos with one or two violins have never really established a place comparable to the originals either in the repertory or in scholarly reception, even though, strictly speaking, they embody his final thoughts on the music. Conversely, we may wonder if the D-minor

161. Much of what I write here reflects the experience of performing the A-minor overture with the Bach Ensemble at concerts in the U.S. and elsewhere in 2000 and 2002; my thanks especially to the violin soloists Linda Quan and Emlyn Ngai.

162. I have already touched on the underlying theme of the following remarks elsewhere: see Joshua Rifkin, “More (and Less) on Bach’s Orchestra,” 10–11; “From Weimar to Leipzig: Concertists and Ripienists in Bach’s *Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis*,” *Early Music* 24 (1996): 583–603, at 594; and “Klangpracht und Stilauffassung,” 340.

163. On BWV 79, see particularly Michael Marissen, “Aufführungspraxis und Bedeutung in zwei Instrumentalwerken Johann Sebastian Bachs,” in *Bach und die Stile*, 291–301, at 295–96; on “Zerfließe, mein Herze,” see Joshua Rifkin, “The Violins in Bach’s St. John Passion,” in *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles, Musicology 18 (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996), 307–32, at 322–28.

harpsichord concerto BWV 1052 would ever have achieved its iconic, if sometimes contentious, status if the underlying composition for violin had survived.¹⁶⁴ At least among the music for instrumental ensemble, in other words, our inherited approach has indeed tended to elevate the original above the transformation.¹⁶⁵

Obviously, much of what I describe here has to do less with articulated preferences, or even unconscious prejudices, than with accidents of transmission, the development of what we might call the working Bach canon in the nineteenth century, and a considerable amount of inertia since. But some of it surely reflects a more deeply perceived truth, as well; for we do not have to restore the entire analytic and critical hierarchy whose consequences I have sought to qualify to recognize that modifications of pitch and rhythm on the one hand, and of key and instrumentation on the other, have very different meanings in Bach's reworking of his music. If nothing else, it would seem clear that he regarded changes of the former sort as an improvement on what he had formerly written and meant them to supersede what they replaced—even if he did not always hold absolutely to this in practice.¹⁶⁶ But in principle as well as in practice, I doubt anyone would contend that he regarded the transfer of a sonata, concerto, or overture from one medium to another in the same light: whatever the attractions of the new scoring, and however many revisions of internal detail he may have introduced, Bach surely did not consider the very fact of adaptation as an evolutionary step effacing its precursor any more than subsequent reception has done. This would seem all the more the case when the newer incarnation leaves the inner fabric of the music largely or completely untouched—precisely the situation, as we have seen, with the B-minor overture. Especially under this circumstance, we may surely think it reasonable to grant the original not only parity with, but even primacy over, the arrangement.

Not, I should add, that I expect any of this to have much consequence in the real world; if nothing else, the inertia alluded to not many lines above means that the A-minor overture stands about as much chance of edging out its celebrated B-minor

164. See, for some early manifestations, Werner Breig, "Bachs Violinkonzert d-Moll: Studien zu seiner Gestalt und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte," *BJ* 62 (1976): 7–34, at 22–23; Bodo Bischoff, "Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns," in *Bach und die Nachwelt* 1:421–99, at 465; and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, "Zwischen Bearbeitung und Interpretation: Zum praktischen Umgang mit Bachs Instrumentalwerk," *ibid.*, 2:341–89, at 355.

165. In vocal music things have tended to work differently, as the relative position of many sacred cantatas and their secular models—not least those relegated in BWV to the shadow world of "a" numbers—indicates; but this, as I need hardly emphasize, has different reasons yet again.

166. To mention a particularly well-known example, Bach's last performance of the St. John Passion incorporated barely any of the revisions he had made in the abandoned autograph score of 1739; cf., most readably, Dürr, *Die Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 23–24.

progeny in either musical practice or scholarly consciousness as a new typewriter layout has of spelling the end to the qwerty keyboard.¹⁶⁷ But in fact no one—and not merely flutists—would really want to see the overture as we have known it fade from view. After all, Bach arranged it. Nor, despite its secondary status, can we deny its appeal. Awareness that the octave doubling of the Polonoise represents both an afterthought and a matter of virtual necessity makes the resultant sonority no less arresting; and only the hardest of hearts could fail to take pleasure from hearing the flute scamper through even the very passages in the first movement or the Battinerie where only the violin can reveal all that the music has to say. Whatever its origins, moreover, BWV 1067 documents a clearly important side of Bach’s musical concerns of the later 1730s: for whatever reason, he turned to the flute often in the period, even if not as a medium for new composition. So the gain of a significant new work by Bach does not mean the loss of another; deconstructing the “B-minor Flute Suite” does not mean destroying it.

Postscript: Christian Friedrich Penzel and a Lost Source for BWV 1067

In the critical report to their edition of BWV 1067 in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Heinrich Besseler and Hans Größ draw special attention to a score and set of parts—P 1065 and ST 639, respectively—written by the Oelsnitz cantor and former Leipzig prefect Christian Friedrich Penzel. Unlike two other secondary sources from the eighteenth century, these manuscripts do not show obvious signs of dependence on the surviving original parts; on the contrary, they offer singular readings at several points.¹⁶⁸ Since the first page of P 1065 shows the inscription “J.J.,” often found in Bach autographs, Besseler and Größ suggest that Penzel’s copies derive from “an autograph score of Bach’s.”¹⁶⁹ If we take this to mean a composing document, then the suggestion runs into conflict with our findings in Section I, which seemed to indicate that Bach and his copyists created the B-minor overture directly in parts. Indeed, such a score would in effect remove all but the most tenuous evidence for the supposed early version of the work. Obviously, the matter demands closer consideration.

We must begin with the Penzel manuscripts themselves. As Yoshitake Kobayashi has established, the two copies did not originate at the same time: the parts date from circa

167. See also, in a similar connection, Breig, “Bachs Violinkonzert d-Moll,” 34.

168. For the other eighteenth-century sources, as well as nineteenth-century copies dependent on Penzel, see NBA VII/I, KB, 37–38, 40–42, 45, and 122. For the readings, see further in the main text.

169. NBA VII/I, KB, 39. The description of the first page *ibid.*, 38, reverses the positions of the composer attribution and the inscription: “J.J.” stands to the left of the title, “di J. S. Bach” to the right.

1755, the score from circa 1760.¹⁷⁰ In contrast to what we might expect, therefore, the parts cannot have derived from the score. Indeed, well before Kobayashi's investigations, the readings had led Bessler and Größ to exactly this conclusion.¹⁷¹ According to the two editors, Penzel must have copied score and parts independently from the same parent source. Yet especially if we follow Bessler and Größ in identifying this source as the putative original score of BWV 1067, their scenario runs into more than a few difficulties. The gap in time now opened up by Kobayashi between ST 639 and P 1065 presents one. Although we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that Penzel made two separate copies from the same manuscript at widely spaced intervals, it does not appear immediately plausible that he should have done so: if he had a score in his possession over a longer period of time, he would scarcely have had to write P 1065; and if he had extended access to a set of parts, he would have had no need to produce ST 639. More important, certain features of P 1065 reveal that Penzel did not copy this manuscript from another score but rather assembled it from parts.

A single example should suffice to make this clear. Plate 3 shows the second page of P 1065, which contains mm. 25–59 of the opening movement. As the reader will immediately note, Penzel reversed the two violin lines in the uppermost system. His method of copying makes the error easy to understand. In both this movement and the Rondeaux, he wrote out the flute in its entirety but restricted the first violin to occasional cues except for the relatively few places—such as the last five measures of the page reproduced here—where it proceeds independently of the solo instrument.¹⁷² For large stretches, therefore, the staff immediately below the flute remained blank, which makes it hardly surprising that the second violin should occasionally have wandered into it at the start of a new page or system. In principle, of course, a scribe copying from a score could have fallen prey to such a mistake, at least if his model also contained nothing in the first-violin staff. But surely, no one with a score before him would have felt impelled to count up rests so painstakingly where instruments remain silent. The numbers could not very well have served as a guide for a future copyist extracting parts from P 1065. If Penzel had this in mind, he would presumably

170. See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Göttingen, 1973), 174–83, esp. 179 and 181. According to Kobayashi, P 1065 has a watermark found otherwise only in a manuscript dated 1754 (P 1053, BWV 211) and in a further source lacking a date but characteristic of Penzel's script ca. 1755 (P 1055, BWV 1068); see also n. 204. Nevertheless, the handwriting of P 1065 surely justifies Kobayashi's dating; perhaps the watermark in the manuscript—which I have not had the chance to compare with other sources—in fact represents a variant form of the one documented in the mid-1750s.

171. See NBA VII/1, KB, 45–46.

172. For details of this in the first movement, see NBA VII/1, KB, 47.

The "B-Minor Flute Suite" Deconstructed



Plate 3. P 1065, f. 1^v

have entered a “12” in the continuo at the start of the second system rather than the “11” at the end of the first; and he also would have had no reason to write a “3” in the same part at the bottom of the page, as the continuo has a further four measures’ rest before it enters again. Penzel, in other words, numbered the rests for his own orientation—to keep himself from getting lost when transferring parts to score.¹⁷³

The remainder of P 1065 essentially bears out the lessons of our sample page. For the Sarabande, Bourée, and Polonoise, Penzel switched the notational roles of the two lead instruments, copying Violin 1 in full and the flute in abbreviated form. If, by this measure, he hoped to avoid the problem of errant instrumental lines, the strategy did not always succeed; on fol. 5r, in the last system of the Sarabande, Violin 1 occupies the uppermost staff and the other parts follow immediately below, meaning that the flute remains absent and the lowest staff remains empty. At no point, however, does the order of priority between flute and violin shift within a movement, as we could expect if Penzel had a score before him; and the Sarabande, although composed in only four real parts, maintains the five-stave layout of the preceding music.¹⁷⁴ From the Double to the end, Penzel appears to have copied once more from the flute. The Double, of course, left him no other option, as the violins and viola fall silent for the entire movement. Presumably, a *tacet* marking in Violin 1—Penzel’s own part, for example, reads, “Violino 1. *tac*”—alerted him to the change in scoring; as Penzel notated the movement on two staves instead of five, we can surmise that he cast a glance at the other string parts before proceeding.¹⁷⁵ Somewhat puzzlingly, the Menuet does not return to the five-stave layout, but places flute and violin together on the top staff with the inscription “Flauto con Violino. 1.” Although this could obviously revive suspicions that Penzel worked from score, we shall see evidence in the next paragraph suggesting that he copied the line from a separate flute part; and in the Battinerie, an error in the continuo again suggests dependence on parts: near the end of the move-

173. A similarly telling instance, again in the continuo, occurs at the three bars of rest occupying mm. 134–36 of the first movement (fol. 3r): mm. 134–35 come at the end of a line and carry the number “2,” m. 136 begins a new line and marks the total “3” as it appears in the corresponding part. Similarly, when reaching the end of a line at m. 9 of the Rondeaux (fol. 4r), Penzel augmented the rest with a surely superfluous “1.” A copyist would scarcely have had a great need for such low measure counts, which Penzel entered with obsessive consistency.

174. This point remains unaffected by the accident in the final system; here, too, Penzel had drawn a brace of five staves.

175. Bessler and Grüß (NBA VII/1, KB, 39) cite the reduced layout of the Double as support for their assertion that Penzel copied from a score. As Michael Marissen has shown, Penzel’s copy of the *sinfonia* BWV 1046a (P1061), another manuscript with systems of varying size, also derives from parts; see “Penzel Manuscripts of Bach Concertos,” 77–78.

ment, Penzel copied only two of the three identical measures 33–35 into P 1065 but nevertheless continued to write the bass line until just before its conclusion five bars later—only then, it seems, did he realize that he had come to the final note ahead of the other instruments.

Notwithstanding the slight uncertainty created by the layout of the Menuet, therefore, the conclusion that P 1065 derives from a set of parts would appear unshakeable. Indeed, having established that P 1065 derives from a set of parts, it takes little effort to identify Penzel’s model. Michael Marissen has shown that Penzel copied scores of the Second and Third Brandenburg Concertos from parts that he himself had prepared at earlier times; a comparison of readings in the *ouverture* leaves no doubt that he followed the same procedure here, as well.¹⁷⁶ The variants shared by P 1065 and ST 639 include more than a few outright errors. A particularly notable one occurs in the second half of the *Battinerie*: from the start of this section in the middle of m. 16 until m. 21, the second-violin line contains the parts of both Violin 1 and Violin 2. To imagine that P 1065 could owe this reading to anything but ST 639 would presuppose the existence of a second set of parts containing exactly the same mistake—hardly a credible proposition.¹⁷⁷ In at least one instance, moreover, a discrepancy between P 1065 and ST 639 plainly reflects an attempt by Penzel to rectify something that had gone wrong in the part. At m. 208 of the opening movement, Violin 2 should read as shown in Example 10a. In ST 639, however, Penzel transformed this into the reading reproduced in Example 10b; and in P 1065, the measure assumed the form shown in Example 10c.¹⁷⁸ The readings of ST 639 also help resolve the questions about the Menuet raised in the last paragraph and explain the error in the continuo of the *Battinerie*. At m. 8 of the Menuet, Penzel’s flute part and the combined treble line of P 1065 have an appoggiatura on b' instead of the d'' found both in Violin 1 of ST 639 and in Bach’s flute and violin parts; the chances that a common parent score for ST 639 and P 1065 would have written out the two lines and had different appoggiaturas for each would appear slender indeed. At m. 33 of the *Battinerie*, an inexplicable sharp sign in the continuo of ST 639 obscures the first note; Penzel could have momentarily read this as canceling the entire measure.

176. See *ibid.*, 79–82; we no longer have the set of parts from which Penzel copied BWV 1046a.

177. Bessler and Größ (NBA VII/1, KB, 45) already commented on this reading but saw it as indicating the dependence of both P 1065 and ST 639 on a common parent in score form.

178. Similar attempts at correcting problematic readings in ST 639—not all of them reported, or reported fully, in NBA VII/1, KB—occur in the Continuo at m. 39 of the first movement (erroneous sharp before the fifth note rubbed out in P 1065), and in *Bourée* 1, mm. 15 (first and last note in ST 639 E#; P 1065 adds a sharp to change the third note from G to G#, then cancels both this sharp and the one beside the last note) and 22 (last note in Continuo A in ST 639, in P 1065 A changed to C#).



Ex. 10. *a*, Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, m 208, Violin 2.
a, ST 154. *b*, ST 639. *c*, P 1065.

Penzel's score, P 1065, thus derives from his parts, ST 639.¹⁷⁹ This means, obviously, that the "J.J." at its head cannot have the significance imputed to it by Bessler and Größ. In point of fact, more than one further manuscript by Penzel also shows "J.J.," or the related invocation "I.N.I.," independently of its model.¹⁸⁰ Bach's pupil Johann Ludwig Krebs, moreover, used "J.J." to begin at least one of his autograph scores.¹⁸¹ Perhaps the habit of starting manuscripts in this fashion came from Bach; but musicians of his school clearly adopted it as their own. Bach himself, we might note, used "J.J." far less often in secular compositions than in sacred works, and even more infrequently in instrumental music; indeed, among his admittedly not plentiful instrumental manuscripts, I find it only in large collective volumes, never in individual scores, whether of keyboard, organ, or ensemble pieces.¹⁸² So we have little reason to

179. Unless otherwise indicated, all further citations of readings in Penzel refer solely to ST 639.

180. Apart from BWV 1067, Penzel used "J.J." in his scores of BWV 112 (P 1033), 113 (P 1034), and 129 (P 950); "I.N.I." appears in his scores of BWV 41 (P 1026), 133 (P 1039), 137 (P 1040), 140 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, c61 No. 7), and 149 (P 1043). Although most of these seem indeed to depend on Bach's autograph scores, Alfred Dürr has shown that the copies of BWV 129 and 140 all but certainly derive from the original parts, and Andreas Glöckner has asserted without qualification that Penzel's score of BWV 133 does so, as well. See NBA I/15 (*Kantaten zum Trinitatisfest und zum 1. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*), ed. Alfred Dürr, Robert Freeman, and James Webster, KB, 77–83; NBA I/27 (*Kantaten zum 24.-27. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*), ed. Alfred Dürr, KB, 133 and 140–41; and NBA I/3.1 (*Kantaten zum 2. und 3. Weihnachtstag*), ed., Klaus Hofmann, Andreas Glöckner, et al., KB, 132.

181. Cf. Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Bibliotheken in Brüssel: Katalog*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 2 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), 190.

182. Among secular vocal compositions, "J.J." appears mostly in large-scale works from Leipzig: BWV 30a (see n. 100), 36c (P 43), 201 (P 175), 206 (P 42), 207 (P 174), 214 (P 41), and 215 (P 139); Bach also used it in the moralizing solo cantata BWV 204 (P 107), but not in the Coffee Cantata (BWV 211, P 141), or the Peasant Cantata (BWV 212, P 167). Instrumental manuscripts headed with "J.J." include those of the organ sonatas BWV 525–30 and the late chorales BWV 651–68 and 769 (both in P 271), or the harpsichord concertos BWV 1052–57 and the evidently abandoned set beginning with BWV 1058 (P 234; see Breig, "Zum Kompositionsprozeß in Bachs Cembalokonzerten," 45). For a complete list of autograph instrumental sources, see NBA IX/12 (*Die Notenschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs: Dokumentation ihrer Entwicklung*), ed. Yoshitake Kobayashi, 206–11.

think that an autograph of BWV 1067, in whatever version would have included “J.J.” in its title. Even indirectly, therefore, the likelihood of tracing Penzel’s “J.J.” to Bach would appear slim. As the error in Violin 2 of the Battinerie tells us, Penzel must have taken ST 639 from a score; we have nothing to indicate, however, that that score came from Bach’s own hand. Its identity and character remain open to question. The search for an answer yields contradictory results. To start with the simplest evidence, Penzel’s viola part differs in pitch and rhythm from Bach’s at a handful of places in the first and last movements.¹⁸³ Without exception, the readings in Penzel make as much sense musically as those in ST 154; hence in all probability, they stem from the part that the composer replaced in the 1740s. So autograph or not, the score behind Penzel’s copies must go back to quite an early point in the history of BWV 1067. But defining that point exactly proves more difficult. The musical text transmitted by ST 639 and, secondarily, P 1065 shows a complex relationship to the parts of the late 1730s. At the most basic level, it has the correct readings for the great majority of the apparent transposition errors and other wrong notes listed in Table 2 and notes 12 and 16; yet at three places—summarized, along with other readings that we shall mention, in Table 6—it retains incorrect pitches subsequently rectified in Bach’s parts: a discordant note in the second violin at m. 88 of the first movement; the untransposed final note at m. 30 of the Sarabande in the same part; and a dissonance created when the scribe mistakenly perpetuated the ostinato pattern of the continuo at m. 20 in Bourée 1.¹⁸⁴ Of the more substantive revisions to ST 154, Penzel fails to incorporate an alteration

183. See the variants listed in NBA VII/1, KB, for Overture, mm. 86, 156, and 187, and Battinerie, m. 12.

184. While the scribes themselves appear to have corrected most of the actual wrong notes, tablature letters, seemingly in Bach’s hand, added to the following emendations suggest that these initially went unchecked (for locations within the measure, see NBA VII/1, KB, 48–55): Overture, mm. 8, 17, 36, 81, 88 (all Violin 2), 179 (Continuo), and 196 (Violin 2); Rondeaux, mm. 11 (Violin 2) and 18 (Continuo); Sarabande, mm. 27 (Continuo) and 30 (Violin 2); Bourée 1, m. 20 (Continuo); and Menuet, m. 1 (Violin 1). According to NBA VII/1, KB, 49, the second-violin part of ST 154 could originally have had g’ rather than f#’ as the last note of m. 88 in the Overture; but a fresh examination of the original suggests that Bessler and Größ did not adequately distinguish the note head—which does not go sufficiently above the line to count as a g’ (cf. m. 196 in the same movement)—from the somewhat higher-placed cross that cancels it. Two places in Violin 2 further complicate the relationship between Penzel and ST 154. In the penultimate measure of the Sarabande, Penzel’s first note reads b rather than e’; although this seems clearly preferable in terms of dissonance treatment and because of its closer parallel with the cadence ending in the first section, I cannot imagine a circumstance that could have led Bach’s scribe to write e’ if his model read b—compression of two parts into a single line, for example, does not seem likely here—and in any event, Bach left the e’ unchanged. At the end of the Menuet, Penzel has the single f#’ clearly called for rather than the double stop of P 154 (see n. 16). See also n. 202.

Table 6. Possible connective readings in ST 154 (Bach) and ST 639 (Penzel)

a) Readings shared by Penzel with ST 154 before correction		
Movement, Measure	Part	Remark
Ouverture		
45, 176	Continuo	Last note a (changed in ST 154 to d')
88	Violin 2	Error; last note f [#] , corrected in ST 154 to e'
Sarabande		
30	Violin 2	Error; last note e', corrected in ST 154 to f [#]
Bourée 1		
20	Continuo	Error; last note c [#] , corrected in ST 154 to b
b) Revisions to st 154 shared by Penzel		
Movement, Measure	Part	Remark
Ouverture		
64–69, 168–73	Violin 2	Rhythm altered (see NBA VII/1, KB, 35)
Menuet		
15	Violin 2	1st note transposed down an octave (g' to g)

made to the continuo line at mm. 45 and 176 of the first movement but transmits three significant modifications to Violin 2: the octave shift at m. 15 of the Menuet, and a change in rhythm at mm. 64–69 and 168–73 of the opening movement.¹⁸⁵ Elsewhere in Violin 2, moreover, he has a variant reading at a place—m. 16 of Bourée 1—where ST 154 shows an unclear correction.¹⁸⁶

If we turn from note content to performance indications—still restricting our attention to the violin and continuo parts—the picture shifts again. Compared with ST 154, Penzel's text looks spartan in the extreme: not only does it lack figuring, but it has no tempo markings or instructions like the *staccato* in the continuo at the start of the Battinerie; no dynamics beyond a *piano* that Bach added to Violin 1 in ST 154 at m. 55 of the opening movement; no staccato dots whatever; and relatively few slurs, trills, and appoggiaturas.¹⁸⁷ Since the figuring, the indications of tempo and performance style,

185. For the changes in the continuo, see also n. 8; for m. 15 of the Menuet, see also Plate 1. Penzel's viola part transmits mm. 64–69 and 168–73 of the opening movement in the same rhythmic shape as the revised second violin; cf. n. 17.

186. Cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 53.

187. For details of Penzel's articulation and ornaments, see especially nn. 189–91 and 219; for the autograph *piano* in ST 154, cf. the following note.

and even, it would appear, the staccato dots in ST 154 all come from the composer’s hand—and because most of the dynamics, at least a portion of the slurs, nearly every trill, and no doubt most of the appoggiaturas do so, as well—we may readily suspect that whatever Penzel does include simply mirrors the state of the *ouverture* before the parts underwent any but the most cursory intervention by the composer.¹⁸⁸ The single *piano*, after all, can hardly weigh very heavily in this context. Nevertheless, a closer look reveals some curious inconsistencies. Among the slurs, Penzel transmits none of the admittedly few attributable with any security to Bach, while including most of those recognizable as the work of the scribe in the first-violin part of the *Rondeaux*

188. For the figuring, see Table 2 and n. 212. Apart from the tempo markings, Bach’s verbal entries in ST 154 include all movement titles and small performance directions (“Da Capo,” “doucement,” “Double tacet,” etc.) in Violin 2, and everything in the Continuo but perhaps the headings of the Double, Menuet, and Battinerie—whose uncharacteristically perpendicular lettering may nevertheless show a sufficient affinity with both the unquestionably autograph inscription “Boure 1mo da Capo” on the same page and the dynamics discussed in n. 103 to warrant an attribution to him. I infer the autograph character of the staccato dots not only from their characteristic slanted shape but also from spatial irregularities of the kind detailed in n. 224, which show that their entry must have come at a later time than the original copying. Among the dynamics, Bach added all of those in Violin 1 except at Bourée 2, m. 1, and Battinerie, m. 18; in Violin 2 with at most four exceptions (*Ouverture*, mm. 79 and 102, possibly also mm. 95 and 152; cf. n. 103); and most if not everything in the continuo (cf. *ibid.*). Of the trills, he wrote all but a handful in Violin 1 (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 47, 50–51, and 54–56, at *Ouverture*, mm. 1 and 198; *Sarabande*, m. 8; *Bourée* 2, m. 11; and *Battinerie*, mm. 8, 10, 30, and 32); all but at most one (*Ouverture*, m. 4) in Violin 2; and everything in the continuo (readers comparing the score in NBA VII/1: 27–46, should note that the trill there at m. 200 of the first movement comes from a later source, not ST 154). The slurs pose some difficulty of attribution. In Violin 1, both the inward curl at the left of the copyist’s ties and a comparison with his recorder parts to BWV 1057, in which he would appear to have written all the slurs (cf. NBA VII/4, KB, 182–83), enable us to identify Anon. N 2 at the following places (NBA VII/1 includes slurs from later sources in *Rondeaux*, mm. 8, 10, and 40, and *Bourée* 1, m. 23): *Ouverture*, m. 202; *Rondeaux*, throughout; *Sarabande*, mm. 7–8, 10–12, 19, 29–30, and probably all further slurs not attributable to Bach; *Polonoise*, mm. 2 and 7 (second slur); and *Menuet*, all except perhaps mm. 22–23. Against this, Bach would appear responsible for the slurs at mm. 130, 132, and possibly 197 of the first movement, and we may also recognize his hand in the *Sarabande* at mm. 14 and 23–26, perhaps mm. 3, 4, and 6, as well; *Polonoise*, m. 9, perhaps also m. 7 (first, third and fourth slurs), and possibly mm. 1, 8, and 10 (although these could equally belong to Anon. N 2); *Menuet*, mm. 22–23; and in the *Battinerie* probably at m. 12, more certainly at m. 24. In Violin 2, the copyist appears more likely to have written the single pair of slurs in the first movement (m. 195), those in the *Rondeaux*, and most of those in the remaining movements—I would feel hesitant in attributing anything more than *Sarabande*, m. 27, or *Polonoise*, mm. 10–12, to Bach, and even these strike me as less than certain. I think it probable, too, that the scribe of the figured continuo wrote some or most of his own slurs; in particular, the ductus of those in *Double*, m. 9, and *Menuet*, mm. 16 and 18, strikes me as close enough to his ties or fermatas to suggest a common hand. For the appoggiaturas, see the following paragraph in the main text.

and Menuet; yet he provides barely any slurs for either violin in the Sarabande, even though the copyists, and not Bach, appear to have written most of these, as well.¹⁸⁹ Penzel's trills also fall puzzlingly between those of Bach and the scribes, if in a slightly different way. He incorporates most but not all of the trills entered by Anon. N 2 in Violin 1—Violin 2 contains at best one trill by its copyist, the figured continuo part none.¹⁹⁰ In all three parts, however, he goes beyond what the scribes wrote; and although the extra trills in the violins neither approach those of Bach in number nor coincide with them in every instance, the continuo part reveals a provocative correspondence: after the first eight measures, which he leaves completely bare, Penzel has precisely the same trills as Bach.¹⁹¹

The appoggiaturas, too, raise questions. In ST 154, anomalies of spacing—in Violin 1, for instance, at mm. 5 and 6 of the first movement, or in m. 23 of the Menuet—make it clear that someone other than the copyist squeezed in many of these, which allows us to attribute them safely to the composer. It may come as no surprise, therefore, that Penzel's violin parts have none of the frequent appoggiaturas in the first move-

189. Penzel's first-violin part shows no slurs in the opening movement; the same slurs for the Rondeaux as ST 154 (cf. the preceding note) except at m. 12 (lacking), plus additional slurs at mm. 4 (first half) and 10 (second half); slurs at Sarabande, mm. 6 (notes 1–3; ST 154, notes 1–2) and 11; in Bourée 1, m. 23 (nn. 4–7; ST 154 without slur); and essentially the same slurs as NBA VII/1 in the Menuet (lacking mm. 5, 7, 13, 14, 17, and 21, and with a single four-note slur in m. 23 rather than the possibly autograph pairs). In Violin 2, Penzel has no slurs at all except for one covering all six notes of Menuet, m. 23 (paired eighths in ST 154). Penzel's continuo part has none of the slurs in the Sarabande or Battinerie; the same slurs as ST 154 in Double, mm. 7 and 9, plus slurs on the third quarter of mm. 1 and 5; and the slurs in the Menuet at mm. 10, 12, 16, and 18, but not those at mm. 2 and 20.

190. Of the trills written by Anon. N 2 (see n. 188), Penzel transmits those of the Overture and Battinerie, but not the Sarabande and Bourée 2; his copy also lacks the probably non-autograph trill in Violin 2 at m. 4 of the first movement (cf. *ibid.*).

191. Beyond the trills identical with those of Anon. N 2 (see the previous note), Penzel's first-violin part shows trills at several places in the first movement (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 47–48 and 50, with reference to mm. 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 209, 210, and 211, to which readers should add m. 10, first note, and m. 19, sixth note as transcribed—cf. the remark on notation *ibid.*, 48, which applies to Violin 1 rather than Violin 2), and two in the Polonoise (neither recorded *ibid.*, 54): m. 4, note 1, and m. 5, note 5. Of these, the ones at mm. 10, 11 (note 4), 19, 209, 210, and 211 of the Overture correspond to autograph additions in ST 154, and so does the trill at m. 4 of the Polonoise. Penzel has a single trill in Violin 2, at m. 202 of the Overture, which also corresponds to one entered by Bach in ST 154. In the continuo, the trills common to Penzel and Bach occur at mm. 20, 206, and 209 of the opening movement, and m. 9 of the Sarabande. In Bach's continuo part, we might note, the trills at mm. 2, 4, 6, and 8 of the first movement all lie beneath figures, which would presumably have made them easier to overlook—although the scribe of the unfigured part in ST 154 does in fact include them; see n. 8. See also n. 206.

ment or the Sarabande, nor the single appoggiatura in both violins at m. 36 of the Battinerie. His continuo part, too, lacks the one appoggiatura in ST 154, a note clearly added by Bach at m. 2 of the Menuet. With the upper lines of the Menuet, however, things grow more complicated. Violin 2 has no appoggiaturas in any source. But Penzel’s copy of Violin 1 has five of the seven appoggiaturas found in ST 154, lacking only those at mm. 12 and 23. As we have already observed, the small note at the latter spot unquestionably represents an addition from Bach’s hand, and we might well feel inclined to assume the same with the one in m. 12. Yet neither in their shape nor in their spacing do the remaining appoggiaturas of the Menuet show any consistent difference either from these two or from any of the numerous small notes elsewhere in ST 154; indeed, throughout the movement, the appoggiaturas in ST 154 look, if anything, more cramped than the ones mentioned at the start of this paragraph. Nor do the ink colors encourage a division of scribal labor along the lines of Penzel’s copy; at least to the naked eye, the appoggiaturas in mm. 2, 8, and 12 seem to have the same ink as the notes they precede, while those in mm. 10, 20, and 23 appear to differ, and the appoggiatura in m. 18 does not allow a decision either way. We must reckon, therefore, with the very real possibility that Bach added all or most of the small notes in the Menuet rather than merely the two missing from Penzel; and in that case, we must wonder why Penzel would have copied the appoggiaturas here more or less in their entirety but ignored them consistently everywhere else. The puzzle remains even if, as the ink could suggest, Bach inserted only the appoggiaturas in mm. 10, 20, and 23; then we must ask why Penzel included the first and second of these but omitted the third, and also omitted the one in m. 12 presumably written by Anon. N 2.

The solo part harbors problems of its own. At m. 36 of the first movement, the flute and first-violin lines in ST 154 show a curious discrepancy. As we see from Example 11, both fit equally well with the rest of the texture, and the accidental in the

The image shows a musical score for measures 36-37 of the Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), movement 1. The score is written for four parts: Traversiere, Violino 1, Violino 2/ Viola, and Continuo. The key signature is B minor (two sharps). The Traversiere and Violino 1 parts show a discrepancy in measure 36, with the Traversiere having a natural sign and the Violino 1 having a sharp sign for the same note. The Violino 2/ Viola and Continuo parts are also shown.

Ex. 11. Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), mvt. 1, mm. 36–37
(figuring omitted) as in ST 154.

violin surely means that the scribe did not write e#" inadvertently but took it from his model. The original solo line, therefore, must also have read e#"—Bach presumably opted for the d" in the flute as he wrote out the part. Penzel, too, gives the flute d" rather than e#"; indeed, he writes d" in the violin, as well. But on the whole, his flute part seems to have little in common with Bach's beyond the bare notes. Much like the string parts, it contains very few trills and hardly any of the numerous appoggiaturas or careful articulation that enrich the autograph copy—and what articulation it does have sometimes conflicts directly with the composer's: in place of Bach's scrupulously differentiated phrasing in *Bourée* 2, for instance, Penzel slurs the eighth notes in pairs or, in m. 3 and the second half of m. 5, in four-note groups, and he includes no slurs after m. 6.¹⁹² Even the notes do not always conform to those in Bach's part. In the second half of the Double, both the start and the close vary to a more than routine degree from the version in ST 154, as shown in Example 12.¹⁹³ Penzel's reading in the final measure could possibly have its roots in an error of beaming, and an error in transmission could equally account for the way he lops off the second ending. But in m. 6, we might sooner imagine his simple arpeggio giving rise to Bach's florid scale than the other way around.¹⁹⁴

These variants alert us to a further problem; for whether or not either of them can count as evidence of textual deterioration, at least one other reading of Penzel's unquestionably does. At m. 4 of the Polonoise, he provides a version of the continuo

192. Penzel has trills in the flute only at the following places (location within measure as in the autograph part of ST 154 unless otherwise noted): Overture, mm. 1 (second and third quarters, as in Violin 1 of both ST 154 and ST 639; see also the discussion near the end of the main text), 13 (first quarter; not in ST 154, but in ST 639, Violin 1), and 198; Sarabande, mm. 8 and 31; Polonoise, m. 4 and m. 10 (not in ST 154). His only appoggiaturas occur at m. 10 of the first movement (also in ST 639, Violin 1); Rondeaux, m. 36; Polonoise, m. 4; and in the Menuet at the same places as in his first-violin part (see the foregoing paragraph in the main text). Apart from the slurs in *Bourée* 2 detailed in the main text, he has essentially the same slurs as Bach in the Rondeaux, lacking only those in mm. 12–13, and with a single four-note slur instead of the two-note slurs at m. 28; slurs in the Sarabande only at mm. 6 (three notes, as in ST 639, Violin 1; cf. n. 189) and 19 (notes 1–3, 4–6); in the Polonoise on the third quarter of mm. 1, 5, 7, 9, and 10, as well as on the first quarter of mm. 2 and 7; in the Double on the first quarter of mm. 2, 10, and 11, and the first and second quarters of m. 7 and—in the slightly more differentiated form shown in ex. 12—m. 12; in the Menuet at mm. 1, 5–7, 9, and 11; and in the Battinerie at mm. 18, 36 (over four notes), and 37.

193. Cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 46. The first half of the Double has a minor variant, as well: the last note of the first ending reads c#" instead of e".

194. Beyond the Double, Penzel's flute part has singular readings at Overture, m. 194, and *Bourée* 1, mm. 21–22, neither of which would appear to have any particular significance; for these, see NBA VII/1, KB, 45–46.

The “B-Minor Flute Suite” Deconstructed

a)

ST 154

Traversiere

Continuo

ST 639

Traversiere

Continuo

b)

ST 154

Traversiere

Continuo

ST 639

Traversiere

Continuo

Ex. 12. Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), Double (figuring omitted).

a, mm. 5–6. *b*, mm. 12–13.

that both effaces a clear parallel with the close of the movement and—as we see from Example 13—produces extremely dubious counterpoint with the upper lines.¹⁹⁵ To judge from the corrections visible in Plate 4, Penzel himself created the bass line here, no doubt seeking to repair a faulty source; the change of the third note from F# to G suggests that his model lacked the first quarter note of the measure.¹⁹⁶ Given the high degree of fidelity with which Penzel transfers the overture from parts to score, other

195. Bessler and Grüß (NBA VII/1, KB, 46) have already drawn attention this variant, although without exploring its implications; Penzel's score has a different reading in the viola. Another variant in Penzel's continuo part may also provide some relevant evidence, although I have no ready explanation for it (see, however, n. 202): at m. 12 of the first movement, the penultimate note reads d instead of B; while we may well consider this musically preferable—B leaves the chord without a third—Bach's figuring clearly presupposes B, and he would surely have recognized a wrong note here. At m. 15 of the same movement, I might also mention, the sixth note reads a instead of g; presumably, however, this reflects only an inadvertent substitution of an octave leap for the less obvious seventh.

196. Most likely, then, the alteration of the fourth note from G to F# means that Penzel at first intended to fill in the missing beat with eighth notes G and A. The notation in ST 154 presumably reflects a

ST 154, ST 639

Violino 1
Violino 2
Viola

ST 154

Continuo

ST 639

Continuo

Ex. 13. Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067), Polonoise,
m. 4 strings only (figuring omitted).

questionable details in his copies most likely reflect problems in his model, as well.¹⁹⁷ At m. 206 of the first movement, for instance, he transmits an implausible line for the second violin—barely acceptable in its dissonance treatment, and not even that in the hollow sonority it produces on the second beat; although the absence of a correction means that we cannot necessarily credit Penzel with the reading itself, the spot surely betokens something gone awry in a manuscript previous to his.¹⁹⁸ Even the dynamics, it would seem, represent a symptom of decline: as the omissions include not only the many added by Bach but also the few—including the prominently situated *piano* in Violin 1 for Bourée 2—written by the scribes of ST 154 and hence part of the text before they copied it, someone along the way must have chosen to ignore *forte* or *piano* indications more or less on principle.¹⁹⁹ Much the same, we might think, could have

line break in its model, not least because the final cadence has the dotted quarter one would expect here, as well. That Penzel himself could have made the mistake appears less plausible, as he clearly gave some consideration to the measure and would surely have noticed an omission of his own.

197. I have located no wrong notes, for instance, in Penzel's score not already in his parts; and while the score contains some corrections of such mistakes, these all seem to postdate the actual copying.

198. See NBA VII/1, KB, 50; the first three notes in Penzel read e'-e'-e', with the second-beat chord thus e-e'-a#'-f#" rather than Bach's e-c#'-a#'-f#" . A number of other singular readings must also surely count as corruptions or slips of the pen, whether by Penzel himself or one of his antecedents; beyond those in ex. 10b and nn. 178 and 193-95, these occur at several places in the Overture—mm. 2, Viola (last note f#' rather than g'; from transposition error?); 72, Violin 1 (last two notes a third low); 146, Continuo (notes 5 and 6 f#-b; corrected in part, but evidently after score copied); and 182, Violin 2 (last note b'; later correction in score)—and in the remaining movements as follows: Sarabande, m. 3, Violin 2 (first two notes a'-g'); and Menuet, mm. 16, Continuo (D-E-F#-A-d-f#), and 18, Continuo (last note B).

199. For dynamics entered by the copyists in ST 154, see n. 188.

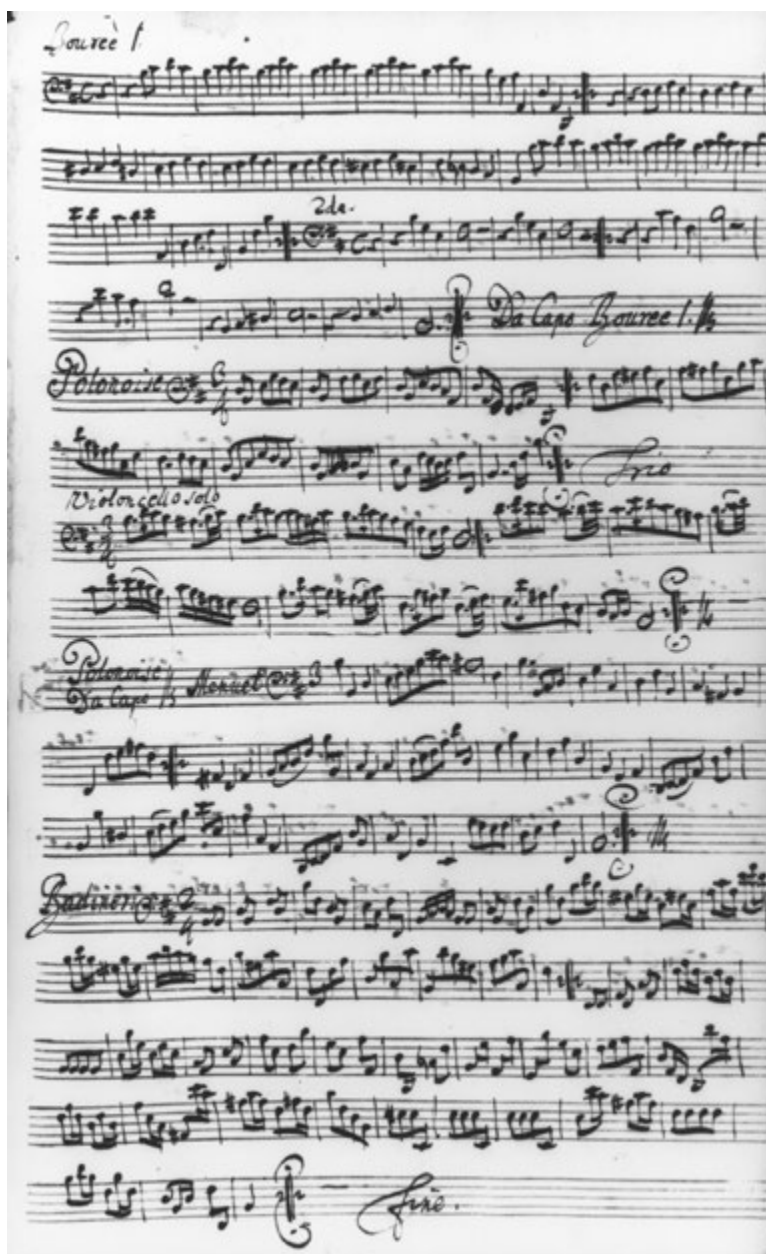


Plate 4. st 639, Continuo, f. 2^v and Polonoise, mm. 3-4

happened with the slurs in the Sarabande.²⁰⁰ Hence whatever source Penzel ultimately drew on, its readings passed through at least one intermediary before reaching him; and the very loss of quality that this process obviously entailed only adds to the difficulty of making our way back to its starting point—and with that, of course, of establishing just where these readings fit in the transmission of the overture.

How can we resolve all these contradictions? I can think of two possible scenarios. On the one hand, we could imagine that Penzel's version of the overture had its origins in a score drawn up from the original parts before the composer subjected them to any extensive revision. Alternatively—and contrary to what our earlier investigation suggested—we could surmise that the creation of the B-minor overture began with a score, after all, and that ST 154 and Penzel's copies descended more or less independently of one another from this model.²⁰¹ I say "more or less" because this putative score must have undergone some intervention based on the parts in their fully corrected state; otherwise Penzel could not have transmitted such things as the rhythmic and registral alterations to the second violin discussed earlier, or the substitution of d" for e#" in the flute and first violin at m. 36 of the first movement.²⁰² For that matter, a score copied from the parts in their precorrected state would have had to undergo much the same process.²⁰³ If we recall the further intermediary stage indicated by the deterioration of the readings before they reached Penzel, we can

200. Cf. *ibid.*

201. In principle, we could add a third possibility: a score transposed directly from that of the A-minor overture and revised to incorporate some of the revisions in the parts. Counterintuitive as this may seem, something not wholly dissimilar must in fact have occurred in the transmission of the Harpsichord Concerto in F Minor (BWV 1056; cf. NBA VII/7, KB, 86–88, also NBA VII/4, KB, 154); in the present instance, however, the hypothesis cannot account for the errors shared by Penzel and ST 154, especially the one in the Sarabande.

202. The scores of the harpsichord concertos BWV 1053–57 show a number of revisions that postdate the copying of the parts, although not incorporating readings from them; cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 23, and the relevant lists of corrections for the individual works. A later revision to a score of BWV 1067 could perhaps help account for the otherwise puzzling readings in Violin 2 and Continuo discussed in nn. 184 and 195.

203. Theoretically, one could imagine a score copied at a stage where Violin 2 and Continuo had both undergone only partial revision—the former with mm. 64–69 and 168–73 of the first movement, and m. 15 of the Menuet, already in their newer readings, but the wrong notes in the first movement and the Sarabande (cf. Table 6) still uncorrected; the latter with most of the wrong notes listed in n. 12 already emended, but with an error remaining in Bourée 1 (cf. Table 6), and still without the newer reading in the opening movement at mm. 45 and 176 (cf. *ibid.* and two paragraphs below in the main text). But while we shall see that the revision of the parts may indeed have encompassed more than one layer, the picture sketched here would seem needlessly complex against the hypothesis of a later revision to the score.

represent the two scenarios as shown in Figure 2.²⁰⁴ On purely textual grounds, I see little reason to prefer one version of the events over the other.²⁰⁵ Both explain things such as the uncorrected errors in the second-violin and continuo parts or the near-total absence of Bach’s added performance markings. Both mean that we must consign the occasional agreement between Penzel’s trills and Bach’s to the realm of coincidence.²⁰⁶ Neither, as we see, can stand without the auxiliary hypothesis of subsequent revision on the basis of the fully corrected parts. The question essentially comes down to how plausible each looks in the wider context of Bach’s practice; and here, again, the matter resists an easy solution.

If, as it has originally appeared and as our first scenario presupposes, Bach and his scribes produced the A-minor overture directly in parts, it would have made sense—whether for the composer himself or for another interested party—to have a score prepared at an early opportunity.²⁰⁷ We might think it odd for this task not

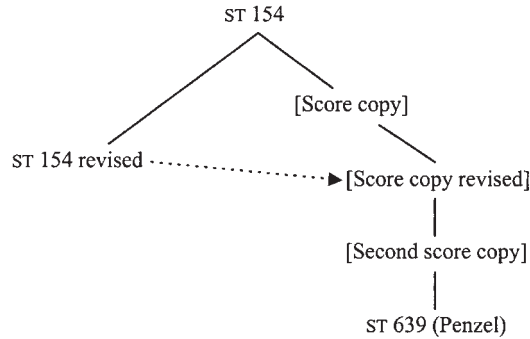
204. Strictly speaking, Figure 2b could do without the second score copy. But eliminating this manuscript would mean that the first score copy already contained the various corruptions discussed in connection with Penzel; and if so, we might expect Bach or whoever transferred the changes from ST 154 to have restored more of the correct readings in that process. In addition, we might recall that the dispersal of Bach’s manuscripts among his heirs meant that few original sources remained in Leipzig after his death; cf. Wollny, “Abschriften und Autographe,” 47–51 and 59–60, esp. 47–48. Not by chance, perhaps, Penzel’s score and parts of BWV 1068 (P 1055, ST 636), written about the same time as ST 639 (cf. Kobayashi, “Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung,” 179 and 181), derive from a lost score of clearly secondary character (cf. NBA VII/1, KB 63–65); a handful of shared errors or otherwise questionable readings in the first movement—some eventually corrected in the extant manuscripts, some not—strongly suggest that this source in turn depended on Bach’s parts (ST 153): cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 68–70 and 72, at mm. 31–32 (Violin 2), 34 and 40 (Oboe 2), and 51 and 92 (Violin 1; in both instances read “C 7” rather than “D 7” or “D 7a”), also the rather different reading of the evidence in BOM, 262–64.

205. See, however, our discussion of the flute part at pp. 83–88. At first sight, the fact that Penzel’s continuo part has the right notes at places demonstrably corrected during or before the figuring of ST 154 (Overture, mm. 51 and 179, Bourée 1, m. 20; cf. n. 8) but transmits mm. 45 and 176 of the opening movement in the form already superseded when Anon. N 3 copied the unfigured part could appear to favor the scenario in Figure 2b; but see pp. 80–83.

206. The additional trills in Penzel (cf. nn. 191–92) all occur at places where an experienced musician would in fact have had little trouble inferring their presence. Indeed, Penzel’s score has a handful of trills not found in his parts—including at least two (Overture, m. 4, Continuo; Polonoise, m. 12, Violin 1) corresponding with those of Bach. See also n. 226.

207. Bach evidently had scores drawn up from the parts to several Weimar cantatas—BWV 21, 61, 63, 185—more or less directly after copying, and even, in the case of BWV 185, demonstrably before the first performance; in Leipzig, his student Bernhard Christian Kayser began a score of the cantata *Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren* (BWV 154, P 130), all but certainly on the basis of the original parts,

a)



b)

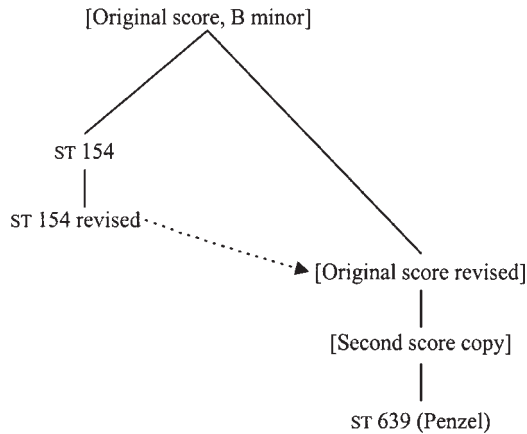


Figure 2. Ouverture in B minor, BWV 1067:
Possible stemmata

within months of the first performance. See, for BWV 21, NBA I/16 (*Kantaten zum 2. und 3. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*), ed. Robert Moreen, George Bozarth, and Paul Brainard, KB, 107 and 114–15, and Paul Brainard, “Cantata 21 Revisited,” in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*, ed. Robert L. Marshall (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Hackensack, N.J.: Joseph Boonin, 1974), 231–42, at 232 and 235; for BWV 63, NBA I/1 (*Kantaten zum 1. Weihnachtstag*), ed. Alfred Dürr, KB, 19–21; for BWV 185, NBA I/17.1 (*Kantaten zum 4. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*), ed. Yoshitake Kobayashi and Kirsten Beißwenger, KB, 28–30; for BWV 61, Rifkin, “From Weimar to Leipzig,” 600 n. 36; and for BWV 154, NBA I/5 (*Kantaten zum Epiphaniastag bis zum 2. Sonntag nach Epiphania*), ed. Marianne Helms, KB, 68–69 and 73–75, and Andrew Talle, “Nürnberg, Darmstadt, Köthen—Neuerkenntnisse zur Bach-Überlieferung in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” BJ 89 (2003), 144–72, at 155–62. Unlike the parts of BWV 1067, those to BWV 21, 63, and 185—we lack the parts for BWV 61—contain dots, small crosses, or similar marks indicating page turns in the score copy, and marks of this sort occur as well in other parts of Bach’s used, or probably used, as exemplars for early scores; see, variously,

to have waited until Bach could revise his copyists’ work in every detail. But in that regard, a look at what other parts for instrumental compositions we have from his Leipzig years proves instructive. Bach barely supplemented the nonautograph portions of BWV 1041; left those in the three remaining original parts to BWV 1068 completely untouched; added nothing to the original continuo part of BWV 1043; and never corrected the two parts of BWV 1057 copied by Anon. N 2.²⁰⁸ Nor did he furnish the string parts he wrote out for Johann Bernhard’s G-minor overture with much in the way of performance indications: beyond the relatively complete, if mostly schematic, dynamics, they contain scarcely any articulation, very few trills, and even fewer *apoggiaturas*.²⁰⁹ Indeed, compared with these examples, BWV 1067 stands noticeably apart in its wealth of detail. It seems worth asking, therefore, if Bach might not at first have edited the overture more sparingly, or if something could even have forced him to leave it for a time without any revision at all.

Admittedly, the parts to the Overture show no palpable sign of an interruption between their copying and at least their first revision. Nor could such an interruption, should it have occurred, have lasted very long: with at most a handful of exceptions,

NBA I/10 (*Kantaten zum 2. und 3. Ostertag*), ed. Alfred Dürr, KB, 82–85; NBA VII/3, KB, 17; and Alfred Dürr, “Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des 5. Brandenburgischen Konzerts,” BJ 61 (1975): 63–69, at 68, although in the light of Robert L. Marshall, review of *Johann Sebastian Bach: Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5 D-dur BWV 1050. Faksimile des Originalstimmensatzes nach dem Autograph der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Edition Peters, n.d.), *Music & Letters* 58 (1977): 236–39, at 237–38, and the further observations in Figure 1, n.r. Nevertheless, Kayser’s score of BWV 154 lacks any such markings, nor did Penzel make use of them when transferring BWV 1067 from parts to score or leave any markings in the original parts of BWV 1055, which served as the model of his score copy (P 1060; cf. NBA VII/4, KB, 128).

208. For BWV 1043, 1057, and 1068, see, respectively, NBA VII/3, KB, 32–33; NBA VII/4, KB, 182–83; and NBA VII/1, KB, 58. For BWV 1041, see NBA VII/3, KB, 12–13, but noting that Bach surely did not write the heading of Continuo 2, and that his musical revisions, other than the possible clarification of individual pitches and rests, seem not to extend beyond two trills in Violin 2 (mvt. 1, mm. 17 and 72) and a handful of dynamics in this part (mvt. 2, mm. 17 and 31) and Continuo 2 (mvt. 1, m. 166; mvt. 2, mm. 11 and 15). Admittedly, the copyists’ portions of BWV 1041 already incorporate more dynamics, and perhaps more articulation, than those of BWV 1067 in their unrevised state; but the second violin and continuo of BWV 1068 lack the *piano* and *forte* markings that the concerted structure of the opening movement surely allows us to expect in at least mm. 42, 58, 71, and 89.

209. Cf. the reproduction of the autograph violin on p. 4 of the edition cited in n. 25. The lack of articulation becomes especially noticeable if we compare the passages from Johann Bernhard’s overture and BWV 1067 reproduced in exx. 2a and 2b—surely, the staccato markings on virtually all the quarters in the latter example suggest similar treatment of Violin 1 in the former at mm. 139–44 and 152–54.

Bach's dynamics cannot date from much after 1739.²¹⁰ Yet the parts do hint in spots that some revisions may have taken place at a later stage than others. Our consideration of the appoggiaturas, for instance, could encourage the suspicion that Bach added them to the first-violin line of the Menuet before providing them anywhere else.²¹¹ In the continuo, anomalies of spacing and appearance suggest that he did not enter the dynamics for the Polonoise and the Battinerie until he had already completed the figuring and several other revisions.²¹² The changes in the same part at mm. 45 and 176 of the first movement could also document a layer of correction subsequent to the figuring. Read strictly, the altered version demands a 6 over the last note, whereas the note as originally written need not have had anything above it; given the thoroughness of Bach's figures in this movement especially, the absence of the 6 could imply something more than carelessness.²¹³ For that matter, the very manner in which Bach executed this pair of revisions—carefully excising the original note and then drawing

210. Cf. Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 21–22, and the details on BWV 206, 210, 1055, 1057, and 1067 *ibid.*, 42, 45, and 47–48; for the possible exceptions in ST 154, cf. n. 103 and the following note.

211. On the appoggiaturas, see p. 82.

212. See n. 103, as well as Battinerie, m. 18, where the irregular placement of the *piano*—above rather than below the staff, and well to the right of where the music dictates (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 56)—clearly reflects a concern to avoid the figures both here and on the staff below; the seemingly anomalous position of the figures in m. 19 does not indicate otherwise, as those on the first two notes merely continue a linear plane already begun before the *piano*, and the descent to a lower plane at the third note seems motivated by the very long downstem of the note on the system above. Elsewhere in the part, Bach entered the dynamics before or together with the figuring, as we see from the way figures avoid dynamics on the staff above them at Ouverture, mm. 74, 78, and 151; Rondeaux, m. 28, and the start of Bourée 2. Conceivably, the extreme compression of the figures under the direction "moderato e staccato" at the beginning of the Polonoise means that the figuring as a whole represented a distinct stage of revision; but as Bach would appear to have written trills and figures more or less simultaneously in mm. 6 and 206 of the first movement, I think it more likely that trills, figures, and all but the manifestly later dynamics formed part of a single process. Nevertheless, it seems worth pointing out that no figures appear in the surviving continuo parts of BWV 1041, 1043, and 1068 (BWV 1055 has figures, but from a later date, and in any event not for a directly comparable purpose; cf. Breig, "Zur Werkgeschichte von Johann Sebastian Bachs Cembalokonzert in A-Dur BWV 1055," 205–8, and NBA VII/4, KB, 124–25 and 133–34), although Bach's copies of Johann Bernhard's ouvertures do all include figured continuos (cf. Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, 232–35).

213. Cf. Table 6. Although Bach does put a horizontal stroke over the second quarter of m. 45 and uses a stroke or figures to guard against a change of harmony in two similar instances of descending stepwise motion (see mm. 92 and 150), he provides no such indication in the first half of m. 176; neither here nor in m. 45 does the altered note cover any figuring. Conversely, he almost never leaves an ascending third on the second of two quarters unfigured; cf. mm. 47, 74, 76, 106, 157, 159, and 161 in the first movement, or mm. 1, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, and 14 in the Menuet.

in the new one—distinguishes them from virtually all the other changes in ST 154, where he or the scribes tended to alter notes simply by thickening them or crossing them out. The same unusual fastidiousness, however, marks the emendation of the second violin in the Menuet; perhaps, then, Bach made all three changes sometime after he had first reviewed his copyists’ work.²¹⁴

Should the revision in ST 154 in fact embody more than one phase of work, it would not represent the only such instance in Bach’s parts; to take one noteworthy example, the aria “Ich will auch mit gebrochnen Augen nach dir, mein treuer Heiland, sehn” in the cantata *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin* (BWV 125) evidently went through several revisions stretching over the course of more than a decade.²¹⁵ How many stages the overture might have gone through, and how much time elapsed between them, would seem impossible to determine—in theory, the process could have extended at least to the repeat performance revealed by the viola part. But whatever the case, we may think it possible that Bach did not initially make very extensive changes to the parts but restricted himself essentially to the correction of wrong notes—even if he did not catch every one of them, the addition of dynamics, most likely the figuring, and conceivably the provision of appoggiaturas in the Menuet.

Still, these speculations encounter a major stumbling block in the flute part. For one thing, we must consider the variants in Example 12: as already indicated, we cannot so easily dismiss Penzel’s readings here as corruptions. Perhaps more important, while we have seen that scribes could well reduce the quota of performance directions with each new copy, even the most liberal understanding of this process seems hard put to travel the distance between Bach’s thoroughly articulated and decorated flute part and

214. The rhythmic alteration in Violin 2 at mm. 64–69 and 168–73 of the first movement, although not involving actual erasure, could form part of this same hypothetical layer, as could the erasure and rewriting of Violin 1 in the same movement at mm. 170–71 (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 50); this latter instance, however, merely rectifies a mistake in copying. The altered notes and added dynamics in the continuo have obvious consequences for the unfigured continuo of ST 154, as this includes both the new readings in the first movement (cf. n. 8) and the *piano* and *forte* markings in the Polonoise, as well as the *piano* at m. 36 of the Battinerie; significantly, we have no real evidence to exclude the possibility that this part, not unlike that for the viola, originated later than its paper would suggest—cf. n. 11, as well as Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 24 n. 24, and Schulze, *Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorko*, 15 and plate 2 (p. 170).

215. For BWV 125, see NBA I/28.1 (*Kantaten zu Marienfesten I*), ed. Matthias Wendt and Uwe Wolf, KB, 32 and 54, as well as Uwe Wolf, “Überlegungen zu Bachs Kommunionsmusiken,” BJ 85 (1999): 133–41, at 138–41, and Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 37; for general observations and some further examples, see *ibid.*, 22, 48 (BWV 114), 56 (BWV 91 and 137), and 63–64 (BWV 187, 29), also NBA I/5, KB, 67, and 78. Obviously, the number of later autograph insertions in Bach’s parts could well exceed those identified, as not all added items will involve elements of Bach’s script that changed measurably over the years.

the version transmitted by Penzel.²¹⁶ But could the autograph flute part in fact have replaced one produced by a copyist—or by Bach and a copyist in tandem—together with the string and continuo parts of BWV 1067? The note content of the existing solo line gives no indication of having differed to any significant extent from that of the violin part from which it apparently derives; hence aside from the octave transposition in the Polonoise—which Bach could very easily have signaled with an annotation in the parent source or even a verbal instruction—a scribe would have had no problem transferring the music directly to the flute.²¹⁷ Admittedly, the piano markings show that the existing part cannot postdate Bach's added dynamics elsewhere in ST 154 by any significant margin, and the preparation of two flute parts in quick succession does not, on the face of it, make much sense: although Bach did occasionally substitute one part for another before the first performance of a new cantata, such instances seem always to have involved issues of playability or a change of instrumentation, neither of

216. Up to a point, we could account for the discrepancies through the assumption that Penzel's model—like his own eventual score of BWV 1067—did not usually notate both Flute and Violin 1 in full. Indeed, the correspondence between Penzel's flute and violin parts in such details as the ornaments in mm. 1 and 10 of the first movement or the appoggiaturas in the Menuet (see n. 192) makes this virtually certain, and even suggests that the exemplar—again, like Penzel himself in much of his own score (see n. 174)—tended to write out the violin rather than the flute. But this explanation breaks down in the solo portions, most notably in Bourée 2 (see p. 84) and in the Battinerie, where Penzel's text retains the copyist's trills in the first-violin part of ST 154 but lacks any of those in the autograph flute part.

217. Cf. nn. 23 and 26. Under the assumption of a discarded flute part, the d' at m. 36 of the first movement would have entered the score copy as a later revision—precisely as it would have under the stemma in Figure 2b. The provision of *solo-tutti* markings in the first movement of Penzel's flute part—at all places where Bach has them, and at mm. 102, 143, and 151 besides (cf. NBA VII/1, KB, 49)—could strengthen the assumption that it derives ultimately from another part, not a score. We have, admittedly, few sources against which to test this: no autograph scores of any solo concertos have survived other than those for the harpsichord concertos BWV 1052–59. Nevertheless, these contain not a single marking of this sort beyond a lone *tutti* in the D-major concerto (BWV 1054) at m. 33 of the last movement; cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Konzert D-Dur für Cembalo und Streichorchester BWV 1054. Faksimile der autographen Partitur*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke 11 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972). Bach may, on the other hand, not have thought such indications needed as much in a harpsichord concerto as in a work for another solo instrument; in contrast to the autograph solo parts for BWV 1041, 1043, and 1067, the harpsichord part to BWV 1057 has no *solo-tutti* markings at all—not even the two present in at least the dedication copy (SBB Am.B. 78) of its model, the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto (mvt. 1, mm. 83 and 89; cf. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Brandenburgische Konzerte. Faksimile des Autographen*). Michael Marissen reminds me, however, of a *solo* marking in the Coethen harpsichord part of the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto (ST 130) at m. 154 of the first movement; cf. the facsimile cited in n. 207.

which could really apply to the *ouverture*.²¹⁸ On the other hand, instrumental works need not have followed so tight a schedule as that governing the production of Bach’s Leipzig sacred music; especially with a demanding solo piece like BWV 1067, Bach could have felt inclined to give the player advance access to his part—which obviously opened the door to loss or damage. But if it does not take much effort to imagine such a story, we might nevertheless hesitate to pursue it without a compelling reason for doing so.

This brings us to the second of our proposed scenarios. At first sight, the version of events represented in Figure 2b would seem to have the advantage of greater simplicity. Yet if, as it asks us to believe, the errors shared by Penzel and ST 154 in its unrevised state preserve the readings of a common parent, complications emerge here, as well. These begin with the question of who wrote the supposed original score and what sort of document it represented. All but certainly, we can reject the hypothesis of a composing manuscript. Bach could no doubt have fallen prey to a slip like that in the continuo of *Bourée 1* when copying from another source, or even in the process of setting down the music for the first time, but in the latter instance, he would surely have corrected the final note by the time he had worked out all four voices. Under no circumstance, moreover, might we think he ever meant the f# in Violin 2 at m. 88 of the first movement or the e’ near the end of the *Sarabande* to form part of the harmonic fabric.²¹⁹

Regardless of its place on the stemmatic chain, then, an early score of the B-minor *ouverture* will have depended on an exemplar of some sort. Under this presupposition, the error in the *Sarabande* could still imply a model a whole tone lower; hence even in the context of Figure 2b, many of what we have read as signs of transposition in ST 154 remain just that—although not newly created by the scribes copying the parts but taken over by them from the still uncorrected parent source.²²⁰

The assumption, however, of a fair copy as the model for ST 154 and, ultimately, Penzel creates difficulties of its own. As became clear in Section I of this study, the

218. See, for example, the discussion of the flute part to BWV 8 in n. 20.

219. In principle, of course, errors in the extant sources could have resulted from ambiguities in the exemplar—corrections or notes placed unclearly; cf. Robert L. Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works*, 2 vols., Princeton Studies in Music 4 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 2:4. But although we could account for m. 16 of *Bourée 1* (see pp. 76–80) in this fashion, it can hardly explain why Penzel and ST 154 share the same mistakes in the three places just discussed.

220. This would not apply, obviously, to notes nudged upward during the actual copying of the parts.

new version of the overture would not have required a score unless Bach meant it to differ from the earlier one in more than just its key and its solo instrument. Yet in such an instance, he would surely have had to write all or most of the manuscript himself; and here, no less than with a composing score, the wrong notes raise troubling questions.²²¹ The questions increase, moreover, if we consider the autograph scores of other works adapted from older music. These not only reinforce the suspicion that Bach would have emended most if not all of any lapses committed in the process of writing but suggest that he would have enriched his text with considerably more performance indications—dynamics, certainly, and most likely articulation and ornamentation as well—than either the scribes of ST 154 or Penzel have given us reason to think their exemplar contained.²²² Indeed, a score in Bach's hand presumably would have included at least a good portion of what he subsequently felt impelled to add to the parts or change in them.²²³ Whether or not the new accompanimental rhythm at mm. 64–69 and 168–73 of the first movement or the registral shift in the second violin at m. 15

221. The well-known case of the Sinfonia to the cantata *Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte* (BWV 174), in which Bach reworked the first movement of the Third Brandenburg Concerto by adding wind and ripieno parts to a score written out largely by a colleague, hardly offers a parallel to the hypothetical situation presented here, as nothing in BWV 1067 implies such a clear-cut division between old and new material; cf. NBA I/14 (*Kantaten zum 2. und 3. Pfingsttag*), ed. Alfred Dürr and Arthur Mendel, ix–x and KB, 69–71 and 109–13. See also n. 229.

222. Several of Bach's fair and revision copies of the 1730s—especially those of instrumental compositions—have appeared in facsimile editions; to those of BWV 244, 1030, 1032 and 1062, and 1054 mentioned in nn. 100 and 217, I might add the autograph of the Mass in A Major (BWV 234), for which see *Johann Sebastian Bach: Messe A-dur BWV 234. Faksimile der autographen Partitur und Continuo-Stimme*, ed. Oswald Bill and Klaus Häfner (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985). Although not available in complete facsimile, the autograph of the cantata *Freue dich, erlöste Schar* (BWV 30, P 44) also provides telling evidence when compared with its model, BWV 30a; cf. the facsimile of the latter cited in n. 100, and the page from BWV 30 in NBA I/29 (*Kantaten zum Johannisfest*), ed. Frieder Remppl, x, or *Die Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs: Musikautographie aus der Musikabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. Ausstellung zum 300. Geburtstag von J. S. Bach, 22. März bis 13. Juli 1985*, ed. Rudolf Elvers and Hans-Günter Klein, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ausstellungskataloge 25 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1985), 129. As already noted, the systematic omission of dynamics in Penzel's copies means that we can draw no inferences from them about the dynamics of our putative score; but in this regard, we can surely rely on ST 154.

223. In principle, this might seem to contradict the supposition that Bach could have left the parts largely untouched on an early revision. But I think we can take it as a rule that Bach subjected his musical texts to considerably more elaboration and modification when writing them out himself than when dealing with copyists' work. In the F-major harpsichord concerto, for instance, the score shows many details elaborated beyond the readings of his model, and the autograph solo part carries the process of evolution still further; yet Bach did not bother to revise Anon. N 2's recorder parts (cf. NBA VII/4, KB 182–83).

of the Menuet occurred to him immediately when reviewing a copyist’s part, I find it hard to imagine that either possibility would have escaped him as he wrote out the music in full; and if, in the Rondeaux, he scrupulously placed a dot under every two-note slur of the autograph flute part, would he not have thought to do the same with the unison violin line in a score produced immediately beforehand?²²⁴

Even a modest detail of ornamentation seems to have significant implications in this regard. At the very start of the *ouverture*, Penzel and Anon. N 2 place trills on both the second and third quarters of the first-violin line, and Penzel’s viola part has trills on the same beats in m. 2.²²⁵ Assuming that a common model stood behind their copies—and that Penzel or one of his predecessors did not simply embellish the viola part on his own initiative—this source must have had the same trills.²²⁶ Yet Bach’s version of the motive, whether in the autograph flute and viola parts or in his additions to the violins and the continuo, consistently has a trill on the second beat alone.²²⁷ The flute part, as we have seen, means that he cannot have waited very long after the creation of the B-minor *ouverture* to have opted for this form of the theme.²²⁸ But if he wrote the *ouverture* in score, would he have altered the shape of the opening gesture so soon afterward? A change of mind about music composed several years earlier certainly appears well within the realm of possibility; but we may think it less likely for Bach to adopt two such different versions in quick succession.

These observations leave us with a paradox. If Bach did not need to write a score of the *ouverture* himself, he would have had little purpose in having a copyist prepare one in advance of the parts, either. Moreover, a score already identical to BWV 1067 in key and instrumentation leaves us hard put to explain the starting cues for the copyists and—perhaps even more so—Bach’s slip of the pen in the heading of the solo part. So in the end, our second scenario for the history of Penzel’s copies proves no more straightforward than the first—it, too, leaves us with problematic assumptions and

224. Obviously, the absence of the staccato dots in Penzel’s copy suggests that his model did not include them; and the cramped spacing of slurs, dots, and note heads in ST 154 confirms that Bach added the staccato markings to Violin 1.

225. Cf. NBA VII/I, KB, 47.

226. Penzel decorates the theme similarly in the flute part and on subsequent appearances in the violins, as well (*ibid.*, 47–48); but given the observations on his trills and on the relationship between his flute and violin parts in nn. 191, 215, and 206, not to mention the absence of further copyists’ trills in the violins of ST 154, none of this allows us to infer anything more about his model.

227. See mm. 1 (Flute), 2 (Viola, Continuo), 4 (Violin 2, Continuo), 6 (Continuo), 8 (Flute, Violin 1, Continuo), 11 (Flute, Violin 1), and 20 (Continuo).

228. This would remain effectively the same even if some time elapsed before Bach entered the trills in the violin and continuo parts.

unanswered questions.²²⁹ But if we cannot provide an airtight explanation for the relationships among the sources, we can at least affirm the fundamental thrust of what we read from the parts: the Overture in B Minor represents Bach's adaptation of an earlier work, all but certainly one for violin in A minor.

229. A B-minor score as the model for ST 154 would open the way for a hypothesis advanced in a number of lectures and concert commentaries by Werner Breig, who argues that the original version of BWV 1067 called for only two violins in all, with the first of them moving back and forth between solo and ensemble roles in a manner akin to the opening movement of BWV 1068; my thanks to Prof. Breig for sharing his thoughts with me on various occasions over the years and for informing me of a forthcoming article on the subject. Breig himself had earlier proposed a similar disposition for the violin concerto that served as the model for BWV 1052, and I have suggested something much like this for the original version of the double concerto BWV 1060; see Breig, "Bachs Violinkonzert d-Moll," 61–65, and Rifkin, "Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke," 25–30, where I also draw attention to a related use of the first violin in the harpsichord concerto BWV 1053 and its putative model. While I find Breig's suggestion ingenious and musically attractive, other considerations make me skeptical. First, insofar as we can establish their dating, the pieces mentioned here—to which we may add the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto—seem all to belong to an earlier phase of Bach's career than BWV 1067: the Fifth Brandenburg dates from before 1721, BWV 1068 more likely comes from Coethen than from Leipzig (see n. 48), and the models of BWV 1052 and 1053 can date from no later than 1726 (see Figure 1). Second, Johann Bernhard Bach's concerted overture also calls for solo violin and two ripieno violins, and also contains extensive duplication of solo and ripieno lines; not only that, but a brief passage in unison between the first and second violins in mm. 107–12 of the first movement inevitably puts us in mind of the unisons between Violin 2 and Viola in the opening movement of BWV 1067 at mm. 59–63 and 123–27. In principle, we could read these features, too, as a sign of J. S. Bach's editorial hand; indeed, while he left the copying of Johann Bernard's other overtures largely to family members and students, Bach himself wrote the violin and viola parts to the G-minor overture (cf. Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, 232–35). But none of these parts shows any trace of revision; and even if Bach should have expanded the complement of violins in his cousin's overture, Breig's hypothesis would still force us to imagine this adaptation taking place at more or less the same time as the creation of BWV 1067 with only two violins or, failing that, to posit a history for both works far more complex than either the music or the sources give us any warrant for doing. Whatever the circumstances, moreover, the transformation of BWV 1067 envisaged by Breig goes beyond anything actually documented in Bach's instrumental output, as it entails not merely the addition of a new part to an existing complex but the rewriting and internal reapportionment of that complex itself. All this, finally, presupposes a score largely or entirely written by the composer himself—and as the foregoing discussion has shown, we have more than a few reasons to doubt that such a manuscript could have existed.

A Comparison of Bach's and Telemann's Use of the Overture as Theological Signifier

Jeanne Swack

A spirit of stylistic and generic experimentalism is central to the compositional methods of both Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Philipp Telemann, Bach's most significant German contemporary. This exploration of the possibilities afforded by the plethora of national styles and genres and their combinations informs not only a large portion of both composers' instrumental outputs, but a significant number of their vocal works, as well. The implementation of a systematic encoding of signals for various national styles and genres permitted these two composers, and doubtless many of their contemporaries, to play with and manipulate these signs in order to layer a complex web of references onto the more commonplace conventions of style and genre.

In order to clarify the relationship of the genre of the individual work as a whole vis-à-vis the allusions to genres in individual movements which lie outside the customary parameters of the genre itself, I shall use the term *mode* for the outside genre, borrowing from Alistair Fowler's *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*.¹ Fowler defines *mode* as a borrowing of characteristics from the repertoire of a genre outside the main genre, and then using these characteristics to enrich the main genre.² Thus, for example, a sonata movement that borrows formal and stylistic conventions from an operatic aria would be said to be a sonata move-

An earlier version of this paper ("Telemann's Vokalmusik: Klangrede der Aufklärung") was read at the second Frankfurter Telemann-Symposium, Frankfurt, October 24–27, 2001. I would like to thank Michael Marissen, Robin Leaver, and Mark Loudon for their comments during the preparation of this essay.

1. Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

2. See *ibid.*, 106–8. Fowler points out that the term for the mode is generally adjectival, and that it is never complete in itself. The designation for the main genre, on the other hand, is always a noun.

ment in the operatic mode. Such a movement would still remain within the genre of sonata: the genre would be delineated by scoring, movement succession (tempos, key relationships), whereas the mode would be delineated by formal gestures and large-scale schemes such as the use of a motto and da capo. It is possible for a movement to allude to more than one mode, either simultaneously or in succession. The exploration of the possibilities afforded by the interplay between genre and mode was the basis for large numbers of Telemann's instrumental and vocal works.

Although Bach's cantatas have received much attention in recent scholarship, it has been difficult to assess his achievements without placing these works within the context of the broader cantata repertoire of the time. Telemann's cantatas provide fertile ground for the study of the development of the Lutheran cantata in the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as the achievements of one of the major proponents and key developers of the genre itself. Further, the study of these works allows us to explore Telemann's experimentation with genre, experimentation that is echoed, though not duplicated, in far better-known cantatas of Bach. The majority of Telemann's cantata movements are in keeping with the still-developing conventions of the new genre of the Lutheran madrigalian cantata (a genre in whose development he himself played a pivotal role), but a number of movements show evidence of the same sort of genre experimentation so evident in his instrumental works as well as in Bach's, although the latter's output in both respects is considerably smaller, even taking into consideration the likelihood of numerous lost works. In addition, some of Telemann's cantatas demonstrate thematic connections with his instrumental works, adding another layer to the interconnections between the vocal and instrumental repertoires.

I am basing the study of genre in the cantata repertoire on a sampling of about three hundred and fifty cantatas from the collection of Telemann's sacred vocal works in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main. I will not explore all of the genres to which Telemann referred in his cantatas here but will focus my analysis on three examples of his allusions to the French overture or to the style of the opening section of overtures, all in cantatas composed during his period of employment in Frankfurt. In so doing, I will show that Telemann's cantatas actually employ allusions to the overture in ways that are more unexpected and idiosyncratic than in the cantatas of Bach.

Six of Bach's surviving cantatas—*O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* (BWV 20) (First Sunday after Trinity, 1724); *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (BWV 61) (First Sunday in Advent, 1714); *In allen meinen Taten* (BWV 97) (liturgical occasion unknown, 1734); *Unser Mund sei voll Lachens* (BWV 110) (Christmas, 1725);³ *Preise Jerusalem, den Herrn* (BWV 119) (inauguration of Leipzig town council, 1723); and *Höchstlerwünschtes Freudenfest* (BWV

3. The opening movement is a reworking of the Overture in D Major (BWV 1069).

194) (organ dedication in Störmthal, 1723)—make use of the overture.⁴ In each case, the Overture is the initial movement of the cantata, prompted by the liturgical ordering of the cantata as the first of a yearly cycle, the first of a season, the birth of Christ, or a general festive occasion.⁵ In three of these cantatas, BWV 20, 61, and 97, a chorale tune is overlaid on the overture, a procedure also used by Telemann.

The most obvious ways in which Telemann's use of the overture in his cantatas differs from Bach's have to do with the placement of the overture movement and the integration of overture and aria forms in the cantata, as well as in the details of adapting chorale melodies to the overture structure in opening choruses. Consider, for example, the cantata *Wie der Hirsch schreiet nach frischem Wasser* (TWV 1: 1616) (Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1717), from the Frankfurt *Italienischer Jahrgang*, in which Telemann not only placed the overture in an unusual position in the cantata, but also devised a hybrid form. Gottfried Simonis was the author of the madrigalian sections of this cantata, and he assembled the complete text. The movement types and texts for the cantata are given in Figure 1.

The Gospel reading for the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, Luke 7:11–17, recounts the story of Christ's revival of a dead man, the only son of a widow, in the town of Nain. Thus, the theme of the cantata text, a longing for death and eternal life, echoes the idea of resurrection expressed in the Gospel reading. The use of the untexted chorale, "Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt," parallels the similar use of this chorale melody in Bach's *Actus tragicus*, *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit* (BWV 106), where the viols and recorders softly play the same tune over the text "Es ist der alte Bund. Mensch, du mußt sterben" [It is the old covenant. Man, you must die.], in an older contrapuntal style contrasting with the soprano's modern presentation of the text "Ja, ja, ja komm Herr Jesu komm," with its promise of eternal life.⁶ Indeed the entire cantata, like BWV 106, is permeated with ideas of longing for death and the expectation of eternal life as expressed in the eighteen strophes of the chorale, a chorale classified as a "Sterbelied" in the Schemelli *Gesangbuch*.⁷ The first recitative, "Was ist die Welt? Ein Labyrinth"

4. Of course there are other allusions to the style of the dotted section of the overture elsewhere in Bach's cantata repertoire. For instance, the second half of BWV 20 opens with an aria, "Wacht auf, wacht auf, verlorne Schaaf," which invokes the style of the A section of the overture.

5. See Richard D. P. Jones, "Overture," in the *Oxford Composers Companions: J. S. Bach*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and John Butt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 355.

6. Alfred Dürr has shown how the entire text of BWV 106 echoes themes presented in the eighteen strophes of the chorale "Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt." See Alfred Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), II, 837.

7. Georg Christian Schemelli, *Musicalisches Gesangbuch* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1736), facs. ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 587–88.

Figure 1. Disposition of G. P. Telemann, “Wie der Hirsch schreiet nach frischem Wasser” (TVWV 1: 1116) (16th Sunday after Trinity, 1717).

1. Opening chorus: (Psalm 42):

Wie der Hirsch schreiet nach frischem Wasser, so schreiet meine Seele, Gott, zu dir.

Meine Seele dürstet nach Gott, nach dem lebendigen Gott.

Wann werde ich dahin kommen, daß ich Gottes Angesicht schaue?

As the deer yearns after fresh water,

So yearns my soul after Thee, O God.

My soul thirsts for God, for the living God.

When shall I come there, so that I can see God's visage?

(stile antico)

2. Bass aria:

Ich sehne mich nach meinem Grabe,

Weil ich auf der verleerten Welt

Doch keinen Trost zu hoffen habe

Der meinen Geist zufrieden stellt

Nur durch den Tod komm' ich zum Friede

Und an den lusterfüllten Platz,

Wo Jesus meiner Seelen Schatz

Mir alle Seligkeit beschieden

Der ich mich schon in Gedanken labe,

Drum sehn' ich mich nach meinem Grabe.

I long for my grave,

Because I have no hope of finding consolation

In an empty world

That would give my spirit satisfaction.

Only through death do I come to peace,

And at that joyous place,

Where Jesus, my soul's treasure,

Grants me all blessedness,

That I already refresh my thoughts,

Therefore I long for my grave.

($\frac{6}{8}$ or $\frac{12}{8}$, depending on part, pizzicato cello, with soft chorale in strings and oboe above, “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt,” not da capo, ends with a brief recitative underscoring the text “nach meinem Grabe.”)

3. Soprano recitative:

Was ist die Welt?

Ein Labyrinth, wo man an seiner Not kein Ende findet;

Ein Kerker, wo man uns gefangen hält,

Die Folterbank vor Gott ergeben Seelen;

Ein Mordplatz uns zu quälen;

Ein Lazarett, wo man stets siech und krank;

Ein Schreckrevier, wo stets ein klägliches Gesang in die erschrock'nen Ohren fällt;

Figure 1. Continued.

Ein ungestümes Meer, das uns an keinen Hafen stellt

Das ist die Welt.

What is the world?

A labyrinth, where one finds no end to his misery;

A prison, where we are held captive,

The torture rack for souls devoted to God,

A murder place to torture us;

A hospital, where one is always ill;

A territory of horror; where always a lamenting song

Falls in the horrified ears,

A monstrous sea, that gives us no harbor;

That is the world.

4. Tenor aria:

Was mich erfreuet das ist im Himmel,

Was mich ergötzt das find ich dort.

Was mich vergnügt, was mich kann laben,

Das alles werd ich droben haben.

Hier in dem wüsten Weltgetümmel

Erblickt man keinen sicheren Hort.

($\frac{3}{4}$, polonaise allusion, da capo aria)

What makes me joyful is in heaven,

What gives me delight I will find there.

What gives me pleasure, what can refresh me

All will have over there.

Here in the desert-like tumult of the world,

One glimpses no safe shelter.

5. Bass recitative:

Drum komm nur komm geliebter Tod!

Du meiner Marter süßes Ende!

Komm reiche mir die kalten und verfallnen Hände.

Ich will sie dir mit grössten Freuden küssen,

Und meine Augen willig schliessen.

O come, O come beloved death!

You sweet end to my martyrdom!

Come reach to me the cold and decaying hands.

I will kiss them with the greatest joy,

And will close my eyes willingly.

6. Alto aria:

Öffnet euch ihr Himmels Pforten,

Zeiget mir bald eure Pracht.

Daß ich mög in Salems Auen

Bald das Licht der Freuden schauen,

Figure 1. Continued.

das der Auserwählten lacht.

Open ye gates of heaven,

Show me soon your majesty.

So that I may in Salem's meadows

Soon see the light of joy,

That the chosen one smiles on.

($\text{e}-\frac{3}{4}-\text{e}$, French overture), a text that combines the Gospel theme of resurrection with echoes of the text of Psalm 42.

7. Chorale:

Amen mein lieber frommer Gott,

Bescher uns alle ein sel'gen Tod,

Hilf daß wir mögen allzugleich,

Bald in dein Reich,

Kommen und bleiben ewiglich.

Amen, my dear pious God,

Grant us all a blessed death,

Help that we may all equally

Soon come in your realm,

And remain forever.

(Verse 18 of "Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt")

[What is the world? A labyrinth] plays off of the text of the fourth strophe of the chorale, "Was ist der Mensch? Ein Erdenkloß, von Mutterleib kömmt er nackt und bloß, bringt nichts mit sich auf diese Welt, kein Gut noch Geld, nimmt nichts mit sich, wenn er hinfällt" [What is man? A lump of mortal clay, who comes from the womb naked and bare, brings nothing with him into this world, neither goods nor money, and takes nothing with him when he decays.]⁸

The sixth movement of this cantata offers an ingenious play on genre, combining the formal structures of both the da capo aria—the "default" form for a cantata aria and clearly the form expected by the librettist—with a complete overture. Ex 1a provides an annotated score to the opening, dotted section of the overture movement. Departing from the customary placement of overture movements, which usually form the opening chorus of cantatas, this movement serves as the cantata's penultimate movement immediately preceding the concluding four-part chorale harmonization. The overture, however, perfectly suits the text, which calls for the opening of the gates of heaven— "Öffnet euch ihr Himmels Pforten, zeigt mir bald eure Pracht"

8. Another version of this recitative text occurs in an undated funeral cantata, *Du aber Daniel, gehe hin* (TVWV 4:17).

The Overture as Theological Signifier

[Open, ye gates of heaven, show me soon your majesty]—and the word “Öffnet” at the beginning of the text of the A section must have been the word that inspired this hybrid form. In fact, the ouverture form aptly suits not only the pomp and majesty of the text of the A section, but of that of the B section, as well: “Daß ich mög in Salems Auen bald das Licht der Freuden schauen das der Auserwählten lacht” [That I may in Salem’s meadows soon see the light of joy that smiles on the chosen one], a text well served by the rapid movement of the fast, imitative section.

Of course a conventional ouverture cannot simply be mapped onto a standard da capo aria without structural compromises; nor is the reverse possible without similar adjustment. Telemann took into account the features common to both genres, tampering with both structures to produce a hybrid. Because of the almost totally French style

Da capo aria (DCA): A, Rit. 1
French ouverture (FO): 1st repeat through slow dotted section

DCA: A text 1
FO: modified repeat of dotted section,
or beginning of "real" dotted section

FO: 1st ending

Öff - net euch ihr Him - mels Pfort - ten, zei - get mir bald eu - re

Ex. 1a. G. P. Telemann, “Öffnet euch ihr Himmels Pforten”
(rvwv 1: 1616/6), mm. 1–42.

The musical score is divided into three systems, each with four staves: Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), Alto (A.), and Cembalo/Viola (Cemb./Vln.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4.

System 1 (Measures 15-18):

- Vln.:** Starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The melody begins with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Vla.:** Starts with a bass clef and a key signature change to one flat. The melody begins with a quarter note F3, followed by eighth notes G3, A3, and Bb3.
- A.:** Starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The melody begins with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, Bb4, and A4.
- Cemb./Vln.:** Starts with a bass clef and a key signature change to one flat. The melody begins with a quarter note F3, followed by eighth notes G3, A3, and Bb3.
- Lyrics:** Pracht, eu - re Pracht, eu - re Pracht, zei - get.

System 2 (Measures 19-22):

- Vln.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- Vla.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- A.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- Cemb./Vln.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- Lyrics:** mir bald eu - re Pracht, öff - net euch ihr Him - mels Pfor - ten, öff - net

System 3 (Measures 23-26):

- Vln.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- Vla.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- A.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- Cemb./Vln.:** Continues the melody from the previous system.
- Lyrics:** euch ihr Him - mels Pfor - ten, zei - get mir bald eu - re Pracht.

Performance Markings:

- Measures 15, 19, and 23:** Marked with a fermata (tr) above the staff.
- Measure 26:** Marked with a forte (f) dynamic.
- Measure 23:** Marked with a 23-measure rest.
- Measure 24:** Marked with a 5-measure rest.
- Measure 25:** Marked with a 6-measure rest.
- Measure 26:** Marked with a 5-measure rest.

Tempo Marking: DCA: Rit. 2

Ex. 1a. Continued.

The Overture as Theological Signifier

DCA: A text 2
FO: (alternatively) repeat of slow section (=mm. 11-26)

27
Vln. p
Vla. p
A
Cemb./Vln. 6 6 6

Öff - net euch ihr Him - mels... Pfort - ten, zei - get mir bald eu - re Pracht,

32
Vln.
Vla.
A
Cemb./Vln. 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

eu - re Pracht, eu - re Pracht, zei - get mir bald eu - re

36
Vln.
Vla.
A
Cemb./Vln. 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

Pracht, öff - net euch ihr Him - mels... Pfort - en, öff - net euch ihr Him - mels

40
Vln. $Allegro$
Vla.
A
Cemb./Vln. 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

Pfort - ten, zei - get mir bald eu - re Pracht.

Ex. 1a. Continued.

of the movement, however, the impression is that of a somewhat peculiar *ouverture* with an overlaid vocal part largely doubling the violins. The texture is typical of an Italian aria.

The aria opens with a *ritornello* ending in the tonic (mm. 1–10), which likewise serves as the first statement of the *ouverture*'s opening dotted section, with an imitation of a typical first ending in m. 10. This already causes a difficulty with the *ouverture* form, as the first dotted section customarily ends in the dominant or relative major. The first vocal section, including the first presentation of the text of the A section (mm. 11–26), ends with a cadence in the dominant. This section begins as though it were a repeat of the opening ten measures, with the vocal part doubling the violins and the treble part lowered an octave, but in the second half of m. 13 it veers away. After the cadence in the dominant at m. 26, the ensuing measure and a half function as a brief *ritornello* in the *da capo* aria structure. But had the *ouverture* structure actually begun in m. 11, its opening dotted section would have been perfectly in keeping with the characteristic A section of an *ouverture*. The first half would then extend from m. 11 to m. 27², and the putative *ritornello* would supply the first ending. Because mm. 27³–42 repeat mm. 11–27, in an actual French *ouverture* this section would constitute the customary repeat of the dotted section, ending properly on the dominant. In the context of the A section of a *da capo* aria, this repetition functions as the second statement of the A text following the internal *ritornello* but is compromised because it is not normal either for the music of the second statement of the A text to be the same as that of the first, or for the second A text (with or without a concluding *ritornello*) to end in the dominant. Thus, both the A section of the *da capo* aria and the first section of the *ouverture* are essentially complete, but each is disturbed to support the other. Most crucially, the slow, dotted portion of the *ouverture* has three sections instead of two, and the A section of the *da capo* aria fails to end in the tonic.

The B section of the *da capo* aria (mm. 43–114) corresponds to the fast, imitative section of the *ouverture*, and the style belongs to the French *ouverture* rather than to the Italian aria, in keeping with the style of the piece as a whole. Figure 2 provides a schematic diagram of this section. However, whereas Telemann's *da capo* arias contain one or two statements of the B text, with either no or only one internal *ritornello*, the B section of this aria comprises three statements of the B text separated by two *ritornellos*. The B sections of Telemann's *da capo* arias are generally shorter than the A sections, but the *ouverture* genre requires a longer fast section than the opening slow section, and the three statements of the text and three loose expositions of the subject provide proportions more in keeping with the *ouverture*. The *ritornellos*, which introduce the only triplet figures in the movement, stand quite apart from the style of the fast section and appear to provide the typical *ritornello* separation of statements of the B text. There are precedents, of course, for the appearance of *ritornellos* in some

Figure 2. Analysis of “Öffnet euch ihr Himmels Pforten,” mm. 43–114.

	Measures				
	43–61	61–65	65–81	81–85	85–114
French overture	Fast imitative section, first set of entries	Ritornello 1 in con- certed overture	Fast imitative section, second set of entries	Ritornello 2 in con- certed overture	Fast imitative section, third set of entries
Da capo aria	First presenta- tion of B text	Ritornello 1	Second pre- sentation of B text	Ritornello 2	Third presen- tation of B text (not conven- tional)

concerted ouvertures in which the B section is cast in ritornello form. A good example is Telemann’s Overture for Solo Recorder, Strings, and Continuo in A Minor (rwv 55: a2). The “extra” statement of the B text and second ritornello of the B section in this case compromise the B section of the da capo aria in much the same way as the appearance of a third section (really the first section, as it is the “extra” section) in the opening dotted section compromises the overture.

The return to the dotted music in m. 114, given in Ex. 1b, constitutes both the modified da capo of the da capo aria, with its return to the opening A text, and the return of the opening style in the French overture. Here, it is the da capo form that is the more compromised. This section is a repetition of the opening ritornello (mm. 1–10) with the voice now doubling the violin. It lacks the dual iteration of the A text found in the first A section. Ironically, whereas most da capo arias either bypass the opening ritornello or shorten it in the da capo, this da capo really consists entirely of ritornello, although the ritornello was originally partially duplicated at the beginning of the first A-text section. On the other hand, considered as a return to the dotted opening of the overture, this section follows the customary conventions. The entire imitative section and concluding dotted section are repeated, in keeping with the overture structure but completely at odds with that of the da capo aria.

Is this movement, then, an overture or a da capo aria? Its context, as an inner movement of a cantata, is that of a da capo aria, and this is the genre for which the text appears to have been conceived. In form, however, the piece is more nearly a texted French overture, with an extra ten-measure section at the beginning and two strongly contrasting ritornellos in the fast, imitative section. The style is almost entirely that of the overture. In Fowler’s conception of genre, it would be difficult to assign mode and genre to this movement if one were to view it in isolation from the expectations of

DCA: Da capo=mm. 1-10 + voice
 FO: Return to dotted section (now with literal repeat)
 Grave

Violin

Viola

Alto

Cembalo/
Violone

lacht. Öff - net euch ihr Him - mels Pfort - ten, zei - get mir bald eu - re

6 6 6 6 5 4 #

118

Vln.

Vla.

A

Cemb/
Vlne.

Pracht, eu - re Pracht, eu - re Pracht, zei - get

6 6 2 6 6

122

Vla.

Vla.

A

Cemb/
Vlne.

mir bald eu - - re Pracht.

6 #

Allegro D.S. al Fine Fine

D.S. al Fine Fine

Ex. 1b. G. P. Telemann, “Öffnet euch ihr Himmels Pforten”
 (TVWV 1: 1616/6), mm. 114–23.

the cantata genre and of the librettist, as neither of the two competing genres seems to have the upper hand. According to Fowler, “modal terms never imply a complete external form.” By his definition, then, this aria likely encompasses too much of the external form of the second genre, the overture, to justify being classified as a da capo aria “in the mode of an overture.”⁹ Indeed, the overture structure threatens to overwhelm the movement’s generic status as a da capo aria, rather than enrich it. Further, both competing forms are equally compromised, although the scoring and function privilege the da capo aria. Nor does it really form a subgenre: it fails to give birth to much in the way of imitators, unlike, for example, the concerted overture.

Although this movement finds no counterpart in the repertoire of Bach cantatas and no regular place in Telemann’s own cantatas, its form was one that the composer did later employ occasionally. Most prominently, he was to return to it many years later in his oratorio *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (1760), in the duet aria for two sopranos “Ihr Tore Gottes, öffnet euch!” [Ye gates of God, open up!].¹⁰ Here again, it must have been the “opening” topos of the text that inspired Telemann to choose the overture as a mold in which to cast the duet. The style, of course, is quite typical of Telemann’s late style in its employment of Lombardic rhythms in place of some of the dotted rhythms in the opening section (a device, however, that he had used nearly thirty years before in the *Musique de Table* of 1733). Again, the B text’s more lively sentiments, “Werft eure Diademe nieder, so schallt der weite Himmel . . .” [Throw down your diadem, so resounds the broad firmament], fit the quick, dance-like music Telemann supplied for it, with its allusions to the bourrée.

Bach’s overture-choruses with chorale melodies stated as cantus firmi have clear counterparts in Telemann’s cantatas, although the latter’s treatment of such movements differed from that of the Thomascantor. Telemann’s cantata from the *Französischer Jahrgang*, *Christ ist erstanden* (TVWV 1: 136) (Easter, 1715), sets a text from Neumeister’s fourth yearly cycle.¹¹ Neumeister based his text on that of the chorale “Christ ist er-

9. See Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 107.

10. I am grateful to Wolfgang Hirschmann and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch for pointing out this aria to me.

11. The texts were printed in Neumeister’s *Geistliche Poesien mit untermischten Biblischen Sprüchen und Choralen*, to be set by Telemann for the 1714–15 cycle both in Frankfurt and Eisenach. The cycle was reprinted in Erdmann Neumeister, *Fünffache Kirchen-Andachten* (Leipzig, 1716). “Christ ist erstanden” appears on pp. 206–8 of the latter. See also Georg Phillip Telemann, *Christ ist erstanden*, ed. Martin Hertel (Frankfurt: Habsburger Verlag: 1999), Preface. Hertel transcribed the piece in *Chorton*, and I have transcribed it in *Kammerton* (*Chorton* and *Kammerton* are a minor third apart in the sources for this piece, which are largely copied for a 1722 Frankfurt performance by Johann Christoph Bodinus, who was Telemann’s successor as Kapellmeister from 1721 to 1727 at the Barfüßer-Kirche.)

standen von der Marter alle" (a *Leise* based on the Medieval Easter sequence, *Victimae Paschali laudes*), and on a passage from Psalm 118, "Man singet mit Freuden vom Sieg in den Hütten der Gerechten," a text also set by Bach in the opening parody movement to his eponymous cantata, BWV 149. Neumeister constructed the chorus text in such a way that the first and second lines of the chorale text are presented followed by the psalm text, and finally, the second, third, and fourth lines of the chorale text. Thus, the text is given a tripartite shape whose outer parts require the setting of the chorale tune as some kind of cantus firmus. By juxtaposing the two texts, he interprets the psalm text: the victory of the righteous is achieved through the resurrection of Christ, and the word "fro" at the end of the second line of the chorale is linked with the word "Freuden" in the Psalm.

Drawing upon this three-part design, Telemann conceived the chorus as a vocal French overture, in which the slow A sections set the chorale tune and the fast B section sets the psalm. The overall disposition of the movement is given in Figure 3.

Although the implied tripartite structure maps well to the design of the French overture, as do the affects of the texts, Telemann has not simply overlaid the chorale onto an overture. His overture itself is somewhat idiosyncratic because of his need to present a theological interpretation of the text. To begin with, the opening section of the chorus is ostensibly in F minor, yet Telemann begins the movement with a brass-like fanfare for strings in C major over a C pedal point, symbolically proclaiming the resurrection. The opening nineteen measures of the first section of the movement are given in Ex. 2a. It is only after the opening fanfare that the proper key of the movement makes its appearance for the minor-key setting of the chorale tune.¹² Further, Telemann does not present the chorale tune in all four voices, but only in the tenor, perhaps a reference to the tradition of tenor cantus firmus settings of chorale tunes in the first generation of composers of polyphonic chorale settings. At any rate, the effect

12. A cantata once attributed to Telemann set to the Neumeister text *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (TVWV 1: 117), the same text as that set by Bach in BWV 61 (Neumeister, Cycle 4), begins in a nearly identical manner. The cantata is transmitted in Mügeln, No. 355 and 395, and bears an attribution to TEL. See Ute Poetzsch, "Neues über den Telemannbestand im Kantoreiarchiv zu Mügeln," in *Auf der gezeigten Spur: Beiträge zur Telemannforschung, Magdeburger Telemannstudien*, 13 (Ochtersleben: Dr. Zietzen Verlag, 1994), 106–11, 121; and Werner Menke, TVWV, I, xiii–xiv. Poetzsch points out that this cantata stands apart from the other Mügeln cantatas attributed to "TEL" or "T.E.L.," in that all of the others are strophic *Odenkantaten* with introductory sonatas or sinfonias, with texts largely taken from the fifth yearly cycle of Neumeister's *Fünffache Kirchenandachten*. If Telemann is not the composer of TVWV 1: 1178, then the actual composer was certainly familiar with Telemann's opening chorus to *Christ ist erstanden*, although it is possible that the sources are in the reverse chronological order. To complicate the issue, Telemann did indeed set Neumeister's text as *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (TVWV 1: 1175), but in a wholly different style.

Figure 3. Disposition of the opening movement of G. P. Telemann,
“Christ ist erstanden” (TVWV 1: 136) (Easter, 1715).

-
- I. Dotted, with chorale cantus firmus: Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle. Deß sollen wir alle froh seyn.
Christ is arisen from all the torment. For this we should all be happy.
- II. Fast, partly imitative section, F major, triple meter: “Man singet mit Freuden vom Sieg in den Hütten der Gerechten. Die Rechte des Herrn behält den Sieg. Die Rechte des Herrn ist erhöht. Die Rechte des Herrn behält den Sieg.
Shouts of joy and victory resound in the tents of the righteous: “The Lord’s right hand has done mighty things [maintains the victory]! The Lord’s right hand is lifted high; the Lord’s right hand has done mighty things!”
- III. Four-part chorale: “Deß soll’n wir alle froh seyn. Christus will unser Trost seyn. Kyrie eleis.”
For this we should all be happy. Christ will be our consolation. Kyrie eleis.
-

Violin I
Oboe I

Violin II
Oboe II

Viola I

Viola II

Violoncello
Calcedono
Organ

Vln. I
Ob. I

Vln. II
Ob. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

Vc.
Calc.
Org.

Ex. 2a. G. P. Telemann, “Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle”
(TVWV 1: 136/1), mm. 1–19.

Vln. I
Ob. I

Vln. II
Ob. II

Vla. I
Vla. II

T
Christ

Vc.
Cello.
Org.

9 13
 ist er - stan - - - den von der

6 6 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5

Ex. 2a. Continued.

The Overture as Theological Signifier

Ex. 2a. Continued.

of the single-voice cantus firmus, an archaic reference, set against the modern, pompous overture is startling here as it is at the beginning of BWV 140 and BWV 20. As dictated by the libretto, the chorale is interrupted after the second line, and there is no repeat of the slow section of the overture (as is often the case in cantata settings).¹³

The fast section of the overture sets the psalm excerpt, with the change in mode to F major and the fast $\frac{3}{8}$ meter underscoring the joy of victory. This section presents each line of the text as a separate subsection with the appropriate word painting, producing far more motivic contrast than in a real Lullian overture. Ex. 2b presents the opening of the fast section. For example, the text “Die Rechte des Herrn behält den Sieg” is illustrated by sustaining the notes, whereas the text “Die Rechte des Herrn ist erhöht” underscores the raising up of the hand of God by means both of ascending notes and melismas. Further, the repetition of the text “Die Rechte des Herrn behält den Sieg” in the psalm imparts a rondeau-like structure to the corresponding music.

13. In the Bach examples, BWV 20 has no repeat of the first section; BWV 61 has no repeat; BWV 97 has a repeat but the opening dotted section is entirely instrumental; BWV 110 has no repeat, and the opening dotted section is entirely instrumental; BWV 119 has a repeat but the opening dotted section is entirely instrumental; BWV 194 has a repeat but the opening dotted section is entirely instrumental. Thus, Bach never repeated the opening section when the opening dotted section is set for chorus, but sometimes did so when the chorus is silent throughout the opening section.

Forte et Allegro

Violin I
Oboe I

Violin II
Oboe II

Viola I

Viola II

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Violoncello
Calcedono
Organ

Man sin - get mit Freu - den vom Sieg in den Hüt - ten der Ge - rech - ten, mit

Man sin - get mit Freu - den vom Sieg in den Hüt - ten der Ge - rech - ten, mit

Man sin - get mit Freu - den vom Sieg in den Hüt - ten der Ge - rech - ten, mit

Man sin - get mit Freu - den vom Sieg in den Hüt - ten der Ge - rech - ten, mit

6 6 6 5 6 6 6 6 6 6 7 6

Ex. 2b. G. P. Telemann, “Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle”
(*TVWV* 1: 136/1), mm. 28–65.

The Overture as Theological Signifier

Ex. 2b. Continued. This musical score features a vocal ensemble (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a string section (Violins I & II, Violas I & II, Violoncello, Contrabass, and Organ). The vocal parts are in German, with lyrics such as "Freu - den, man sin - get mit Freu - den vom" and "Freu - den, mit Freu - den, mit Freu - den, man sin - get mit Freu - den vom". The string parts provide a harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The vocal parts are in a soprano, alto, tenor, and bass range. The string parts are in a standard orchestral arrangement. The organ part is in a lower register, providing a bass line. The score is a continuation of Ex. 2b.

Vln. I
Ob. I
Vln. II
Ob. II
Vla. I
Vla. II
S
A
T
B
Vlc.
Calc.
Org.

Freu - den, man sin - get mit Freu - den vom
Freu - den, mit Freu - den, mit Freu - den, man sin - get mit Freu - den vom
Freu - den, mit Freu - den, mit Freu - den, man sin - get mit Freu - den vom
Freu - den, mit Freu - den, man sin - get mit Freu - den vom

6 6 6 6 6 5

Ex. 2b. Continued.

42

Vla. I
Ob. I

Vla. II
Ob. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

S

A

T

B

Vlc.
Calc.
Org.

Sieg in den Hüt-ten der Ge-rech-ten. Die Rech-te des Herrn be-hält den Sieg, be-

Sieg in den Hüt-ten der Ge-rech-ten. Die Rech-te des Herrn be-

Sieg in den Hüt-ten der Ge-rech-ten. Die Rech-te des Herrn be-

Sieg in den Hüt-ten der Ge-rech-ten. Die Rech-te des Herrn be-hält.

6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\sharp$ $\flat$ $\frac{5}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{4}{2}$ 6

Ex. 2b. Continued.

The Overture as Theological Signifier

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola I (Vla. I), and Viola II (Vla. II). The second system includes staves for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Cello/Double Bass/Organ (Vlc. Calc. Org.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score features a variety of musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics are in German and appear below the vocal staves.

Lyrics:

S: hält den Sieg, den Sieg, den
A: hält den Sieg, den Sieg, den
T: hält be - hält den Sieg, den Sieg, den
B: den Sieg, den Sieg, den

Figured Bass:

4 2 3 6 4 2 6 7 6 4+ 2 # — 6 #

Ex. 2b. Continued.

58 -Ob. 2

Vln. I
Ob. I

Vln. II
Ob. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

S
Sieg, den Sieg, die Rech-te des Herrn be - hält, be - hält den Sieg.

A
Sieg, den Sieg, die Rech-te des Herrn, die Rech-te des Herrn, be - hält den Sieg.

T
Sieg, den Sieg, die Rech-te des Herrn, die Rech-te des Herrn be - hält den Sieg.

B
Sieg, den Sieg, die Rech-te des Herrn, die Rech-te des Herrn be - hält den Sieg. Die

Vic.
Calc.
Org.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ # 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 7 # 6 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 #

Ex. 2b. Continued.

It is at the moment of the expected return to the dotted section of the overture where Telemann's setting most crucially breaks from its generic fetters to free the chorus from the pomp of its putative model. At this point, the listener familiar with the conventions of the overture would expect a return of the slow, dotted music of the A section, in this case in conjunction with the chorale cantus firmus. But as Ex. 2c reveals, Telemann brought back only the opening tempo, dispensing with the dotted rhythms of the orchestra altogether and bringing back the chorale as a simple four-part setting (beginning with line 2, in accordance with the libretto). Thus, the stark harmonization of the chorale substitutes for the worldly splendor of the opening section, at exactly the point where the return of the dotted music is expected. The simple congregational joy at the resurrection of Christ thus takes precedence.

A particularly puzzling example of Telemann's use of the overture occurs in the cantata *Jesus sei mein erstes Wört* (TWV 1: 986) (Fifth Sunday after Trinity, 1715), a work from the *Französischer Jahrgang* with a text taken from Neumeister's fourth cantata cycle. In this cantata, a choral dictum in the mode of an overture appears as the *last* of ten movements, standing on end the normal function of the overture as a movement signifying openings or beginnings. In fact, the placement of the overture at the end of the work violates one of the functional hallmarks of the genre.¹⁴ The layout of the cantata is presented in Figure 4. A particular oddity in the performing materials for this cantata is that for the first two chorales, the two separate sets of performance material provide completely different melodies, even though the texts are the same. I have labeled these according to the copyists of the two scores, Beck and König.

One must consider this cantata as part of a larger theological tradition in which Christ is referred to as the "A" (alpha) and "O" (omega), the beginning and the end. Eric Chafe¹⁵ discusses four of Bach's cantatas in terms of their use of the "A" and "O" metaphor, which derives from the book of Revelation.¹⁶ In addition, Chafe also

14. Johann Gottfried Walther stresses the relationship of the term *ouverture* with its placement at the beginning of the work: "Overture [gall.] hat den Nahmen vom Eröffnen, weil diese Instrumental-Pièce gleichsam die Thür zu den Suiten oder folgenden Sachen aufschliesset." Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), facs. ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1953), 456. Scheibe also defines the overture by its opening function: "Es sind aber die Ouverturen eigentlich zum Anfange theatralischer Stücke erfunden und verfertigt worden." Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1745), 668.

15. See Eric T. Chafe, "Anfang und Ende: Cyclic Recurrence in Bach's Cantata *Jesu, nun sei gepreiset*, BWV 41," in *Bach Perspectives* 1, ed. Russell Stinson (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 103–34.

16. See Chafe, "Anfang und Ende," 103–4. The relevant verses are Rev. 22:13, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and last, the beginning and the end"; 1:8, "I am the Alpha and the Omega,"

The image displays a musical score for a choral and instrumental work. The top system includes parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Violoncello/Calcedono/Organ. The bottom system includes parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Violoncello/Calcedono/Organ. The lyrics are in German and Latin. The score is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'.

Top System:

- Soprano: Des soll'n wir al - le froh sein. Chris - tus will
- Alto: Des soll'n wir al - le froh sein. Chris - tus will
- Tenor: Des soll'n wir al - le froh sein. Chris - tus will
- Bass: Des soll'n wir al - le froh sein. Chris - tus will
- Violoncello Calcedono Organ: Des soll'n wir al - le froh sein. Chris - tus will

Bottom System:

- S: un - ser Trost sein. Ky - ri - e e - leis.
- VI. I/II: un - ser Trost sein. Ky - ri - e e - leis.
- Vla. I: un - ser Trost sein. Ky - ri - e e - leis.
- Vla. II: un - ser Trost sein. Ky - ri - e e - leis.
- B: un - ser Trost sein. Ky - ri - e e - leis.
- Vic. Calc. Org.: un - ser Trost sein. Ky - ri - e e - leis.

Ex. 2c. G. P. Telemann, “Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle”
($\text{TVWV } 1: 136/1$), mm. 118–31.

Figure 4. Disposition of G. P. Telemann, “Jesus sei mein erstes Wort”
(TWV 1: 986) (5th Sunday after Trinity, 1715).

-
1. Soprano aria (da capo): Jesus sei mein erstes Wort (numbered 1).
 2. Chorale: All Tritt und Schritt in Gottes Nam’ [two different but as yet unidentified melodies].
 3. Chorus: Wer Jesum bei sich hat, was will der bessers haben?
 4. Bass aria: Jesus sei mein täglich Wort (numbered 2).
 5. Chorale: Und wenns gleich wär dem Teufel sehr [Melodies: Beck: “Wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut,” Zahn 8207b; König: “Was mein Gott will, das gescheh allzeit,” Zahn 7568]. The text is the second strophe of “Wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut.”
 6. Chorus: Wer Jesum bei sich hat, hat alles Wohlergehen.
 7. Chorale: Auf Ihn will ich vertrauen in meiner schweren Zeit [Melody: “Von Gott will ich nicht lassen,” Zahn 5265, *Telemann, Fast Allgemeines Evangelische-Musicalisches Lieder-Buch* (Hamburg, 1730), No. 152]. Melody in König is a variant of Beck’s, which is closest to Telemann’s melody. The text is the third strophe of the chorale.
 8. Tenor aria: Jesus sei mein letztes Wort (numbered 3).
 9. Chorus: Wer Jesum bei sich hat, kann nicht im Tode sterben.
 10. French overture: Alles was ihr tut, mit Worten oder mit Werken (Col. III, 17).^a
-

a. Misabeled as II:17 in *Fünffache Kirchen-Andachten*, p. 347.

treats cantatas that set texts that use the beginning-end metaphor in some way. One of these, *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm* (BWV 171) (New Year’s Day, 1729²), with a text by Picander, includes an aria for soprano whose text draws on the idea of the name “Jesus” being both the first and last word of the speaker (in the case of the Picander text, the first word of the New Year):¹⁷

Jesus soll mein erstes Wort
In dem neuen Jahre heißen.
Fort und fort
Lacht sein Nam in meinem Mund,

says the Lord God, ‘who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty’; and 2:1:6: “He said to me: ‘It is done. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End. To him who is thirsty I will give drink without cost from the spring of the water of Life.’” (New International Version); see also Melvin Unger, *Handbook to Bach’s Sacred Cantata Texts* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 593. The “A” and “O” trope also finds its way into chorale texts, such as “In dulci júbilo” and “Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern.”

17. See Chafe, “*Anfang und Ende*,” 104–5. This aria is a parody of an earlier aria from BWV 205 beginning with the text, “Angenehmer Zephyrus.”

Und in meiner letzten Stunde
 Ist Jesus auch mein letztes Wort.
 [Jesus shall be my first word
 In the New Year.
 On and on
 His name makes my mouth rejoice.
 And in my final hour
 Is Jesus also my final word.]¹⁸

The puzzling dissonance between the placement of the choral *ouverture* and its own genre expectations can be explicated only by a study of the text, for the placement of the *ouverture* at the end of the cantata itself forms part of the text's exegesis. The text gives rise to four distinct elements: (1) three arias (set by Telemann for soprano, bass, and tenor) which form the linchpins of the cantata, (2) three choruses accompanied only by continuo in which each line begins with the words, "Wer Jesum bei sich hat" [He who has Jesus with him], set to the same music in the manner of a litany, (3) three chorale settings, and (4) a fourth choral setting of the concluding text from Colossians.¹⁹ Except for the final chorus, Neumeister provided three strophic texts based on a traditional Lutheran trope of Jesus as the first, lifelong, and last word,

18. The translation is amended from Unger, *Handbook*, 593.

19. The Frankfurt set of scores and parts, D-FfMus. 1192, includes an additional inserted movement copied in score (not included in the scores by Beck and König) setting the text, "Wer Jesum bei sich hat," in a more modern style with concerted instrumental parts. Only the text of the first strophe is underlaid beneath the music. The copyist of the score insert is Frankfurt copyist 58, Johann Christoph Fischer, music director at the Barfüsserkirche from 1759 until his death in 1769. A set of inserted parts for "Canto," "Alto," "Tenore," and "Basso" vocal parts, as well as "Violin 1mo," "Violino secondo," "Viola," "Violoncello," "Oboe 1mo," "Oboe 2do," and "Organo" (both *Chorton* and *Kammerton* parts), also survives as part of the same performance materials with only the three "Wer Jesum bey sich hat" movements (written out each time in the vocal parts with the three texts underlaid), but no other movements. The copyists of this set of inserted parts are Fischer and Frankfurt copyist 88, whose hand appears from 1744 on and who often copied with Fischer (Frankfurt copyist 88's hand appears in a set of manuscript copies of Telemann's *Musicalisches Lob Gottes* of 1744). Rubrics in the instrumental parts direct the performers to use the substitute sheets for the choral movements. The authorship of the substitute music is unclear. Telemann may have supplied more modern music later, or it may be the work of another composer. On the identification of these copyists, see the sample pages from various Frankfurt cantata manuscripts illustrating copyists' hands in Joachim Schlichte, *Thematischer Katalog der kirchlichen Musikhandschriften des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1979), and Eric Fiedler, *Telemann-Konkordanz*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt: Habsburger Verlag, 2000), Preface.

the chorus texts, and the chorale texts. The libretto, however, presents the composer with distinct challenges.

Unusual in a cantata text of Neumeister, which normally presents a mix of recitative and aria, no text is provided for recitative, and Telemann included no recitative in the cantata. Nor does the libretto include texts designed for setting as da capo arias. Thus, the operatic hallmarks of the madrigalian cantata are missing. Even more crucially, the text closes, rather than opens, with the Biblical dictum; the libretto itself contains a reversal in form, with the choral dictum shifted from the beginning to the end. The three arias, whose texts draw upon a traditional Lutheran trope, each begin a section of the cantata in which the name Jesus is pronounced by the speaker as his first, lifelong, and last word. Oddly, whereas Neumeister numbered the text of the “Jesus sei” strophes in a manner that suggests they were intended to be set strophically, possibly indicating an origin in a preexistent strophic hymn, Telemann completely ignored the strophic origin of the text and sets each as a da capo aria as though composed to madrigalian poetry; in each he sets the first line of text to the A music and the remainder to the B music. An especially nice touch is afforded by Telemann’s setting of the opening motto of the first aria for unaccompanied soprano, thus providing a simple, childlike beginning to the cantata, one completely devoid of instrumental accompaniment. The last word of the speaker in the final aria is illustrated by the most virtuosic melisma of the entire cantata.²⁰

The texts of the arias make clear a progression in time from the birth of the believer, whose first word is Jesus, until his death:

Aria 1 (soprano):

Jesus sei mein erstes Wort
Bei der Arbeit meiner Hände,
Daß Er mir den Segen sende.
Kann ich dessen mich erfreuen,
So wird alles wohl gedeien,
Und mein Werk geht glücklich fort.
Jesus sei mein erstes Wort.

[May Jesus be my foremost word
At the work of my hands,

20. This melisma evidently caused problems for the tenor in a later performance, for Fischer later sketched in another version of the melisma, with more opportunities to breathe, above the original version in Beck’s score.

Such that he may bestow his blessing upon me.
If I can take comfort in this,
All will thrive
And my work will proceed with good fortune.
May Jesus be my foremost word.]

Aria 2 (bass):

Jesus sei mein täglich Wort.
Hab' ich Jesum zum Geleite,
Und an meiner rechten Seite,
So kann ich in allen Fällen
Freudig meinen Weg bestellen.
Denn Er ist mein starker Hort.
Jesus sei mein täglich Wort.

[May Jesus be my daily word.
If I have Jesus as my guide,
And at my right side,
I can in every case
Secure my way with joy.
For He is my strong shelter.
May Jesus be my daily word.]

Aria 3 (tenor):

Jesus sei mein letztes Wort.
Ihn behalt' ich in dem Munde
Bei der letzten Lebensstunde.
Könnt Ihn auch der Mund nicht nennen,
Soll Ihn doch das Herz bekennen.
Und so fahr' ich selig fort.
Jesus sei mein letztes Wort!

[May Jesus be my final word!
His name will remain on my lips
In my last hour of life.
Even if my mouth were unable to pronounce his name,

The Overture as Theological Signifier

My heart should still profess it.
And thus I will travel forth with blessing.
May Jesus be my final word!]

The texts of the choruses likewise begin with the evocation of earthly life and end with reflections on death. But now the Christian will not really die, but rather will inherit eternal life:

Chorus 1:

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, was will der bessers haben?
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, hat mehr als alle Gaben.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, ist immer gutes Muts.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, geniesset tausend Guts.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, hat Rat in allen Dingen.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, dem muß es wohl gelingen.

[He who has Jesus with him, what better could he want?
He who has Jesus with him has more than all gifts.
He who has Jesus with him is always of good cheer.
He who has Jesus with him enjoys a thousand good things.
He who has Jesus with him has counsel in all things.
He who has Jesus with him, for him everything must succeed.]

Chorus 2:

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, hat alles Wohlergehen.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, kann unerschrocken stehen.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, acht't Kreutz und Leiden nicht.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, hat stets ein Freuden-Licht.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, kann sich geduldig fassen.
Wer Jesum bei sich hat, wird nimmermehr verlassen.

[He who has Jesus with him has health and happiness.
He who has Jesus with him can stand unafraid.
He who has Jesus with him fears not the Cross and suffering.
He who has Jesus with him has always a joyful light.
He who has Jesus with him can endure with patience.
He who has Jesus with him will never be left alone.]

Chorus 3:

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, kann nicht im Tode sterben.

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, der muß das Leben erben.

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, wird froh zu Grabe gehn.

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, wird herrlich auferstehn.

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, krönt sich mit diesem Namen.

Wer Jesum bei sich hat, der glaubt und sagt Amen.

[He who has Jesus with him cannot die.

He who has Jesus with him must inherit (eternal) life.

He who has Jesus with him will go happily to the grave.

He who has Jesus with him will gloriously be resurrected.

He who has Jesus with him is crowned with his name.

He who has Jesus with him believes and says "Amen."]

The three chorale verses (from different chorales) likewise progress from earthly living and work (Chorale 1) to Christ's protection (Chorale 2) to giving over the body and soul to God in death (Chorale 3):

Chorale 1:

All Tritt und Schritt in Gottes Nam', was ich fang an, teil mir dein' Hilfe mit,
und komm mir früh entgegen mit Glücke, Heil und Segen. Mein' Bitt' versag
mir nicht.

All mein Arbeit in Gottes Nam' was ich fang an, gereich zur Nutzbarkeit.
Mein Leib, mein Seel, mein Leben, was du mir hast gegeben, lobt dich in
Ewigkeit.

[With every step I take in the name of God, impart to me your help, and
bestow on me in good time success, redemption, and blessing. My petition do
not deny me.

May all the work in God's name that I take on be of some usefulness. My
body, my soul, my life, which you have given me, praise you in eternity.]

Chorale 2:

Und wenns gleich wär dem Teufel sehr und aller Welt zuwider; dennoch so
bist du, JESU Christ, der sie all schlägt darnieder. Und wenn ich dich nur

The Overture as Theological Signifier

hab' um mich mit deinem Geist und Gnaden, so kann fürwahr mir ganz und gar wed'r Tod noch Teufel schaden.

[And though it were displeasing to the Devil and the whole world, it is you, Jesus Christ, who defeats them all. And even if I have only your spirit and mercy by me, indeed neither death nor the Devil can harm me.]

Chorale 3:

Auf Ihn will ich vertrauen in meiner schweren Zeit. Es kann mich nicht gereuen, Er wendet alles Leid. Ihm sei es heimgestellt. Mein Leib, mein Seel, mein Leben sei Gott dem Herrn ergeben. Er mach's, wie's Ihm gefällt.

[I will trust in him in my difficult time. I cannot regret it, He turns away all sorrow. It (sorrow) is left to Him. My body, my soul, my life are surrendered to God the Lord. He acts as it pleases Him.]

The three-by-three construction of the text culminates in the passage from the third chapter of Colossians:

Overture:

Alles was Ihr tut, mit Worten oder mit Werken, das tut alles in dem Namen unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, und danket Gott und dem Vater durch Ihn.

[All that you do, in words or in deeds, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and thank God and the Father through him.]

Although there is nothing specific in this text to inspire Telemann's setting of it as an overture—indeed, its terminal position in the text would seem to argue against such a setting—in light of the preceding movements, Telemann's interpretation is wholly fitting. For the “opening” topos associated traditionally with the overture itself sets the normal movement ordering on its head: the cantata ends with an overture because the three movements preceding it focus on death. But in the Lutheran conception, death represents not the end, but the beginning, the beginning of eternal life, and is something to be longed for and desired. The overture is the prelude to eternal life beginning with the death of the believer.

Telemann divided the text in such a way that “Alles was Ihr tut” through “Jesu Christi” forms the A section of the putative overture, and the remainder of the text forms the B section. But the A section is somewhat peculiar in itself. Ex. 3a gives the first, dotted section of the overture and the beginning of the second, quick imitative section.

Largo [Cammerton BC: Grave]

Violin I

Violin II

Viola I

Viola II

Soprano

Al - les was ihr tut, al - les was ihr tut, mit Wort - en o - der mit Werk-en,

Alto

Al - les was ihr tut, al - les was ihr tut, mit Wort - en o - der mit Werk-en,

Tenor

Al - les was ihr tut, al - les was ihr tut, mit Wort - en o - der mit Werk-en,

Bass

Al - les was ihr tut, al - les was ihr tut, mit Wort - en o - der mit Werk-en,

Violoncello

Calcedono

Organ

Ex. 3a. G. P. Telemann, “Alles was ihr tut” (TWV 1: 986/10), mm. 1–14.

The Ouverture as Theological Signifier

[illegible]

Ex. 3a. Continued.

SWACK

7

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

S

A

T

B

das tut al - les in dem Nam - en un - sers Herrn Je - su Chris - -

5 4 6 7 5 4 5 4 5 4 5 4 6 5 4 3

Vc. Calc. Org.

Ex. 3a. Continued.

The Overture as Theological Signifier

11 Vivace

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

S

A

T

B

Vc.
Calc.
Org.

ti, und dank-et Gott und dem Va - ter durch ihn, dem Va - ter, durch ihn,

ti, und dank-et Gott und dem Va - - - ter durch ihn, dem Va - ter durch ihn, dank - et

ti, und dank - et Gott und dem Va - ter durch ihn, dank - et

ti, und dank - et Gott und dem Va - ter durch ihn,

6 6 4 2 6 6

Ex. 3a. Continued.

Allegro

Violin I

Violin II

Basso continuo

Vln. I

Vln. II

BC

Ex. 3b. A. Corelli, Sonata in A Major, op. 3, no. 12, final mvt., mm. 1–13.

The typical dotted rhythms that are the hallmark of the *ouverture* extend only through “Alles was Ihr tut, mit Worten oder mit Werken,” that is, that segment of the text treating the worldly deeds of the faithful Lutheran whose redemption will be brought about not by deeds but by faith through grace. The text, “das tut alles in dem Namen unsers Herrn Jesu Christi,” is set quite unconventionally for an *ouverture*, homophonically in even rhythm over a long dominant pedal in the bass almost as if it were a chorale, driving home the point that the worldly acts are not for the believer, but for Christ. The quick imitative section of the *ouverture* is more straightforward, emphasizing a joyous affect, with giga-like rhythms, long melismas, syncopations, and hemiolas inspired by the joy of giving thanks. The fugue theme is quite similar to that in the final movement of Arcangelo Corelli’s Trio Sonata in A Major, op. 3 no. 12, and may be derived from it.²¹

* * *

Telemann and Bach both were drawn to experimenting with vocal movements based on the *ouverture* in their sacred cantatas, probably beginning around the 1714–15

21. See Ex. 3b. Telemann’s cantata repertory shows a considerable amount of borrowing from his instrumental works. The extent of his borrowings both from himself and from other composers remains to be studied.

liturgical cycle.²² Although it remains to be discovered how many of their contemporaries also experimented with the overture in cantata compositions and how early this happened, it is reasonable to expect that vocal movements based on the overture also spread eventually to the Lutheran cantata repertoire as a whole.

It is worth pointing out that Bach and Telemann met in March of 1714, when Telemann stood godfather to C. P. E. Bach in Weimar, and the two composers could have discussed their experiments with the madrigalian cantata at that time.²³ Further, as Peter Wollny has pointed out, the opening to Agostino Steffani's opera *Enrico Leone* (Hanover, 1689) offers a precedent for the use of the overture in secular vocal music.²⁴ In his 1718 autobiography, Telemann testified to having heard the Hanover court ensemble while a student in the Gymnasium at Hildesheim,²⁵ and he also named Steffani as a composer whose music he studied and emulated during this period.²⁶ Whereas Bach maintained the association of the "opening" topos of the overture genre with its traditional position as the first movement of a multimovement work, Telemann extended the overture allusion to later movements of the cantata, as well, even to closing movements, in order to make either relatively simple analogies expressed in texts referring in some way to "opening," or to make more complex theological arguments. In his da capo arias "auf Ouvertürenart"—to coin a modern term in the spirit of Johann Adolph Scheibe's sonata "auf Concertenart"—Telemann also drew upon structural analogies between the tripartite structure of the da capo aria and the combination of both the bipartite and tripartite forms of the overture with a return of the dotted material at the end. The combination of da capo aria and overture is in keeping with Telemann's fascination with generic hybrids as a whole, a fascination he shared with Bach.

22. Without a thorough study of all his early cantatas, it is not yet known when the overture first appears in a cantata of Telemann. It should be remembered that Telemann was already an experienced composer of overtures by the time he took up his position in Eisenach in 1708 (because such pieces were the core of the repertoire at the Sorau court of Erdmann von Promnitz in Poland, where he was employed from 1705 to 1708), and that the 1714–15 yearly cycle was designed to emphasize the French style.

23. Peter Wollny has also made this point in his introduction to *Johann Sebastian Bach, Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland BWV 61*, facs. ed. Peter Wollny (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2000), xv.

24. See Wollny, *Nun komm*, xiv.

25. This appears in the autobiography printed in Johann Mattheson, *Grosse General-Bass-Schule* (Hamburg, 1731), 171–72; facs. ed. in *Georg Philipp Telemann: Autobiographien 1718–1729–1739, Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation von Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts, Heft 3*, ed. Günter Fleischauer et al., 14–15.

26. This appears in the autobiography printed in Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 357; facsimile in *Georg Philipp Telemann: Autobiographien 1718–1729–1739*, 39.

Bach and the *Concert en ouverture*

Steven Zohn

As Bach's de facto flute concerto, the Overture in B Minor (BWV 1067) is at once the most frequently heard of the composer's overture-suites and among the least typical examples of the genre. Part of the work's appeal no doubt centers on its finely calibrated tension between style and scoring, a subtle generic friction in which the detached suavity of the French suite and the assertive display of the Italian concerto rub together in several movements. This dynamic, also present to some degree in the Overture in D Major (BWV 1068) is of course absent in most overture-suites, where concertante instruments tend to be highlighted antiphonally rather than as virtuosic soloists, as, for example, with the "French trio" of two oboes and bassoon in the Overture in C Major (BWV 1066). Although the special properties of BWV 1067, in particular, have long been recognized and justly celebrated, the compositional tradition to which it belongs has remained very much in the background; the tacit assumption seems to have been that the work transcends the norms of its type. This essay aims to situate BWV 1067 and 1068 within a larger repertory of concerto-like overture-suites, revealing some ways in which Bach's compositional choices may have been shaped by the works of his contemporaries.

In fact, few eighteenth-century composers besides Bach dealt in such concerto-suite hybrids, and only one writer of the time has left us a prescription for how these works ought to proceed. In his 1740 discussion of the "Concertouverture" in *Der critische Musikus*, Johann Adolph Scheibe repeatedly stressed that concertante instruments in an overture-suite must not substitute Italianate bravado for Gallic order:

With regard to the concertante instruments, one easily observes their free, playful, and jocular singing in places where they are prominent. It is not their numbers that must stand out; rather, it is the varied entrance, the lively and natural parsing of the harmony's principal chord, and the cheerful, more or less flowing modulation of the concertante voices that give the Concertouverture a true beauty and the requisite fire. Of course, one must at the same time be mindful of the instruments' nature. But one must also avoid proceeding in a manner that is as concerto-like, long-winded, and forceful as would be appropriate in a proper concerto. Here there is a certain balance to maintain, so that one does not overshadow the true disposition and nature

of the Overture and lapse from a French style of writing into an Italian one, and consequently render the style of such a piece confused and disorderly.

A Concertouverture with a concertante violin must therefore be distinguishable in its elaboration from an ordinary violin concerto; the same goes for Overturen with other concertante instruments. In particular, such Overturen are most pleasing if, during their course, a pair of oboes and a bassoon alternate now and then with a harmonizing trio. [These instruments] must not, however, work very hard, but proceed together in clear harmony or simply imitate each other; the rest of the instruments then alternate with them.¹

The term *Concertouverture*, then, may be applied broadly to any ouverture-suite with at least one concertante string or wind part, which is to say that it describes many—perhaps even a majority—of the works written during the 1720s and 1730s. Some years earlier, Scheibe had more pointedly articulated his warning against undermining a suite's French identity through excessive virtuosity: "If there are concertante voices [in an ouverture], such as oboes or recorders [*Flauten*], then they may be heard alone from time to time, with the violins or a bassoon providing the bass. If there is a concertante violin, no Italianate concerto figurations [*Passagen*] must be introduced; rather, one must adhere strictly to the French style."²

We may gather from Scheibe's strongly worded disapproval of concerto-like Concertouverturen that "confused and disorderly" works such as BWV 1067 and 1068 were not uncommon around 1730. Because my concern here is with this soloistic subset of ouverture-suites, I shall eschew Scheibe's general term (and the modern term *Konzertsuite*) in favor of *concert en ouverture*, an eighteenth-century formulation connected with a work scored similarly to BWV 1067: Telemann's Suite for Violin and Strings in E Major (TWV 55:E3).³ For the purposes of the following discussion, a *con-*

1. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, "Drei und siebenzigstes Stück. Dienstags, den 19 Jenner, 1740" (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1740), 372–73; second revised edition as *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), 672. The quoted passage is from the 1745 edition.

2. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Compendium Musices Theoretico-Practicum* (Leipzig, unpublished manuscript, 1728–36), transcribed in Peter Benary, *Die deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung, III (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961), *Anhang*, 84.

3. This work is listed below in Table 1. The heading, *Concert en ouverture*, obviously a reference to the violin's soloistic role in the work's Overture and in each of the following dance movements, appears at the top of the *Violino concertato* part prepared at the Dresden court by Copyist A (Johann Gottfried Grundig). Horst Büttner, *Das Konzert in den Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns* (Wolfenbüttel and Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer, 1935), 17, divided Telemann's ouverture-suites into *Streichersuiten* and *Konzertsuiten*, the latter category including works with one or more concertante instruments. Adolf Hoffmann, in his editions of three other Telemann ouverture-suites for soloist and strings, TWV 55:

cert en ouverture may be understood as an *ouverture-suite* in which a soloist assumes a concertato role in the *ouverture* and in most, if not all, subsequent movements.

* * *

As a first step toward exploring the generic context of BWV 1067 and 1068, I wish to take stock of some startling findings with regard to the former work by Joshua Rifkin and, to a lesser degree, by Siegbert Rampe and Domenik Sackmann.⁴ It so happens that a close reading of the parts for BWV 1067 prepared by Bach and several anonymous copyists during the late 1730s (ST 154, 1–6) yields a number of transposition errors that can mean only one thing: the work was originally conceived in A minor and transposed up a tone by Bach's scribes during the act of copying. Rifkin, unlike Rampe and Sackmann, sees a number of carelessly placed accidentals in the note-perfect autograph flute part as further confirming this act of transposition (though the evidence here, in comparison to that of the non-autograph parts, seems less than clear-cut). But whether Bach himself was transposing as he copied or reading from a source already in B minor, the main point is that the work's lower range and tessitura in A minor seem to imply a solo instrument other than the flute. If one assumes that the lost A-minor solo part closely resembled the later B-minor one, as all three scholars do, then the violin comes readily into play. Rampe and Sackmann find the solo part full of "typical violin figurations," whereas Rifkin considers it something less than idiomatic owing to its lack of multiple stops and general avoidance of the G-string (notwithstanding figuration suggesting a highlighting of the open E-string in mm. 60–62 and 124–26 of the *Ouverture*). To explain the solo part's curiously modest technical demands, and to confirm that Bach was indeed writing for the violin, Rifkin appeals to Scheibe's definition of the *concert en ouverture* and to Johann Bernhard Bach's G-minor *ouverture-suite* for violin and strings, with which BWV 1067 shares not only a number of compositional details but a lack of multiple stops and the near-total absence of pitches below d' in the solo part. On the paleographic side of the ledger, Rifkin notes that at the top of Bach's flute part a "V" (for "Violino"?) has taken on a new life as the "T" in "Traversiere."

D6 (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler Verlag, 1955), Es2 (Kassel: Nagels Verlag, 1954), and A4 (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler Verlag, 1963), gives each work the title *Konzertsuite*. And Willi Maertens refers to BWV 55: A8 as a *Konzertsuite* in the preface to his edition of the work (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1967).

4. See Joshua Rifkin, "The 'B-Minor Flute Suite' Deconstructed: New Light on Bach's *Ouverture* BWV 1067" in this volume. Since the initial presentation of Rifkin's thesis at the first Dortmund Bach Symposium in 1996, Siegbert Rampe and Domenik Sackmann have argued some of the same points in BOM, 258–60. I am grateful to Joshua Rifkin for allowing me to read a draft of his article, and for several stimulating discussions relating to BWV 1067 and similar works.

It is not my intention here to challenge the one-time existence of an A-minor version of BWV 1067; nor will Rifkin's dating of the piece to 1730–31 get any argument. But I wish to consider, in a preliminary digression with implications for the rest of this essay, the possibility that Bach's "flute suite" was always a flute suite, or that the putative solo violin part would have made better use of the instrument's capabilities than does the B-minor part. I will, in effect, be agitating not so much *against* the violin as *for* the flute as a viable solo instrument in the earliest manifestation of BWV 1067.

One of the principal arguments against the flute concerns the instrument's compass, which in Bach's time normally extended down to d'. In BWV 1067, a literal transposition of the B-minor solo part a step lower produces c' in four measures of the Overture (mm. 11, 36, 78, and 86) and in single measures of both the Polonoise-Double (m. 4) and Menuet (m. 16). There is, moreover, a c#' in m. 115 of the Overture. Thus the low range of the hypothetical solo part in A minor would seem to constitute *prima facie* evidence that it was intended for violin. (The oboe may be ruled out primarily on the basis of the c#' in the Overture, the e'''s in the Polonoise [mm. 5, 7] and the unidiomatic leaps in the Polonoise-Double.) Yet a closer look at these measures reveals that in all but two, the soloist is doubled by the first violin, the exceptions being m. 78 of the Overture and m. 4 of the Polonoise-Double—places where the lone c's might easily have been avoided in the A-minor part (or in performance) though octave displacement.⁵ In other words, a flute soloist playing the work in its original key could steer clear of all seven pitches below d' without altering the substance of the music in any meaningful way and with the unsuspecting listener being none the wiser.

Related to the issue of compass is the flute's status during tutti passages in the middle section of the Overture. Bach's B-minor part, of course, includes nearly all of the tutti music—all, that is, except for one brief passage at mm. 127⁴–133⁴ that Rampe and Sackmann view as the composer's sole concession to his soloist's breathing requirements. But this one break seems less than strategically placed: far greater need for a breath arises at mm. 78, 162, and 174, which come at the midpoint or end of the two longest solo episodes. In fact, the most difficult aspect of the movement for the flutist is not the episodic material itself—comfortably negotiated by a "capable but not unusually virtuoso player," as Rampe and Sackmann put it—but the sheer number of notes without pause, especially if the middle section is repeated in performance. The lack of places to breathe could be taken as further evidence for the violin (or of Bach's indifference to the flutist's need to breathe), but there is another possibility;

5. In the "Overture," the first three beats of m. 78 could be taken up an octave, though this would slightly upset the parallelism with mm. 75–76. Similarly, the descending contrapuntal voice that culminates in c' in m. 4 of the "Polonoise-Double" (g'-f'-g'-e'-e'-c')—or just the c' itself—might be placed an octave higher.

namely, that Bach intended the tutti notations in the B-minor part as cues. Having the flutist rest during tuttis certainly would bring the piece in line with the majority of contemporaneous concertos and *concerts en ouverture* featuring wind soloists (including Telemann's *ouverture-suites*, TWV 55:Es2, e10, and a2, discussed below), while eliminating the need for the soloist to play c's in mm. 36 and 86 and a c# in m. 115 in the A-minor version.⁶ But even if the notated tuttis were not intended as cues, Bach might have expected that a flute soloist would tailor them to suit his needs.

Instructive in this respect are the practices of flutists doubling violin lines at the Darmstadt, Dresden, Berlin, and Karlsruhe courts during the period 1720–50. As extant performance materials make clear, Dresden flutists were frequently called upon to reinforce violins in the ritornellos of concertos and opera arias, even though the violin parts do not always make concessions to the limited range of their instruments. In the absence of much rehearsal time, they must have become accustomed to “arranging” violin parts at sight. Interestingly enough, Johann Joachim Quantz, unlike many of his contemporaries, habitually wrote out the tutti material in solo parts to his flute concertos, more often than not failing to adjust the first-violin line to fit the flute's compass.⁷ What—or whether—the soloist(s) played during ritornellos is impossible to determine in most cases, but in the outer movements of a concerto for two flutes, qv 6:7, composed at Berlin and sent to the Dresden court circa 1741–50, Quantz (or at least the copyist of the parts) took extraordinary care to rewrite or simplify the first-violin part so as to render the ritornellos manageable on the flute: pitches below d' have been replaced with rests or transposed up an octave, and multiple stops have been eliminated or turned into arpeggio figures.⁸ Yet in the opening and concluding ritornellos of the first movement, both flute parts still have isolated c's that, one presumes, were simply omitted in performance. Similarly, the solo part to the opening movement of Sebastian

6. In TWV 55:Es2 and a2, the soloist doubles the first violin in the outer sections of the *Ouverture* and plays none of the tuttis in the middle section. In the E-minor suite, the soloist also doubles the first violin during the opening and closing tuttis of the middle section.

7. On flutes doubling violin parts in Dresden operas and in Quantz's concertos, see Mary Oleskiewicz, “Quantz and the Flute at Dresden: His Instruments, His Repertory and Their Significance for the *Versuch* and the Bach Circle” (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1998), 280–81. A counterexample cited by Oleskiewicz is the concerto for two flutes, qv 6:6, where the ritornellos are abbreviated or rewritten in the Dresden flute parts. See Oleskiewicz, “Quantz and the Flute,” 272.

8. D-Dlb, Mus. 2470–O-8. On the dating and provenance of the manuscript, see Manfred Fechner, *Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten deutscher Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Dresdner Konzert-Manuskripte von Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann David Heinichen, Johann Georg Pisendel, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, Johann Joachim Quantz und Johann Gottlieb Graun: Untersuchungen an den Quellen und thematischer Katalog*, *Dresdner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, II (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999), 342–43.

Bodinus' A major ouverture-suite for flute or violin and strings includes five pitches below the flute's compass (four a's and one c[#]) that must have been omitted or played up an octave.⁹ At Darmstadt in the late 1720s or early 1730s, Christoph Graupner called upon two flutes to replace violins in the Menuet of his D-major *Entrata per la Musica di Tavola*, despite parts with an ambitus reaching below d'.¹⁰

In terms of range, then, the A-minor solo part to BWV 1067 would have presented no serious obstacle to an eighteenth-century flutist. But before gauging the part's suitability for flute in other respects, we might briefly view the issue from an organological perspective. As Ardal Powell and David Lasocki have shown, efforts to extend the flute's range down to c' (but not to c[#]) were apparently widespread among European woodwind makers around 1720; several surviving three- and four-joint flutes from this time, including two made by Jacob Denner (Nuremberg) and one apiece by Johan Just Schuchart (Germany) and Pierre Jaillard Bressan (London), have C-feet.¹¹ Quantz mentions the invention of such flutes some thirty years after the fact in his *Versuch* (though his somewhat confusing description of the extended footjoint design—including a key for c[#] but not for c'—suggests an imperfect recollection), and the flute fingering chart in the 1732 and 1741 editions of J. F. B. C. Majer's *Museum musicum theoretico practicum* illustrates a flute with a C-foot, strongly implying that this was a common enough configuration for the instrument at the time.¹²

9. The flute/violin doubles the first ripieno violin throughout the movement, and no pitches below d' are found in any of the following movements. Worth noting is the unusual formulation on the title page in the sole manuscript source for the work (D-KA, Ms Hs 54): "OUVERTURE ex A.# / à / Flauto Traverso ò Violino Principale / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Alto Viola / Cembalo ò Violoncello / è / Violon / del Sig: Bodino / [possessor mark:] "Ch: W: von Weiss." On the photocopy I examined, it is evident that the third line of the title originally read "Flauto Traverso obligato [solo (?)]." The first "o" in "obligato" was altered to read "ò," and the rest of the designation erased and replaced with "Violino Principale." The solo part, in a different copying hand from the title page, is labeled "Flaut Traverss. ò Violino Principale," with no alterations visible. Bodinus worked at the Karlsruhe court off and on between 1718 and 1752, and the A-major ouverture-suite could have been composed at any time during this period. Although this work cannot be considered a *concert en ouverture* according to the criteria laid out above, it does include one solo movement (see below).

10. Christoph Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken: Studien zur Darmstädter Hofmusik und thematischer Katalog* (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 105 and 319.

11. Ardal Powell with David Lasocki, "Bach and the Flute: The Players, the Instruments, the Music," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 9–29, at 13. See also Martin Kirnbauer and Peter Thalheimer, "Jacob Denner and the Development of the Flute in Germany" and Friedrich von Huene, "A *flûte allemande* in C and D by Jacob Denner of Nuremberg," both in *Early Music* 23 (1995): 82–100 and 102–12. One of the Denner flutes did not survive World War II.

12. Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Quantz, 1752; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 28; trans. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute*, 2nd ed.

Now, we have no evidence that any musicians associated with Bach played a flute with a C-foot, much less that he ever composed with such an instrument in mind. But if flutes like Denner's really were in vogue around 1720, it is hard to imagine that they were unknown in Leipzig, Dresden, and other locations within Bach's sphere of activity. Would not many flutists have availed themselves of the new invention, especially when their repertory at the time consisted in large measure of works for oboe (lowest note c') or violin?¹³ It is worth noting, in this connection, that the Sonata in G Minor (BWV 1030a), the early G-minor version of Bach's other famous B-minor flute piece, fits rather well on an instrument with a C-foot.¹⁴ Then, too, a number of surviving one-key flutes at very low pitches (*flûtes d'amour* or standard C-instruments supplied with unusually long *corps de rechange*) can produce c' through transposition.¹⁵ So there

(New York: Schirmer, 1985), 34; Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar Majer, *Museum musicum theoretico practicum, das ist: Neu-eröffneter Theoretisch- und Practischer Music-Saal* (Schwäbisch Hall: Georg Michael Majer, 1732; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), 33; Majer, *Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar Majers . . . Neu-eröffneter Theoretisch- und Practischer Music-Saal, das ist: Kurze, doch vollständige Methode . . . Zweyte und viel-vermehrte Auflage* (Nuremberg: Johann Jacob Cremer, 1741; repr. Michaelstein: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, [1991]), 45. The two editions of Majer's treatise used the same engraved plate for the fingering chart. For discussion of Quantz and Majer, see Kirnbauer and Thalheimer, "Jacob Denner," 90–91; and von Huene, "A *flûte allemande*," 109–10 (including a facsimile of Majer's chart).

13. In his 1754 autobiography, Quantz recalled that in 1718, when he abandoned the oboe in favor of the transverse flute at the Dresden court, "there were few compositions written especially for the flute. One had to manage, for the most part, with compositions for the oboe and violin, which one had to arrange as well as possible for one's purpose." Johann Joachim Quantz, "Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen," in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, I, "Stück 5" (Berlin: J.J. Schützens sel. Wittwe, 1755), 200–201; repr. in Willi Kahl, *Selbstbiographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Staufen, 1948), 116–17; trans. in Paul Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 289.

14. This point is made by Powell with Lasocki, "Bach and the Flute," 17. Whether any type of flute at all was intended for BWV 1030a has recently been called into question by Klaus Hofmann, who argues that the G-minor version of the piece was scored for the "duo" combination of violin, lute, and sustaining bass instrument. See his "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urfassung: Diskurs zur Vorgeschichte der Sonate in h-Moll für Querflöte und obligates Cembalo von Johann Sebastian Bach," BJ 84 (1998): 31–59, especially 50–53. However, if one takes the readings of the B-minor part at face value, then a transposition down to G minor yields only two, easily avoidable, instances of c' and c# in the first movement (mm. 50 and 108). The issue of whether the piece was intended for a flute with a C-foot (briefly considered and dismissed by Hofmann, 53, n. 58) therefore becomes moot, as the sonata would be playable on an instrument with the standard D-foot.

15. Kirnbauer and Thalheimer ("Jacob Denner," 96) suggest that an unusually long *corps de rechange* for one of Denner's extant four-joint instruments of ca. 1720 (producing a' at about 360 Hz) may have been intended to make the flute a transposing instrument in c' with a' at 402 Hz.

are grounds for imagining that the A-minor version of BWV 1067 was written for a flutist who could produce c', and that the later transposition to B minor was made to accommodate one who could not. Still, the notion that BWV 1030a and 1067 were conceived specifically for a flute with an extended range must remain squarely in the realm of conjecture. What seems clear, however, is that the hypothetical original versions would have been playable on many flutes of the time.

All of the foregoing speculation would of course amount to little if the transposition to A minor made BWV 1067 a significantly more challenging work for the player of a one-key flute. But in fact, just the reverse is true: a number of the most difficult passages in the B-minor part now lie much more comfortably under the fingers, and no equally problematic spots are introduced.¹⁶ An already low tessitura becomes even lower, to be sure, but remains comparable to that of the Sonata for Flute and Continuo in E Minor (BWV 1034) and the Sonata for Two Flutes and Continuo in G Major (BWV 1027). For the solo violinist, as already mentioned, the suite is far less than the virtuosos showpiece we might expect. This could be due to the model of Johann Bernhard Bach's G-minor *concert en ouverture*, but if so, then we must ask why Bach's writing for the soloist is less challenging, on the whole, than that of his cousin. Johann Bernhard's violin spends much of its time playing widely spaced broken-chord figurations that would transfer awkwardly, at best, to a wind instrument, whereas Bach's soloist never has to contend with such athletic skips or unrelieved waves of arpeggio figures. Not that Johann Bernhard makes too many demands on his violinist's technique; the point is that we would expect Bach to make more, not fewer. We must ask, too, why Bach was content to let the solo violin/flute double the first violin throughout the Rondeau (except for mm. 32–36), Sarabande, and Menuet when Johann Bernhard's violinist has an independent part (or at least a solo *alternativement* dance) in each movement. The alternative explanation for the restrained nature of the solo writing in BWV 1067—Bach's concern to maintain a French *goût*, à la Scheibe, by reining in his violinist—becomes less attractive when one realizes that Telemann, no great lover of virtuosic display and generally more in sympathy with Scheibe's views, regularly surpassed the technical demands of BWV 1067 in his *concerts en ouverture* with concertato violin.¹⁷

16. Among the trickiest places in the B-minor solo part with regard to fingering and intonation are the e#–f# alternations in mm. 72–73 of the Overture, the g#–f#–e# sequences in mm. 34 and 39 of the Rondeau, and the infamously awkward f#–e# alternations in mm. 12–14 of the Battinerie, which almost invariably force the player to choose between an awkward alternate fingering (g^b for f#) or playing intervals that are too narrow.

17. Nearly all of these works, incidentally, make ample use of the violin's G-string. (The exception is TWV 55:E3, which contains a handful of c#'s and b's, but no lower pitches.) Telemann's apparent disagreement with Scheibe regarding the virtuosity of concertato parts in *ouverture-suites* is noted in

Bach and the *Concert en ouverture*

a)



b)



c)



Arpeggio

Ex. 1. a) J. S. Bach, Overture-suite in B Minor (BWV 1067), first mvt., mm. 55–70 (Traversiere, transposed to A minor); b) J. B. Bach, Overture-suite in G Minor, first mvt., mm. 105–119 (Violino concertato); c) G. P. Telemann, Overture-suite in B Minor (TWV 55: h4), first mvt., mm. 56–69 (Violino concertino).

d)



e)



Ex. 1. d) J. F. Fasch, Overture-suite in A Major (BWV K:41), first mvt., mm. 62–79 (Violino concertino); e) J. M. Doemming, Overture-suite in F Major, first mvt., mm. 41–66 (Violino concertato); f) J. S. Bach, Overture-suite in D Major (BWV 1068), first mvt., mm. 71–79 (Violino 1)

The type of virtuosity expected of violin soloists in the genre is illustrated by Example 1. Here one notes that the A-minor Overture's first episode, containing some of the most violinistic writing in the movement, requires notably less of the soloist than do episodes by Johann Bernhard, Telemann, Johann Friedrich Fasch, and Johannes Martin Doemming.¹⁸ It is also significantly tamer than either of the two episodes played by the soloistic (but non-concertato) first violin in the Overture of BWV 1068. The solo part to Bach's Bourrée II is also curiously restrained—*concerts en ouverture*, including Johann Bernhard's suite, normally tax the violin soloist in the second dance of an *alternativement* pair to a much greater degree. What this means, I believe, is either that the B-minor flute part is an arrangement of a more idiomatic violin part in A minor, or that BWV 1067 was indeed originally conceived for flute.

* * *

Even during its apparent heyday in the 1720s and 1730s, the *concert en ouverture* seems to have found relatively few adherents. Table 1 lists all such works known to me.¹⁹ Though the surviving repertory is slight, there are indications that the genre was familiar in many parts of Germany. Beyond Saxony and Thuringia (represented by the

Karen Trinkle, "Telemann und Scheibe: Unterschiedliche Vorstellungen von der Konzertouverture," in *Die Entwicklung der Ouvertüren-Suite im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Bedeutende Interpreten des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre Ausstrahlung auf Komponisten, Kompositionsschulen und Instrumentenbau: Gedenkschrift für Eitelfriedrich Thom (1933–1993)*, Konferenzbericht über die XXI. Internationale Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung zu Fragen der Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts, Michaelstein, 11. bis 13. Juni 1993 (Michaelstein: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 1996), 31–37.

18. Doemming, who is represented by a number of instrumental and vocal works in the library of the Prince of Bentheim-Tecklenburg at Rheda, appears to have been active as a composer and cellist at the Hohenlimburg court of Duke Moritz Casimir I between the 1730s and 1770s (to judge from the dates on many of the manuscripts). Unavailable to me during the preparation of this essay was Siegfried Gump, "Graf Moritz Casimir I. und Johannes Martin Doemming: Betrachtungen zum Musikleben am Hohenlimburger Hofe," *Hohenlimburger Heimatblätter für den Raum Hagen* 54 (1993): 502–5 and 507–11. I am grateful to Joshua Rifkin for pointing out the existence of Doemming's F-major *concert en ouverture*.

19. Dates for the Darmstadt manuscripts (D-DS) derive from an unpublished study by Brian D. Stewart of the paper types and copyists' hands in the Telemann manuscripts at the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek (manuscript in the library's Musikabteilung). On the chronology of the Dresden Telemann manuscripts (D-Dlb), see Steven Zohn, "Music Paper at Dresden and the Chronology of Telemann's Instrumental Music," in *Puzzles in Paper: Concepts in Historical Watermarks*, Essays from the International Conference on the History, Function, and Study of Watermarks, Roanoke, Virginia, ed. Daniel W. Mosser, Michael Saffle, and Ernest W. Sullivan II (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2000), 125–68.

Table 1. The *Concert en Overture*

Composer	Work	Solo Instrument(s)	Principal Source(s)	Date
Anon. (attrib. Telemann)	TWV 55:A4	Violin	D-DS, MUS. ms. 1034/34 (anon.)	ca. 1725
	TWV 55:A8	Violin	D-SWL, Mus. 5399/7	before 1730?
Johann Bernhard Bach	Ouv-suite in G	Violin	D-MÜt, Rheda Ms. 780 (anon)	ca. 1730-40?
	BWV 1067	Flute/violin	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St. 320	1730
	BWV 1068	[Violin]	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St. 154 1-6	1738-39 and later
Johannes Martin Doemming	Ouv-suite in F	Violin	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St. 153	1731/1734-38
Johann Friedrich Fasch	FWV K:A1	Violin	D-MÜt, Rheda Ms. 172	dated 1733
Georg Philipp Telemann	TWV 55:D1	Oboe, trumpet, 2 violins	D-Dlb, Mus. 2423-N-44	ca. 1740
	TWV 55:D6	Viola da gamba	<i>Musique de table</i>	1733
	TWV 55:D14	Violin	D-DS, Mus. ms. 1034/18	ca. 1730
			D-B, Mus. ms. 21784/3	ca. 1725?
	TWV 55:Es2	Recorder	D-DS, Mus. ms. 1034/81	1726-30
	TWV 55:E3	Violin	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-5	ca. 1725
	TWV 55:e1	2 flutes, 2 violins	D-DS, Mus. ms. 1034/14	ca. 1725-30
	TWV 55:e10	Oboe or flute	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-7	ca. 1730-35
	TWV 55:F13	Violin	<i>Musique de table</i>	1733
	TWV 55:G6	Violin	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-23	ca. 1725
	TWV 55:G7	Violin, 2 oboes	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-10a/b	ca. 1725-35
	TWV 55:g7	Violin	D-DS, Mus. ms. 1034/47	ca. 1725
	TWV 55:g8	2 violins	D-DS, Mus. ms. 1034/63	1726-30
	TWV 55:A7	Violin	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-16	ca. 1725-35
	TWV 55:a2	Recorder	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-41	1728-37
	TWV 55:B1	2 oboes, 2 violins	D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-6	dated 1741
	TWV 55:h4	Violin	D-DS, Mus. ms. 1034/5	1725
			<i>Musique de table</i>	1733
			D-Dlb, Mus. 2392-O-15	ca. 1729?

Bachs and Fasch), examples were composed by Telemann in Frankfurt and Hamburg (with many performed at Darmstadt), and by Doemming in Hagen-Hohenlimburg; the origins of two *ouverture-suites* evidently misattributed to Telemann are unknown.²⁰ To be sure, a certain number of works have been lost, including four *ouverture-suites* by Johann Christian Hertel (1699–1754) entitled *Ouverture alla Concerto* or *Ouverture alla Concertino* (another interesting hybrid title) and scored for *Violino Concertato* or *Violino Principale* with strings.²¹ And the boundary between the *concert en ouverture* and what is sometimes called the *concerto-suite*—in which a fast movement in *ritornello* form (or at least one not cast as an *ouverture*) precedes a suite of dance-based movements featuring one or more soloists—appears to have been rather fluid.²² Still, it is unlikely that *concerts en ouverture* and similar works were ever composed in great numbers. That both BWV 1067 and 1068 exhibit traits of the genre places Bach at the forefront of composers experimenting with the style, scoring, and structure of the *ouverture-suite* during this period.

20. Although TWV 55:A4 has been cataloged, published, and recorded under Telemann's name, its weak invention, unimaginative solo writing, and unusual movement titles (e.g., “Minuetta”) argue strongly against this attribution. The sole manuscript source, a score in the hand of Darmstadt Copyist B (Johann Gottfried Vogler?), bears no composer's name. TWV 55:A8, ascribed to “Tehleman” at Schwerin and unattributed at Rheda, is no more likely to have come from Telemann's pen: its unusually brief movements are melodically impoverished and marked by simplistic solo writing.

21. The nature of the solo violin writing in these suites, which perished in the Allied bombing of Darmstadt in 1944, is unclear. Hertel was employed as a violinist at the Darmstadt court in 1717–18. See Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 52 and 85–86. Mention also should be made here of a few lost works by Telemann—TWV 55:D26, for flute, violin, three trumpets, timpani, and strings, advertised in the 1763 Breitkopf thematic catalog, and TWV 55:G13, for violin and strings. The latter work, however, may have been identical to TWV 55:G6, which not only has the same scoring and key, but almost the identical succession of movements (*ouverture*, *entrée*, *bourrée*, *loure*, *menuet*, and *rondeau* in G6; *ouverture*, *entrée*, *bourrée*, *loure*, *rondeau*, and *menuet* in G13). Among the *Ouvertüren di Telemann* listed in the 1743 inventory of the Zerbst Hofkapelle under Fasch are five works including a part for “Violino Concertat[o]” (Nos. 4, 6, 12, 14, and 29); No. 21 in the list is described as “à Viola Concert[at]o 2 Violini Viola Rip[ieno] et Cembalo.” Under the category “Ouvertüren von verschiedenen Meistern” are two works with “2 Violini Concertat[o]” by “Monseig. le Comte de Lippe” and one work with a “Violino Conc[ertato]” part by “Frey” (Nos. 1, 2, and 34). A facsimile of the inventory has been published as *Concert-Stube des Zerbster Schlosses: Inventarverzeichnis aufgestellt im März 1743* (Michaelstein: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte, 1983).

22. Examples of the *concerto-suite* include Telemann's TWV 43:G3, 51:F4, and 54:F1, and Johann Melchior Molter's A-major *Concerto en Suite* for “Violino Concerto” and strings, BWV VI/Anh. 1. The First Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1046, is related to these works through its concluding *alternative-ment* complex of dances (Menuet–Trio–Menuet–Polonaise–Menuet–Trio–Menuet).

When and where the *concert en ouverture* arose is difficult to ascertain. A prototype for some examples could have been furnished by Francesco Venturini's twelve Concerti da camera, op. 1 (Amsterdam, ca. 1713). Featuring concertante writing for oboe, violin, or a pair of oboes with bassoon, these works follow an Ouverture or Concerto with a series of dances, arias, and characteristic pieces.²³ But the idea of writing for a soloist throughout an ouverture-suite may also have been a natural outgrowth of the inclusion in many conventionally scored works of one or two solo movements following the ouverture. The Bodinus A-major ouverture-suite mentioned above is typical in this respect: the solo flute/violin is concertato only in a florid Adagio (soloist and continuo) and in a single couplet of the Ciacone; it doubles the first violin in the Ouverture, Entrée, and concluding pair of Bourrées. Fasch's ouverture-suite (FWV K:G2), featuring several concertante winds, also contains one movement (the second Air) highlighting a solo violin. A number of works by Graupner also include solo movements.²⁴ Still other suites include soloists only in the first movement: the Ouverture of TWV 55:D4, like the first movement of the overture to Handel's *Rinaldo* (1711), includes two episodes with soloistic figuration for a concertato violin (later episodes in the Telemann movement add a second solo violin and two oboes).

To judge from the extant sources, Telemann was not only the most prolific composer of *concerts en ouverture*, but also very possibly the first. And considering how influential his ouverture-suites were during the eighteenth century, it would hardly be surprising if all the works by other composers in Table 1 owe their inspiration to him, at least indirectly.²⁵ Probably the earliest among Telemann's concerted suites are TWV 55:D14 and G7, works that almost certainly originated at Eisenach (1708–12) or Frankfurt (1712–21).²⁶ The latest, on the other hand, are likely the three *Musique de table* suites and TWV 55:A7, with its notably *galant* rhythmic language. Most of the other works seem to fall within the period 1715–30. It would appear, then, that the

23. See Janice B. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 52–53.

24. Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouvertüren und Tafelmusiken*, 85–118.

25. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's and Johann Friedrich Agricola's recollection that Johann Bernhard Bach "wrote many fine *ouvertures* in the manner of Telemann" (NBR, No. 306) may in part reflect Johann Bernhard's interest in the *concert en ouverture*. As already intimated in note 21, Fasch at Zerbst probably performed several examples of the genre by Telemann.

26. TWV 55:D14 is transmitted in a set of parts copied ca. 1725 by the Dresden violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, whereas TWV 55:G7's five-part string ensemble (including two violas) links it to a number of Telemann vocal and instrumental works written up to about 1715. The G-major suite is also noteworthy for its pairing of the solo violin with two concertante oboes, though it is the violin that assumes the role of principal soloist.

idea of crossing the ouverture-suite with the concerto occurred to Telemann a decade or more before Bach composed BWV 1067 and 1068.

Some norms for the genre, insofar as the modest repertory allows us to generalize, may be established by a survey of Telemann's *concerts en ouverture*. First, and most obviously, the violin was the instrument of choice for the solo role. Wind instruments make a few appearances in Table 1, but as discussed below, some of the works in question are likely arrangements of more conventionally scored ouverture-suites. Aside from the fast section of the ouverture, usually in ritornello form with two to four episodes, the soloist is often featured during the second dance in each of two or three *alternativement* pairs, where it either plays divisions of the first violin's melody or takes the leading role in a duet or trio texture; this is also the pattern in Johann Bernhard's and Doemming's suites. In rondeau forms, the soloist is usually featured in the episodes. Apparently reflecting the relative modernity of the *concert en ouverture* as a generic offshoot is the paucity of older dance types such as the allemande and courante, which turn up only in TWV 55:D6 and F13. On the other hand, the presence of a soloist seems in many works to have foreclosed the possibility of including characteristic movements, which are more common in Telemann's overture-suites without a soloist.

Aside from BWV 1067, the *locus classicus* for the *concert en ouverture* is surely Telemann's Suite for Recorder and Strings in A Minor (TWV 55:a2), one of his best-known works. Unlike Bach, Telemann displays his soloist in every movement, following the Overture with *Galanterien* (paired menuets, passepieds, and polonaises), dance-like characteristic pieces (*Les Plaisirs* and *Rejouissance*), and a slow movement in ritornello–da capo form (*Air à l'Italien*). This last is one of relatively few ritornello-based “dance” movements in Telemann's ouverture-suites, and its presence here points up the concerto-like style of the work as a whole.²⁷ One is of course tempted to imagine Bach's contact with TWV 55:a2, given its similar scoring to BWV 1067 and inclusion of two polonaises (a dance not otherwise found in the works listed in Table 1). But Telemann's suite seems not to have circulated very widely: its only eighteenth-century source is a score copied at the Darmstadt court around 1725, probably not long after the work was composed. Another remarkable work that may or may not have been known to Bach is the Suite for Viola da gamba and Strings in D Major (TWV 55:D6), also likely written during Telemann's Frankfurt or early Hamburg years. If the recorder suite emphasizes the soloist's facility in the Italian concerto style, this one seems consciously to exploit the association of the viola da gamba with French music by adopting an unusually Gallic

27. Though not in ritornello form, the “Sicilienne” of TWV 55:E3 is allied to a type of slow concerto movement: opening and closing tuttis act as a ritornello frame for a main section in which the solo violin's melody is accompanied by a *Bassetchen* bass and punctuated by brief tutti interjections.

style, particularly in the Sarabande, Courante, and Gigue; Scheibe would no doubt have approved. Bach could, of course, have encountered some of Telemann's *concerts en ouverture* with violin soloist at the Dresden court, and works such as TWV 55:F13, A7, and h4 might easily have impressed him as particularly effective examples of the genre. He is even more likely to have known the extraordinary *ouverture-suites* published with the *Musique de table* in 1733. These works, despite scorings that resemble more conventional *ouverture-suites* with multiple concertante instruments, align themselves with the *concert en ouverture* through their concerto-like handling of the soloists in each movement. They also embody, with a Bachian systematism, the three most common suite types: *Galanterie* dances (TWV 55:e1), characteristic pieces (TWV 55:B1), and "airs" (TWV 55:D1). In the D-major work, Telemann came closest to breaking down the barrier between suite and concerto when he followed his *Ouverture* with a *bourrée* and *giga* in *ritornello*–*da capo* form (Air. Tempo giusto and Air. Allegro), a *passépié en rondeau* (Air. Vivace), and what is essentially a fast concerto movement in *ritornello*–*da capo* form lacking any dance associations whatsoever (Air. Presto).

Measured against the practices just outlined, BWV 1067 will strike us as unusual in several respects. It has, for instance, only one *alternativement* dance pair (instead of the usual two or three), and includes a solo *double*, otherwise found only in TWV 55:A4, D6, and F13 (the last suite being unique in having two). More unusual is the limited use to which Bach put his soloist, for although the flute/violin plays in each movement, only four of six dances following the *Ouverture* have concertato parts. Of the other works listed in Table 1, just three, BWV K:A1, TWV 55:D6, and TWV 55:h4, fail to include a solo part in every movement (or *alternativement* movement pair), and only one of these, BWV K:A1, allows the soloist to remain mute, as it were, for longer than one movement. Following his *Ouverture*, Bach holds the soloist in check for almost all of the *Rondeau* and the entirety of the *Sarabande*. The absence of solo writing in Bach's *Menuet* is particularly striking, for the conventions of the *concert en ouverture* would seem to dictate the inclusion of a second *menuet* featuring the soloist. This is the case with all thirteen of Telemann's works to include the dance, as it is with Doemming's suite. It is perhaps less surprising that Bach writes exclusively for the tutti in his *Sarabande*, given that this dance normally lacks an *alternativement* partner. All five of Telemann's *sarabandes* (TWV 55:D6, D14, Es2, E3, g8) nevertheless feature the soloist(s) to some degree.

Whereas Bach's *Ouverture*, *Bourrée II*, and *Polonoise-Double* fully exploit the presence of a concertato instrument, the *Rondeau* and *Battinerie* feature textures in which the concertato flute/violin is closely tied to the Violin 1 line. The only solo writing in the *Rondeau*, in fact, comes more than midway through the movement in a brief passage (mm. 32 through 36²) where the texture is suddenly reduced to three parts: soloist, Violin 1, and Violin 2. The emergence here of the concertato flute/violin

is incongruous, even musically unmotivated, and indeed there is no reason why Bach could not have scored the passage more conventionally for Violin 1 and Violin 2 with Viola. This may, in fact, have been the movement's original reading; for if Bach had been concerned from the outset with including a soloist in his Rondeau, it would have been more natural to have the concertante instrument dominate the episodes, as is almost invariably the case with rondeau movements in *concerts en ouverture*.²⁸ Similarly, for much of the Battinerie the concertante flute/violin is closely shadowed by Violin 1, which even overshadows the soloist at times (mm. 6–9 and 28–31). It is as if Bach has created two parts from one, especially because only one brief passage toward the end of the movement (mm. 33–37) takes real advantage of the five-part scoring. Perhaps, then, an early version of the Battinerie was also scored for four-part strings. The implications of this line of argument are clear enough: BWV 1067 could have been assembled in part from movements originally lacking a concertato instrument, two of which (the Rondeau and Battinerie) Bach revised to accommodate one.

The idea of arranging an ouverture-suite to include a concertante part may have been relatively widespread during the eighteenth century. As is well known, two mid-century copies of BWV 1068 in the hand of Christian Friedrich Penzel rechristen Bach's Violino 1 as Violino Concertato and include a new Violin 1 part that doubles Violin 2 during the Overture and following Air, the two movements featuring soloistic writing.²⁹ The anonymous copyist of the Berlin set of parts to TWV 55:D6 took a similar approach when he created a flute part that doubles the first violin almost continuously but replaces the violin in the minore section of the Sarabande and alternates with it (dividing up a single musical line) in the Bourrée.³⁰ Two other Telemann *concerts en ouverture* with wind soloists turn out to be arrangements—probably not by the composer—of works for string ensemble. In TWV 55:E2 the oboe d'amore doubles Violin 1 or, as in the fast section of the Overture, all three upper string parts in turn. Oddly, it does not play at all in the Rigaudon II, where the running eighth notes in Violin 1 might have been turned into a wind solo. Another work for oboe and strings, TWV 55:C2, resembles the Bodinus suite in following an ouverture lacking solo episodes with a slow movement for soloist and continuo, then making little subsequent use of the

28. See the suites by Johann Bernhard Bach, Doemming, and Telemann (TWV 55:D14, Es2, G6, g7, g8, and A7). An exception is TWV 55:D6, where the rondeau is the only movement not to include a solo line for the viola da gamba.

29. See Heinrich Bessler and Hans Größ, eds., NBA VII/1 (*Vier Ouvertüren [Orchestersuiten]*), KB, 59–61, 65. See also Rifkin, "Besetzung—Entstehung—Überlieferung," 175–76.

30. The title page to the parts, owned by J. Ditmar, Cantor of the Berlin Nikolaikirche, reads: "Overture / à 7 / Viola da Gamba / Flute Allemande / 2 Violini / Viola / Violoncello / ex / Cembalo / di / Telemann."

soloist.³¹ And it seems unlikely that Telemann was responsible for the non-concertante trumpet parts of TWV 55:D7 and D8, which mostly double Violin 1 and are tacet in a number of movements.

Three works listed in Table 1, TWV 55:Es2, e10, and g8, seem to bear witness to a rather more sophisticated arranging process. Both the Flûte Pastorelle (recorder) soloist in the E-flat major suite and the concertante oboe/flute in the E-minor suite have independent solo writing in the Overture movement but are often tied to the Violin 1 line during the following dances. In a number of movements (including the E♭ Menuet I, Passepied II, and Gigue; and the E-minor Carillon, Menuet I, and Gigue) the soloist either doubles Violin 1 or alternates with it. Elsewhere in these two suites there is evidence of the rewriting of ripieno string parts to accommodate the addition of a soloist.³² In both works, the most soloistic writing outside of the Overture movements occurs in *alternativement* dances (the E♭-major Bourrée II and the E-minor Rigaudon II) scored for soloist and continuo. The G-minor suite is unique among *concerts en ouverture* in having only three real parts throughout: two solo violins, doubled in tutti passages by ripieno violins and by continuo. Although both the Overture and Passacaglia contain soloistic writing, elsewhere the two lead violins seem underemployed, often repeating (Sarabande) or echoing (Eccho) music played by the tutti. This unusual scoring, when considered alongside the unusually prominent role assumed by Violin 2 throughout, suggests that the work may be an orchestral arrangement of a trio.³³

Two unusual features of FWV K:A1 raise doubts as to whether its present form reflects Fasch's original conception of the piece. First, the Violino Concertino doubles the Violino 1^{mo} for much of the work, receiving solos only in the Overture, Gavotte I, and Air. Andante (the suite also includes another air, a second gavotte, a bourrée, and three minuets). Stranger still, the solo passage in the Gavotte occurs in the "wrong" dance of this *alternativement* pair, for without exception, concertante instruments in other *concerts en ouverture* assert themselves only in the second of paired dances. Given that the Dresden violinist Johann Georg Pisendel did not hesitate to recompose the

31. Most of the brief solos in the *Amener* and *Les Trompettes* movements could have been drawn by an arranger from the putative original part for Violin 1, which usually falls silent during these passages.

32. In the E♭-major Bourrée I, the recorder echoes Violin 1 above a strangely rudimentary Violin 2 part, suggesting that the echo effects were originally between Violin 1 and 2. In the Gavotte, the Violin 2 and Viola parts are in unison throughout. The E-minor Air is also in four real parts: when the soloist has independent material, Violin 1 and 2 double each other.

33. In this respect, it may be significant that the solo parts (*Violin 1^{mo}* and *Violino 2^{do}*) are not described as "Concertato" or "Concertino," whereas the (added) string parts are all labeled *in Ripieno*.

solo violin part in the Air of Fasch's *ouverture-suite* BWV K:G2, by turning sixteenth notes into thirty-seconds, we should not be surprised if the A-major suite was also subjected to an arranging process at the court.

A further possible instance of arrangement in BWV 1067 deserves mention here. Rampe and Sackmann propose, sensibly enough, that a violin soloist in the A-minor version would have played the Polonoise in unison with Violin 1.³⁴ Indeed, Bach may have taken the solo part up an octave in the B-minor version solely to avoid two pitches in m. 12 (c# and b) that lie below the flute's compass. But might not the octave doubling have been designed, in both versions, to convey its own musical meaning—perhaps a rustic effect characteristic of the Polish style? (One thinks, for instance, of the “Polish” fourth movement of Telemann's Concerto for Flute, Recorder, and Strings in E Minor [TWV 52:e1], in which the two soloists double Violin 1 at the octave in each statement of the rondeau refrain and are themselves heard in octaves during the third and final solo episode.) Alternatively, Bach's octave doubling might have been intended simply to distinguish the soloist from the full ensemble, as is apparently the case in the Menuet I movement of Telemann's TWV 55:D4, where the *Violon 1 concert* frequently doubles *Dessus* and *Hautbois 1* at the octave.

* * *

That the *concert en ouverture* seems to have enjoyed a briefer and less widespread popularity than other hybrid genres such as the *Sonate auf Concertenart* is hardly surprising, for it was essentially a generic dead end, simultaneously choking off the suite's programmatic potential and diluting the French style through what seemed, at least to those in sympathy with Scheibe's view, like gratuitous displays of virtuosity. Indeed, by the early 1730s Telemann appears virtually to have exhausted the possibilities offered by the *concert en ouverture*, and his *Musique de table* suites may be viewed from this perspective as late attempts at reinvigorating the genre. Bach's confinement of soloistic writing in BWV 1067 and 1068 to selected movements might therefore be due in part to his acknowledgement of the genre's intrinsic limitations.

When placed within the small constellation of *concerts en ouverture*, BWV 1067 appears all the more remarkable for the complexity of its relationship to generic convention. If the solo instrument was originally violin instead of flute—and the flute cannot be ruled out in the A-minor version of the work—then BWV 1068 and suites by Bach's contemporaries suggest that the solo part was more idiomatic than what has come down to us. Bach's inclusion of a flute soloist in BWV 1067, at least in the B-minor version, may be connected to a practice of arranging string suites to include a wind soloist, and perhaps to his familiarity with Telemann's TWV 55:a2. And the tentative

34. See BOM, 258.

nature of the solo writing in both the Rondeau and Battinerie points toward a version of the work in which a concertante violin or flute appeared only in the Ouverture, Bourrée II and Polonoise-Double. Though such a revised view of the piece may leave us, at least for the time being, with more questions than answers, it also deepens our appreciation of Bach's genius for reinventing his music and, not incidentally, of the works that evidently helped inspire it.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSHUA RIFKIN has performed and recorded many of J. S. Bach's vocal and instrumental works with The Bach Ensemble, most recently inaugurating a series of Weimar cantatas at the Kunstfest Weimar. He also has appeared as guest conductor with many leading orchestras and opera companies from the U.S. to Japan, and has published historical studies on Bach, Josquin des Prez, and other topics.

JEANNE SWACK is a professor of musicology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where she also directs the Early Music Ensemble and teaches traverso. Her research has centered on the music of Bach and Telemann and the study of anti-Semitism in German Baroque vocal music. She has edited numerous vocal and instrumental works of Telemann and is completing a book on Telemann's cantatas and instrumental music.

STEVEN ZOHN is an associate professor of music at Temple University. His most recent work on the music of the German late Baroque includes a study of the *Sonate auf Concertenart (Eighteenth-Century Music)* and a forthcoming book entitled *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Music*. He serves on the editorial board of *Georg Philipp Telemann: Musikalische Werke*, and is currently editing a volume of chamber music for *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*. A noted performer on historical flutes, he is the recipient of the American Musicological Society's Noah Greenberg Award and has recorded works by Bach, Telemann, and Vivaldi.

GENERAL INDEX

- Agrell, Johan, 36–37, 39 n. 80
 Agricola, Friedrich Wilhelm, 150 n. 25
 Altnickol, Johann Christoph, 59
 Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia, 1 n. 3
- Bach, Andreas. *See* Buch, Andreas Bach 26 n. 50
 Bach, Anna Carolina Philippina, 1 n. 3
 Bach, Anna Magdalena, 41
 Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel, 1 n. 3, 12 n. 29, 14 n. 30, 30 n. 61, 39–41, 47 n. 109, 48, 135, 150 n. 25, 57 n. 137
 Bach, Gottfried Bernhard, 40
 Bach, Gottfried Heinrich, 40
 Bach, Johann Bernhard, 11–12, 14–15, 23, 27, 28, 43, 144, 147, 148, 150 n. 25
 Bach, Johann Christoph, 5 n. 10
 Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich, 40, 59 n. 142
 Bach, Johann Gottfried Bernhard, 40
 Bach, Johann Sebastian
 Collegium Musicum, 14, 47–50
 Obituary, 23 n. 43
 Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann, 36–37, 40–41
 Bernstein, Martin, 15, 18, 47, 49
 Bessler, Heinrich, 73–74
 Bodinus, Sebastian, 141–42, 150, 153
 Bonporti, Francesco, 35
 Bressan, Pierre, 142
 Buch, Andreas Bach 26 n. 50
 Buffardin, Gabriel, 47, 49
- Chafe, Eric, 121–23
 Corelli, Arcangelo, 134
- Denner, Jacob, 142, 143
 Doemming, Johann Martin, 26 n. 49, 147–49
 Dreyfus, Laurence, 69
- Eppstein, Hans. 58
- Fasch, Johann Friedrich, 25 n. 49, 147–49, 150, 150 n. 25, 154
 Förster, Christoph, 57 n. 137
 Forkel, Johann Nikolaus, 40–41
 Fowler, Alistair, 99, 109–11
 Franklin, Don, 49
 Frederick II (the Great), King of Prussia, 48
- Geck, Martin, 48
 Glöckner, Andreas, 12
 Graupner, Christoph, 25 n. 49, 32–34, 34 n. 68, 69, 142, 149 n. 21, 150
 Grüß, Hans, 49, 73–74
- Handel, George Frideric, 25 n. 49, 150
 Haydn, Joseph, 35
 Hertel, Johann Christian, 26 n. 49, 149
 Hofmann, Klaus, 11, 28, 57
 Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch, 36–42
- Kobayashi, Yoshitake, 3, 73
 Köhler, Johann Ludwig, 34 n. 67, 36–37
 Krebs, Johann Ludwig, 32, 33, 36, 38
- Lasocki, David, 142
 Locatelli, Pietro, 5 n. 11
- Majer, Johann Friedrich, 142
 Marissen, Michael, 57, 77
 Marshall, Robert, 47, 49
 Mattheson, Johann, 38 n. 79, 39 n. 80, 52 n. 123, 124,
 Max, Hermann, 14 n. 31
 Mizler, Lorenz Christoph, 49–54
 Molter, Johann Melchior, 149 n. 22
- Neumann, Werner, 48
 Neumeister, Erdmann, 111–12, 121, 124–25
- Penzel, Christian Friedrich, 73, 153
 Pisendel, Johann Georg, 150 n. 26, 154

General Index

- Powel, Ardal, 142
- Quantz, Johann Joachim, 56, 141
- Rampe, Siegbert, 56, 139, 140, 155
- Rifkin, Joshua, 139
- Sackmann, Domenik, 139, 140, 155
- Scheibe, Johann Adolph, 11, 12, 69, 135, 144, 155
concert en ouverture, 11, 21, 137–39
- Schemelli, Christian Friedrich
Musicalisches Gesangbuch, 101
- Scheuenstuhl, Michael, 36–37
- Schleuning, Peter, 48
- Schuchart, Johan, 142
- Schulze, Hans-Joachim, 19, 28, 40
- Simonis, Gottfried, 101
- Sperontes
Singende Muse an der Pleisse, 29 n. 57
- Spitta, Philipp, 23 n. 44, 28
- Steffani, Agostino, 25 n. 49, 135
- Stinson, Russel, 58
- Swack, Jeanne, 56
- Telemann, Georg Philipp, 21–22, 25–26, 32–34, 34 n. 68, 69
- Venturini, Francesco, 25 n. 49, 150
- Wagenseil, Johann Christoph, 35
- Walther, Johann Gottfried, 51–52
- Wolff, Christoph, 19–20, 23
- Wollny, Peter, 35 n. 72, 47 n. 109, 89 n. 204, 135, 135 n. 23
- Zelenka, Jan Dismas, 150 n. 23

INDEX OF BACH'S COMPOSITIONS

SACRED CANTATAS

- BWV 8: *Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben*, 4
 BWV 18: *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, 4
 BWV 20: *O ewigkeit, du Donnerwort*, 100, 115
 BWV 29: *Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir*, 30 n. 61, 57 n. 136
 BWV 30a: *Angenehmes Wiederau*, 44 n. 98, 50
 BWV 35: *Geist und Seele wird verwirret*, 61
 BWV 42: *Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbats*, 60 n. 146, 67 n. 151
 BWV 49: *Ich geb und suche mit Verlangen*, 62
 BWV 51: *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, 12 n. 29
 BWV 52: *Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht*, 62
 BWV 61: *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*, 100, 115 n. 13, 135 n. 23
 BWV 66a: *Der Himmel dacht auf Anhalts Rubm und Glück*, 60 n. 146
 BWV 70: *Wachet! betet! betet! wachet!*, 30 n. 61
 BWV 79: *Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild*, 12 n. 29, 71
 BWV 97: *In allen meinen Taten*, 25 n. 48, 100, 115 n. 13
 BWV 106: *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*, 101
 BWV 110: *Unser Mund sei voll Lachens*, 24 n. 48, 63, 100, 115 n. 13
 BWV 119: *Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn*, 60 n. 146, 100, 115 n. 13
 BWV 120: *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille*, 61
 BWV 125: *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*, 93
 BWV 140: *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*, 115
 BWV 146: *Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal*, 61
 BWV 154: *Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren*, 89 n. 207
 BWV 156: *Ich steh mit einem Fuß im Grabe*, 61
 BWV 169: *Gott soll allein mein Herze haben*, 62
 BWV 171: *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Rubm*, 123
 BWV 174: *Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte*, 62

- BWV 188: *Ich habe meine Zuversicht*, 61
 BWV 194: *Höchstewünschtes Freudenfest*, 100–101, 115 n. 13
 BWV 198: *Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl*, 54

SECULAR CANTATAS

- BWV 201: *Geschwinde, geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde*, 30
 BWV 207: *Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten*, 62,
 BWV 207a: *Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten*, 62
 BWV 209: *Non sa che sia dolore*, 51 n. 186
 BWV 210a: *O! Angenehme Melodei*, 29, 50
 BWV 212: *Mer habn en neue Oberkeet* (Peasant Cantata), 30
 BWV 249a: *Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen*, 60 n. 146

MASSSES, PASSIONS

- BWV 232: Mass in B Minor, 54
 BWV 234: Mass in A Major, 96n. 222
 BWV 244: St. Matthew Passion, 44 n. 100
 BWV 245: St. John Passion, 44–46, 71, 72 n. 166

WORKS FOR ORGAN

- BWV 525: Sonata for Organ in E $\flat$ Major, 66 n. 146
 BWV 527: Sonata for Organ in D Minor, 62, 66 n. 146
 BWV 544: Prelude and Fugue in B Minor, 54

WORKS FOR CLAVIER AND LUTE

- BWV 817: Sixth French Suite in E Major, 29
 BWV 827: Third Partita in A Minor, 31–32, 35–36, 41–42
 BWV 831: Overture in the French Style
 BWV 844a: Scherzo in D Minor, 31–32, 35–36

Index of Bach's Compositions

BWV 846–69: Das Wohltemperierte Clavier, I, 55
 BWV 870–93: Das Wohltemperierte Clavier, II, 43–46, 55
 BWV 894: Prelude and Fugue in A Minor, 62
 BWV 916: Toccata in G Major, 26 n. 50
 BWV 988: Goldberg Variations, 25 n. 48
 BWV anh. 119: Polonaise in G Minor, 30
 BWV 998: Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro in E^b Major, 56 n. 136

SONATAS

BWV 1002: Partita in B Minor, 54
 BWV 1013: Partita for Solo Flute in A Minor, 59
 BWV 1014–19: Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord, 59
 BWV 1014: Sonata for Violin and Harpsichord in B Minor, 54, 61
 BWV 1015: Sonata for Violin and Harpsichord in A Major, 61
 BWV 1016: Sonata for Violin and Harpsichord in E Major, 61
 BWV 1017: Sonata for Violin and Harpsichord in C Minor, 61
 BWV 1018: Sonata for Violin and Harpsichord in F Minor, 61
 BWV 1019: Sonata for Violin and Harpsichord in G Major, 60 n. 143, 61
 BWV 1020: Sonata for Flute and Continuo in G Minor, 55
 BWV 1027: Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Harpsichord in G Major, 61, 63, 144
 BWV 1028: Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Harpsichord in D Major, 61, 63
 BWV 1029: Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Harpsichord in G Minor, 61, 63
 BWV 1030a: Sonata for Flute and Harpsichord in G Minor, 28, 28 n. 53, 61, 143
 BWV 1030: Sonata for Flute and Harpsichord in B Minor, 28 n. 55, 44–46, 53, 54, 58, 61, 63, 143 n. 14
 BWV 1031: Sonata for Flute and Continuo in E^b Major, 56
 BWV 1032: Sonata for Flute and Harpsichord in A Major, 44–46, 53, 56 n. 136, 57, 61, 63, 66 n. 146

BWV 1033: Sonata for Flute and Continuo in C Major, 57
 BWV 1034: Sonata for Flute and Continuo in E Minor, 59, 144
 BWV 1035: Sonata for Flute and Continuo in E Major, 56
 BWV 1038: Sonata for Flute and Harpsichord in G Major, 49 n. 115, 56–57
 BWV 1039: Sonata for Flute and Harpsichord in G Major, 49 n. 115, 58, 61, 63

CONCERTOS, OUVERTURES

BWV 1041–43: Concertos for Violin(s), 71
 BWV 1041: Concerto for Violin in A Minor, 10 n. 20, 61, 63, 91, 94 n. 217
 BWV 1042: Concerto for Violin in E Major, 27 n. 52, 61, 63, 68
 BWV 1043: Concerto for Two Violins in D Minor, 27, 61, 63, 91, 94 n. 217
 BWV 1044: Concerto for Flute, Violin, and Harpsichord in A Minor, 63
 BWV 1046–51: Brandenburg Concertos, 2, 46 n. 103, 67
 BWV 1046: First Brandenburg Concerto in F Major, 29, 62, 63, 149 n. 149
 BWV 1047: Second Brandenburg Concerto in F Major, 62, 63, 77
 BWV 1048: Third Brandenburg Concerto in G Major, 62, 63, 77
 BWV 1049: Fourth Brandenburg Concerto in G Major, 21, 27 n. 52, 61, 63, 94 n. 217
 BWV 1050: Fifth Brandenburg Concerto in D Major, 27 n. 52, 59, 62, 63, 94 n. 217, 98 n. 229
 BWV 1051: Sixth Brandenburg Concerto in B^b Major, 60, 63
 BWV 1052–59: Concertos for Harpsichord, 78 n. 182, 88 n. 201, 94 n. 217
 BWV 1052: Concerto for Harpsichord in D Minor, 61, 63, 71–72, 98 n. 229
 BWV 1053: Concerto for Harpsichord in E Major, 27 n. 52, 62, 63, 98 n. 229
 BWV 1054: Concerto for Harpsichord in D Major, 61, 63, 68, 94 n. 217
 BWV 1055: Concerto for Harpsichord in A Major, 5 n. 11, 43–46, 49, 62, 63
 BWV 1056: Concerto for Harpsichord in

Index of Bach's Compositions

- F Minor, 51 n. 121, 61, 62, 63, 88 n. 201
- BWV 1057: Concerto for Harpsichord in F Major, 5 n. 11, 43–46, 49, 61, 63, 91, 94 n. 217, 96 n. 223
- BWV 1058: Concerto for Harpsichord in G Minor, 27 n. 52, 61, 63
- BWV 1059: Concerto for Harpsichord in D Minor, 61, 63
- BWV 1060: Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C Minor, 28 n. 52, 62, 63, 66 n. 146
- BWV 1061: Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C Major, 62, 63
- BWV 1062: Concerto for Two Harpsichords in C Minor, 44 n. 100, 53, 61, 63
- BWV 1063: Concerto for Three Harpsichords in D Minor, 56 n. 136, 62, 63
- BWV 1064: Concerto for Three Harpsichords in C Major, 61, 63
- BWV 1065: Concerto for Three Harpsichords in A Minor, 62, 63
- BWV 1066–69: Four Overtures, 25
- BWV 1066: Overture in C Major, 15, 24, 60, 63, 63, 137
- BWV 1067: Overture in B Minor, 137 ff.
- BWV 1068: Overture in D Major, 2 n. 4, 14, 24, 27, 63, 89 n. 204, 91, 98 n. 229, 137, 147, 148, 149, 151, 153, 155
- BWV 1069: Overture in D Major, 24, 60, 63
- BWV 1070: Overture in G Minor, 14 n. 30
- MUSICAL OFFERING, ART OF FUGUE**
- BWV 1079: Musical Offering, 56 n. 136, 59
- BWV 1080: Art of Fugue, 48 n. 113

The University of Illinois Press
is a founding member of the
Association of American University Presses.

University of Illinois Press
1325 South Oak Street
Champaign, IL 61820-6903
www.press.uillinois.edu



**UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS PRESS**

Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield
www.press.uillinois.edu