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“GOOD INVENTION REPAID WITH INTEREST”: THE IMPORTANCE
OF BORROWING IN BACH’S COMPOSITIONAL PRACTICE

by

ANDREW C. WHITE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

2001

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 19, 2001
Date

Rugun E. Hallmark Jr
Chair of Examining Committee

April 20, 2001
Date

Allan W. Atlas (jr)
Executive Officer

George B. Stauffer

Barbara Hanning

Raymond Erickson
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

“Good Invention Repaid with Interest”: The Importance of Borrowing in Bach’s Compositional Practice

by

Andrew C. White

Advisor: Professor George B. Stauffer

Bach was unquestionably a prolific composer, often compelled by demands of the eighteenth century to produce a constant supply of new music. The more than 1100 surviving Bach compositions demonstrate his ability to generate a vast amount of music for a variety of purposes. Such variety was needed as accompaniment for various social and religious events, or for the purposes of entertainment or music instruction. But a significant number of Bach’s works are borrowed or parodied versions of either his earlier compositions or of the works of others.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars sought to explain why a composer with so many original compositions would find it necessary to look for inspiration in his earlier works and in the works of other composers. Some scholars thought Bach borrowed for expediency. Often times, Bach was under extreme time constraints to compose new music and typically had little or no time to create preliminary versions of his works. By using other compositions as models, Bach could generate large amounts of music within a short span of time. But there are many other

Bach parody works that were written during less harried periods in his life, revealing that Bach borrowed throughout his musical career.

As a youth, Bach borrowed from the works of others in order to learn the principles of composition. During his later years, Bach looked to the works of others in order to keep abreast of a wide range of historical and contemporary musical styles. And even in instances where time may have been the primary motivating factor for borrowing, Bach's parodies show his concern with structural matters as well as corrections of detail. Although their composing requirements were quite varied, Bach's contemporaries, including Handel, Vivaldi, and Telemann took a similar approach to composition. A survey of the parody practices of Bach and his contemporaries demonstrates their recognition of additional composing potential latent in many pre-existing musical ideas. Such abilities are clues to eighteenth-century musical memory, which can be linked with an eighteenth-century view of music composition and performance practice.

Acknowledgments

Many external influences contributed to the development of Bach's ideas and creativity. Since it is equally true of my own work, I wish to acknowledge those who helped me to shape and complete this project.

Studies with my advisor Dr. George B. Stauffer and seminar instructor Dr. Leo Treitler were primary inspirations for pursuing this dissertation. Their teachings and encouragement helped me to formulate important concepts presented in this thesis. Additional assistance came from Dr. Barbara Hanning and Dr. Raymond Erickson, who helped refine my arguments as they read and questioned my writing. Dr. Rufus Hallmark and Dr. Joel Lester were also influential in shaping the overall structure and direction of the work in its formative stages.

As a long-time employee of research libraries, I greatly value the expertise of skilled library professionals. With that in mind, I would like to thank the library staff and coworkers from the academic libraries at the University at Stony Brook. In particular, the members of the Music Library – Joan Signorelli, Susan Opisso, Gisele Glover, and the late Geraldine Wagner – as well as the staff of the division of Inter-Library Loan provided great assistance in obtaining materials needed for my study. Thanks also go to my former and current supervisors – Daniel Kinney, Charles Simpson, and Spencer Marsh – whose own music studies helped them to appreciate my desire to pursue graduate music research while working full-time. Additional electronic resources and research assistance came from Roger J. Kelly, while several German translations were improved with help from Dr. Reuben Weltsch. Among my many classmates and

colleagues I am also grateful to Dr. Stefan Eckert for lively discussions on eighteenth-century music and to Kenneth Yarmey for formatting the numerous music examples appearing in this work.

Finally, and most importantly, I wish to thank my parents Eunice and Leonard for their steadfast and lifelong support in my musical interests and education.

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Chapter 1: Bach, Borrowing, and Questions of Originality

It would be difficult to argue today that the works of Johann Sebastian Bach lack creativity, originality, and popularity. As for the stature of Bach's music, consider the countless performances and recordings of his works that have taken place throughout the past two-hundred-and-fifty years since his death. Moreover, as evidence of Bach's central importance in the history of Western art music, one can point to the voluminous research yielding a myriad of writings on Bach's life and work. When writing on Bach's reception history and his impact upon other European composers, the eminent German musicologist Ludwig Finscher stated that no other composer "has had such an influence...in so many different ways, and over such a long stretch of time."¹

Yet, the increased examination of Bach and his music has revealed an aspect of Bach's compositional practices that still remains controversial. Since the nineteenth century, researchers have known that Bach often generated new compositions by using ideas from his own works as well as from those of other composers. To describe this facet of Bach's composing methods, studies have typically used terms such as "parody," "borrowing," and "self-borrowing." Scholars have often cited Bach's many transcriptions and reorchestrations of other composers' works and his own as additional examples of musical parody.² Frequently, when discussing Bach's parodies, scholars hinted at

¹ Ludwig Finscher, "Bach's Posthumous Role in Music History," *Bach Perspectives* 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 21.

² For brief survey of Bach parody studies, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, "The Parody Process in Bach's Music: An Old Problem Reconsidered." *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 20 (Spring 1989), pp. 7-21. Among other important research contributions to Bach's borrowing procedures are: Friedrich Blume, "Johann Sebastian Bachs weltliche Kantaten und Parodien." In *Syntagma Musicologicum II: Gesammelte Reden und Schriften 1962-1972*, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), pp.190-204.; Werner Neumann, "Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahrens." *Bach-Jahrbuch* 51 (1965), pp. 63-85; Walter Blankenburg, "Das

potential creative deficiencies and plagiarism in Bach's construction of a new work from pre-existent material.³

Bach's use of pre-existent secular cantatas as inspirational sources for newer sacred vocal works have historically been seen by many scholars as his most perplexing musical parodies.⁴ Researchers had much evidence that portions from earlier Bach works – instrumental and orchestral pieces in addition to other vocal works – were reused to create numerous sacred vocal works. Bach's utilization of earlier musical material typically included various combinations of reorchestration and retexting. Some researchers, however, perceived Bach's use of parody in light of the various connotations traditionally associated with parody techniques. Composers can use parody to make a humorous or satirical musical commentary on specific features of a musical style, genre, idiom, or even another composer. At other times, parody includes a mixture of art music with elements of popular music so as to deflate some of the seriousness associated with the former. Seen from these perspectives, some wondered how Bach could debase his

Parodieverfahren im Weihnachtsoratorium Johann Sebastian Bachs." *Musik und Kirche* 32 (November/December 1962), pp. 245-54; Paul Brainard, "Bach's Parody Procedure and the St. Matthew Passion." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22 (Summer 1969), pp. 241-60; Alfred Mann, "Bach's Parody Technique and its Frontiers." In *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 115-24; Ludwig Finscher, "Zum Parodieproblem bei Bach." In *Bach-Interpretationen*, ed. Martin Geck, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 94-105; Friedhelm Krummacher, "Parodie, Umtextierung und Bearbeitung in der Kirchenmusik vor Bach." *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* 54 (1971), pp. 23-48; and Klaus Häfner, *Aspekte des Parodieverfahrens bei Johann Sebastian Bach: Beiträge zur Wiederentdeckung verschollener Vokalwerke*. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987).

³ It has been noted that the poorer applications of parody "could become compilation rather than composition, and some parodies represent no more than a competent manipulation of scissors and paste." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2000) s.v. "Parody," by Michael Tilmouth.

⁴ An important study of the terminology of musical parody and its etymology can be found in Lewis Lockwood, "On 'Parody' As Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966), pp. 560-575.

religious works by utilizing music that he had previously deemed appropriate for secular music.

For other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bach scholars, who believed an artistic “genius” must be innovative and original, Bach’s particular reuse and adaptation of pre-existing musical ideas was troubling. A survey of the literature from the past two centuries will highlight some of the scholarly explanations and understandings of Bach’s musical borrowings.

Awareness of Bach’s Borrowings During the Nineteenth Century

The most critical observations of Bach’s musical borrowings were voiced by the earliest Bach scholars, in part because early Bach research coincided with a new philosophical view of creative genius. Beginning around 1780, interest in Bach’s works expanded beyond the confines of small social circles of closely-knit Bach devotees and former Bach pupils. Some were often introduced to Bach’s works through performances within the private salons and homes of Bonn and Vienna aristocrats, such as Baron Gottfried von Swieten (1733-1803) and Prince Karl Lichnowsky (1756-1814).⁵

At the same time the concepts of genius and musical composition began to take a new form. In 1780 genius was associated with a person’s unique characteristics and not limited by degrees of creativity and intelligence. Although genius was not prominent in most individuals, the potential for genius was present in everybody, not only determining fortunes and character, but also controlling one’s way in the world. But by the 1790s, the

⁵ As the Austrian envoy to the court of Frederick the Great in Berlin, von Swieten probably associated with the musical circle of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and acquired copies of Sebastian Bach’s works to take back to Vienna. See Edward Olleson, “Gottfried van Swieten: Patron of Haydn and Mozart,” *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 89 (1962-3), pp. 63-74 and Yo Tomita, “Bach Reception in pre-Classical Vienna: Baron von Swieten’s Circle Edits the Well-Tempered Clavier II,” *Music & Letters* 81/3 (August 2000), pp. 364-391.

term “genius” was used to designate the special endowments found in one’s natural ability or capacity. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), often considered the most influential philosopher of modern times, posited four characteristics of genius:

(1) [it] is a talent for producing that for which no definite rule can be given...; consequently originality must be its primary property; (2) that its products must at the same time be models, that is, be exemplary; (3) it gives the rule to [its product] as nature...; (4) nature prescribes the rule through genius not to science but to art, and this also only as far as it is to be fine art.⁶

In Kant’s view, genius is a “natural endowment of talent” and “the innate mental aptitude through which nature gives rule to art.”⁷ Genius, according to Kant, cannot therefore be transmitted through learning for it “requires to be bestowed directly from the hand of nature upon each individual, and so with him it dies, awaiting the day when nature once again endows another in the same way.”⁸ In conjunction with the property of originality asserted in Kant’s assessment of genius, late eighteenth-century writers gradually referred more to genius as “superiority,...magnitude, or...the extraordinary, superhuman and, increasingly, male ability to be creatively dominant.”⁹ By the turn of the nineteenth century, genius was also interpreted to be a culturally inherited attribute. Much like “the peculiar guardian and guiding spirit given to a man at his birth,”¹⁰ Beethoven’s

⁶ Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*. Translated in *Critique of Judgment* by James Creed Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); I, Section 46.

⁷ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, I, Section 46.

⁸ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, I, Section 46.

⁹ Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 85.

¹⁰ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, I, Section 46.

musical talents were perceived as his reception of “Mozart’s spirit from Haydn’s hands.”¹¹

Simultaneously, as “serious” music gained a wider acceptance, the new language of music criticism helped writers and critics grapple with posthumous evaluations of Mozart and the groundbreaking piano and symphonic works of Beethoven. Late eighteenth-century evaluations of the dimensions and power of Beethoven’s instrumental music included terms such as “harsh, overladen with difficulties, strange, obstinate, or unnatural.”¹² But by 1801, more positive reviews discussed Beethoven’s works in terms of “originality” or “higher style.”¹³ Over a decade later, influential writers such as E.T.A. Hoffmann would justify Beethoven’s creative intellect and the resultant compositions by reinforcing the connections between genius and originality:

Beethoven’s music sets in motion the lever of fear, of awe, of horror, of suffering, and wakens just that infinite longing that is the essence of romanticism. He is accordingly a completely romantic composer.... The musical rabble is oppressed by Beethoven’s powerful genius; it seeks in vain to oppose it. The truth is that...Beethoven stands quite on a par with Haydn and Mozart...with Beethoven, it is only after a searching investigation of his instrumental music that the high self-possession inseparable from true genius and nourished by the study of the art stands revealed.... How deeply thy magnificent compositions for the piano have impressed themselves upon my soul...how shallow and insignificant now all seems to me that is not thine, or by the gifted Mozart or that mighty genius, Sebastian Bach! ¹⁴

¹¹ A. W. Thayer and Elliot Forbes, *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); I, p.115.

¹² DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, p. 179.

¹³ DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, p. 179.

¹⁴ Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, “Beethovens Instrumental-Musik,” *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. C.G. von Maassen, vol.1 (Munich and Leipzig, 1908); reprinted and trans. in Oliver Strunk *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. and ed. by Leo Treitler (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), pp. 1195-1196.

But in fact portrayals of Bach's genius and artistic standing predate Hoffmann's essays. In 1802, Johann Nicolas Forkel published a short essay declaring Bach's originality unquestionable:

It is surely unnecessary to ask whether that artist is a genius who, in every form of his art, has produced masterpiece after masterpiece, of an originality that sets them above the achievements of all other ages, distinguished also by a wealth of originality and agreeableness that enslaves every hearer. The most fertile fancy, invention inexhaustible, a judgement so nice as to reject intuitively every irrelevant and jarring detail, unerring ingenuity in employing the most delicate and minute resources of his art, along with an unrivaled technique – these qualities, whose expression demands the outpouring of a man's whole soul, are the signboards of genius. The man who cannot find them in Bach's music either is not acquainted with it at all or knows it imperfectly.

...It was, in fact, the artist temperament that led Bach to make the great and sublime his goal. For that reason his music is not merely agreeable, like other composers', but transports us to the regions of the ideal. It does not arrest our attention momentarily but grips us the stronger the oftener we listen to it.... It was the true artist spirit, too, that guided Bach to unite majesty and grandeur of design with meticulous care for detail and the most refined elegance.... His genius is sublime and impressive...¹⁵

Since Forkel was primarily aware of Bach's keyboard works, and had only a passing acquaintance of his vocal writing, one wonders what he would have added to his portrait had he known more of Bach's cantatas and masses. That same year, Forkel published his seminal Bach biography, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* ("On Johann Sebastian Bach's Life, Art, and Works"). For all of his discussion of originality, Forkel did not seem disturbed by Bach's keyboard transcriptions of several Vivaldi violin concerti. To Forkel, these were not borrowed pieces but rather important steps in Bach's early forays into composition:

¹⁵ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *The Genius of Bach*, English translation by Charles Sanford Terry in *German Essays on Music*, Jost Hermand and Michael Gilbert, eds. (New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1994), p. 58.

Without any instruction to lead him...he was obliged, like all those who enter on such a career without a guide, to do at first as well as he could.... He soon began to feel...that there must be order, connection, and proportion in the thoughts; and that, to attain such objects, some kind of guide was necessary. Vivaldi's Concertos for the violin, which were then just published, served him for such a guide. He so often heard them praised as admirable compositions that he conceived the happy idea of arranging them all for his clavier.... The change necessary to be made in the ideas and passages composed for the violin, but not suitable to the clavier, taught him to think musically...¹⁶

Forkel also noted that Bach's choice to "follow the grave and sublime style of music" was due to influential musical models: works by "Frescobaldi, Froberger, Kerl, Pachelbel, Fischer, Strunck, Buxtehude, Reinken, Bruhns, Boehm, and some old French organists..." that Bach "never neglected...to study with the greatest attention."¹⁷

As more of Bach's music began to surface during the nineteenth century, curious connections between music and text in his vocal works were noted, apparently first by Johann Theodor Mosewius, a Breslau church musician and head of the Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik. In a series of articles appearing in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1844¹⁸, Mosewius surveyed and assessed Bach's church chorales and their use in his cantatas. In the first article, he documented the occurrence of certain chorale melodies, noting that the chorale "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" appeared throughout the St. Matthew Passion, often with different lyrics and various harmonic and tonal treatments.

¹⁶ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802); English translation in *Life of Johann Sebastian Bach with a Critical View of His Compositions* (London: T. Boosey and Co., 1820); reprinted in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds. *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, rev. and expanded by Christoph Wolff (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1998); pp. 441-442.

¹⁷ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, p. 441.

¹⁸ Johann Theodor Mosewius, "Sebastian Bach's Choralegesänge und Cantaten," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1844), pp. 105-109, 121-123, 377-383, 465-473.

But in subsequent articles Mosewius seemed particularly bothered by the appearance of the same melody with different texts within Bach's collection of three-hundred-and-seventy-one chorales. He concluded: "It is therefore clear that these songs, without their original text underlay, must remain incomprehensible and that without this they lack their meaningful core."¹⁹ Mosewius's concern with the proper linkage between the text, music, and topoi would come to be for many years a central issue in musical parody studies of Bach's vocal works. How, for example, could music by Bach previously associated with a secular topic also be used to convey traditional rhetorical subjects – such as bravery versus cowardice or good versus evil – in a sacred vocal work?

Wilhelm Rust, director of the Bach Society between 1862 and 1875, expanded the discussion concerning Bach's reuse of melodies with new lyrics. Holding a position in the Berlin Singakademie, Rust had followed in his ancestors' footsteps; he was the grandson of Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, a well-respected eighteenth-century German violinist and composer who had studied in Halle with Bach's son Wilhelm Friedemann, and nephew of Wilhelm Karl Rust, a polished musician whose Viennese Bach performances were applauded by Beethoven.

In 1858, Rust was appointed editor-in-chief of *Johann Sebastian Bachs Werke*, the collected works of Bach published by the Leipzig Bach-Gesellschaft. In his preparation of the Bach-Gesellschaft's publication of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, Rust observed different handwriting styles within Bach's manuscript score of this work. Rust outlined this discovery in the preface to the *Christmas Oratorio* publication, designating

¹⁹ "Es leuchtet demnach ein, dass diese Gesänge ohne Verbindung mit dem ihnen ursprünglich untergelegten Texte unverständlich bleiben müssen und dass ihnen ohne diese der eigentliche Kern fehlt." Mosewius, "Sebastian Bach's Choralesänge und Cantaten," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1844), p. 121.

the handwriting types as good, somewhat good, and poor. Seeking “special reasons”²⁰ to explain these variations in handwriting style within the text of a single work, Rust found that several movements in the *Christmas Oratorio* were in fact musical selections reworked from some of Bach’s earlier secular vocal works. Based upon these observations, Rust concluded that Bach was often pressed for time while composing, stating that “right from the start, Bach thought of using on occasion his secular cantatas as church music; not surprisingly, considering the many duties he had and the often senseless texts that were set before him.”²¹

Therefore, Rust argued that Bach either borrowed because he was pressed for time or because he had to rescue his secular works through sacred conversion. Still, Rust felt that knowledge of Bach’s borrowing should not detract from the listening enjoyment produced by the composer’s music. Unfortunately, Rust’s conclusions – Bach borrowed for convenience or for religious reasons – set a precedent for numerous future explanations of Bach’s borrowings.

The most influential and perhaps the most damaging nineteenth-century evaluations of Bach’s use of pre-existent music came from Philipp Spitta. Spitta’s comprehensive Bach biography, *Johann Sebastian Bach, Seine Arbeit und Beeinflußt auf der Musik von Deutschland, 1685-1750*, far surpassed the earlier writings of Forkel and other biographers and laid the groundwork for modern Bach scholarship. Spitta’s Bach monograph became his most significant work on the composer, portraying him as both

²⁰ “Es konnte nun Denjenigen, welche sich schon früher mit der dieser Weihnachtsmusik befassten, nicht entgehen, dass diese Eigenthümlichkeit wahrscheinlich besondere Gründe haben müsse.” *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Werke*, Wilhelm Rust, ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1859), V/2 p. viii.

²¹ “...dass Bach gleich von Anbeginn für die gelegentliche Verwendung seiner Gelegenheits- cantaten als Kirchenmusik bedacht gewesen sei, was bei den vielen Geschäften, die ihm oblagen, bei den oft sinnlosen Texten, die man ihm vorlegte, wenig Wunder nehmen könne.” *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Werke*, V/2 p. viii.

Germany's greatest Protestant church composer and as a struggling Beethovenesque cultural hero.

In additional writings outside the biography, Spitta identified three Bach fugues based upon themes of Albinoni. Although his studies demonstrated beyond Forkel's that Bach often relied upon external musical sources, Spitta speculated that awareness of such Bach practices might "lead to some regret" to those who perceived these pieces as beautiful and exceptional representatives of Bach's mature genius.²² He also found that some of Bach's clavier works were not original compositions but arrangements of music by Johann Adam Reinken, Arcangelo Corelli, Giuseppe Torelli, and others.

However, Spitta's most critical judgments of borrowing concerned the apparent conflict between Bach the great church musician and his use of selections from both secular instrumental and vocal compositions in sacred vocal works. In the biography Spitta asserted that Bach composed to proclaim the glory of God, stating that "Bach's whole mode of expression was built on true church feeling; [regardless of genre], the fundamental church sentiment... pervades all his works, and he consequently could write nothing that jarred with it."²³ From this perspective, Spitta viewed Bach's borrowing as part of a seamless continuum of sacred music composition:

If such transference from one work to another of a different kind is possible, there can be no difference in style between Bach's sacred and secular compositions. And no such difference does actually exist. Bach's style was sacred, and the sacred style was Bach's.²⁴

²² "Es wird daher vielleicht einiges Bedauern erwecken, wenn ich hier mit der Entdeckung hervortrete, dass sie keine Originalwerke sind." Philipp Spitta, "Umarbeitungen Fremder Original-Compositionen," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (November 1881), p. 40.

²³ Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1873 and 1880); translated by Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller-Maitland as *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750* 3 vols. (London: Novello, 1884-85), v. 2, p. 576.

²⁴ Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, v. I, pp. 568-569.

Spitta therefore declared that Bach's "secular occasional pieces were not genuinely secular; as such they scarcely fulfilled their aim, and the composer only restored them to their native home when he applied them to church uses."²⁵ For Spitta, Bach's parody of movements from the Hunt Cantata, *Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd!*, BWV 208, in the sacred cantata *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*, BWV 68, was a prime example of such musical restoration through sacred reassignment. The Hunt Cantata was composed for the birthday of Duke Christian of Sachsen-Weimar in 1716, while *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt* was composed for the Hauptgottesdienst in Leipzig on Whit Monday of 1725. The two arias from Hunt Cantata that Bach parodied in the later sacred work both needed modifications in order to make them acceptable sacred arias.

Bach's conversion of the *da capo* bass aria "Ein Fürst ist seines Landes Pan" from the secular cantata into "Du bist geboren mir zugute" in the sacred version included slight alterations of musical structure but larger changes of harmonic outline. The change in text underlay required minor adjustments to the vocal melody, so that it would accommodate the syllable count of the new lyrics. But in the sacred version, Bach added two transitional measures and modified two existing measures between the aria's A and B sections (Example 1-1) and then used two new measures to replace the original B section's final eight bars (Example 1-2). As a result, the B section, which had originally closed in C major, now closes in E minor.

Bach made similar structural modifications when appropriating the alto aria "Weil die wollenreichen Herden" from the Hunt Cantata for use as "Mein gläubiges

²⁵ Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, v. 2, pp. 576-577.

Herze” in *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*. As in the previous aria, the vocal line was adapted to fit a new text. But more dramatic changes appear in the aria’s instrumental accompaniment. In the sacred version, Bach moved the principal instrumental melody of the aria’s opening from the continuo line to a violoncello piccolo (Example 1-3). Bach also expanded the original thirty-six-bar aria by tacking an instrumental epilogue onto the end (Example 1-4). The additional epilogue, with its invertible counterpoint between violin and oboe, more than doubles the length of the original aria.

In Spitta’s judgment, Bach’s reuse of these secular cantata arias was to some extent legitimized by the combination of a newer, complex orchestration and structural expansion in the sacred arias. According to Spitta, Bach’s musical treatment of “Mein gläubiges Herze” is “broader and more finished, and the music is made with a masterly facility to fit the different requirements of the new text in details; as a whole, however, this would have well repaid the trouble of another composition.”²⁶

The early twentieth-century perspective of Bach’s borrowings

Besides Spitta, other writers, like Albert Schweitzer, perpetuated into the early twentieth century negative assessments of Bach’s musical borrowings. Like Spitta, Schweitzer wrote a sizeable study of Bach and his works. First published in French and then expanded to nearly double its original size for a subsequent 1908 German edition, the monograph focused sharply on the interpretation of Bach’s music. Schweitzer built upon Spitta’s work by drawing an evolutionary musical line of German musical heroes, running from Bach, through Beethoven, and up to Wagner. In his attempt to link these

²⁶ Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, v. 1, p. 568.

23

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.C.

re - - - - - gen, noch sich re - - - - -

26

B SECTION

- - - - - gen kann, so ist das

29

Land die To - - - ten - höh - le, so ist das

Example 1-1A:

Bach, *Was mir behagt*, BWV 208, "Ein Fürst ist seines," mm. 23-37

32

Land— die To - - - - - ten - höh - - - - - le, die To - - - - -

34

- - - - - ten - - - höh - - - - - le, so ist das

36

Land— die To - - - - - 3 - ten - höh - - - - -

The musical score consists of three systems of music. Each system contains five staves: two treble clefs (top two), one bass clef (middle), and two more bass clefs (bottom two). The music is written in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measures 32-35 are shown in the first system, with the vocal line in the middle staff and instrumental accompaniment in the other four staves. The lyrics are: 'Land— die To - - - - - ten - höh - - - - - le, die To - - - - -'. Measures 34-35 are shown in the second system, with the vocal line in the middle staff and instrumental accompaniment in the other four staves. The lyrics are: '- - - - - ten - - - höh - - - - - le, so ist das'. Measures 36-37 are shown in the third system, with the vocal line in the middle staff and instrumental accompaniment in the other four staves. The lyrics are: 'Land— die To - - - - - 3 - ten - höh - - - - -'. The score is marked with measure numbers 32, 34, and 36. There are triplets marked with a '3' in various parts of the score, including the vocal line and the bass clef staves.

Example 1-1A, continued

Example 1-1B: Bach, *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*, BWV 68, "Du bist geboren," mm. 23-35

new measures in braces, altered measures in brackets

23

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.C.

nung — ge-tan — weil du — vor mich ge-nung ge-

7 6 9 6 7 6 # 7
5 5

25

tan, ge-nung, ge-nung, weil du — vor mich ge-nung ge-

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

27

tan vor mich — ge-nung ge-tan, —

forte

(forte)

(forte)

forte

6 6 6 6 # 6 # 7 3
5 5

Example 1-1B, continued

B SECTION

29

Das Rund der

1 6 7 7 # 6 7

31

piano

(*piano*)

(*piano*)

Er - - den mag gleich bre - - chen,

6 7 6 6 # 6 # 6

33

tr

das Rund der Er - - den mag gleich

6 6 # 6 # 6 7 4 2

35

bre -

7 6 3# 4 3# 7

Example 1-1B,
continued

Example 1-2A: Bach, *Was mir behagt*, BWV 208 "Ein Fürst ist seines," mm. 47-62

49

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.C.

hö- le, so is— das Land die To - ten - höh - - - - le, die To - ten -

51

höh - - - le, das son - der Haupt und Für - sten ist, und so, und

53

so das be - ste Teil— ver - mißt, und so— das

Example 1-2A, continued

55

be - ste Teil, und so - das be - ste Teil ver mißt, und so

57

— das be - - - ste, das be - - - ste Teil ver-mißt, und so das be - - - ste

60

Teil ver-mißt.

59

--- ste Teil ver-mißt, und so das be - - - ste

61

Teil ver-mißt.

Example 1-2A,
continued

56

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.C.

spre - - - - - chen, wi - der - spre - - - - -

58

----- chen, so bet - - - - - ich dich, mein Hei - land, an, so bet - - - - -

60

----- ich dich, - - - - - mein Hei - - - - - land, an. Du

5 3 4 7 6 6 7 6

7 6 7 7 3 8

7 6 7 6 7 4 4

Example 1-2B: Bach, *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*, BWV 68,
 "Du bist geboren," mm. 56 - 64

62

bist ge - bo - ren mir zu — gu - te, —

tr

6 6 6 6/5 6 6 6

Example 1-2B,
continued

1

Vc.

B.C.

4

Weil die wol - len - re - chen Her - den -

7

durch dies weit - - - ge - - - pries - - - ne Feld

Example 1-3A:

Bach, *Was mir behagt*, BWV 208, "Weil die wollen," mm. 1-8

1

Vc.

Vlc.

B.C.

4

Mein gläu - bi - - - ges Her - - - ze, froh -

6

lok - ke, — sing, scher - ze, mein

Example 1-3B:
 Bach, *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*, BWV 68 “Mein gläubiges Herze” mm. 1-8
 – showing new vocal melody

53

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

4 6 6 6 7 5 4 2

2 5 4 2

56

6 6 7 4 3 9 6 9 6 6 5 4

The image displays a musical score for four instruments: Violin 1 (Vln. 1), Violin 2 (Vln. 2), Viola (Vlc.), and Cello/Bass (B.C.). The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 53 to 55, and the second system covers measures 56 to 58. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is not explicitly shown but is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings. A forte (f) dynamic marking is present in measure 54. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 below the notes. The Cello/Bass part includes a double bar line in measure 57.

Example 1-4:
 Bach, *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*, BWV 68, "Mein gläubiges Herz"
 Beginning of instrumental epilogue mm. 53-58

three artists historically and portray Bach as a pictorial composer, Schweitzer emphasized the extremely tight connection between text and music in Bach's vocal works. In Schweitzer's estimation, this same type of musical integration spilled over into Bach's instrumental work. Thus, according to Schweitzer, Bach composed in a singular, identifiable, and complete musical language.

However, Schweitzer recognized two possible objections to this thesis: the "thoughtless" way in which Bach sometimes parodied his own works and the lack of any known discussion between Bach and his pupils of such a singular musical language. While admitting that such objections would be unanswerable from an historical standpoint, Schweitzer acknowledged parody procedures as "typical for Bach."²⁷ But Schweitzer continued to regard Bach's parody practices as inappropriate. In his analysis of Bach's secular cantatas, for example, Schweitzer questioned Bach's adaptation of *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege*, BWV 213 for sections of the *Christmas Oratorio*:

It is almost incredible that the same artist who insisted so strongly on characteristic expression in music could at another time constrain his music so barbarously to fit an alien text. ...the adapted movements make a notably uncomfortable impression upon us. Even the hearer who does not exactly know how the adaptations have been made will feel that the words and music do not agree. This makes full artistic enjoyment impossible.²⁸

Elsewhere, Bach's use of parody to create his short Masses was objectionable to Schweitzer, who saw the modifications of cantatas for use in these Masses as "perfunctory and occasionally quite nonsensical."²⁹ Like Rust, Schweitzer explained that

²⁷ Albert Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach, le musicien-poète* (Paris: 1906) trans. by Charles Marie Widor in *Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), vol. 2 pp. 52-53.

²⁸ Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 283-284.

²⁹ Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 2, p. 326.

Bach needed to self-borrow because he was usually “in a great hurry, he did not waste time in writing new works.”³⁰

In spite of such assessments, Schweitzer’s contemporaries offered contrasting evaluations of Bach’s career and his musical parodies. New conclusions about Bach’s musical inspirations were suggested after Arnold Schering and Ernst Prätorius discovered additional Bach clavier transcriptions of works by German composers.³¹ The discovery of Bach transcriptions of works by Prince Johann Ernst of Sachsen-Weimar led Schering to question earlier assertions that Vivaldi’s concerti forms were the primary influence on the young Bach. But knowledge of these additional keyboard transcriptions also gave Schering pause to wonder why Bach had bothered to arrange so many concerti in the first place. Although Schering was unable to find any written documentation to explain Bach’s motivations for arranging someone else’s work, he declared that since orchestral and solo concerti in general became popular genres in Germany during Bach’s lifetime, these works were intended as keyboard extractions, “composed for music-lovers, to refresh their spirits.”³²

In 1921, Schering proposed that musical parody was an acceptable practice for Baroque composers, citing as supporting evidence the writings of Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, a Bach contemporary and musician who began his studies in Leipzig during 1716.³³ Scheibel’s essay of 1721, “Random Thoughts on Church Music as It Is

³⁰ Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 2, p. 326.

³¹ Arnold Schering, “Zur Bach-Forschung,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 4 (1902-3), pp. 234-243 and 5 (1903-4), pp. 565-570.

³² Title page from Bach’s *Clavier-Übung* Part I, BWV 825.

³³ Arnold Schering, “Über Bachs Parodieverfahren,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 18 (1921), pp. 49-95.

Constituted Today,”³⁴ argued that a separation of secular and sacred music was unnecessary. Scheibel’s theories espoused the aesthetics of a musical circle centered at the Leipzig Neukirche, whose musicians were interested primarily in creating a musical continuum between opera and church music. But by using Scheibel’s essay to support his argument, Schering unwittingly relied upon some unsuitable evidence.

Opened in 1699, the Neukirche received its early musical direction in 1704 from Georg Philipp Telemann.³⁵ While retaining his duties with the church, Telemann demonstrated proficiency in meeting the additional musical needs of the Leipzig Town Council. In the meantime, the musical direction of Leipzig’s much older and well-established Thomaskirche (founded as an Augustinian church in 1212 and converted to a Lutheran church in 1539) was handled by the cantor, Johann Kuhnau. Impressed with Telemann’s skills, the council transferred several responsibilities from the Thomaskirche’s conservative music director, Kuhnau, to Telemann and the Neukirche. The resultant rise in musical importance for the Neukirche and its musical director created tensions between the two churches.

For nearly twenty years, Kuhnau complained to the council, arguing that he lost access to both students and professionals as potential performers because of their involvement with Neukirche and Collegium activities. In addition, Kuhnau positioned himself as the keeper of true tabernacle-style church music, contrary to the newer

³⁴ Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, *Zufaellige Gedancken von der Kirchen-Music, wie sie heutiges Tages beschaffen ist, allen rechtschaffnen Liebhabern der Music zur Nachlese und ergötzen wohlmeinende ans Licht* (Leipzig, 1721).

³⁵ Telemann had founded the Collegium Musicum in 1702, the same ensemble that would be directed by Bach nearly thirty years later. Before directing the Collegium, Bach probably first encountered Telemann in Eisenach sometime between 1708 and 1712. The two composers became close colleagues with Telemann later serving as the godfather of Bach’s son Carl Philipp Emanuel.

operatic elements he observed in the Neukirche cantatas.³⁶ Written at a time when the Neukirche and Thomaskirche were cultural and musical opposites, Scheibel's essay points out this contrast between the musical ideals of the two churches and their respective directors. By the time Bach took his post in 1723 as Capellmeister of the four Leipzig churches – the Neukirche, Thomaskirche, Nicholaskirche, and St. Peter's Church – he must have been quite aware of the prior musical tensions in Leipzig and probably assumed the directorship of the university student Collegium in an effort to avoid soliciting professional musicians for his own performances. And while Bach managed the musical activities of the Neukirche, it appears that Bach, who focused primarily on the composition of sacred vocal music during the early part of his tenure in Leipzig, subscribed to stylistic ideals different from those of Scheibel and his colleagues. Although operatic elements may be observed in many of Bach's works and Bach was in his later years certainly familiar with and interested in the opera productions in Dresden, opera remained the one genre in which Bach never composed.

Schering did observe that Bach's parody procedures usually involved the inclusion of material from secular works in sacred works, but not vice versa. But Schering's explanation for this trend perpetuated Spitta's nineteenth-century picture of Bach primarily as a church composer. For Schering, Bach's use of sacred music in secular works "would have appeared as a profanation and, as long as contrafacts were at

³⁶ Andreas Glockner, "Johann Kuhnau, Johann Sebastian Bach und die Musikdirektoren der Leipziger Neukirche." *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 4 (1985), pp. 23-32.

all traceable on the German scene, occurred only as a passing thing in moments of religious degeneration throughout German history.”³⁷

Bach Studies After World War II

After World War II, the number of studies focusing on Bach’s borrowing practices began to increase. However, what developed from this newer research was an inclination to categorize the types and amounts of Bach’s musical parodies. In 1950, some one hundred years after the writings of Mosewius, Friedrich Smend, looking for trends in Bach’s compositional process, recommended classifying Bach’s parodies. While acknowledging the quandary created by mixtures of secular and sacred elements in Bach’s works, Smend judged that musical borrowing illustrated another facet of Bach’s creativity:

...though I do not wish to suggest that in every case Bach’s parodies were totally successful artistically, it could be said that in many instances the revised version, and the new libretto that went with it, developed musical qualities that had lain dormant in the original to such a point that the parody, aesthetically speaking, represented a marked improvement. It is also pointed out...that Bach’s parodies did not always involve the transference of a secular piece into the religious sphere. Often a secular piece remained purely secular, a religious work equally exclusively religious. It may further be said that Bach, in terms of the methods adopted and the overall scope of the compositions, used the parody technique in different ways at different times. In general, after having reached something of a peak around the year 1730, this method of working receded into the background towards the end of Bach’s life.³⁸

Thus Smend, similar to Spitta, viewed some of Bach’s parodies to be upgrades of their sources. And Smend expanded upon his evaluation of Bach’s borrowings,

³⁷ “Diese Umkehrung würde als Profanation erschienen sein und war, solange überhaupt in deutschem Bereich kontrafakturen nachweisbar sind, nur vorübergehend in religiös verwilderten Augenblicken der deutschen Geschichte der Fall.” Arnold Schering “Kleine Bachstudien,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 30 (1933), p. 37.

³⁸ Friedrich Smend, *Bach in Köthen* (Berlin: , 1951), trans., ed. and rev. as Stephen Daw, *Bach in Cöthen* (St. Louis: 1985), p. 139.

explaining that his reduced use of parody after 1730 was due to his growing conservatism: as Bach aged, he “in time became ever more cautious” in using older musical ideas.³⁹ However, Smend’s hypothesis was flawed: two of Bach’s larger vocal parodies, the *Christmas Oratorio* and the *B-Minor Mass*, were largely composed during Bach’s last twenty years – 1734-5 and 1747-49, respectively. And Bach’s age did not prevent him from parodying others as well, for in 1746 he completed Psalm 51 *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünder*, BWV 1083, a vocal parody of Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*, which I shall discuss in detail at a later point. If anything, Bach’s borrowing increased with age, as witnessed in these works and many others, such as the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book II*, the four Short Masses, and the *St. Mark Passion*.

But if, as Smend suggested, musical borrowing was an innovative component of Bach’s methods, why had the composer employed such a technique in the first place? Smend offered as explanation the existence of a common Baroque style comparable to Schweitzer’s singular Bachian language. Such a style, which Bach readily embraced, would have typically mixed musical elements of the religious and the worldly.

Echoing the arguments of Smend, Walter Blankenburg hypothesized that “in the realm of music during Bach’s time, there was no separation between the secular and the sacred.”⁴⁰ Instead, Blankenburg saw the perceived functional division as a creation of the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment aesthetic. While defending Bach’s use of parody in the *Christmas Oratorio*, Blankenburg contended that Bach was neither sacrilegious nor

³⁹ Smend, *Bach in Köthen*, p. 139.

⁴⁰ “Bei dieser Frage muß man sich vor allem vergegenwärtigen, daß es zu Bachs Zeit im Bereich der Musik keine Scheidung zwischen geistlichem und weltlichem Stil gab.” Walter Blankenburg, “Das Parodieverfahren im Weihnachtsoratorium Johann Sebastian Bachs,” *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), p. 495.

thoughtless in his self-borrowing: “It turns out that Bach did not engage in parodies at all costs but always judged the suitability of the source involved from the viewpoint of the new text.”⁴¹ Blankenburg demonstrated that when Bach incorporated pre-existent music into the *Christmas Oratorio*, the mostly choosy composer considered various factors.

In his studies, Blankenburg saw that Bach reworked various movements from cantatas *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege*, BWV 213, and *Tönet, ihr Pauken!*, BWV 214, for use in the *Christmas Oratorio*. Several of these parodied movements in the *Christmas Oratorio* are transposed versions of the movements from the earlier cantatas.

Blankenburg argued that these transpositions allowed Bach to reflect the sentiment of the oratorio’s libretto more appropriately in music. At other times, Bach chose to parody an earlier cantata movement because its given instrumentation closely matched the *Affekt* of a particular oratorio movement. For example, for oratorio texts that speak of shepherds from the Christmas story, Bach borrowed existing cantata movements that were orchestrated with woodwinds. At other times, existing cantata movements were chosen for their key and its relationship within the larger tonal structures of the Oratorio. This typically involved reorganizing the original sequence of movements as they were parodied in the *Christmas Oratorio*: the opening chorus, “Laßt uns sorgen,” of *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege* became the thirty-sixth movement, “Fallt mit Danken,” in the oratorio while the cantata’s third movement, “Schlafe, mein Liebster,” became the oratorio’s nineteenth movement, “Schlafe mein Liebster.”

Therefore, Blankenburg’s view was that Bach had been concerned with the text construction of both the parodied work and the new work, his ability to fit the parodied

⁴¹ “Es zeigt sich also, daß Bach nicht um jeden Preis parodierte, jeweils vom neuen Text her nach der Eignung der in Betracht kommenden Vorlagen fragte.” Blankenburg, “Das Parodieverfahren Im

work into a complete musical fabric, including orchestration, and the musical relevance of the parodied work within the topical context of the planned work. However, Blankenburg, like Schering, remained puzzled by the lack of evidence showing that Bach parodied his sacred works in his secular music.

Disagreeing with Spitta, Friedrich Blume hypothesized that Bach did not intend “the numerous works, oratorios, Masses, cantatas which we have grown deeply to cherish as professions of Christian faith...[to proclaim] the composer’s Christian faith.”⁴² Blume concluded that it made little difference for Bach “whether a work was conceived from its own text or was merely rewritten to fit the new text.”⁴³ However, Blume’s definition of musical parody – “the adaptation of a secular or instrumental work to a sacred text, the musical substance being either preserved or refashioned”⁴⁴ – would later be proven to be too narrow. Nevertheless, while attempting to undermine Spitta’s traditional portrait of Bach as the consummate church musician, Blume tried not to disparage Bach’s parody work and called for a new perspective of Bach’s life and music:

The relationship between sacred and secular music was different then from what it is today, and what served for the flattering adulation of a prince was no less serviceable for the expression of Christian faith and worship. Seen from this historical point of view these works certainly forfeit none of their immediate impressiveness. The ‘St. Matthew Passion’ will lose none of its depth of meaning and content if one day it should be proved to be a parody of the [lost Funeral Music for Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen].⁴⁵

Weihnachtsoratorium Johann Sebastian Bachs,” p. 505.

⁴² Friedrich Blume, “Outlines of a New Picture of Bach,” *Music and Letters* 44 (1963), p. 220.

⁴³ Blume, “Outlines of a New Picture of Bach,” p. 220.

⁴⁴ Blume, “Outlines of a New Picture of Bach,” p. 219.

⁴⁵ Blume, “Outlines of a New Picture of Bach,” p. 220.

As several twentieth-century scholars continued to focus on the relationship between the text and music in Bach's parodies, others began to tally and classify these works, thereby uncovering additional instances of self-borrowing. Ludwig Finscher commented that Bach's sacred and secular works contain an unusually large number of re-texted movements, calculating that twenty percent of all known movements from Bach's vocal works contain parodied music. Although Finscher believed this provable figure to be an amount unmatched by any of Bach's contemporaries,⁴⁶ he argued, like Blankenburg, that careful thought still went into Bach's parody technique.

Up to this time, most others had written that Bach borrowed either because he was under constant pressure to deliver new works every week or he felt the need to rescue for posterity the music in his secular works by incorporating them into sacred works. Finscher reasoned that under these conditions, Bach would have indiscriminately borrowed from any cantata, attaching a new text without regard for the connection between text and musical *Affekt*. However, Finscher believed that Bach in fact carefully considered his parody choices by observing such musical restrictions as meter, rhyme scheme, and stanza form as well as *Affekt*.⁴⁷

While most scholars had been concerned with Bach's vocal music, Hans-Joachim Schulze instead turned his attention toward Bach's instrumental works. Unsatisfied with Schering's earlier explanations of Bach's keyboard transcriptions, Schulze hoped to understand "why Bach looked to [the works of] such widely separated talents as Vivaldi

⁴⁶ "Es ergibt sich also, daß genau 20 % aller erhaltenen Sätze als parodiert nachgewiesen sind. Offenbar bei keinem anderen Komponisten der Bachzeit ist ein auch nur annähernd so hoher Prozentsatz von Parodien zu finden." Ludwig Finscher, "Zum Parodieproblem Bei Bach," *Bach-Interpretationen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p. 94.

⁴⁷ Finscher, "Zum Parodieproblem Bei Bach."

and [Prince] Johann Ernst”⁴⁸ when arranging pieces for harpsichord and organ. Schulze delved deeper than Forkel and Schering into Bach’s arrangements of others’ work and noticed that Bach generated numerous keyboard transcriptions between July 1713 and July 1714. Schulze reasoned that Bach must have had practical motives for rearranging others’ concerti. To Schulze, who noticed that Bach introduced little in the way of new composition into these concerti transcriptions, the close chronological proximity of Bach’s transcriptions seemed remarkable. Piecing together the historical evidence, Schulze concluded that Bach was probably commissioned by Prince Johann Ernst to transcribe these works so as to enlarge the Weimar musical repertory.⁴⁹

Others, like Werner Neumann, sought a classification scheme for Bach’s parody procedures in order to place the relationship between Bach’s musical models and his newer parody versions. Neumann’s survey included five categories listing the various directions of Bach’s musical parody: from sacred work to sacred work, secular to sacred, secular to secular, instrumental to vocal, and vice versa. Within each classification, Neumann developed a typology of Bach’s parody techniques by identifying common elements between works, such as texts, music, key, musical structure, and meter. Still, Neumann struggled, as had Schering and Blankenburg, with the seemingly irreversible parody direction of secular to sacred. While deriding Schering for his nineteenth-century style analysis, Neumann hypothesized a potential “triangular” or “three-cornered parody”

⁴⁸ Hans-Joachim Schulze, “J.S. Bach’s concerto-arrangements for organ -- studies of commissioned works?” *The Organ Yearbook* 3 (1992), pp. 4-13

⁴⁹ Schulze, “J.S. Bach’s concerto-arrangements for organ...” See also Brenda Lynne Leach, “Bach’s organ transcriptions. I: Influence of Italian masters,” *The Diapason*. 85 / 5 (May 1994), pp. 10-11.

relationship: perhaps Bach had parodied a secular work in a sacred composition, which he would have then parodied again within a new secular work.⁵⁰

To further explain such a three-way parody relationship, Neumann offered the following example. When Bach composed the sacred cantata *Erwünschtes Freudenlicht*, BWV 184, for Whit Sunday of 1724, he used movements previously found in one of his earlier but unused secular cantatas written in Cöthen. Further borrowing occurred in 1733, when Bach borrowed the final chorus “Guter Hirte, Trost der Deinen” from the sacred cantata *Erwünschtes Freudenlicht* to compose the closing chorus “Lust der Völker, Lust der Deinen” for the secular cantata *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege*, BWV 213. Therefore, as it is possible that “Lust der Völker, Lust der Deinen” originally existed in the earlier Cöthen secular cantata, the direction of Bach’s parody practices could be from a secular to sacred work and then back to a secular one. Nevertheless, contrary to Schering, Neumann understood Bach’s potential borrowing of sacred works for secular music as an artistic solution to compositional issues rather than sacrilegious transformations of sacred music into secular works.

Additional questions about the parody problem were raised in Norman Carrell’s book, *Bach the Borrower*. Though Carrell’s work does not include new or original research and has since been rendered out-of-date by the New Bach Chronology, it still contains an important broad catalogue of Bach’s self-borrowings and borrowings from others. Throughout the book, Carrell raises various borrowing issues: Can evidence of Bach’s deliberate borrowing or adaptation of music for different mediums allow one to observe associations previously unknown among multiple Bach works? Could such

⁵⁰ Werner Neumann, “Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahren,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 51 (1965), pp. 84-85.

evidence appear as the composer's editorial improvements or re-furbishings? Do similarities between works simply result from unintentional or accidental allusion?⁵¹

Why the Parody Problem?

In hindsight, much of the concern surrounding Bach's borrowing practices is somewhat puzzling. We know that throughout history composers have used existing music to generate new compositions.⁵² Thus, nineteenth-century Bach scholars should have recognized acceptable contemporary examples of musical borrowing. Schubert's reuse of his own vocal lieder within movements of his instrumental chamber music⁵³, the commonality of themes shared between the piano works of Robert and Clara Schumann and Brahms⁵⁴, and Liszt's numerous piano transcriptions and arrangements of opera arias and symphonies⁵⁵ all indicate that musical borrowing was employed during the Romantic era. In addition, the process of parodying one's own works and borrowing musical material from the works of others had historical precedence for Bach. Some of the sacred chorale melodies of Lutheran religious services, which Bach used often, had originally

⁵¹ Norman Carrell, *Bach the Borrower* (Borough Green, Kent: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1967).

⁵² For example, see the tentative chronology of uses of existing music in J. Peter Burkholder, "The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing As a Field," *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 50/3 (March 1994), pp. 851-870.

⁵³ Hans Hollander, "Zum Selbstzitat in Schuberts Musik." *Das Orchester* 27 (January 1979), pp. 11-13. See also Reinhard van Hoorickx, "Schubert's Reminiscences of His Own Works." *The Musical Quarterly* 60 (July 1974), pp. 373-388; and Christoph Wolff, "Schubert's 'Der Tod und das Mädchen': Analytical and Explanatory Notes on the Song D. 531 and the Quartet D. 810." In *Schubert Studies*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda and Peter Branscombe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 143-172.

⁵⁴ Oliver Neighbour, "Brahms and Schumann: Two Opus Nines and Beyond." *19th-Century Music* 7 (April 1984), pp. 266-270. See also William Klenz, "Brahms, Op. 38; Piracy, Pillage, Plagiarism or Parody?" *The Music Review* 34 (February 1973), pp. 39-50; and Constantin Floros, *Brahms und Bruckner: Studien zur musikalischen Exegetik*. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1980).

⁵⁵ Sieghart Döhring, "Reminiscences: Liszts Konzeption der Klavierparaphrase." In *Festschrift Heinz Becker zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Juni 1982*, ed. Jürgen Schläder and Reinhold Quandt (Bochum: Laaber-Verlag, 1982), pp. 131-151. See also Albrecht Riethmüller, "Franz Liszts Reminiscences de Don Juan." In *Analysen: Beiträge zu einer Problemgeschichte des Komponierens. Festschrift für Hans Heinrich*

existed as secular songs. Numerous polyphonic Masses of the sixteenth century have since been determined to be “polyphonic compositions derived to some extent from polyphonic antecedents.”⁵⁶ Michael Tilmouth has stated that “a large proportion of the masses of such composers as Gombert, Crecquillon, Morales, Victoria, Lassus and Palestrina”⁵⁷ fall under the category of parody Masses:

In Renaissance music the borrowing of material from one composition as the basis of another was commonplace. The essential feature of parody technique is that not merely a single part is appropriated to form a cantus firmus in the derived work, but the whole substance of the source – its themes, rhythms, chords and chord progressions – is absorbed into the new piece and subjected to free variation in such a way that a fusion of old and new elements is achieved.⁵⁸

The borrowing practices evident in Bach’s works appear to be similar to those used by Bach’s Renaissance predecessors. And like those before him, Bach mixed elements from various genres. Besides the textual parody and musical borrowing present in the Christmas Oratorio, scholars have uncovered additional instances in other large vocal works, such as the *St. Matthew Passion* and *B-Minor Mass*.⁵⁹ Others have also exposed Bach’s tendency to incorporate movements from purely instrumental works, like the *Brandenburg Concerti* or the Sonatas and Partitas for Unaccompanied Violin, into

Eggebrecht zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Werner Breig, Reinhold Brinkmann, and Elmar Budde (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 1984), pp. 276-291.

⁵⁶ Lockwood, “On ‘Parody’ As Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music,” p. 560.

⁵⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Parody,” by Michael Tilmouth

⁵⁸ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Parody,” by Michael Tilmouth

⁵⁹ See Friedrich Smend, *Bach in Köthen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985). Paul Brainard, “Bach’s Parody Procedure and the St. Matthew Passion,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22/2 (summer 1969), pp. 241-260. Ludwig Finscher, “Zum Parodieproblem Bei Bach,” *Bach-Interpretationen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 94-105, 217-218. Robert L. Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J.S. Bach: a Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Robert L. Marshall, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989); and Alfred Dürr, “Zur Parodiefrage in Bachs h-moll-Messe: Eine Bestandsaufnahme,” *Die Musikforschung* 45/2 (1992) pp. 117-138 .

newly arranged instrumental movements for cantatas. The *B-Minor Mass* also exemplifies Bach's pasticcio approach towards composition – compiling various smaller pre-existent vocal compositions to form larger vocal works. Further illustrations of borrowing in Bach's instrumental works are found in the aforementioned keyboard arrangements of solo instrumental concerti by composers such as Vivaldi, Ernst, and Marcello.⁶⁰

Although Bach applied borrowing techniques to his composition of numerous genres, the prime targets of aesthetic derision have historically been the parodied or borrowed music in Bach's sacred vocal works. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, when compared to those of the instrumental works, more of the manuscripts and performance scores of the vocal works have survived.⁶¹ Therefore, many scholars were able to concern themselves with Bach's adaptation of secular occasional music for sacred works as well as the appropriation of melodies and their associated texts. Even in current studies of both small and large sacred vocal genres, the primary parody issue continues to be the linkage between text, music, and topoi. As a result, most of Bach's instrumental works have escaped the kind of scrutiny applied to the majority of his sacred vocal music.

Still, one wonders why researchers, when considering Bach's use of parody, found such an outstanding figure in music history to be less-than-creative and unoriginal. To understand these criticisms, we need to be aware of two ideological trends that framed Bach scholarship. The first was the increased delineation of qualities attributed to musical

⁶⁰ Russell Stinson, "The 'Criticischer Muzikus' as keyboard transcriber? Scheibe, Bach and Vivaldi," *The Journal of Musicological Research* 9/4 (March 1990), p. 255.

⁶¹ Marshall makes this point clear in Robert Marshall, "The Compositions for Solo Flute: A Reconsideration of their Authenticity and Chronology," *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), p. 201.

genius. For Baroque lexicographers, artistic genius had been identified by “creation as issuing from the artist’s inspiration” as opposed to one’s ability to practice “craft as dictated by rules.”⁶² But during the Romantic era, artistic genius became increasingly defined by specific characteristics such as “enthusiasm, fire, imagination, and above all, the ability to feel, and to feel passionately.”⁶³

This trend merged with a second: a nationalistic movement spreading throughout Europe. During the nineteenth century, the development of the German nation was marked by the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire, the weakening of Austrian authority in Germany after the Napoleonic Wars, the revolts of 1848, and the creation of the Frankfurt Assembly. Throughout these events, many German historians and philosophers proposed in their writings a unified nation. Others, including educators and poets, eventually expressed interest in this cause as well. The Prussian State that was initially formed in the mid-nineteenth century gave rise to what would eventually become the German Empire in the late nineteenth century. As Germans struggled for a national identity, they became more possessive of their native and resident artists. The combination of identifiable creative qualities in artistic genius and nationalistic emotions influenced early German Bach scholarship. As a result, many writers aspired to establish Bach’s role as an original thinker and important representative of German cultural history.

These influences are visible in the three most influential Bach biographies of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the volumes written by Forkel, Spitta, and

⁶² Edward Lowinsky, “Musical Genius: evolution and origins of a concept,” *Music in the culture of the Renaissance and other essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), v. 1 p. 43.

⁶³ Lowinsky, “Musical Genius...,” p. 43.

Schweitzer. For example, Forkel closed his essay on Bach's genius by saying: "This man, the greatest orator-poet that ever addressed the world in the language of music, was a German! Let Germany be proud of him! Yes, proud of him, but worthy of him, too!"⁶⁴ Swayed by the emerging trend in German nationalism, Forkel also subtitled his 1802 Bach biography: "For Patriotic Admirers of True Musical Art." Although Forkel's facts about Bach were derived primarily from his correspondence with Bach's sons, particularly Carl Philipp Emanuel, Forkel managed to see Bach's work as "an invaluable national patrimony, with which no other nation has anything to be compared."⁶⁵

Spitta's seminal work also reflects the cultural climate of late nineteenth-century Germany. But as Wolfgang Sandberger⁶⁶ has shown, one must consider Spitta's own circumstances when assessing his writings. Spitta's childhood environment was religious, since his father was employed as a minister and his brother was a well-known scholar of the New Testament. This kind of upbringing played an important role in Spitta's writings and teachings as a Professor of Music History at the University and Director of the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin. In this capacity, Spitta advocated the study of early German Lutheran music and contributed to editions of the complete works of Schütz and Buxtehude, German composers also known particularly for their sacred Lutheran musical works. Spitta's efforts to revive German religious music positioned performances of

⁶⁴ Forkel, *The Genius of Bach*, p. 58.

⁶⁵ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, p. 419.

⁶⁶ Wolfgang Sandberger, *Das Bach-Bild Spittas – Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bach-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997).

Bach's cantatas as religious equivalents to Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerke* even as he advocated the use of the cantatas within regular Protestant church services.⁶⁷

The comparison of Bach to Wagner would continue into the twentieth century. Schweitzer's intense study of Wagner, as well as his close personal associations with Wagner's wife Cosima and son Siegfried, clearly affected Schweitzer's evaluations of Bach. Schweitzer saw numerous programmatic elements in Bach's works, placing him in the company of other German musical geniuses like Beethoven, Schubert, and Wagner. Many pages in the second volume of Schweitzer's biography portray Bach as a pictorial composer. In two chapters dealing with Bach's chorales and cantatas, Schweitzer even analyzed the musical language of these works by identifying almost leitmotiv-like components, including motives of joy, tumult, peace, grief, and exhaustion.

Scholars in the latter half of the twentieth century began to question the dubious moniker of "parody" as it had been applied to music. Lewis Lockwood noted that musicologists had historically assigned the term "parody" to numerous polyphonic Masses of the sixteenth century. However, his research indicated that there was only one known instance in which a sixteenth-century composer had actually entitled his work a parody Mass.⁶⁸ The evidence of the sixteenth century also made it clear that the technique understood in the twentieth century as "parody" consisted of more than just an "elaboration upon a known polyphonic model."⁶⁹ A "parody" composition may use all

⁶⁷ Spitta also posited that nineteenth-century romantic interpretations of Bach's work would be replaced by performances more in keeping with Bach's time. See Imogen Fellingner, "Bach, Händel, Schütz 1885 und 1985," *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart*, Vol. II (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1987), pp. 78-83 and Friedhelm Krummacher, "Geschichte als Erfahrung: Schütz und Bach im Blick Philipp Spitta," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 17 (1985), pp. 9-27.

⁶⁸ Lockwood, "On 'Parody' As Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," p. 563.

⁶⁹ Lockwood, "On 'Parody' As Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," p. 574.

voices or maybe a single voice from the polyphonic model; the model may remain intact, or perhaps the original text is replaced as in a contrafactum. However, it became evident in Lockwood's studies that the sixteenth-century use of the term "parody" did not take into account the potential spectrum of such elaboration. Thus examinations of sixteenth-century music treatises indicated that the term "parody" was not well defined nor was it used systematically to delineate the various techniques of composing with borrowed materials.

After finding only a limited sixteenth-century theoretical discussion of parody techniques, Lockwood accordingly concluded that since Renaissance musicians regarded the term "parody" loosely, parody was more likely a twentieth-century concept than a sixteenth-century one. Still, both historical and modern definitions of musical parody never clearly accounted for the extent to which material from the polyphonic model is employed in a new composition. As a result, even modern scholars had neglected to ask: "To what degree does the new composition borrow from the original model?"

Günther Stiller echoed many of Lockwood's sentiments. Citing the work of Schering, Blankenburg, and Smend, Stiller advocated a new perspective that would remove the stigma previously attached to Bach's parody works. He concluded:

Accordingly, those Bach parodies that are often judged to be accomplishments of lesser artistic quality need to be reevaluated again and again, for the Bach parodies that are inferior in quality to their prototypes are few in number and therefore cannot materially detract from the total picture of Bach's parodied works. ...By and large, at least in respect to Bach's parodied works, it is objectively unwarranted to associate a derogatory sense with the term "parody." Even if the parody technique is to be thought of only as a labor-saving device, that is, a time saver...still the main reason to be given for Bach's use of parody must be the opportunity to put to further use those compositions that were written for a single performance and yet displayed high quality. If this were not the case, it would be completely incomprehensible, for example, to recast

purely instrumental pieces to produce vocal works, a process that presupposes the greatest mastery, in other words, to introduce vocal lines into a concerto or a suite, a project that requires very much work and time and not infrequently approximates an artistic new creation.⁷⁰

Others also saw Bach's borrowing process as a method for stimulating new musical creativity. Christoph Wolff viewed the transcription and reorchestration techniques of musical borrowing as important components of Bach's early development as a composer. But Wolff also suggested a reappraisal of borrowing techniques, proposing that Bach's study and rearrangements of works by other composers provided vehicles "for exploring and developing specific ways of 'musical thinking' ...[which] quickly penetrated other instrumental and vocal genres as well."⁷¹ Wolff argued that Bach's practice of arranging works by other composers has been falsely perceived: in some cases the Bach versions of pre-existent music by others should really be considered new compositions rather than arrangements.

Alfred Mann, in a manner parallel to Lockwood, has even questioned the relevance of applying the phrase "self-borrowing" to composers:

...what one owns, one patently does not need to borrow. The composer lived in the world of his own creation; he did not "copy from himself," he continued to work with his ideas, he spoke his language. The more we learn about J. S. Bach's compositional process, the more we realize that his revisions began as soon as a thought was committed to paper. They did not stop within the same work, they extended at times to others. And the more we deal with the composers' practice, the more we realize that the problem was not theirs; it is ours.⁷²

⁷⁰ Günther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Leipziger gottesdienstliche Leben seiner Zeit*. English trans. *Johann Sebastian Bach and liturgical life in Leipzig* by Herbert J.A. Bouman, Daniel F. Poellot, Hilton C. Oswald; edited by Robin A. Leaver. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), pp. 227-228.

⁷¹ Christoph Wolff, *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 75.

⁷² Alfred Mann, "Self Borrowing," *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), p. 154.

Rather than viewing “self-borrowing” composers as short of originality, Mann pondered the results of considering the “wealth of ideas” uncovered by a composer’s return to his earlier work.⁷³ He also lamented the earlier focus on a composer’s volume of parodies, with quantity overshadowing the quality of such works.

Most recently, J. Peter Burkholder has proposed new approaches to studying musical borrowing. Like Lockwood, Burkholder noted the inadequacy of past borrowing studies, typically caused by the terminology and its associated narrowing tendencies:

There is no entry in *The New Grove Dictionary* on musical borrowing, quotation, modeling, or intertextuality, no comparative survey of the whole territory akin to ... [the] article on “Mode,” only shorter entries on particular types, from trope, parody, and paraphrase to quodlibet and transcription. No book or article has yet laid a firm foundation for studying borrowing across eras and traditions.⁷⁴

Burkholder also remarked on the rather isolated way in which any one composer’s borrowing studies have not been “tested by the approaches developed for any other.”⁷⁵

We fail to understand individual composers and repertoires fully unless we can compare them to others. To what extent were [composers] unusual in the extent or manner of their borrowing, and to what extent were they using procedures common to their tradition and generation, perhaps to a greater degree or in a more obvious manner than others? We cannot know until we study the borrowing practices of other composers more intently, thereby permitting comparisons.⁷⁶

Having pointed out that “[s]uch reworking of borrowed material has been going on in music from early chant...up to recent music,” Burkholder offered a “common set of methods”⁷⁷ to enable greater understanding of musical borrowing as a whole:

⁷³ Mann, “Self Borrowing...,” p. 161.

⁷⁴ Burkholder, “The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing As a Field,” p. 861.

⁷⁵ Burkholder, “The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing As a Field,” p. 860.

⁷⁶ Burkholder, “The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing As a Field,” p. 860.

⁷⁷ Burkholder, “The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing As a Field,” p. 863.

A place to begin might be with a series of general questions. For me, the motivating questions are...:

first, analytical questions: for any individual piece, what is borrowed and used as a source? how is it used in the new work?

second, interpretive or critical questions: why is this material borrowed and used in this way? what musical or extramusical functions does it serve?

third, historical questions: where did the composer get the idea to do this? what is the history of the practice? can one trace a development in the works of an individual composer, or in a musical tradition, in the ways existing material is borrowed and used?⁷⁸

It is hoped that the following chapters will demonstrate the importance of musical borrowing within Bach's compositional process and further contribute to the reevaluation of Bach's parody practices and musical borrowing in general. Expediency must have been one reason for borrowing as Bach's productivity was certainly dictated by his environment. The eighteenth-century demand for a constant supply of new music often compelled Bach to produce an enormous amount and variety of music at various points in his life. With the exception of opera, Bach composed in every fashionable genre of the early eighteenth century. Such variety was needed as accompaniment for various social and religious events, or for the purposes of entertainment or music instruction. In Bach's earliest known forays into composition, he wrote instrumental and vocal works. And as Bach's writing style matured, he composed in diverse national and historical styles.

In studying Bach's compositional process, Robert Marshall concluded that Bach often did not have the "luxury of time" to allow for a long gestation period of musical ideas.⁷⁹ For example, Christoph Wolff has demonstrated that during the period between

⁷⁸ Burkholder, "The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing As a Field," p. 864.

⁷⁹ Marshall, *The Compositional Process...*, vol. 1, p. 235.

June 11, 1724 and March 25, 1725 Bach's average compositional output was more than one cantata per week.⁸⁰ Time constraints would also explain why nearly 1/3 of Bach's Leipzig church performances during the 1723-1724 church year consisted of parodied or revised works.⁸¹ But there are many other Bach parody works that were written during less harried periods in his life, revealing that Bach borrowed throughout his musical career.

But in addition to borrowing, could Bach's remarkable composing abilities be explained by his strong improvisation skills and a keen musical memory? There is certainly much musical evidence indicating that improvisation was an important component of Baroque performance practices. Finding evidence of Bach's musical memory, however, could prove to be more difficult. Perhaps clues to Bach's musical memory lie in his reuse of pre-existent music. Like improvisation, borrowing or musical parody seems to have been a common practice for other equally prolific Baroque composers, for Handel's borrowings are well documented, and there is even evidence of parody procedures in the works of Vivaldi and Telemann. It appears that borrowing for Baroque composers not only satisfied their creative time constraints but also their desire to improve upon earlier works. Borrowing also allowed Bach and his contemporaries to explore the potential of existing musical structures, providing incentives to discover new options concerning form, genre, orchestration, and counterpoint.

Therefore, the survey of Bach's borrowing practices in the following chapters will demonstrate his recognition of additional composing potential latent in many pre-existing

⁸⁰ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), p. 278.

⁸¹ Performance dates and the sequence of several Bach cantata cycles can be found in Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*.

musical ideas. It is this ability to recognize musical potential that links Bach's parody procedures with his musical memory. All of the music to be analyzed in the following chapters will illustrate the various ways in which Bach, through renewed musical invention, uncovered and exploited new musical possibilities hidden within pre-existent sources. As with past scholarship, the terms "parody" and "borrowing" will be used interchangeably to discuss Bach's appropriation of foregoing ideas from a variety of compositional resources. This will include transcriptions, reorchestrations, and arrangements in addition to text substitutions. But I will also suggest that some instances of "borrowing" need to be relabeled – perhaps as revisions, reworkings, or adaptations – when viewed within the larger context of Bach's other composing techniques.

Without a doubt, irrespective of genre, Bach sought inspiration from a variety of sources. Yet the nearly one-hundred-and-fifty-year-old parody problem has primarily focused on issues within Bach's vocal music, giving far less attention to Bach's instrumental music. Therefore, to show that musical borrowing was most often a creative method for Bach, I will address instances of borrowing in those Bach works that have typically received less consideration in past parody studies.

Chapter 2 will look at Bach's borrowings from others, comparing the models with the new musical versions and offer additional revelations of how Bach employed parody throughout his musical career. It appears as though both Bach the student and Bach the old master turned to the works of other composers in equal measure. Even though Bach's numerous keyboard arrangements of others' solo instrumental concerti have already been studied, the development and construction of his other keyboard arrangements have not been thoroughly investigated. This is particularly true of several trio-sonata parodies

completed during the early part of his musical career. Not only did Bach transcribe instrumental works by Albinoni as new works for keyboard, but he also arranged selections from *Hortus musicus*, a collection of instrumental trio sonatas by Johann Adam Reinken.

In the Clavier Fugue in A major, BWV 950, the Fugue in B-flat major, BWV 954, the Sonata in A minor for clavier, BWV 965, and the Sonata in C major for clavier, BWV 966, Bach arranged instrumental trio sonatas as works for solo keyboard. In doing so, he also altered motivic material and contrapuntal structures, consequently updating the music of his Italian counterparts and elder musical colleagues. These works further illustrate that borrowing for Bach often included large-scale modifications of the original models.

In his later years, Bach continued to expand his musical knowledge, acquainting himself with contemporary musical styles. Often this involved performing the latest compositions of his younger colleagues. Yet, Bach's musical growth also included copying out or borrowing from popular works of the time. One example of such borrowing, Psalm 51 *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünder*, BWV 1083, is also one of Bach's lesser-known vocal works, therefore receiving little attention among Bach's parodied vocal music. Composed during Bach's later years, this work is derived from Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* and illustrates Bach's ability to create a new work by adding a new text and stylistic elements while absorbing the latest stylistic trends in music.

In contrast to the inspiration found in the works of others, Chapter 3 will demonstrate that at other times Bach chose to rework his own material, adapting his earlier ideas for different functions, different genres, and different instruments. A small

example of Bach's self-borrowing can be traced in the development of the Prelude in C that opens the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book 1*. The three extant versions of this prelude reveal that as Bach borrowed the work for consecutively newer functions, he reworked inner details of the Prelude, thus expanding its structure and clarifying its harmonic direction.

In other adaptations Bach completely restructured past ideas from earlier works so as to fit a new work in another genre. Such contextual rethinking and genre re-appropriation can be found in the Sonata in G major for violin and keyboard obligato, BWV 1019. Several variant versions of this sonata indicate that Bach found movements from Cantata 120, *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille*, and from Partita No. 6 in E minor, BWV 830, suitable for use in a sonata.

The *Triple Concerto* in A minor, BWV 1044, also illustrates Bach's ability to rethink the development of musical structures when reworking his own ideas. In composing the Triple Concerto, Bach modified the material of an earlier Prelude and Fugue in A minor, BWV 849, for use as the concerto's outer movements. Thus Bach found ways to expand the musical material of smaller genres like a prelude to generate the larger musical structures of concerto movements. Even the second movement of this concerto represents a reused and reorchestrated "Adagio e dolce" from the Organ Sonata in D minor, BWV 527. Therefore, the entire concerto is an example of Bach's pasticcio approach to instrumental composition, akin to Bach's later compilation of a vocal composition, the *B-Minor Mass*.

But we also need to consider musical borrowing in a broader context. To provide such a context, Chapter 4 will compare the similarities and differences between methods

employed by Bach and his contemporaries when incorporating pre-existent material into their respective works. Bach was not alone in using borrowing as a composing method, for his contemporaries such as Vivaldi, Telemann, and particularly Handel (among others) found parody a rather productive procedure. Since all of these composers, including Bach, were required to produce a vast amount of music for regular religious services as well as for social occasions, borrowing must have offered one way to meet these musical demands. But parody for successful Baroque composers was not a matter of mere copying; all three of Bach's noted contemporaries also used parody creatively, typically enhancing their parody prototype. It can be shown that although the musical needs of Bach and his contemporaries were sometimes different, borrowing was a compositional approach commonly shared by Baroque composers.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I will consider musical borrowing for Bach and his contemporaries within a larger tradition of Baroque compositional practices. One of the most important skills for Baroque composers, well documented by contemporary reports, was keyboard improvisation. By combining the information from these first-hand records with recent psychological studies of improvisation and memory, one can achieve a greater understanding of the relationship of improvisation to written composition. It should also be considered whether some musical ideas, which appeared to be spontaneous, were perhaps accumulated over time through recall of aural reception, some borrowed from other sources, and some derived from improvisational "working-out."

Since Baroque composers were required to generate music for a variety of occasions, Bach, like other composers, must have called upon a large mental store of musical ideas. Therefore, if pre-existent material is considered a form of musical sketch

for Bach's ideas, one begins to comprehend the compositional practices of Bach's "inner ear" through a study of his reorchestrations and reuse of previously composed material. Thus, the close mental link between improvisation and composition for Bach and his contemporaries could explain the ingenious way in which Baroque composers were able to use to their advantage contemporary musical constraints to generate rapidly a large and varied catalog of music. This integration of past and present evidence helps to create a new picture of Bach and his musical borrowings and place the role of musical borrowing within its proper historical context.

Chapter 2: Bach's Borrowing: Interest in Works of Other Composers, Old and New

Historically, Bach scholarship has divided Bach's musical career into three periods: early, middle, and late. For Bach's biographers, these periods have usually corresponded with Bach's "steady and logical process of development: from organist to Konzertmeister, then to Kapellmeister, and finally to Kantor and director of music."¹ Bach's activities during the middle period and his Leipzig years up to 1730 can be reconstructed from fairly accurate accounts appearing in eighteenth-century documents, such as school, government, and church records, music manuscripts, and personal letters. But while a significant portion of Bach's adulthood has been well documented, the facts surrounding the early and late portions of Bach's musical career still remain somewhat uncertain as researchers have had only scant evidence to draw upon.

Luckily, late twentieth-century Bach scholarship has shed light on some of the remaining factual inconsistencies concerning Bach's early and late periods. Through in-depth studies of recently uncovered documents, researchers have restructured the chronology of Bach's work and thus have developed a new sequence of events in Bach's biography. With these new discoveries, certain identifiable trends help distinguish the different stages of Bach's career. The latest findings also show that borrowing played an important role in Bach's compositional methods throughout all periods of his life.

¹ Christoph Wolff et al., *The New Grove Bach Family* (New York : W. W. Norton and Company, 1983), p. 119.

Perspectives of Bach's Early Period

As is typical for many composers born prior to the eighteenth century, little is known about Bach's childhood musical training. Since Bach was born into a family of professional musicians of long standing, he must have received his first musical instruction at a very early age. Perhaps Bach's father Johann Ambrosius instructed young Sebastian in the same way that Bach would later teach his own sons. Even so, records from the various schools that he attended during his youth indicate that Bach's early vocal studies came in the form of choir participation. Conceivably Bach acquired additional instrumental training from other family members, probably after he was orphaned at the age of ten and moved to Ohrdruf to live with his elder brother Johann Christoph. According to Sebastian's son Carl Philipp Emanuel (C.P.E.), Johann Christoph provided Sebastian with his earliest keyboard instruction.

Johann Christoph had been one of Johann Pachelbel's organ students and apparently possessed several manuscripts of works by contemporary German organ composers, such as Pachelbel, Froberger, and Kerll.² An oft-repeated tale in Bach biographies speaks of an inquisitive Sebastian being denied access to these manuscripts by his older brother Christoph. The story continues with Sebastian sneaking from his bed over a period of several months, removing the music from its storage, and copying the works out by moonlight.³ This anecdote was regularly used to explain Bach's youthful

² Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 306, p. 299. For additional insight into Johann Christoph Bach's manuscript collection, see Robert Hill, *The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book: Two Keyboard Anthologies from the Circle of the Young Johann Sebastian Bach* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987) and "Der Himmel weiss, wo diese Sachen hingekommen sind': Reconstructing the lost keyboard notebooks of the young Bach and Handel," *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays* ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 161-172.

³ This story first appeared in print in Bach's obituary. See Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 306, p. 299.

approach to musical self-instruction. And the assumed eyestrain caused by Bach's moonlit writing during his youth also supposedly contributed to the blindness Bach suffered towards the end of his life.

A second story of Bach's musical self-instruction has also historically influenced the portrait of Bach's young adulthood. Bach's quest to hear master organist Dietrich Buxtehude (c. 1637-1707) has often been understood by many Bach historians as a landmark event in Bach's early musical education. A Danish-born German organist, Buxtehude became organist of the Marienkirche in Lübeck in 1668. Of Buxtehude's more than 100 church cantatas, suites for keyboard, and sonatas for strings, the works from his annual *Abendmusiken*, or pre-Christmas evening concerts, count among his most important musical contributions. Bach's trip to see Buxtehude in 1705 is legendary: the then twenty-year-old Bach supposedly traveled more than three hundred miles (actually more than 320 kilometers or 198 miles) on foot from Arnstadt to Lübeck to hear the great senior musician. According to the rest of the story, because Bach was so enthralled with Buxtehude's playing, he stayed in Lübeck for almost three months.

These accounts, while somewhat inaccurate, still contain certain elements of truth. The disagreement between Bach and his brother has probably been overstated, perhaps in order to strengthen the common portrait of Bach's difficult personality and stubbornness. And although the distances associated with Bach's well-documented trip to Lübeck have been exaggerated, there is little doubt that Bach was very interested in attending performances of elder German music masters.

Early Bach biographers, using the aforementioned impressions of Bach as their primary references, came to some rather mistaken conclusions. The account of Bach's

manuscript copying by moonlight does encapsulate the way in which Bach used copying as a form of self-instruction. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, Forkel believed that keyboard arrangements of contemporary solo concerti were part of Bach's early methods for learning composition. However, Forkel also showed a general lack of respect for Bach's early musical works:

Though we certainly find in his earlier attempts undeniable evidences of a distinguished genius, yet they contain, at the same time, so much that is useless, so much that is one-sided, extravagant, and tasteless that they are not worth preserving (at least, for the public in general), and, at most, may be interesting to the connoisseur who wishes to make himself more intimately acquainted with the course which such a genius has followed from the commencement of his training.

...At the [publication] of his first work, he was above 40 years of age. What he himself, at so mature an age, judged worthy of publication has certainly the presumption in its favor that it is good. We may, therefore, consider all the works which he himself had engraved to be especially good.⁴

Forkel was apparently unaware that some of Bach's earlier works had been published, for at least one cantata, *Gott ist mein König*, BWV 71, was published in 1708. But even with this gap in Forkel's knowledge, one has to wonder why Forkel assumed that Bach's earlier unpublished works were insignificant. Bach must have certainly become familiar with the publishing trade by the spring of 1729, when he became a book distributor and Leipzig sales representative. In this capacity, Bach sought to sell copies of *Der Generalbass in der Composition*, a composition treatise by Johann David Heinichen, and *Musicalisches Lexicon*, a musical encyclopedia written by Bach's cousin Johann Gottfried Walther. Bach had also made arrangements during the years between 1726 and 1731 to have the *Clavier-Übung I* published. If anyone had an insider's knowledge of publishing in general and its associated difficulties, it would have been Sebastian Bach.

⁴ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, p. 462.

Unfortunately, Forkel apparently did not take into consideration that publishing and distributing music during the first half of the eighteenth century were problematic endeavors.

While some of Bach's youthful compositions still require further consideration, the evidence surrounding Bach's early search for musical role models also needs to be reassessed. Historically, Buxtehude's multi-sectional *Praeludia* were seen as his most influential compositions; their profound impact on the early music of Bach has typically been supported with references to Bach's journey to Lübeck. But Christoph Wolff⁵ has shown that such studies of Buxtehude's influence on Bach's compositions may have obscured Bach's earlier contacts with other older influential composers. Prior to the now famous Lübeck trip, Bach was undoubtedly greatly influenced by Georg Böhm, the organist in Lüneberg, and especially Johann Adam Reinken, organist in Hamburg.

Georg Böhm (1661-1733) was born near Ohrdruf, but received his early musical training from various cantors and organists in towns such as Goldbach and Gotha. After graduating from the University of Jena, Böhm moved to Hamburg and in 1698 was named organist of the Johanniskirche in Lüneberg. By April or May of 1700 until 1703, Bach was also in Lüneberg as a student of the St. Michael's School. Still, the connection between Böhm and Bach is not entirely clear. In a letter to Forkel discussing some of Bach's favorite composers, Emanuel Bach referred to Böhm as his father's Lüneberg "teacher," but then emended his sentence to read "the Lüneberg organist Böhm."⁶ While it is likely that Bach studied with Böhm, perhaps C.P.E. Bach wished to play down the

⁵ Christoph Wolff "Johann Adam Reinken und Johann Sebastian Bach. Zum Kontext des Bachschen Frühwerks," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 71 (1985), pp. 99-118; Eng. trans., "Bach and Johann Adam Reinken: a context for the early works," *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*, pp. 56-71.

⁶ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 395, p. 398.

teacher-student relationship in order to strengthen the impression of his father as a self-taught musician.

It could also be that both Böhm and Bach were influenced by the work of Reinken. During his lifetime, Johann Adam Reinken (1623-1722) was considered one of the most important organists of the North German school. Once a pupil of both Jan Pieterszon Sweelinck, organist of the Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Amsterdam, and Heinrich Scheidemann, the organist of the church of St. Catherine at Hamburg, Reinken was eventually appointed as Scheidemann's assistant. When Scheidemann died in 1663, Reinken was promoted as his successor and remained organist of St. Catherine's until his own death in 1722. Reinken was also a founding member of the Hamburg opera and, as a member of the organization's Board of Directors, was deeply involved with the city's musical activities.

Bach and Reinken probably met while Sebastian was in his teens, for the Bach obituary states that he sporadically traveled to Hamburg from Lüneberg "to hear the then famous Organist of St. Catherine's, Johann Adam Reinken."⁷ Additional references to Reinken-Bach encounters are found in the recollections of German music theorist Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795), founder of *Der critische Musicus an der Spree*, (a weekly music newspaper in Berlin) and author of numerous critical and theoretical writings, including a notable preface to the second edition of Bach's *Kunst der Fuge*.

Marpurg's anecdote tells of how Bach, returning from one of his many trips to see Reinken in Hamburg, found a Danish ducat in some discarded fish heads outside of an inn. Had it not been for the ducat, Bach would have had to beg for both a meal and a way

⁷ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 300, p. 306.

back home to Lüneberg.⁸ One more story, which Bach may have perpetuated, surrounds a later encounter between Bach and Reinken. In 1720, while holding the post of Kapellmeister in Cöthen, Bach applied for the position of organist at the Jacobikirche in Hamburg. The story, as transmitted in Bach's obituary, reports that the then ninety-seven-year-old Reinken, upon hearing Bach's organ improvisation on the chorale "An Wasserflüssen Babylon," said: "I thought that this art was dead, but I see that in you it still lives."⁹

As co-compiler of his father's obituary, Emanuel Bach corroborated these accounts, writing that his father's musical growth came via observations "of the most famous and profound composers of the time."¹⁰ C.P.E. Bach added that "Through his own study alone," Sebastian Bach became "a pure and strong fugue writer."¹¹ Yet, even though early Bach compositions based on others' work have been known for some time, Bach's own learning methods have received scholarly attention only within the last thirty years.

Youthful Bach Borrowings from Reinken and Albinoni

Much has been made in Bach research of the Italian influence in Bach's compositions. Discussions of Bach's concerti invariably mention the stimulus of Vivaldi's ritornello principle. But in addition to Bach's absorption and knowledge of Italian concerto styles, as evidenced by Bach's transcriptions of several Vivaldi works, Bach

⁸ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 397, p. 409.

⁹ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 300, p. 302.

¹⁰ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 300, p. 306.

¹¹ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 395, pp. 398-9.

appears to have had a particular interest in the Italian trio sonata as another musical model.

As first noted by Spitta in 1881,¹² Bach based three of his own works on selections from Reinken's *Hortus musicus*, a collection of six complete trio sonatas for two violins, viola da gamba, and continuo published in Hamburg in 1687. Presuming that Reinken's influence on Bach stemmed from the 1720 meeting between the two composers, Spitta dated Bach's arrangements of Reinken's work near the same time. But Bach's dealings with trio sonatas surely date from an earlier point in his career. Several fugues that Bach derived from the works of Italian composers, such as Corelli, Albinoni, and Legrenzi, date from Bach's early period. And as he had done with Reinken's compositions, Bach generated three works, in this case keyboard fugues, by borrowing from three selections of Albinoni's trio sonatas. Table 2-1 lists Bach's early works based upon Italian trio sonatas.

	<u>Bach</u>
<u>Albinoni</u>	
Op. 1 No. 3	BWV 950
Op. 1 No. 8	BWV 951 / 951a
Op. 1 No. 12	BWV 946
<u>Corelli</u>	
Op. 3 No. 4	BWV 579
<u>Legrenzi</u>	
Op. 2 No. 11	BWV 574 / 574a / 574b

Table 2-1: Early Bach parodies and their borrowed sources (after Wolff¹³)

¹² Philipp Spitta, "Umarbeitungen Fremder Original-Compositionen." *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16 (November 1881), pp. 737-739, 753-756.

¹³ Wolff, "Bach and Johann Adam Reinken..." p. 65.

Like Vivaldi, Tommaso Albinoni (1671-1751) was a Venetian violinist and composer, and like many Baroque composers, was exceedingly prolific, composing in a majority of the representative Baroque genres. Among his works were fifty-five operas, including *Radamisto* (Venice, 1698), *Griselda* (Florence, 1703), *Pimpinone* (Venice, 1708) and *L'impresario delle Canarie* (Venice, 1725), nine opus numbers for instrumental chamber combinations, including five sets of 12 concertos, 30 other concertos, 42 trio sonatas, and 29 violin sonatas.

Albinoni's trio sonatas exhibit many characteristics of the late seventeenth-century Italian church sonata. During the early seventeenth century, the word "sonata" was used to designate instrumental compositions as opposed to those that were vocal. But by the late seventeenth century, these instrumental works could be categorized either as *sonata da chiesa* (church sonata) or *sonata da camera* (chamber sonata). The *sonata da chiesa* frequently, though not invariably, consisted of four movements: a slow introductory movement, a more contrapuntal or canonic allegro, followed by a slow cantabile movement and lastly a quick finale. This pattern of movements was established in the trio and solo sonatas of Italian violinist/composer Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713). The preferred sonata instrumentation in Italy consisted of two violins with continuo for bass viol or cello with a keyboard instrument, which if played in church was generally the organ.¹⁴

Despite similar instrumentation, the *sonata da camera*, also referred to as suite, overture, or partita by both French and German composers, was typically built from a series of musical dance forms. By the late seventeenth century, a tradition emerged of

¹⁴ For a history of early sonata terminology, see Peter Allsop, "Sonata da chiesa: A Case of Mistaken Identity," *The Consort: European Journal of Early Music* 53 (Summer 1997), pp. 4-15.

including four regular dance movements: *allemande*, *courante*, *sarabande* and *gigue*.

Unlike the *sonata da chiesa*, the sequence of movement tempi in the *sonata da camera* was therefore determined by the order of the dance movements.

Early baroque sonatas were probably derivatives of the old church *canzona* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since these *canzonas* were instrumental arrangements (typically for keyboard) of polyphonic vocal works, various established vocal practices were adapted for instrumental compositions during the Renaissance. As a result, canonic imitation usually found in polyphonic vocal music and the *canzona* also became a common musical feature of baroque trio sonatas. Renaissance composers of motets and chansons often incorporated motivic imitation through successive vocal entrances. As an outgrowth of the counterpoint present in these vocal works and the old church *canzona* of earlier times, the second movements of the late seventeenth-century church sonata, typified by Corelli's sonatas, contained some type of canonic or imitative counterpoint as well.¹⁵ But by the eighteenth century, North German organist-composers, notably Dietrich Buxtehude, had molded the counterpoint of the *canzona* and its relative, the *ricercare*, into mature fugues. Bach's tendency to create idiomatic keyboard compositions through borrowed instrumental trio sonatas may be viewed as an extension of the sonata's historical development. Bach was thus following a North German practice while drawing upon a tradition of Italian trio sonatas for inspiration.

The contrapuntal features of Albinoni's trio sonatas probably made these works desirable musical models for Bach. On the other hand, Bach's attraction to Reinken's *Hortus musicus* collection perhaps stemmed from Reinken's unique juxtaposition of the

¹⁵ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2000) s.v. "Canzona," by John Caldwell and s.v. "Sonata," by Sandra Mangsen.

two sonata types within one work. The printed version of the set, entitled *HORTUS MUSICUS recentibus aliquot flosculis SONATEN, ALLEMANDEN, COURANTEN, SARBANDEN, et GIQUEN Cum 2. Violin, Viola, et Basso continuo...* (*MUSICAL GARDEN of fresh little flowers SONATAS, ALLEMANDES, COURANTES, SARABANDES, and GIGUES for 2 violins, viola da gamba, and Basso continuo...*), shows that Reinken thought of these works as trio sonatas, a collection of dances, or even perhaps six independent sonata-suite pairings.¹⁶ While the collection consists of a sequence of six complete sonatas, Reinken had numbered the individual movements consecutively in the collection. Therefore, Reinken numbered the first sonata *Sonata 1^{ma}* and the second as *Sonata 6^a* since movements internal to each sonata also received numeric designations, for example *Courant 3^{ia}* and *Allemande 12^{ma}*. Table 2-2 shows Bach's borrowings and their corresponding Reinken numeration. As the table illustrates, Reinken's first sonata is a composite work, consisting of the standard sequence of movements for a *sonata da chiesa* followed by the sequence of dance movements typical of the *sonata da camera*. Such combinations of church and chamber sonata elements are also found later in Bach's first *Brandenburg Concerto*: the first three movements – Allegro, Adagio, and Allegro – are typical of the Italian church sonata, but the remaining movements – Menuet-Trio, Menuet-Poloinesse, Menuet-Trio, and Menuet – represent a series of French, Polish, and German dances more likely to appear in a chamber sonata.¹⁷

¹⁶ It is also possible that Reinken considered the "SONATEN" of *Hortus musicus* as introductory Italian trio sonatas to the subsequent German partita. An analogous order of "sonata" followed by dances can be found in François Couperin's (1668-1733) *Les Nations*, composed in 1690 and first published during the 1720s. The use of the term "sonata" to designate a group of movements or dances was probably not used in Italy prior to 1685. See Sandra Mangsen "The 'Sonata da Camera' before Corelli: A Renewed Search," *Music & Letters* 76/ 1 (February 1995), pp. 19-31.

¹⁷ See Michael Marissen, "Concerto Styles and Signification in Bach's First Brandenburg Concerto," *Bach Perspectives* 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. 79-101.

Table 2-2: Bach's borrowings from Reinken's <i>Hortus musicus</i> (after Wolff) ¹⁸			
Bach	Clavier Sonata BWV 965	Clavier fugue BWV 954	Clavier Sonata BWV 966
Reinken	Sonata 1 ^{ma} (in A minor) Adagio Allegro Solo. Largo- Presto Allemande 2 ^{da} Allegro Courant 3 ^{tia} Saraband 4 ^{ta} Gigue 5 ^{ta}	Sonata 6 ^{ta} (in B-flat major) Allegro	Sonata 11 ^{ma} (in C major) Lento Allegro Solo. Largo- Allegro Allemande 12 ^{ma} . Allegro

Although for years the Reinken borrowings had been dated according to Spitta's findings, Christoph Wolff was able to show recently that Bach's arrangements probably date prior to 1710. In addition to the similarities between the arrangements of *Hortus musicus* and other Italian sonatas, Wolff has cited as proof that the earliest surviving source for two of Bach's Reinken borrowings, in a manuscript in the hand of Bach's cousin Johann Gottfried Walther, dates from no later than 1712.¹⁹ Thus, Bach's apparent interest in Reinken probably developed not long after his earlier visits to Hamburg, before he had heard Buxtehude.

In addition to the new dating of these three keyboard arrangements, Wolff's evaluation of Bach's musical borrowing has brought the comments of C.P.E. Bach and

¹⁸ Wolff, "Bach and Johann Adam Reinken....," p. 65.

¹⁹ Wolff, "Bach and Johann Adam Reinken....," p. 65. See also Kirsten Beisswenger, "Zur Chronologie der Notenhandschriften Johann Gottfried Walthers," *Acht kleine Praludien und Studien über Bach: Georg von Dadelsen zum 70. Geburtstag am 17. November 1988*. (Wiesbaden Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1992), pp. 11-39.

Forkel full circle. In Wolff's estimation, Bach probably viewed and used the musical ideas of both his predecessors and contemporaries as instructional models. But Wolff has also argued that Bach's practice of arranging works by other composers has been falsely perceived: in some cases the Bach versions of pre-existent music by others should really be considered new works inspired by existing compositions rather than arrangements of them.

In general, three guiding principles can be discerned in Bach's musical borrowings from Reinken and Albinoni. The first is to leave the parody source identifiable, the second to add to its musical interest, and the third to create new contrapuntal lines. It appears that when borrowing from others, Bach strove to retain the basic structure and melodic content of the original work, thus leaving his source of borrowing recognizable. Bach's changes therefore included a combination of ornamentation and reduction of sequential musical passages, development of an independent inner gamba voice that rarely doubles the continuo, and expansion of contrapuntal possibilities. But to see the essence of Bach's creative modifications, we must also examine how his alterations affected other elements.

When borrowing the opening slow movements from Reinken's *Hortus musicus* sonatas, Bach rewrote the figured bass and homophonic texture of Reinken's chamber music as chordal structures for a keyboard instrument. In Example 2-1, we can see that in the opening measure of Reinken's first sonata, Bach combined the three lower instruments into chords for the keyboard left hand. At the same time, he filled in Reinken's melodic lines with various combinations of highly florid scalar and arpeggiated passages of sixteenth and thirty-second notes. This type of writing is equally visible in

1

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

6 6 7 4 # 6 6 b

4

7 6 6 6 7 #

Example 2-1A:
 Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 1^{ma} in A Minor, "Adagio," mm. 1-5

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system is marked with a '1' at the beginning. The second system is marked with a '3' at the beginning. The third system is marked with a '5' at the beginning. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and includes various musical ornaments and phrasing slurs. The key signature is one flat (A minor), and the time signature is 4/4.

Example 2-1B:

Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Adagio," mm. 1-5

6

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

A

6 6 7
5

6

B

7

Example 2-2:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 1^{ma} in A Minor, "Adagio," mm. 6-7

B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Adagio," mm. 6-7

Bach's arrangement of measures 6-7 from the same *Hortus musicus* sonata (Example 2-2).

Such examples demonstrate Bach's desire to incorporate and notate embellishments that were typically part of Baroque sonata performance practice. Although the slow movements of the church sonata, as typified by Corelli's works, were notated in rather simple rhythmic patterns and melodic shapes, a tradition of highly ornamented performances developed around these movements. Perhaps the first written evidence of this tradition can be found in a 1710 edition of Corelli's six church sonatas, Opus 5. The print, published by Estienne Roger of Amsterdam, presents highly embellished versions of the opening slow movement from each of the six sonatas. According to the publisher, this ornamentation represented a notated form of Corelli's own performance practices.²⁰

However, the manner in which Bach has reworked these particular slow movements from Reinken goes beyond ornamentation, for the result resembles more the style typically found in improvisatory Baroque keyboard genres such as toccatas or fantasias. During the late Baroque the term *toccata*, although originally used during the seventeenth century to distinguish between something played as opposed to something sung, implied playing an instrument for the purpose of trying or testing it and its tuning. As part of the testing procedure, toccatas usually contained scales, trills, and other brilliant figuration, often interspersed with slow chordal passages.²¹ The *toccata*, therefore, lacked a particular structure common to other genres like dances. In a similar

²⁰ David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 222.

²¹ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon; oder, Musikalische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1732) facs. ed. by Richard Schaal (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1953), p. 610.

fashion, the fantasia was usually an instrumental composition constructed from a number of sections. However, the improvisatory free forms of fantasias were often generated with various imitative developments of musical subjects. While the composition of both the toccata and fantasia usually highlighted technical brilliance and rapid execution, the toccata often more or less contained uniform musical figuration throughout.

Bach's adaptations of the first movements from Reinken certainly exhibit the characteristics of these two keyboard genres. Both of Bach's opening movements begin with some form of chordal introduction that gives way to increasingly virtuoso or rhapsodic passages among which small fugato sections are interspersed. Thus, with these modifications, Bach moved Reinken's music from the realm of introductory sonata movement to that of idiomatic keyboard genre, like the toccata or fantasia.

In the opening movements of both the A-minor and C-major clavier sonatas, Bach's reworking of Reinken's music epitomizes sectionalized construction. The opening "Adagio" of the A-minor sonata, BWV 965, is comprised of three types of musical sections as shown in Example 2-3: the first consisting of multiple ascending and descending scalar figures (as found in measures 6-7), the second of turn figures with voice interplay (seen in measures 8-9), and the third of a dotted rhythm with homophonic texture (measures 16-17). The second section type shows how Bach modified Reinken's sequential passage with counterpoint and rhythmic variety (Example 2-4).

Bach took a somewhat different approach toward Reinken's third *Hortus musicus* sonata, as evidenced in Example 2-5. When composing the "Praeludium" of the C-major sonata, BWV 966, Bach alluded to the character of a French overture by combining the

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The first system begins at measure 6, the second at measure 7, and the third at measure 16. The music features intricate melodic lines with slurs and ties, and a steady bass accompaniment.

Example 2-3:
Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Adagio," mm. 6-7, 8-9, and 16-17

8

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

6 7 6 4 6 7 6 4

A

8

B

Example 2-4:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 1^{ma} in A Minor, "Adagio," mm. 8-9

B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Adagio," mm. 8-9

1

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

B.C.

5 6 6 7 6

A

1

B

3

Example 2-5:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 11^{ma} in C Major, "Lento," mm. 1-3

B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in C Major, BWV 966, "Preludium," mm. 1-3

dotted rhythm of the first measure with its homophonic elaboration in the second measure. Throughout the movement, Bach alternated this dotted figuration with batteries of ascending and descending scalar figures, as illustrated by his modifications to Reinken's thirteenth measure (Example 2-6). It is also interesting to note the potential textural variation Bach recognized in Reinken's measures: where Reinken created melodic counterpoint, Bach envisioned an implied pedal point on C. Such examples demonstrate how both elaboration and diminution were important elements of Bach's ornamentation methods.

Some of the same components found in the opening movements of Reinken's sonatas – arch-shaped melodies constructed with simple rhythms – are also associated with the slow portions of the third movements. The third movements of the first and third *Hortus musicus* sonatas are binary in structure (see Diagram 2-1), with a slow "Largo" or "Adagio" section (A) immediately followed by a faster "Allegro" or "Presto" section (B). Each portion of the movement is orchestrated with only a solo melody instrument and continuo, and the A-B sequence of sections is played twice, the first time with violin being the solo instrument and the second with gamba as the designated soloist. In the slow A sections, the continuo moves in measured rhythmic values while the solo instrument plays ascending and descending scalar passages above. With the faster B sections comes increased activity in the continuo part and almost perpetual running figures in the solo instrument.

13

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

B.C.

6
5b

6
5b

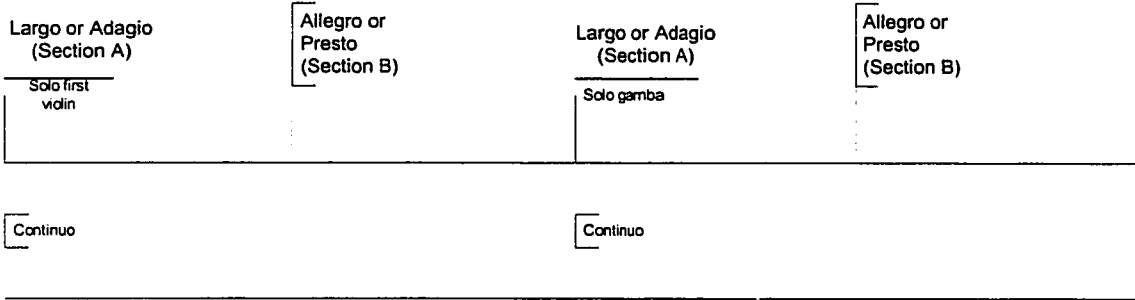
A

B

Example 2-6:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 11^{ma} in C Major, "Lento," m. 13
 B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in C Major, BWV 966, "Preludium," m. 13

Diagram 2-1: Structure and instrumentation of third movements from Reinken's *Hortus musicus* sonatas



Bach's adaptations of the slow A sections from these third movements echo those of the opening slow movements: most of the measures in Bach's version consist of ascending and descending scalar passages. But in the faster B sections of the Reinken third movements, Bach altered certain details of the music while leaving much of the melodic content from the *Hortus musicus* model intact. Since Bach's parody of these movements involved only one instrument, there was no need in the third movements of his A-minor and C-major clavier sonatas to repeat Reinken's A-B scheme of alternating instruments. Instead, as shown in Example 2-7, Bach enriched the texture of the fast B sections by placing an independent third voice between Reinken's solo and continuo voices. In this example, Bach created a new tenor voice for his keyboard arrangement of Reinken's music. This middle voice, which may be considered an embellished version of Reinken's figured bass, not only thickens the harmonic texture, but also helps to create some counterpoint with the melodic line.

For the fast B section of the C-major sonata's third movement, Bach developed additional contrapuntal qualities by altering Reinken's continuo line. Example 2-8 compares Reinken's juxtaposition of the melody instrument and bass line with Bach's treatment. In Reinken's measures, the solo voice unfolds above a reasonably predictable walking bass, whereas in Bach's parody of the same movement, the addition of arpeggiated sixteenth notes help to make the bass line a more equal partner in a rather contrapuntal interplay.

Bach's borrowing strategy for the dance forms appearing in *Hortus musicus* reflects many of the procedures we have already observed. Reinken's music remains at

6

B.C.

6 6 4/2 6

A

6

B

Example 2-7:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 11^{ma} in C Major, "Presto," mm. 6-8
 B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in C Major, BWV 966, "Presto," mm. 6-8

B.C.

A

B

Example 2-8:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 11^{ma} in C Major, "Allegro," mvt. 3, mm. 8-11
 B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in C Major, BWV 966, "Allegro," mvt. 3, mm. 8-11

the core of the arrangements even as Bach inserted additional embellishments and voices. For whatever reason, only the A-minor clavier sonata contains all of the dance movements present in its *Hortus musicus* model. While it remains unclear whether Bach had intended to complete the C-major sonata in a similar manner, the only dance form from the third *Hortus musicus* sonata appearing in Bach's parody is the "Allemande." In this movement, which displays basic allemande qualities – a moderate 4-4 time, as well as a binary structure, with each section beginning with a short upbeat and usually repeated – Bach created a new contrapuntal harmonic accompaniment by mixing together elements present in the three lower voices of Reinken's model, as seen in a comparison of the opening measures of both Reinken and Bach movements (Example 2-9). In other passages, Bach transferred Reinken's measures to keyboard with only minor alterations of articulation.

Although Bach employed similar types of modifications when borrowing from the "Allemande" in the A-minor sonata, the changes found in this movement are a bit more dramatic. Two passages that are particularly more chromatic than the rest of the movement illustrate this point clearly. The first is at the closing portion of the movement's first half. In measure 13, Bach embellished Reinken's steady melodic sixteenth-note rhythm with smaller note values and then rewrote measure 14, producing a layered contrapuntal texture in all four voices (Example 2-10).

The second case appears at a climactic moment in the movement's second half. As shown in Example 2-11, in measures 25 through 27, Reinken's music presents an ascending passage, constructed mainly from a chromatically stepwise ascending bass line, doubled by the gamba, with contrapuntal interplay of the two violins. The music

Example A is a musical score for four instruments: Violin 1 (Vln. 1), Violin 2 (Vln. 2), Viola (Vla.), and Bassoon (B.C.). The score is in C major and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures. The first measure shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a common time signature. The second measure continues the melody. The third measure features a change in the bass line. The fourth measure concludes the phrase. Below the Bassoon staff, there are fingering numbers: 6, 6, 7, 5, 6, 6, 4+, 2, 6.

A

The top system of Example B shows the piano accompaniment for the first two measures. The right hand plays a treble clef with a common time signature, and the left hand plays a bass clef with a common time signature. The music is in C major and 3/4 time.

The bottom system of Example B shows the piano accompaniment for the last two measures. The right hand plays a treble clef with a common time signature, and the left hand plays a bass clef with a common time signature. The music is in C major and 3/4 time.

B

Example 2-9:A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 11^{ma} in C Major, "Allemande," mm. 1-3

B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in C Major, BWV 966, "Allemande," mm. 1-3

A

B

Example 2-10:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 1^{ma} in A Minor, "Allemande," mm. 13-14
 B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Allemande," mm. 13-14

25

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

B.C.

5 56 6 5 6 # 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6

28

#5 6 # 6 6 7 6 6 4 3

31

The image displays a musical score for Example 2-11A, consisting of three systems of staves. The first system (measures 25-27) includes staves for Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Bassoon. Fingerings are indicated below the staves: 5 56 6 5 6 # 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6. The second system (measures 28-30) continues the same instrumentation with fingerings: #5 6 # 6 6 7 6 6 4 3. The third system (measure 31) shows the beginning of a new section with a key signature change to one sharp (F#) and a repeat sign.

Example 2-11A:
 Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 1^{ma} in A Minor, "Allemande," mm. 25-31

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system begins at measure 25, the second at measure 27, and the third at measure 29. The music is written in a minor key, indicated by one flat (B-flat) in the key signature. The piece features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass line and a more complex, often sixteenth-note melody in the treble line. The notation includes various musical symbols such as accidentals, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Example 2-11B:
Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Allemande," mm. 25-31

then descends; in measure 28, above the E's of the gamba and continuo, the violins descend in parallel sixths, then circle in thirds around C and A. While the sequential material of the violins remains in parallel thirds in bar 29, the gamba and continuo drop beyond an octave to set up the cadence of bar 30.

The same example illustrates how Bach's treatment of these measures retains the essential pitch contour of the original passage within a different set of circumstances. In measure 25 Bach reduced the number of voices from Reinken's three down to two, thereby melding the functions originally found in Reinken's second violin and bass lines. The chromatic stepwise motion of Reinken's bass is implied as Bach's bass moves in parallel sixteenth notes with the soprano line. Bach altered the parallel thirds of Reinken's two violins to move in combinations of thirds and sixths while maintaining the sixteenth-note rhythm of the *Hortus musicus* "Allemande." Only by bar 28 does Bach bring back the third voice, but this time as a bass pedal point. Bach continues his adaptation of Reinken's work in measure 29. The sequential parallel thirds of Reinken's two violins exists in the A-minor sonata as the original first violin line sounding above a pedal point found in the alto. To compensate for this change, Bach moved some of Reinken's second violin's sixteenth-note rhythm into the descending pattern of the bass line.

Similar types of adjustments to the "Courante" and "Sarabande" from Reinken's first sonata can also be found in Bach's A-minor sonata. However in the "Gigue," the sonata's last movement, Bach made significant contrapuntal modifications to Reinken's work. Like the other French dance forms, the gigue was a mid-seventeenth-century dance in binary form. While gigue types can be broken down to smaller subcategories according to details such as internal rhythmic structures, performance tempi, and counterpoint, the

gigue typically existed in some kind of animated triple or compound duple time, often 6-8 or 12-8.²² It was also characteristic for the second half of the binary form to be built on an inversion of the theme of the first half. Indeed, Reinken's "Gigue" contains these defining elements; but both the rhythmic qualities of the continuo line and the canonic development that can be found in this Reinken movement are quite remarkable. A quick look at the "Gigue" shows that Reinken presented the melodic material in a *dux/comes* manner via three canonic entrances, with each entrance occurring either at the first or fifth scale degree (Example 2-12A). This pattern recurs in the movement's second half, but this time with the subject inverted.

But upon closer examination, we realize that the movement, in fact both halves of it, is built primarily from voice exchange and subject repetition. The subject as presented on the first scale degree in the movement's opening measures originally appears in the first violin but then reappears in the second violin in bar 13. A reciprocal reversal occurs between measures 4 and 10; the subject, this time on the fifth scale degree, which is played by the second violin in measure 4 is eventually played by the first violin in measure 10. As these canonic entrances occur throughout the movement, Reinken varies the material playing counter to the instrumentally traded opening motive (see Diagram 2-2).

Bach's modifications of this movement demonstrate his recognition of the fugal possibilities within the "Gigue." The canonic entrances of Bach's "Gigue" subject are made more apparent by the removal of Reinken's continuo line in the opening measures. While Reinken used only three staggered subject entrances to open both halves of the

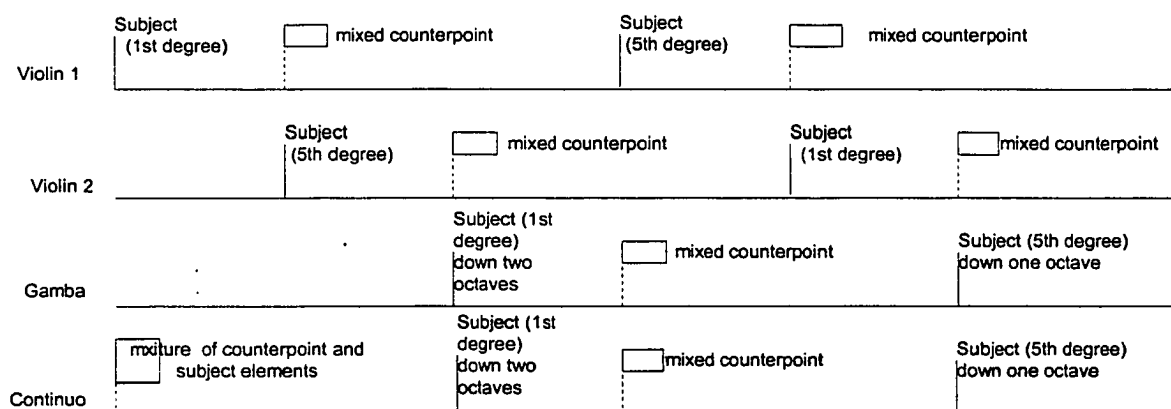
²² For more information on Bach's gigue types, see Meredith Little "Gigue," *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp.143-184.

"Gigue," Bach adds a fourth canonic voice to the counterpoint via a subject entrance in the bass line in bar 11 (Example 2-12B). As part of the inversion procedure for the second half of the "Gigue," Bach not only inverts the subject, but also the voice-order of sequential entrances: whereas the soprano voice opened the first half of the movement, the bass is the first to present the inverted subject of the second half (Example 2-13).

In addition, one small change, with somewhat larger implications, is made to Reinken's subject. Reinken's "Gigue" and its accompanying subject fall within the realm of the aeolian mode. But by changing one of the repeated triplet patterns appearing at the end of the subject, Bach's subject strengthens the perception of tonic and dominant arrivals of the contrapuntal theme. Thus in contrast to the model, Bach's "Gigue" presents a clearer A minor tonality.

The inventiveness found in Bach's reworking of the "Gigue" provides a backdrop for his treatment of the contrapuntal second movements typically found in Baroque trio sonatas. The way in which Bach structurally altered these types of movements illustrates to a greater extent Bach's creativity in borrowing ideas from others. Bach's interest in increased harmonic and contrapuntal variety, already found in the reworking of other previously discussed movements, helped him to construct mature fugue movements from the imitative counterpoint present in these canonic trio sonata movements. While borrowing from *Hortus musicus*, Bach must have recognized that Reinken constructed the contrapuntal second movements in the sonatas, like the "Gigue," from melodic and motivic repetition. As shown in Diagram 2-3, Reinken's ability to expand musical material in the second movements of his *Hortus musicus* sonatas stemmed from the permutation of contrapuntal motives.

Diagram 2-2: Contrapuntal arrangement of canonic subjects in the first half of the "Gigue" from Reinken's A-minor sonata in *Hortus musicus*



The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piece in A minor. Each system consists of four staves: a treble staff, a grand staff (treble and bass), and a bass staff with guitar tablature below it. The music is in 3/8 time and features a continuous eighth-note pattern in the treble and bass staves. The guitar tablature provides fret numbers for the left hand, with some notes marked with a sharp (#) or flat (b). The systems are numbered 1, 4, and 7 at the beginning of their respective first staves.

System 1: Treble staff has a continuous eighth-note pattern. Bass staff has a continuous eighth-note pattern. Guitar tablature: 6 7 5, 6, 5 6, 6, 6, 6 6 6, 6 6 4.

System 4: Treble staff has a continuous eighth-note pattern. Bass staff has a continuous eighth-note pattern. Guitar tablature: 6, 5 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 5^b, 9 7 6, 4.

System 7: Treble staff has a continuous eighth-note pattern. Bass staff has a continuous eighth-note pattern. Guitar tablature: 6 6, 6, 5^b, 4 3, 6 6, 6, 6, 6, 6 6 6 4.

Example 2-12A:

Reinken, Hortus musicus, Sonata Ima in A Minor, "Gigue," mm. 1-13

10

6 5 5 6 6 5 5 6 7 8 6

12

7 7 5 5 5 5 6 6

Example 2-12A:
continued

The image displays a musical score for a piece by J.S. Bach. It consists of four systems of music, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system starts with a measure number '1' and shows a treble staff with a continuous eighth-note melody and a bass staff with rests. The second system starts with a measure number '4' and continues the treble staff melody with some chromaticism, while the bass staff remains empty. The third system starts with a measure number '7' and introduces a bass line in the bass staff, which is a simple eighth-note accompaniment. The fourth system starts with a measure number '10' and continues both the treble and bass staves with their respective parts. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/8.

Example 2-12B:
Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Gigue," mm. 1-12

20

A

5 6 6 # 6 6 7 # 7 # 6 6 6 6 7 9 6 6 5 7 4 4

23

6 6 # 7 6

31

B

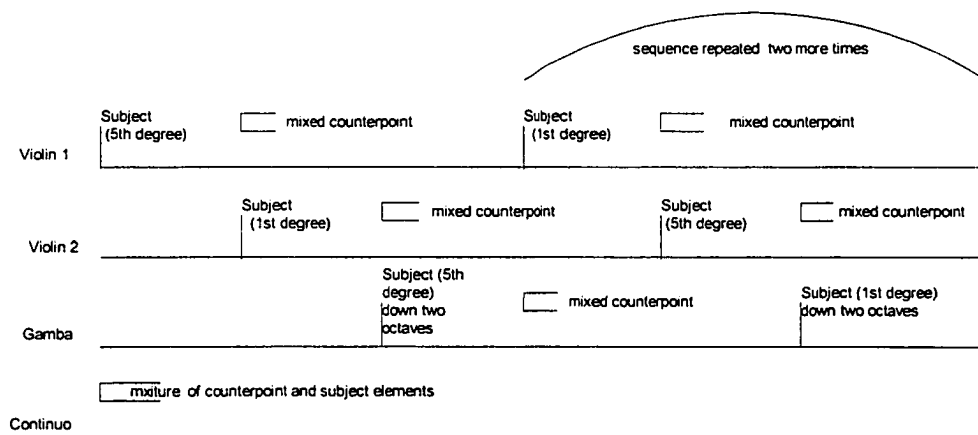
34

Example 2-13:

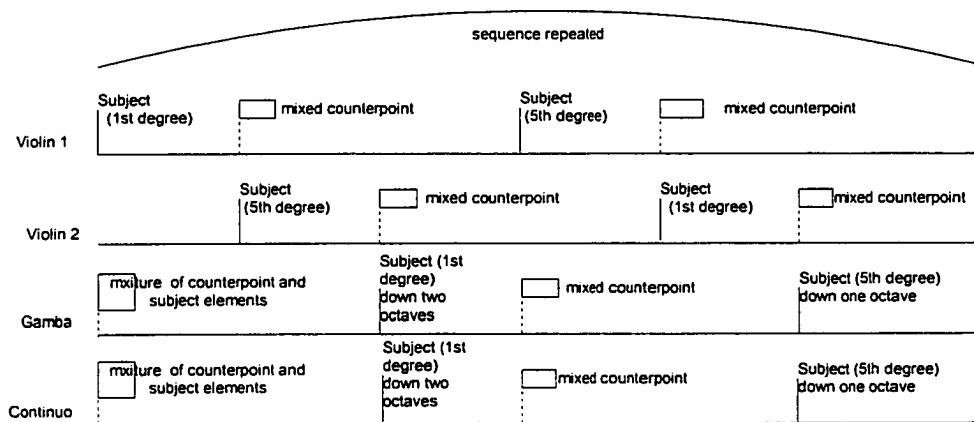
A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 1^{ma} in A Minor, "Gigue," mm. 20-23

B=Bach, Clavier Sonata in A Minor, BWV 965, "Gigue," mm. 31-34

Diagram 2-3: Structural representations of motivic entrances in certain *Hortus musicus* movements



Contrapuntal arrangement of canonic subjects in the C-major Allegro from *Hortus musicus*



Contrapuntal arrangement of canonic subjects in the A-minor and B-flat-major Allegro, from *Hortus musicus*

For example, in the "Allegro" of the C-major sonata, Reinken establishes a pattern of thematic voice-exchange over the first sixteen measures. The pattern of double counterpoint presented in the first third of the piece consists of staggered thematic entrances that occur every three measures. In order for Reinken to extend the length of the movement, the same pattern is essentially repeated two more times. Reinken's approach in the "Allegro" of both the A-minor and B-flat-major sonatas is somewhat similar. In these movements, the thematic entrances are staggered every four measures, with the pattern of voice exchange occurring over a span of twenty-five measures. Since the pattern of double counterpoint in these movements stretches over a greater number of measures, Reinken repeats these patterns only once. In all three of the Reinken "Allegro" movements that Bach eventually borrowed for fugal development, the canonic material only appears either in the tonic or dominant key, a style typical of North German counterpoint.

In comparison to Reinken's movements, Bach's adaptations seem far less repetitive and more representative of eighteenth-century counterpoint styles. Bach's B-flat-major fugue, which he derived from the B-flat-major "Allegro" of the second *Hortus musicus* sonata, demonstrates Bach's most dramatic alterations of Reinken's music. Since Bach treated Reinken's counterpoint in a fugal manner, we will discuss the construction of both Reinken's and Bach's versions of the movement in terms of subject and countersubject.

Like his treatment of the aforementioned "Gigue," Bach started the B-flat fugue with a solo presentation of the subject. Of the four measures that encompass the subject, Bach restructured the sequential material present in the latter two measures of Reinken's

subject (Example 2-14). Going further, Bach completely revamped the countersubject, apparently retaining only the syncopated rhythmic elements present in Reinken's music. In Example 2-15 we see Bach's first break from Reinken's formulaic pattern of voice exchange, occurring at measure 13. At this point, Bach delays via episodic development what would be the next expected arrival of the subject. Still, even after the three-measure detour, Bach reintroduces the contrapuntal subject.

Reinken's contrapuntal "Gigue" subject begins either on the tonic or fifth scale degrees, thus defining the tonic and dominant tonalities. Bach, on the other hand, found ways to present the same subject in other keys. Example 2-15 shows that the fourth appearance of Bach's subject deviates from Reinken's order of subject entrances by remaining in the tonic.

The inclusion of episodes provided Bach with additional opportunities to move to new tonal areas and keys. As a result, Bach's treatment of the subject ventures into tonalities uncharted by Reinken's model. Example 2-16 compares measures 29 through 38 of Reinken's B-flat "Allegro" and Bach's B-flat fugue. For Reinken, these measures represent a recapitulation of the earlier bars 5-14. For Bach, however, these measures represent opportunities to explore new harmonic territory. With the aid of episodic development, Bach can position the subject in D minor and travel enough tonal distance to arrive at the next subject entry at bar 37 in G minor. And unlike Reinken's movement, Bach's fugue contains additional thematic entries in B-flat, C, and F major. It is evident that Reinken's seventeenth-century composing style, as noted by Wolff, did not allow for the placement of "episodes nor harmonic digressions."²³ On the other hand, Bach's ability

²³ Wolff, "Vivaldi's Compositional Art, Bach, and the Process of 'Musical Thinking,'" *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*, p. 70.

1

A

B.C.

4 6
2

6

6 6 6 4 3
3 3 3 8 7

4

3 5

6 6

6

6 4

1

B

Allegro

4

Example 2-14:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 6^{ta} in B-flat Major, "Allegro," mm. 1-6

B=Bach, Clavier Fugue in B-flat Major, BWV 954, mm. 1-6

13

A

B.C.

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

16

6 6 6 4 6

New episodic material

B

13

15

Tonic entry of fugue subject

Example 2-15:

A=Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 6^{ta} in B-flat Major, "Allegro," mm. 13-16

B=Bach, Clavier Fugue in B-flat Major, BWV 954, mm. 13-16

29

B.C.

5 6 5 6 5 6

31

4 6 6 5 4 4 5 7 5 6

4 1

34

5 6^b 6 6 6 6 6 6 6^b 6 6 6 6 3 4 5^b 5 6 6 6 6

2 3

37

6 5 6 5 6 6 6 6 6 4 6

Example 2-16A:

Reinken, *Hortus musicus*, Sonata 6^{ta} in B-flat Major, "Allegro," mm. 29-38

The image displays a musical score for a fugue, specifically measures 29 through 38. The score is written for a single melodic line, likely for a keyboard instrument, and is presented in a grand staff format with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats), and the time signature is common time (C). The music is characterized by a complex, rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, with frequent accidentals (sharps and naturals) indicating chromaticism. The score is divided into four systems, each beginning with a measure number: 29, 32, 35, and 38. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs, all set against a background of a consistent rhythmic accompaniment in the bass line.

Example 2-16B:
Bach, Clavier Fugue in B-flat Major, BWV 954, mm. 29-38

to expand upon Reinken's movement is derived from his "differentiation of thematic exposition and episode."²⁴

When measured against the other Reinken parodies, Bach's B-flat fugue appears to draw less from its Reinken model. But in the Fugue in A Major, BWV 950, for clavichord, Bach's reliance upon his Albinoni trio-sonata model is minimal compared to his other Reinken-based fugues. Although the Reinken and Albinoni originals are chronologically separated roughly by only seven years, the structure and harmonic direction present in the "Allegro" from Albinoni's Op. 1 No. 3 is clearly more fugal than that found in analogous movements from Reinken's *Hortus musicus*.

As in the Reinken "Allegro" movements, the contrapuntal motive of the "Allegro" from Albinoni's Op. 1 No. 3 is only presented in the tonic or dominant. And like its Reinken counterparts, the Albinoni "Allegro" contains numerous passages of voice exchange and double counterpoint. However, in a manner closer to Bach's fugal compositions and contrary to Reinken's movements, the subject of Albinoni's "Allegro" begins with an unaccompanied solo voice. In addition, Albinoni's "Allegro" is more harmonically diverse than similar movements appearing in Reinken's *Hortus musicus*. Two passages demonstrate Albinoni's tendency towards greater harmonic variety and episodic development.

After measure 13, Albinoni used a series of sequential patterns to modulate to F# minor (reached in measure 19) and then presented a transition back to A major for the return of the subject in bar 22 (Example 2-17). Albinoni took a similar approach in measures 25 through 37. In fact, bars 30 through 32 replicate bars 17 through 19 with

²⁴ Wolff, "Bach and Johann Adam Reinken...", p. 67.

octave displacement and voice exchange. Even bars 33 to 36 represent the same harmonic progression as measures 19 through 21. The difference in the later passage is that the harmonic rhythm is augmented so as to take place over twice the number of measures (Example 2-18).

At the same time, Albinoni's contrapuntal and harmonic development seems pale compared to that in Bach's parody of the "Allegro." Bach replicated the first two subject entrances as they appeared in Albinoni's movement. By bar 5, however, Bach introduces the first episode (Example 2-19), whereas Albinoni's first episode appears at bar 7, after the third entrance of the contrapuntal subject. While most of Albinoni's episodes are constructed from rhythmically syncopated harmonic suspensions and small units of sequential sixteenth-note figures, Bach's episodes are closely derived from material drawn from either the subject or the countersubject.

Example 2-20 shows Bach's forceful digression from his Albinoni model in the Fugue in A minor. Beginning at measure 48, as the subject appears in C-sharp minor in the alto voice, snippets from the subject appear in the bass. Bars 49-52 pose a hopping sixteenth-note motive against descending eighth notes. The episode continues as the contrapuntal material is transformed into a sequential series of voice exchanges, with eighths and sixteenths in the soprano and quarters tied to sixteenths in the alto. By measure 56, the subject reappears but this time in F# minor. This passage goes well beyond Albinoni's harmonic constructs.

Still, perhaps the greatest difference between the Albinoni movement and Bach's parody occurs at the end of the A-minor fugue. Unlike the movements from *Hortus musicus*, Albinoni's "Allegro" closes with new material that is clearly differentiated from

13

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

4 3 7 6# 7 6 7 6 7 #

16

7 6 7 7 # 7 6 7

19

6 4 3# 6 # 6 # 6 6 6

Example 2-17:
Albinoni, Trio Sonata Op. 1 No. 3 "Allegro," mm. 13-24

22

6# # 7 6# 6 4 3 9 6 4 3 8 3

Example 2-17,
continued

25

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

9 6 4 3 # 6 6 # 6# # 6 6 5 #

8

28

4 3 6 7 6 7 # (6) 7

31

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

cresc.

7 6 7 # # 6 6 # 6 6

Example 2-18:
Albinoni, Trio Sonata Op.1 No. 3 "Allegro," mm. 25-36

34

6 6 6

Example 2-18,
continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is A major, indicated by two sharps (F# and C#). The time signature is common time (C). The first system begins with a measure number '1' above the treble staff. The second system begins with a measure number '4' above the treble staff. The third system begins with a measure number '7' above the treble staff. The music features intricate rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth-note runs and chords, with some notes marked with 'z' for accents.

Example 2-19:
Bach, Fugue in A Major, BWV 950, mm. 1-9

The image displays a musical score for a fugue in A major, BWV 950 by Johann Sebastian Bach. The score is presented in four systems, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system begins at measure 48, the second at measure 51, the third at measure 54, and the fourth at measure 57. The music is written in a complex, contrapuntal style characteristic of Bach's fugues, featuring intricate rhythmic patterns and harmonic relationships. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is not explicitly shown but is typically 3/4 for this piece. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings, all rendered in black ink on a white background.

Example 2-20:
Bach, Fugue in A Major, BWV 950, mm. 48-57

the rest of the movement. While Reinken's movements seem to end either with the close of the subject or the countersubject, the final measures of the Albinoni "Allegro" are signaled by an oscillating figure in the violins sounding above a bass drone (Example 2-21). Bach's expanded treatment of these culminating bars again underscores his recognition of differences among musical idioms – in this case distinguishing between that of trio sonata textures and of keyboard genres. While retaining Albinoni's bass drone for bars 88 - 89, Bach uses these measures to set up the presentation of new closing material. The final ten measures of the A-minor fugue consist of several keyboard flourishes, two of which are supported by pedal points. Such writing would have been uncharacteristic of Italian instrumental trio sonatas, but is easily recognized as characteristic of eighteenth-century North German keyboard music.

Bach's reworkings of Reinken and Albinoni works show how he creatively added his own stamp to the music of an older basso-continuo style. It should also be noted that certain contrapuntal elements considered the hallmark of Bach's mature musical style must have evolved as a direct result of his youthful parodies. Bach clearly learned through borrowing that by establishing contrapuntal material at the opening of a piece in a subject-countersubject relationship, much of the remaining structure could be developed by distributing this material over multiple voices and repeating certain contrapuntal sequences.

However, at some point Bach discovered new potential within this structural formula. The exchange of such subject-countersubject pairs was crucial to Reinken's "Allegro" structures. From this, Bach must have deduced that the existence of such contrapuntal pairs meant that the material was in fact invertible. Thus, as Diagram 2-3

45

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vlc.

B.C.

A

9 8 6 7 6 6 4 # 6 4 # 6 5 # 6 5 # 4 3
5 3 5 3 4 3 4 3

B

Example 2-21:

A= closing of Albinoni, Trio Sonata Op. 1 No. 3, "Allegro," mm. 45-48

B= closing of Bach, Fugue in A Major, BWV 950, mm. 90-99

demonstrates, the order of the voice exchange in Reinken's "Allegro" from the C-major trio sonata could be applied to a two-voiced structure like a two-part keyboard invention. The problem remained that Reinken's use of invertible counterpoint for structural extension tended toward constant reiteration of material in several voices in an uninteresting, repetitive way.

One alternative, seen in Bach's Albinoni models, was to vary sequential contrapuntal pairs by moving them to different tonal areas. The other option for Bach was implicit within the notion of invertible counterpoint. If the exchange of counterpoint throughout the three voices found in the trio sonatas of Reinken and Albinoni could be just as easily accomplished with only two voices, the order of the voice exchange is constrained and one is forced to move to new tonalities with greater frequency in order to maintain variety. Bach could therefore retain contrapuntal interest over longer stretches of time and avoid the stasis found in repeated sequential passages. Thus Bach's prolific use throughout his career of voice exchange and invertible counterpoint must have been stimulated by what he observed in the second movements of Italian trio sonatas.

Bach's early musical borrowings from his predecessors reflect two tendencies. The first, mentioned by C.P.E. Bach, was Bach's intense youthful interest in contrapuntal writing, particularly in fugue construction. The second was Bach's proclivity for drawing ideas for keyboard works from instrumental chamber music. Even though Bach left identifiable elements of the original piece intact, it is not difficult to recognize the creativity of his borrowing methods. In most instances, Bach's reworkings update the original material in terms of both style and genre. Therefore, we may conclude that when Bach borrowed ideas from his predecessors, he also recognized an untapped musical potential present in the original sources.

We have demonstrated that, as Bach explored chamber sonatas – particularly those of Reinken and Albinoni – he realized how some of the fundamental stylistic features of certain keyboard genres were latent in the essential components of instrumental trio-sonata movements. For example, the characteristic building block of fugues — canonic imitation of a subject — was also present within the second movements of the typical trio sonata. The same could be said for the opening slow movements of the trio sonata, where Bach found the rather sparse melodic and harmonic elements suitable for ornamentation and perfect material for improvisatory toccata-like treatment. In some sense, Bach's early treatment of these two movement-types looks forward to the types of preludes and fugues found in the pages of his *Well-Tempered Clavier*.²⁵

Perspectives on Bach's Late Period

For quite some time scholars have had to derive the chronology of Bach's later years, like that of his early musical career, from somewhat anecdotal and incomplete facts. The image of Bach's last twenty years typically focused on the composer's strict compositional interests in *stile antico* and preferences for composing instrumental rather than vocal works. Several scholarly interpretations have contributed to this view.

Bach's late works include a series of highly contrapuntal, cyclical works, such as the *Musical Offering*, the *Goldberg Variations*, and the *Art of the Fugue*. These large and encyclopedic keyboard collections are often used to exemplify the aging Bach's increased emphasis on theoretical and contrapuntal instrumental music. In addition, many scholars viewed the *B-Minor Mass* as the only large scale vocal work Bach composed during his

²⁵ Alfred Dürr, in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen and Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (Leipzig and Kassel, 1954-) *Kritischer Bericht* Ser.5, Bd. 6, Pt.1.

last years. In fact, the *stile antico* writing present in the *B-Minor Mass* was cited as evidence that Bach, in his last years, had little interest in the emergent *galant* styles found in the music of his sons and their contemporaries.

The comments of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg and Bach's son Emanuel certainly did not help researchers in building an accurate picture of Bach's late style. In a posthumous edition of the *Art of the Fugue*, published in 1752, Marpurg explained why the work remained incomplete:

Nothing could be more regrettable than that, through his eye disease, and his death shortly thereafter, he was prevented from finishing and publishing the work himself. His illness surprised him in the midst of the working out of the last fugue... But we are proud to think that the four-voiced chorale fantasy added here, which the deceased in his blindness dictated *ex tempore* to one of his friends, will make up for this lack...²⁶

In a 1780's Hamburg edition of the last fugue from the *Art of the Fugue*, C.P.E. Bach added to the validity of Marpurg's account, noting: "While working on this fugue, in which the Name BACH appears in the countersubject, the author died."²⁷ With these words as supporting evidence, some scholars inferred that the *Art of the Fugue* was therefore Bach's final work. It was easy for nineteenth-century Bach biographers to formulate the rather Romantic vision of a frail, blind genius dictating the *Art of the Fugue* from his deathbed as his final act of composition.

New information, however, has clarified the events and activities of Bach's later years, in particular his last decade between 1740 and 1750. Although both the *Goldberg Variations* and the *Musical Offering* do in fact date from Bach's last period, recent studies by Wolff indicate that the *Art of the Fugue*, contrary to Emanuel's comments, was

²⁶ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 374, p. 376.

²⁷ C.P.E. Bach's note appears in the autograph score of the *Art of the Fugue*. Cited in Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 285, p. 260.

roughly ten years in the making.²⁸ And, as additional manuscript and watermark studies conducted by Yoshitake Kobayashi point out, Bach still maintained an interest in a variety of genres during his last fifteen years.²⁹ Wolff has also noted the broad spectrum of works that Bach composed between 1730 and his death in 1750. During Bach's last twenty years, he added to his corpus of published keyboard compositions by completing the third part of the *Clavier-Übung* and the *Schübler Chorales*. Numerous chamber works, such as flute and gamba sonatas, lute suites, and harpsichord concerti, also stem from Bach's last period.³⁰

Although Kobayashi's research indicates that Bach composed fewer new sacred vocal works in his last twenty years, it is nevertheless clear that Bach actually invested considerable effort in reworking movements from cantatas he wrote at a much earlier point. Works revised by Bach in later life include the cantata for St. John's Day, *Freue dich, erlöste Schar*, BWV 30, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, BWV 80, and the wedding cantata *Dem Gerechten muß das Licht immer wieder aufgehen*, BWV 195. Also, Bach arranged the motet *O Jesu Christ, mein Lebens Licht*, BWV 118, for wind instruments in 1736 but then returned to the work in 1746 to rearrange it for strings. Another example of Bach's revisions from 1746 can be found in the oboe part added to the fourth movement of *Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren*, BWV 137, first composed in 1725.

Of course, the *B-Minor Mass* stands as the most obvious example of Bach's editing and borrowing methods during the late period. In the past, scholars had used the Mass's parody components as evidence that Bach lost interest in sacred vocal music as he

²⁸ Wolff, "Toward a Definition of the Last Period of Bach's Work," *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*, pp. 265-281.

²⁹ Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kompositions- und Aufführungs-tätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 74 (1988), pp. 7-72.

³⁰ Wolff, "Toward a Definition of the Last Period of Bach's Work," pp. 265-281.

aged. Past critical evaluations of Bach's borrowings argued that he compiled the Mass from earlier works because he was pressed for time and therefore took less care than usual in composing the work. In truth, Bach had begun compiling elements of the Mass perhaps as early as 1743 and was apparently still at it as late as October of 1749.³¹ If Bach was indeed pressed for time and had little compositional concern when employing parody, why did he spend more than five years on one work?

The aging Bach also continued his earlier youthful practices of copying the works of others. In a letter to Forkel, C.P.E. Bach indicated that his father, in his later years, "esteemed highly: Fux, Caldara, Handel, Keiser, Hasse, both Grauns, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda, and in general everything that was worthy of esteem in Berlin and Dresden."³² Kobayashi's work has provided some verification of Emanuel Bach's statement; recent watermark studies indicate that sometime between mid-1740 and 1742, Bach copied out the *Magnificat in C* of Antonio Caldara as well as the *Missa sine nomine* of Palestrina.³³ Therefore, contrary to Smend's beliefs (cited in Chapter 1), Bach's interest in musical borrowing may have increased after 1730.

While those who characterize Bach's last decade with an increased interest in *stile antico* may cite Bach's copying of both Caldara and Palestrina as positive proof, other evidence illustrates that the mature Bach simultaneously developed an interest in the evolving *galant* styles found in Berlin and Dresden.³⁴ In August of 1730, Bach expressed

³¹ Wolff, "The Agnus Dei of the B Minor Mass: Parody and New Composition Reconciled," *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*, pp. 332-339.

³² Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 395, p. 400.

³³ Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke..." See also Kirsten Beisswenger, "Bachs Eingriffe in Werke fremder Komponisten: Beobachtungen an den Notenhandschriften aus seiner Bibliothek unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der lateinischen Kirchenmusik," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 77 (1991) pp. 127-158.

³⁴ Robert Marshall has argued that Bach's skillfulness accounts for why some of the more *galant* elements in Bach's music have been overlooked: "Either the works exhibiting the light, *galant* traits...contain them abundantly and obviously and are accordingly dismissed...as relatively marginal and inconsequential

his opinions on the current state of church music in Leipzig in a letter entitled "Short but Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music, with Certain Modest Reflections on the Decline of the Same."³⁵ As interpreted and summarized by Robert L. Marshall, Bach's letter makes three main points:

(1) that musical style and taste have changed – for the better, with the obvious implication that Bach associates himself with the latest developments; (2) that German musicians are uniquely expected to be at home in all of the principal national musical idioms of the time; and (3) that the state of music at the court of Dresden is particularly enviable.³⁶

Bach must have been quite familiar with Dresden's musical activities; as early as 1717 he had traveled to Dresden for a keyboard contest against the French organist Louis Marchand.³⁷ Bach would eventually make subsequent trips: in 1725 and 1731 for organ recitals at the Church of St. Sophia, and again in 1736 for the same purpose at the Church of Our Lady. Bach's son Wilhelm Friedemann, who was appointed organist of the Church of St. Sophia on June 23, 1733, was foremost among Bach's numerous personal contacts in Dresden. The Dresden lutenists Sylvius Leopold Weiss and Johann Kropffgans concertized with Bach in 1739, and in 1741 Bach traveled to Dresden again to visit with Count Keyserlingk, the Russian ambassador to the Dresden court.

In addition, Bach probably developed a similar type of familiarity with the Berlin music scene. Akin to his brother Wilhelm in Dresden, C.P.E. Bach received a musical appointment in 1738 as the harpsichordist to the crown prince of Prussia in Berlin. When

products of [Bach's] pen, or the new elements are so naturally integrated and assimilated into Bach's mature and peculiarly individual style...that they have attracted almost no attention to themselves at all – a testimony itself to the success of Bach's effort." Robert L. Marshall "Bach the Progressive," *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), p. 33.

³⁵ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 151, pp. 145-151.

³⁶ Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," p. 25.

³⁷ The first reference of this trip is an account by Johann Abraham Birnbaum dated 1739. See Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 67, pp. 79-80. For a study of the history and validity of this account, see Werner Breig, "Bach und Marchand in Dresden: Eine überlieferungskritische Studie," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 84 (1998),

Emanuel's employer, himself an accomplished flutist and composer, became King Frederick II, Berlin became a cultural center, boasting such important composers as Quantz, Benda, and Graun. While C.P.E. Bach must have certainly kept his father abreast of Berlin's musical activities, Sebastian witnessed them during his well-documented trip to Potsdam and Berlin in 1747.

The musical trends of Dresden that appealed to Bach during his later years were indicative of newer *style galant* qualities evolving in European music around 1720. As a younger generation of musicians found the uninterrupted stream of music typical of late Baroque counterpoint too rigid and intellectual, a new musical style arose, emphasizing symmetry and simplicity. *Style galant* typically comprised homophonic textures such as unisons and parallel thirds or sixths, short embellishments like appoggiaturas, and separate melodic phrases identified by periodic cadences. While the late Baroque ideal sought a single emotional quality maintained throughout a composition, the *galant* valued a wider range of contrasting emotions. In addition, the *galant* style displayed a reduced amount of difficult melodic intervals and harmonic variety, a greater amount of lively rhythmic dance patterns but slowly paced harmonic rhythms, a subservient bass line beneath a melody-dominated setting, and "clearly articulated and almost arithmetically balanced phrases."³⁸

In his reevaluation of Bach's composing tendencies, Marshall has posited that Bach's inclination toward incorporating the newer musical styles really began with his increasingly unsatisfying musical position in Leipzig:

...from about 1730 on...Bach began to expand his professional activities...and also...within his creative work, to expand his stylistic

pp. 7-18.

³⁸ Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," pp. 33-34.

horizons – in all geographic and historical directions, really – including the direction of the most recent developments emanating from Italy and permeating not only opera and instrumental music but sacred music as well.³⁹

As support for his observations, Marshall has noted that Bach incorporated *galant* styles in several works, which date near or after 1730. Among Bach's cantatas, *galant* elements can be found in the Peasant and Coffee cantatas, BWV 211 and 212 respectively; *Geschwinde, geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde*, BWV 201; *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, BWV 51; and *Non sa che sia dolore*, BWV 209. Marshall has even argued that the "Christe eleison" from the *B-Minor Mass* is orchestrated in a *galant* manner:

The means Bach uses to portray the "gentle affections" in the "Christe eleison" of the B-minor Mass all belong to the vocabulary of the *galant* style: the unison violins, the frequent, sweet parallel thirds or sixths between the two voices (emphasized here by the long, drawn-out first note), then the mixtures of rhythms in the vocal theme (especially the mixture of duplets and triplets) and the feminine cadence with its subdivided downbeat and appoggiatura embellishment.⁴⁰

Wolff has also observed *galant* traits, like those identified by Marshall in the *B-Minor Mass*, within the *Musical Offering*. According to Wolff's study, the interludes appearing in the three-part ricercar treatment of the royal theme as well as various passages in the third movement of the trio sonata demonstrate Bach's ability "to develop and expand typical motivic elements of the *galant* and *empfindsame Stil*."⁴¹ Another work that epitomizes Bach's ability to fuse the musical styles of the present and future is *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083, a parody of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*. Let us look at this somewhat neglected arrangement.

³⁹ Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," p. 31.

⁴⁰ Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," pp. 41-42.

⁴¹ Wolff, "New Research on the Musical Offering," *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*, p. 254.

Bach's parody of Pergolesi's Stabat Mater

The genesis of the *Stabat mater* and Bach's *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* parody is a study in contrast. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-36) was educated at the conservatory in Naples. As choirmaster of the Church of Loreto, he composed a large body of church music, a violin concerto, and chamber music. Pergolesi gained universal recognition in 1733 with performances of his comic opera *La serva padrona*. But much about Pergolesi's short life still remains unclear, and many of Pergolesi's contemporaries have added to this uncertainty. Both publishers and composers took advantage of Pergolesi's fame, crediting compositions to Pergolesi so as to increase their chance of publication and sales. It has yet to be determined whether or not numerous compositions attributed to Pergolesi are really his works.

The *Stabat mater* has been preserved in an autograph manuscript that Pergolesi gave to Giuseppe di Majo (1697-1771), the organist of the Royal Chapel in Naples.⁴² Although we lack a precise composition date for the *Stabat mater*, the work was probably commissioned in 1734 by the Archconfraternity of the Knights of the Virgin of Sorrows of Naples for weekly performances. Pergolesi's first biographer, Marchese di Villarosa, claims that Pergolesi composed the *Stabat mater* in March of 1736, shortly before his death. Legend has it that Pergolesi completed the *Stabat mater* "in a last surge of strength upon his deathbed,"⁴³ not unlike the manner that Bach was reported to have worked on the *Art of the Fugue*. The dating of Bach's composition of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* is even more unclear. The watermark of the autograph *particell* or short score suggests a

⁴² Francesco Degrada, "Lo Stabat Mater di Pergolesi e la parafrasi Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden di Johann Sebastian Bach," *Studi pergolesiani/ Pergolesi studies* (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1988), pp. 155-184.

⁴³ Marchese di Villarosa, "Lettera biografica intorno alla patria ed alla vita di Giovanni Battista Pergolese," (Naples, 1831). Cited in Helmut Hücke, preface to Giovanni Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater für Sopran, Alt, Streicher und Basso continuo* ed. by Helmut Hücke and Martin Lutz (Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel,

dating between 1746 and 1747,⁴⁴ but instrumental parts for Bach's parody written in the hand of Johann Christoph Altnickol, Bach's son-in-law and student, point to a wider time span of 1744 to 1748.⁴⁵

The text of Pergolesi's work comes from a medieval Latin poem of unknown date and authorship, though it has been ascribed to various authors, including Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Pope Innocent III, and Jacopone da Todi. The poem, describing the sorrows of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the Cross, gradually came into liturgical use during the fourteenth century and was set polyphonically by Renaissance composers such as Josquin des Prés in the fifteenth century and Giovanni da Palestrina in the following century. In 1727, the *Stabat mater* was admitted in the Roman Missal as a sequence for the two feasts of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was for these ceremonies, held every Friday in March at the Franciscan church of Saint Luigi di Palazzo, that Pergolesi wrote the *Stabat mater*.

The model for Pergolesi's composition could have been the *Stabat mater* of Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725). Scarlatti was probably trained in Rome under the Italian oratorio composer Giacomo Carissimi. Known primarily for his operas, Scarlatti was also an assistant choirmaster at the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome from 1703 to 1713. Although Scarlatti lived most of his life in Rome, he lived in Naples from 1723 until his death and was probably commissioned, like Pergolesi, to compose a *Stabat mater* for religious services there.

The commission from the same church for the same work from two different composers suggests that Pergolesi's work was intended to replace that of Alessandro

1987).

⁴⁴ Emil Platen, "Eine Pergolesi-Bearbeitung Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 48 (1961), pp. 35-48.

⁴⁵ Alfred Dürr, "Neues über Bachs Pergolesi-Bearbeitung," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 54 (1968), pp. 90-100.

Scarlatti. In addition, the similarities between Scarlatti's and Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* indicate that Pergolesi must have been well aware of Scarlatti's work and of the commission's importance. Both Scarlatti's and Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* are scored for soprano and alto voices, strings, and figured basso continuo, the typical church ensemble of eighteenth-century Italy. This instrumentation, characteristic of Neapolitan settings for sacred vocal music, differs from the larger choral settings in Rome of the same work. For example, Scarlatti's son Domenico composed a ten-part setting for the Capella in Rome while he was employed as *maestro* between 1715 and 1719. Pergolesi and Scarlatti used the same Latin text and marked musical numbers according to divisions of poetic stanzas. Like Scarlatti's arias, Pergolesi's are binary in form and both *Stabat maters* conclude with a lively contrapuntal "Amen" section.⁴⁶

Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* quickly became a famous work in the eighteenth century. Already by 1739, the piece was hailed by Charles de Brosses (1709-77) as "the masterwork of Latin music."⁴⁷ In 1797 the piece was still considered "a masterpiece of invention, of taste, of harmony" by Vincenzo Manfredini.⁴⁸ Unlike any of Bach's sacred vocal compositions, Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* was released in numerous editions throughout the eighteenth century.

In contrast, the reasons for Bach's composition of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, the author of the German text, and the circumstances of its performance remain unknown. The text is not a translation of the *Stabat mater* but rather a German paraphrase of Psalm

⁴⁶ Hermine Williams, "The Stabat Mater dolorosa: A Comparison of Settings by Alessandro Scarlatti and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi," *Studi pergolesiani/ Pergolesi studies* (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1988), pp. 144-154.

⁴⁷ "... son *Stabat Mater*, comme le chef-d'œuvre de la musique latine." Charles de Brosses *Lettres Familières sur L'Italie* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1931), II p. 366.

⁴⁸ Vincenzo Manfredini, *Regole armoniche o sieno precetti ragionati per apprendere la musica* (Venezia, 1797), p. 184.

51, *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* based upon Martin Luther's *Gott, sey mir Gnedig nach deiner Güte*, a German version of the Latin *Miserere*.

The great popularity of the *Stabat mater*, however, made it a perfect candidate for parody. J.A. Hiller reworked the popular Pergolesi piece twice. His first arrangement, published in 1774, was for keyboard and the second, published in Leipzig in 1776 with a textual paraphrase by Klopstock, was touted as "improved in harmony, with added parts for oboes and flutes and arranged for four voices."⁴⁹ Still other arrangers used sections of the Pergolesi work as part of their own compositions. But Bach appears to have been the first to parody the complete *Stabat mater*,⁵⁰ although his arrangement was forgotten for nearly two centuries: the first reference by any Bach scholar to *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* dates from 1946,⁵¹ and the first scholarly research on the work was carried out in 1961 by Emil Platen.⁵² Alfred Dürr, who discovered the performance parts, subsequently updated Platen's analysis of the short score in 1968.⁵³

Further research by Kenneth Nott has posited the events leading to the two sources of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*. Using Nott's labels, we will call the autograph partcell in Bach's hand Source A. This manuscript (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Mus. ms. 30199*) contains in short score the vocal parts, an unfigured but realized thorough-bass line, and occasional violin cues. Source B will designate the performance parts in Altnickol's hand. This source (Staatsbibliothek zu

⁴⁹ Magda Marx-Weber, "Parodie als Beispiel dichterischer Anpassung an Musik: Klopstocks deutscher Text zu Pergolesis *Stabat Mater*," *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), pp. 269-286.

⁵⁰ Helmut Hucke, preface to Giovanni Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater für Sopran, Alt, Streicher und Basso continuo*. See also Jacob De Ruiter, "Wahre Kirchenmusik oder Heuchelei? Zur Rezeption des *Stabat Mater* von Pergolesi in Deutschland bis 1820," *Die Musikforschung* 43/ 1 (1990), pp. 1-15.

⁵¹ Platen, "Eine Pergolesi-Bearbeitung Bachs," p. 35.

⁵² Platen, "Eine Pergolesi-Bearbeitung Bachs," pp. 35-48.

⁵³ Dürr, "Neues über Bachs Pergolesi-Bearbeitung," pp. 90-100.

Berlin, *Mus. ms. 17155/16*) consists of ten performance parts: soprano, alto, violino primo, violino primo ripieno, violino secondo, violino secondo ripieno, viola, violone, organo, and cembalo. In Source B, Bach's hand appears only in the figures for the organ part.

The lineage of the sources, as proposed by Nott, is given in Diagram 2-4. Source X in Nott's diagram is the hypothetical score from which Altnickol may have produced the performance parts. Nott has suggested that Source X was the full score of the Pergolesi *Stabat mater* copied and altered by Bach to add to his library of Latin church music. Bach then later arranged Source X with a German text setting after determining the music appropriate for Leipzig church services. It is also possible that the "rather florid viola part" found in Source X is evidence that this full score may have been compiled instead by one of Bach's close associates, for example, Zelenka in Dresden.⁵⁴ Even though this parody has been reconstructed via two extant sources, these manuscripts do not necessarily correspond with each other. Both Dürr and Nott note that the orchestral parts contain a fully notated F-major repeat of the final F-minor "Amen" movement, whereas the full score shows no evidence of this performance requirement. The performance parts are not written in the same key, for the violin, viola, and vocal parts are in F minor, the cello, violone, and harpsichord parts are in E minor, and finally the

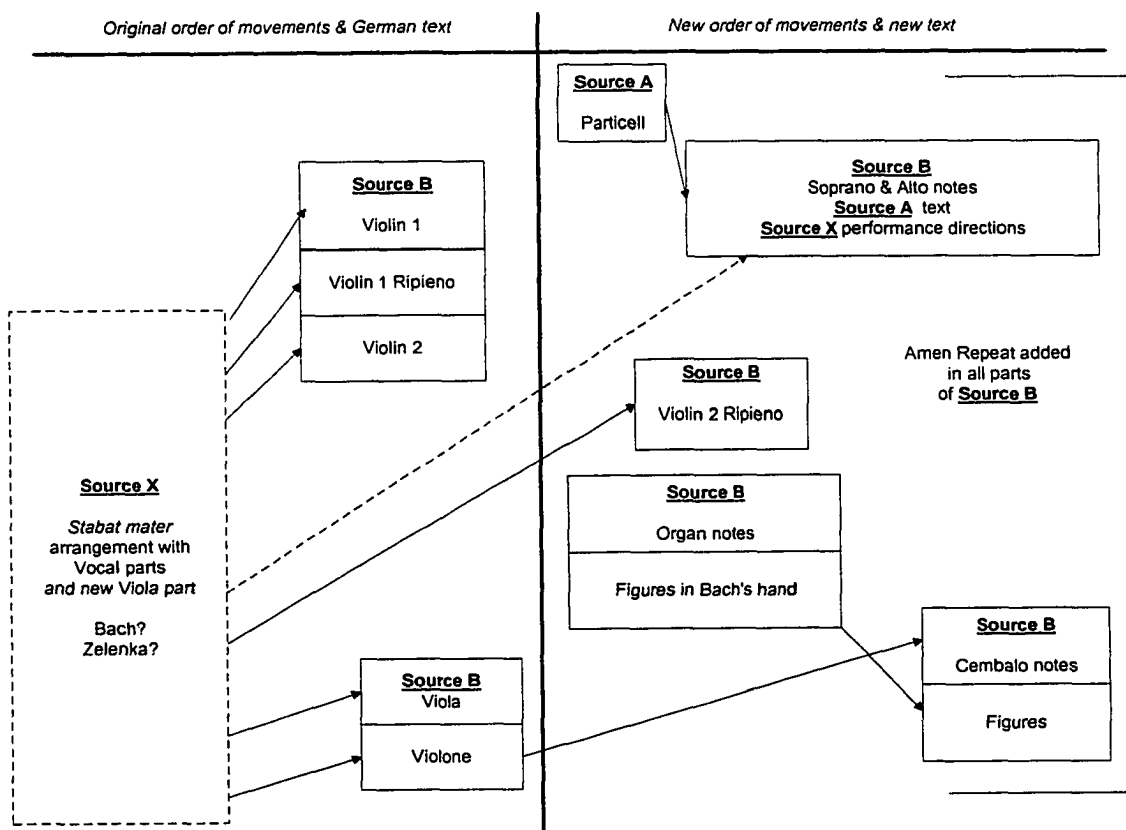
⁵⁴ "In a recent correspondence, Dr. Kirsten Beisswenger of the Johann-Sebastian-Bach Institut, Göttingen, has proposed... that the full score from which Altnickol copied the parts was compiled by someone other than Bach. Wolfgang Horn, in his book *Die Dresdener Hofkirchenmusik 1720-1745*, shows that Zelenka fashioned the orchestration for several Italian pieces in the Dresden repertory and that several of them are characterized by a rather florid viola part. In view of this fact the viola part found in the Altnickol manuscript might well have been the work of Zelenka, not Bach. The evidence is, however, inconclusive, leaving, for the time being, the question as to who wrote the viola part in doubt." Kenneth Nott, "Tilge, höchster, meine Sünden: Observations on Bach and the style gallant," *Bach: The journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 23 /1 (spring-summer 1992), p. 6.

organ in D minor. Also, some of the performance parts do not reflect the movement order of the score.⁵⁵

Even though Pergolesi's work is in keeping with Baroque orchestration, the musical style within the *Stabat mater* typifies many trends in the developing *galant* styles of the mid-eighteenth century. In a majority of the movements from the *Stabat mater*, the first and second violins either play in unison, or they double the vocal parts while the viola typically doubles the bass at the octave. And Bach's orchestration of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* demonstrates how closely he attempted to work within the confines of Pergolesi's composition. Still, compared with Bach's highly sophisticated scorings, Pergolesi's instrumental writing sounds relatively spare.

⁵⁵ To explain these differences in key signatures, Nott suggests: "Had all of the strings and the harpsichord played in f (the key of Pergolesi's original), then the organ part would have been in e-flat minor, a difficult key for a continuo player. If the violin parts had been written in e minor, some notes would have been below the range of the open g-string, requiring considerable re-writing of the parts. The solution, then, seems to have been to tune the violins and viola a half-step lower than *Kammerton* pitch, while having the upper strings play from parts written in f minor. The lower strings and harpsichord would have been tuned to *Kammerton* pitch and would have played from the parts in e. The organ, tuned a step higher than *Kammerton*, would have played from a part in d. The result would have been a performance in e minor. Having the upper strings play from parts in f also relieved the copyist of transposing a large number of parts." Nott, "Tilge, höchster, meine Sünden...", p. 13.

Diagram 2-4: Possible stemma of sources for Bach's *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* (after Nott⁵⁶)



⁵⁶ Nott, "Tilge, höchster, meine Sünden...", p. 16.

For example, at measure 26 of "Vidit suum dulcem natum" from the *Stabat mater*, Pergolesi composed only three independent lines (Example 2-22). The first violin doubles the vocal line *colla parte* while the viola doubles the bass at the octave. This leaves the second violin line as the most individual of the five lines. Compare this passage with Bach's arrangement of the music, "Sieh, du willst die Wahrheit." Bach's second violin and viola parts fill out the harmony and provide rhythmic contrast to the other parts. Reminiscent of his earlier alterations of slow trio-sonata movements from Reinken, Bach also greatly embellished the vocal line, making it more florid. Bach's vocal line, really an ornamented version of Pergolesi's original, creates additional counterpoint with the surrounding instrumental accompaniment.

In bars 28-29, the half notes of Pergolesi's measures are hidden by Bach's use of an arpeggiation figure in the voice, which breaks what had been unisons between the voice and first violin in Pergolesi's version. In addition, when Bach provides the continuo with a fuller figuration and separates it from the viola, he also creates another independent instrumental line. Bach's Pergolesi parody, like the borrowings of his early years, illustrates an ability to find new contrapuntal potential in his musical models while still retaining many of the essential qualities of the original work. Therefore, in contrast to Pergolesi, the instrumental writing in Bach's *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* is richer.

In several instances, Bach's fuller orchestration appears in conjunction with modifications to Pergolesi's sequential passages. For example, in the seventh movement "Eja mater fons amoris," Pergolesi uses a five-part texture that can be reduced to two

26

Vln. I *dolce* *forte*

Vln. II *dolce* *forte*

Vla. *dolce* *forte*

tum, dum e - mi - - - sit spi - ri - tum, Vi - - - dit

B.C. *dolce* *forte*

7^b
5

29

forte

forte

forte

su - um dul - - - - cem

forte

7
5

Example 2-22A:
Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "Vidit suum dulcem," mm. 26-29

26

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

ben hast du selbst, hast du selbst mir of - - fen -

6 4 2 4 2 6 6 5 4 #

28

f *p* *f*

f *p* *f*

f *p* *f*

bart, die ge-hei-men Weis - heits - ga - ben, die ge-hei-men Weis - heits -

f *p* *f*

7^b 5 7 5 6

Example 2-22B:
 Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083,
 "Sieh, du willst die Wahrheit," mm. 26-29

independent voices. In measures 73 through 79, the first violin doubles the voice at the octave, and the second violin, viola, and continuo play together in unison octaves. The combination of unison and octave doubling with drones and repeated melodic motives creates a sense of harmonic and melodic stasis (Example 2-23). In order to add variety to this sequential passage, but still retain Pergolesi's harmonic rhythm, Bach separated previously joined lines. Bach isolated the first violin drone at the top, leaving the vocal line to follow the rhythmic path presented in the continuo line. While the second violin still doubles the continuo at the octave, Bach varied Pergolesi's musical sequence by creating an independent instrumental line for the viola. Bach's new viola line, with mixtures of sixteenth, eighth, and quarter note values, helps to create new levels of rhythmic activity with the second violin, voice and continuo. In this way, the viola also adds to both the counterpoint and harmony.

Example 2-24 demonstrates another passage of Pergolesi's sequential writing found at bar 67 in "Sancta mater, istud agas." The sequenced melodic material is distributed between two vocal lines as the viola again doubles the continuo line and the first violin the vocal lines, while the second violin remains independent. However, Bach again found the opportunity to create a richer texture. Viewing the first vocal line as a fugal subject, Bach extended it so that it would act as a countersubject to the imitative entrance of the second vocal line. As before, Bach's melodic interplay between the two vocal lines adds more counterpoint and rhythmic interest to the music. Bach also altered the rhythmic pattern of the viola line so that it no longer doubles the "unassuming

73

Vln. I
dolce assai

Vln. II
dolce assai

Vla.
dolce assai

fac, ut te - - - cum lu - - - ge - - - am,

B.C.
dolce assai

A

73

Vln. I
p

Vln. II
p

Vla.
p

wenn der I - sop mich - be - sprengt,

B.C.
p

6 6 6 7 4 6 6 6 7 4 6 6 6 7 6 6 -
5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 4

B

Example 2-23:

A=Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "Ejo mater fons amoris," mm. 73-79

B=Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083

"Laß mich Freud und Wonne," mm. 73-79

67

Vln. I *dolce*

Vln. II *dolce*

Vla. *dolce*

Vir - - - go vir - gi - num prae - - - la - ra,

B.C.

6 4 6 7

70

fac me

mi - - - hi jam non sis - - - a - ma - ra, fac me

6 7 6 4

Example 2-24A:
Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "Sancta mater, istud agas," mm. 67-72

67

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

p

p

p

p

Laß, o til-ger, o Til-ger

6 5 5 6^b 7^b 6 5 6

4 4

69

mei-ner Sün-den, al-le Blut-schuld gar ver-schwin-den,

Laß, o Til-ger, o

6 7^b 6 6 7 6

5 5

Example 2-24B:
 Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083,
 "Schaue nicht," mm. 67-72

71

laß, o Til - ger mei - ner Sün - - - den, al - - - le

Til - - - ger mei - - - ner Sün - den, al - - - le

5 6 6 7 6 6 7 4 6

5 5 6 5

Example 2-24B,
continued

thumping of repeated notes" – the *galant* quality mentioned by Marshall⁵⁷ – found in the continuo line, instead punctuating the downbeats at an octave above the bass.

While these examples display how Bach retained much of his earlier borrowing methods late in life, there are additional issues to consider regarding his use of text. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, many Bach scholars have focused on Bach's approach to vocal parodies and his use of music to portray the meaning of the associated lyrics. Like Werner Neumann, researchers have sought ways to classify Bach's approach to these vocal parodies. In his survey of Bach's parodies of numerous recitatives, arias, and chorales, Neumann discerned two different types of Bach vocal parody procedures. The first, designated as poetic parody, concerns the similar music appearing with lyrics newly constructed to match the poetic qualities – meter, rhyme scheme, and stanzas – of the model movement. Setting this new text typically involved numerous alterations to the music found in the parody source. The second, compositional parody, involved setting a new pre-existent text to pre-existent music. This typically meant that the musical parody source would undergo significant structural modifications in order to fit both the poetry and *Affekt* of the new text.⁵⁸

Because the lyrics of Bach's parody closely echo several elements of those in the Pergolesi model, according to Werner Neumann's categories of Bach's parodies *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* falls into that of poetic parody. Pergolesi's Latin poetry consists of strophes with three verses. The verses of eight syllables each are usually trochaic in meter and each strophe is built from a rhyming pattern of AAB. Between strophes, the

⁵⁷ Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," p. 34.

⁵⁸ Werner Neumann, "Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahren," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 51 (1965), pp. 63-85.

rhyming pattern of the Latin text is AABCCB. The 20 strophes of Bach's German lyrics in *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* match both the metric scheme and rhyme order of Pergolesi's Latin text. Table 2-3 compares, for example, the rhythmic meter and rhyme present in the text of the opening verses.

Bach's unidentified lyricist took special care in constructing the poetry, since the German text strictly follows both the tercet grouping of the Latin text and its corresponding rhyme scheme, AAB. Given that Bach's text clearly followed the syllabic and poetic pattern of Pergolesi's lyrics, Bach could therefore easily adapt a major portion of Pergolesi's music. And as Kenneth Nott has noted, to make parody viable, the parody text must reflect the meaning or *Affekt* of the original.⁵⁹ Since *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* is a paraphrase of the Miserere, this is generally true of Bach's German text; the pathos of Pergolesi's Latin lyrics is similarly expressed in the wish for redemption found in Bach's lyrics. Under these circumstances, Bach could have just substituted the Latin syllables with the appropriate German ones.

But Bach's goal could not have been merely to replace Pergolesi's text with equivalent German words, for his arrangement points to more thoughtful procedures. The tenth movement of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, which sets the eleventh verse, is modeled after the eleventh movement of the *Stabat mater*. But with requests for forgiveness present in the meaning of the text of the eleventh verse, Bach recognized the problem of setting this portion of the German poem with the joyful B-flat major music from Pergolesi's eleventh movement. While Pergolesi had set his eleventh movement with two tercets, Bach avoided an inappropriate combination of textual meaning and key

⁵⁹ Nott, "Tilge, höchster, meine Sünden...", p. 7.

Table 2-3: Comparison of meter and rhyme in texts of Pergolesi's <i>Stabat mater</i> and Bach's <i>Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden</i>	
<i>Stabat mater</i>	<i>Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden</i> (<i>Psalm 51</i>)
<p>— — — — — — — — — — Sta-bat ma-ter do-lo-ro-sa</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — iux-ta cru-cem la-cri-mo-sa</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — dum pen-de-bat fi-li-us.</p>	<p>— — — — — — — — — — Til-ge, Höch-ster, mei-ne Sün-de</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — dein-en Ei-fer laß ver-schwin-den,</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — laß mich dein-e Huld er-freun.</p>
<p>— — — — — — — — — — Cui-us an-i-mam ge-men-tem,</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — con-tris-ta-tam a do-len-tem,</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — per-tran-si-vit gla-di-us.</p>	<p>— — — — — — — — — — Ist mein Herz in Mis-se-ta-ten</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — und in groß-e Schuld ge-ra-ten,</p> <p>— — — — — — — — — — wasch es sel-ber, mach es rein.</p>

by instead setting only one tercet of text in his comparable tenth movement. This modification impacted the rest of Bach's parody. In his arrangement, Bach shuffled the locations of Pergolesi's music using the twelfth movement from *Stabat mater* as the source for the twelfth movement for his parody, but using the eleventh movement from *Stabat mater* as the source for the thirteenth movement for his parody. Table 2-4 illustrates Bach's reorganization of Pergolesi's text and music sequence in order to fit the meaning of the German parody text.

Bach also paid close attention to additional detailed relationships between his new German text and Pergolesi's musical model. In the *Stabat mater*, Pergolesi's treatment of the Latin text was rather straightforward; he typically set the text syllabically, perhaps leaving it to the performers to improvise melismas in certain passages. In numerous instances, it seems that Bach looked to Pergolesi's text underlay as a model. Example 2-25 shows that in the third movement of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, Bach's text is positioned so as to echo the syllabic distribution found in the comparable third movement of the *Stabat mater*. Bach even went so far as to mimic many of the sections in which Pergolesi had repeated textual phrases within a single tercet.

However, this is not to say that Bach seemed compelled to set musically the syllabic text structure in the same way as Pergolesi. Nor did Bach overlook opportunities to depict musically some of the words. Bach's handling of the model text, analogous to his approach towards the model music, reflects his desire to find areas of flexibility within much of the Pergolesi original. As both Nott and Francesco Degrada have aptly demonstrated, Bach often preferred to replace the repeated or suspended notes of Pergolesi's vocal line with more melismatic settings. In doing so, he not only restructured

Table 2-4: Correspondence of movements and verses between Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* and Bach's *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*

Pergolesi		Bach	
1 st Movement	1 strophe	1 st Movement	1 strophe
2 nd movement	1 strophe	2 nd movement	1 strophe
3 rd movement	1 strophe	3 rd movement	1 strophe
4 th movement	1 strophe	4 th movement	1 strophe
5 th movement	3 strophes	5 th movement	2 strophes
		6 th movement	1 strophe
6 th movement	1 strophe	7 th movement	1 strophe
7 th movement	1 strophe	8 th movement	1 strophe
8 th movement	1 strophe	9 th movement	1 strophe
9 th movement	5 strophes	10 th movement	5 strophes
10 th movement	2 strophes	11 th movement	1 strophe
11 th movement	2 strophes	12 th movement (music from Pergolesi's 12 th movement)	2 strophes
12 th movement	1 strophe	13 th movement (music from Pergolesi's 11 th movement)	2 strophes
		14 th movement	Amen

1 **Larghetto**

Vln. I *dolce assai*

Vln. II *dolce assai*

Vla.

O quamtris-tis et af-fli-cta, et af-fli-cta

O quamtris-tis et af-fli-cta, et af-fli-cta

B.C.

A

6 6 7 4 3 7 6 #
#4 3 # 9 5 4

1 **Larghetto**

Vln. I *p* *f senza Rip.* *f con Rip.*

Vln. II *p* *f senza Rip.* *f con Rip.*

Vla. *p* *f*

Mis-se-ta-ten, die mich drück-en, die mich drücken,

Mis-se-ta-ten, die mich drück-en, die mich drücken,

B.C. *p* *f*

B

6 6 7 9 8 7 6 5
4# 4 3 4 3 5 4 4

Example 2-25:

A=Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "O quam tristis," mm. 1-4

B=Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083,
"Missetaten, die mich drücken," mm. 1-4

rhythmic figures to create greater contour in the vocal melodies, but also rearranged the grammatical syntax of the lyrics. In measure 5 of his parody of “Qui est homo,” shown in Example 2-26, Bach replaced the tied G of Pergolesi's soprano line with a series of descending eighth notes while at the same time repeating the phrase “ich bin.” Bach took the same approach with the comparable alto measure at bar 11.

But Bach's melodic and lyric modifications within this movement go further. Starting at measure 13 in Pergolesi's “Qui est homo,” the soprano and alto, although sounding simultaneously, are assigned text from different tercets. Only at the end of the movement at bar 19 do the two voices rejoin on the word “quis” (Example 2-27). Bach, on the other hand, chose not to layer different texts together. Bach must have recognized the strong parallel between the earlier “ich bin” (I am) text from measures 4-6 and the later “du bist” (you are) appearing in bars 16-18. So rather than layer texts from different tercets, Bach instead used the latter measures to create a grammatical as well as musical parallel to the eighth notes found in the earlier measures. As a result, in bars 16-18, Bach repeated the word “du” with eighths to echo the construction of the earlier measures.

Example 2-28 illustrates an even closer relationship between Bach's music and text. Bach's sixth movement, “Sieh! ich bin in Sünd empfangen,” is modeled after the “Allegro” portion of Pergolesi's “Qui est homo.” As in other passages, here Pergolesi employs a large pedal point in measures 32-38. But in the comparable setting from *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*, measures 12-18, Bach again creates more melodic variety by avoiding the repeated or tied notes of Pergolesi's music. Measures 17-18 are perhaps the most subtle; here Bach musically portrays the concept of “sin we have been committing” (“Sünde wurde ja begangen”) with a jagged descent in eighth-note rhythms. However, in

5

Vln. I *dolce* *Largo*

Vln. II *dolce* *Largo*

Vla. *dolce* *Largo*

tan - - - - - to sup - pli - ci-o?

B.C. *dolce* *Largo*

A

6 3 7 3 6 4

5

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

bin, ich bin, ich, ich bin doch_ ein_ Sün - den - knecht.

B.C.

B

6 7 6 7 6 5 4

Example 2-26:

A=Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "Qui est homo," mm. 5-6

B=Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083
"Wer wird seine Schuld," mm. 5-6

13

Vln. I *dolce*

Vln. II *dolce*

Vla. *dolce*

Quis est ho - mo, qui non fle - ret,

Quis non pos - set con - - - tri - sta - ri

B.C. *dolce*

15

Chri - - - sti ma - trem si vi - - - de - ret in

pi - - - - am ma - trem con - tem - - - pla - ri

6 #
4

Example 2-27A:
Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "Qui est homo," mm. 13-19

17

(Largo)

(Largo)

(Largo)

(Largo)

(Largo)

(Largo)

ton - to sup - pli-ci-o? quis? quis?

do - len - tem cum fi - li-o? quis? quis?

(Largo)

(Largo)

7 #6 7 #6

Example 2-27A,
continued

13

Vln. I *p senza Rip.*

Vln. II *p senza Rip.*

Vla. *p*

Wer wird, Herr,— dein— Ur - - - teil min-der,

Wer wird, Herr,— dein— Ur - - - teil min-der,

B.C. *p*

6- 5 7 6 6 5
4- # #----- 4 4 #

15

o - - - der dei - - nen Auspruch hin - dern? Du,

o - - - der dei - - nen Auspruch hin - dern?

5 6 6 7 6 5
4 5 5 4

Example 2-27B:
 Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083,
 “Wer wird seine Schuld,” mm. 13-19

17

du, du... bist recht, du, du bist

...dein Wort ist recht, du, du bist

7 6 # 7 6 #

19

recht, dein Wort ist recht.

recht, dein Wort ist recht.

#

Example 2-27B,
continued

32

Vln. I *sotto voce*

Vln. II *sotto voce*

Vla. *dolce*

dolce

vi - - - - - dit Je - - - - - sum

dolce

vi - - - - - dit Je - - - - - sum

B.C.

36

forte

forte

forte

forte

in tor - - - men - - - tis et fla - - -

forte

in tor - - - men - - - tis et fla - - -

forte

Example 2-28A:
Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, "Qui est homo," mm. 32-38

13

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. *p*

Sieh! ich bin in Sünd emp - - fan - gen,

Sieh! ich bin in Sünd emp - - fan - gen,

B.C. *p*

5 # 6 4 5 # 6 4

17

Sün - de wur - de ja — be-gan - gen,

Sün - de wur - de ja — be-gan - gen,

6 4 7 6 5

Example 2-28B:
 Bach, *Tilge Höchster, meine Sünden*, BWV 1083,
 "Sieh! ich bin in Sünd," mm. 13-18

order to keep the harmonies in step with Pergolesi's *galant* style, Bach makes sure that the two vocal lines move in a series of thirds and sixths. Given the close affiliations between the *Stabat mater* and *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* in terms of text and music, one has to wonder how closely Bach worked with the unknown author of the German lyrics: was the text intentionally structured so as to make it fit into Pergolesi's model?⁶⁰

The differences between the *Stabat mater* and *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* again illustrate the variety of Bach's creativity when borrowing. In addition, Bach's *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* illustrates his interest in progressive stylistic trends. Like his early parodies, his late borrowing from Pergolesi shows the degree to which Bach sought to retain much of the original regardless of its source. In light of Bach's tendency to transform multiple styles into truly personal creations, Bach's decision to model his work after the *Stabat mater* should be seen as one master's compliment to the next generation of musicians.

The examples provided so far indicate that Bach was quite careful when he borrowed ideas from others. Even if the borrowing included re-crafting ideas for genres different from the model work, Bach's modifications typically leave a great deal of the source music intact and identifiable. At the same time, Bach also found ways to fit his own musical language into the confines established by his musical sources. Bach used similar techniques when borrowing from himself, in many instances transferring ideas from one of his earlier compositions into a completely different genre. But because self-borrowing entailed working with his earlier ideas, as we will see in the next chapter,

⁶⁰ Analogous poetic parody procedures have also been observed in Bach's reuse of his earlier vocal works. For examples see Paul Brainard, "Bach's Parody Procedure and the St. Matthew Passion," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22/2 (summer 1969), pp. 241-260 and Joshua Rifkin, "The Chronology of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion," *Musical Quarterly* 61/3 (July 1975), pp. 360-387.

Bach took greater liberties when altering his own works than he did with the works of others.

Chapter 3: Bach's Reuse of His Own Works

In the preceding chapters we outlined discernable trends in Bach's borrowing methods. The examples in the previous chapter demonstrate that Bach parodied the works of others throughout his career. These borrowings played an important role in his growth as a composer, allowing him to develop a personal musical language that assimilated past and contemporary musical styles. One important feature in these borrowings from others was Bach's ability to retain the essential elements present in his musical models.

After studying these types of borrowings, one must ask if Bach used a different approach when creating parodies of his own music. Early studies of self-borrowing within Bach's vocal music suggested that such methods did not vary much from his other parody techniques. In general, as Werner Neumann concluded, Bach's parodies of his own vocal works illustrate two compositional methods.¹ In cases of poetic parody, similar to that seen in Bach's Pergolesi borrowing, Bach typically kept the framework of the original material intact, substituted for the original text new words matching in poetic character, and altered certain musical details. Instances of compositional parody, like the borrowings found in the B Minor Mass, involved structural modifications as Bach revised his earlier works to fit new libretti that differed in poetry and meaning.

However, inquiries into Bach's vocal music parodies must rely upon a different set of criteria compared to similar studies of his instrumental parodies. Due to the very nature of vocal music, parody studies of Bach's vocal works tend to focus on the relationship between text and music. Since text replacement and corresponding musical

¹ Werner Neumann, "Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahrens," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 51 (1965), pp. 63-85.

changes are at the core of vocal parodies, Bach scholars often concern themselves with how music combined with one text for a particular event was equally appropriate when paired with a new text for a different occasion. And since most of Bach's vocal music was written for sacred or civil functions, studies of vocal parody typically compare the association between the music's purpose and textual content.

Examinations of Bach's instrumental self-parodies are not as straightforward, since comparisons of the interactions between text, music, and social function do not apply. Indeed, the compositional process of Bach's instrumental music has received less attention from scholars than that of his vocal works. The reasons for this are clear. For one thing, scholars lack a firm chronology of Bach's instrumental output, resulting in uncertainty as to the genesis and function of much of that repertory. As Robert Marshall explains:

...we have now reached the point in Bach research where...we are left with countless unanswered questions regarding the fundamentals: chronology and authenticity. We still know next to nothing, for example, except in the very broadest terms, about when most of Bach's instrumental compositions were written.²

Marshall goes on to point out that these gaps in Bach scholarship stem from an insufficient number of original manuscripts for much of the repertory:

Whereas for the vocal works large numbers of composing-score autographs and original materials have survived, there are virtually no primary sources for the instrumental compositions. Most frequently we have scribal copies of greater or lesser authority, occasionally a later fair copy in Bach's hand.³

² Robert Marshall, "The Compositions for Solo Flute: A Reconsideration of their Authenticity and Chronology," *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), p. 201.

³ Marshall, "The Compositions for Solo Flute....," p. 201.

Christoph Wolff has further explained that the preservation of Bach's vocal music output is in fact attributable to the historical division of Bach's estate:

The bulk of the vocal works were inherited by the elder brothers, whereas the younger sons, Johann Christoph Friedrich and Johann Christian, seem to have been the primary recipients of the chamber works. The material inherited by the younger sons has, with few exceptions, not survived.⁴

Thus, due to these obvious differences in transmission and content between Bach's vocal and instrumental music, as well as the variety of Bach's motivations, it is often difficult to know the intended function of Bach's instrumental works. However, in contrast to his instrumental borrowings from others, Bach must have borrowed from his own instrumental works for reasons other than his own edification. Thus, Bach composed a large portion of his organ music in his role as church musician and created a number of clavier works for pedagogical purposes. Bach also found it necessary to write instrumental works, particularly chamber and orchestral music, for other professional duties. This was the case particularly during his appointments as capellmeister for the court of Prince Leopold in Cöthen and as director of the Collegium Musicum in Leipzig.

Even though Bach's purpose for composing certain works often remains unclear, it can be shown that Bach's methods of borrowing from his own instrumental music differ substantially from his methods of borrowing from the works of others. As was demonstrated by Bach's arrangements of Reinken, certain musical qualities of Bach's instrumental models allowed him to cast his parody work as a genre different but still closely related to the original. When borrowing materials from the works of others, Bach identified and left intact the fundamental stylistic features present in his compositional models. At the same time, Bach recognized that these pre-existent elements were equally

⁴ Christoph Wolff, "Bach's Leipzig Chamber Music," *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 225.

essential to the construction of works that were idiomatically different but still somehow related to the borrowed sources.

By contrast, the affinities between some of Bach's earlier pieces and their future instrumental reworkings are not immediately clear. However, Bach's instrumental parodies of his own works reveal how he appropriated the qualities of one genre in order to compose a parody in a very different genre. To show the spectrum of methods Bach employed while reworking his instrumental compositions, we will investigate three different pieces composed under varying circumstances. Bach's construction of didactic keyboard works and the chronology of the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I* shed significant light on Bach's ability to reuse earlier ideas for varied musical purposes. Additional re-appropriated material from keyboard works and other genres can be found in Bach's *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, and the Sonata in G Major for Violin and Harpsichord Obbligato, BWV 1019. While the parody procedures in the latter two works are typically more wide-ranging, the striking evidence of borrowing present in the *Well-Tempered Clavier* manuscript offers an excellent starting point for investigating Bach's self-borrowing techniques.

Bach the Teacher

As part of his work as a professional musician, Bach taught, throughout his career, numerous students – family members, private pupils, and students under his direction in the *Thomasschule*. The number of students that Bach taught throughout his lifetime (estimated to be more than eighty)⁵ and their subsequent achievements made

⁵ Alfred Mann, "Bach and Handel as Teachers of Thorough Bass," *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti Tercentenary Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 246. A listing of known Bach students can be found in Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, pp. 315–317.

Bach "the most successful teacher of organists and composers since the days of Giovanni Gabrieli and Sweelinck."⁶ Beginning with his earliest students from the years in Arnstadt, Bach's instruction helped to produce some of the best eighteenth-century German musicians.

Numerous Bach pupils attained professional musical appointments in various German cities. In addition, four Bach sons – Wilhelm Friedemann, Carl Philipp Emanuel, Johann Christoph Friedrich, and Johann Christian – became successful composers and musicians in various European venues. Among other Bach students, Johann Philipp Kirnberger should also receive special mention for his set of treatises on music composition and theory.

For a man who educated many successful students, Bach left behind very little written evidence of his instructional techniques. Kirnberger, Bach's own student, even lamented: "It is to be regretted that this great man never wrote anything theoretical about music, and that his teachings have reached posterity only through his pupils."⁷ Therefore, the accounts from Bach's pupils concerning their training become prime sources for developing a picture of Bach's teaching methods.

Kirnberger recounted that Bach's "method [for teaching keyboard playing] is the best, for he proceeds steadily, step by step, from the easiest to the most difficult, and as a result even the step to the fugue has only the difficulty of passing from one step to the next."⁸ Another report by Ernst Ludwig Gerber, son of the Bach pupil Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber, seconds Kirnberger's description of Bach's progressive approach to keyboard

⁶ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, p. 20.

⁷ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 314, p. 320.

⁸ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 314, p. 320.

lessons. According to Gerber's account, his father was given a series of increasingly difficult assignments:

[Bach] promised to give [my father] the instruction he desired and asked at once whether he had industriously played fugues. At the first lesson [Bach] set his Inventions before [my father]. When he had studied these through to Bach's satisfaction, there followed a series of suites, then *The Well-Tempered Clavier*.... The conclusion of the instruction was thorough bass, for which Bach chose the Albinoni violin solos...⁹

Bach's instruction of keyboard performance practice combined with thorough-bass realization has also been verified by one of Bach's last pupils, Johann Christian Kittel. According to Kittel, keyboard training for Bach's best students included live continuo accompaniment, but not without some guidance:

It will easily be guessed that no one dared to put forward a meager thorough-bass accompaniment. Nevertheless, one always had to be prepared to have Bach's hands and fingers intervene among the hands and fingers of the player and, without getting in the way of the latter, finish the accompaniment with masses of harmonies that made an even greater impression than the unsuspected close proximity of the teacher.¹⁰

But perhaps the most informative account of Bach's teaching comes from the letters of Bach's son, Carl Philipp Emanuel. In a letter addressed to Forkel dated January 13, 1775, C.P.E. Bach summarized his father's methods for teaching composition through thorough-bass realization:

Since he himself had composed the most instructive pieces for the clavier, he brought up his pupils on them. In composition he started his pupils right in with what was practical, and omitted all the *dry species* of counterpoint that are given in Fux and others. His pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough bass. From this he went to chorales; first he added the basses to them himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses themselves.

⁹ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 315, p. 322.

¹⁰ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 317, p. 323.

He particularly insisted on the writing out of the thorough bass in [four real] parts.¹¹

C.P.E. Bach's correspondence not only echoes Kirnberger's report of a progressive learning system but also indicates that Bach developed specific compositions in order to teach "pure four-part thorough bass." Therefore, examples of both good keyboard technique and thorough-bass realization should be found in J.S. Bach's compositions for beginning keyboard students. Fortunately, a number of extant manuscripts corroborate the student accounts and provide clues to Bach's instructional models for music composition.

One such documentary source, verifying Emanuel's summary of his father's reliance on thorough-bass instruction, is a manuscript in the hand of Carl August Thieme, a pupil of Bach's at the *Thomasschule*.¹² "The Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-bass or Accompanying in Four Parts by the Royal Court Composer and Capellmeister as well as Director of Music and Cantor of the *Thomasschule*, Mr. Johann Sebastian Bach, at Leipzig for his Students in Music, 1738" appears to be Thieme's transcription of Bach's dictated text.¹³ Of the four sections of this document, the second consists of a paraphrase of Chapters I-IX from the first volume of Friederich Erhardt Niedt's three-volume treatise on music composition, *Musicalische Handleitung* of 1710.¹⁴ The chapters of Niedt's first volume echoed in the Bach 'Precepts' thus not only

¹¹ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 395, p. 399.

¹² Hans-Joachim Schulze, "'Das Stücke in Goldpapier' – Ermittlungen zu einigen Bach-Abschriften des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978), pp. 19-42.

¹³ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Vorschriften und Grundsätze zum vierstimmigen Spielen des General-Bass oder Accompagnement" (Leipzig, 1738); translated in *J.S. Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the thorough-bass or accompanying in four parts*. Pamela Poulin, trans. (London: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹⁴ Friederich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung* (Hamburg: Spieringk, 1700, 1710, 1721); Pamela Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor, trans. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

predate C.P.E. Bach's report of his father's composition instruction but also present a more detailed account of what that instruction entailed.

The first two chapters of volume one of *Musicalische Handleitung* provide a background of thorough-bass through etymology and definition; this includes, in the second chapter, a definition and classification of consonant and dissonant intervals. More introductory material is presented in Chapter III, "On clefs occurring in the Thorough-bass," and Chapter IV, "On Time or Meter." After a brief description of the harmonic triad in Chapter V, Chapter VI lists "Some General Rules to Observe When Playing the Thorough-bass." Chapters VII and VIII concern playing unfigured and figured thorough-bass, respectively, while Chapter IX, the last chapter paraphrased by Bach in his "Precepts," comments on rules required for extending harmonies beyond the harmonic triad.

The material appearing in the J.S. Bach "Precepts" contains relatively few modifications of Niedt's text: text or sections of an individual chapter are omitted here and there and some musical examples are revoiced (Example 3-1). Even Bach's restructuring of Niedt's musical examples demonstrates, as per Kittel's report, Bach's desire to fill out a "meager thorough-bass...with masses of harmonies." Example 3-1 shows that Bach found it necessary to rewrite Niedt's original musical illustrations sometimes with added measures, newly composed inner voices, and modified bass lines.

Additional musical instances and confirmation of the Kirnberger and Gerber accounts of Bach's combined instruction in both keyboard and composing skills can be found in the *Clavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*. Begun in Cöthen on January 22, 1720, the book documents a portion of the musical instruction Bach must have given

Niedt

Chapter IX

A Few Remarks on the Seventh, Ninth, Eleventh, and Others Appearing With These
The seventh must always be prepared when it is written [above the bass] and only the
third is struck with it. Where it is appropriate, the fifth can also be added

Musical notation for Niedt's Chapter IX. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of three measures. The first measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. The second measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. The third measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. Fingerings are indicated below the bass staff: 6, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 6, #.

Bach

Chapter IX

On the Seventh, Ninth, Eleventh, and Others Appearing with These
Where the seventh is notated alone, it must be prepared beforehand, and the third and fifth,
or the third and octave are to be added to it, indeed, sometimes the third is doubled

Musical notation for Bach's Chapter IX. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures. The first measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. The second measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. The third measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. The fourth measure shows a treble staff with a G4 quarter note and a bass staff with a G2 quarter note. Fingerings are indicated below the bass staff: 6, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7.

Example 3-1:

A selection from Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung* and its counterpart
in Bach's "The Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-bass or
Accompanying in Four Parts..."

his eldest son, the then nine-year-old Wilhelm Friedemann. Fortunately, this collection provides more than a glimpse into the training of a young musician; the numerous preludes, dances, and chorales positioned throughout the book indicate the musical variety that Bach felt necessary as components of a keyboardist's repertoire and demonstrate some basic thorough-bass composition techniques.

The *Clavierbüchlein* collection opens with lessons in clefs and notes, followed by an "Explanation of various signs, showing how to play certain ornaments correctly," – a table of trill and mordent types. Immediately following is a group of simple pieces including dances, preludes, and chorales. Sections of the book afterwards hold variant and early versions of keyboard works that Bach later used in larger collections, such as the Two-Part Inventions, the Three-Part Sinfonias, and preludes from Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.

In fact, both manuscript and handwriting evidence show that Bach and his son Wilhelm Friedemann probably copied some of these variant preludes of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* from another source, discussed below, containing the first volume in its preliminary form.¹⁵ The *Clavierbüchlein* manuscript also demonstrates that as Bach borrowed these works, he simultaneously revised them, perhaps with the intention of reinforcing good thorough-bass writing.¹⁶ Thus the conceptual and musical development of the preludes, traced across three manuscript sources, illustrates how Bach borrowed

¹⁵ For a detailed description of the transmission and sources for the Well-Tempered Clavier, see Alfred Dürr, *Zur Frühgeschichte des Wohltemperierten Klaviers I von Johann Sebastian Bach*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1984, Nr. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1984).

¹⁶ Joel Lester, "J.S. Bach Teaches Us How to Compose: Four Pattern Preludes of the Well-Tempered Clavier," *College Music Symposium* 38 (1998), pp. 33-46.

certain elements of prelude-fugue pairs for instructional purposes and then reassembled and revised them in a future cyclical collection of didactic keyboard works.¹⁷

Multi-purpose Self-Borrowing: The Well-Tempered Clavier Prelude in C Major

The earliest known version of the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I* was transmitted in a now-lost source known as the Konwitschny manuscript, containing a copy of the first book of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* in its initial stage of development.¹⁸ This manuscript contains shorter preliminary versions of keyboard preludes as well as several prelude-fughetta pairs. Existing now in a microfilm copy, the manuscript was written by an anonymous scribe sometime between the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The final stage of these preludes and their respective fugues exists in Bach's 1722 autograph fair-copy manuscript of the complete *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I*. Intermediate revised versions of some of these same preludes minus their fugue partners are found within the *Clavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (1720). In fact, seven of the twelve preludes in the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I* exist in both the Konwitschny manuscript and the *Clavierbüchlein*.

Of the seven preludes common to all three sources, the prelude in C major, which opens the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, exemplifies Bach's self-borrowings for instructional purposes. After its first appearance in the Konwitschny manuscript, each succeeding

¹⁷ For detailed descriptions of the relationship between the *Clavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* and *Das Wohltemperierte Clavier Teil 1* see Andrew White, "The Prelude and Fugue in C major from Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier [Book I]: Notes on the Compositional Process," *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 23 /2 (Fall/Winter 1992), pp. 47-60; Alfred Dürr, in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen and Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (Leipzig and Kassel, 1954-) *Kritischer Bericht* Ser.5, Bd. 6, Pt.1; James Albert Brokaw II, *Techniques of Expansion in the Preludes and Fugues of J.S.Bach*. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986); and Herbot Hugo Riedel, *Recognition and Re-cognition: Bach and "The Well-Tempered Clavier"*. (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969).

¹⁸ Alfred Dürr, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, *Kritischer Bericht* Ser.5, Bd. 6, Pt. 1.

version of this prelude grows in length through series of cadential evasions, sometimes including tonic pedal points. At the same time, newer renderings of the prelude acquire clearer harmonic goals through improved tonic-defining progressions and voice-leading patterns. While a quick comparison of the prelude's three versions (seen in a chordal reduction in Example 3-2) shows that Bach both expanded and refined the prelude with each successive rendering, a closer investigation reveals the reasons for Bach's successive modifications. Since all three versions of the prelude are constructed from a series of arpeggios, only the structural harmonies of those arpeggios are presented in Example 3-2.

In its earliest known form – that appearing in the Konwitschny manuscript – the C-Major Prelude is only twenty-four measures long. While the prelude's simple rhythms and arpeggiation seem to be logical elements for a beginning instructional keyboard work, the work's harmonic rhythm seems unsettled (Example 3-2A).

As is characteristic of most Bach works, the tonic is clearly defined, in this case within the opening four measures. However, the harmonic direction of the measures that follow is not as easy to delineate. With a dominant of the dominant in measure 8, the bass notes appear to cadence in measure 9, but the dominant-seventh chord of this same measure thwarts a true cadential resolution until a clear cadence on the tonic appears at measure 13. The prelude continues towards a dominant-seventh chord in measure 17 and closes after a dominant pedal extending from bars 20 through 23.¹⁹ As Herbot Riedel noted, "Bach has imposed a heightened and edgy vividness"²⁰ with harmonies that "restlessly avoid strong cadences."²¹ Although the seventh chords and

¹⁹ On these points see White, "The Prelude and Fugue in C major..." p. 50.

²⁰ Riedel, *Recognition and Re-cognition...*, p. 151.

²¹ Riedel, *Recognition and Re-cognition...*, p. 66.

The image displays three musical staves, labeled A, B, and C, each representing a different manuscript version of the Prelude in C Major, BWV 846 from the Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I. Each staff is a chordal reduction, where each quarter note corresponds to a full measure of music. The staves are arranged vertically, with A at the top, B in the middle, and C at the bottom. Each staff consists of a treble clef and a bass clef. The notes are arranged in a way that shows the harmonic structure of the piece across the two hands.

Example 3-2:

Chordal reduction of the three versions of the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Bk. I*, Prelude in C Major, BWV 846.

Each quarter note in the reduction represents a complete measure.

A=Konwitschny manuscript version

B=Clavierbüchli manuscript version

C=Well-Tempered Clavier manuscript version

suspensions are "[n]ot grammatical monsters,"²² their predominance within the short span of twenty-four measures seems a bit unusual.

The next extant version of this prelude is found in the *Clavierbüchlein*, this time appearing without its preliminary fughetta partner. The revision is analogous to other borrowings examined so far: the last ten measures of the earlier Konwitschny version remain unaltered, leaving a large portion of this prelude unchanged in its transfer to the new *Clavierbüchlein* version. But as we have already seen in other parody works, Bach was often concerned with musical details so that, when borrowing the prelude for use in the *Clavierbüchlein*, he must have realized the unusual nature of the work's harmonic rhythm. As a consequence, when reusing the Konwitschny manuscript version of the prelude, Bach made small changes that would have dramatic ramifications for the work's future development.

At two points in the *Clavierbüchlein* manuscript striking handwriting evidence captures Bach's new ideas for this prelude. The borrowing process began when Bach's son Wilhelm Friedemann wrote out the opening eight measures of the prelude from a version identical to that seen in the Konwitschny manuscript. Bach then erased his son's notation of measures 6-8 and, beginning with measure 6, wrote into the *Clavierbüchlein* the remainder of the prelude. Bach may have realized that his son's handwriting was too large and would waste space and paper if continued. So, after erasing measures 6-8, the father proceeded to reenter measure 6 from the Konwitschny version in a shorthanded half-note notation. But before going beyond the sixth measure, he decided to make modifications. As a result, Bach made two dramatic changes to the prelude.

²² Riedel, *Recognition and Re-cognition...*, p. 151.

First, he inserted a measure between bars 4 and 5. Notated in the characteristic arpeggiation rhythm and squeezed into half of the bass staff of Wilhelm's measure 4, this new measure presents an A-minor chord in first inversion. The introduction of both the chord and its voicing created fresh possibilities for Bach. With this new bar 5, the prelude gains an harmonic progression of tonic moving to the submediant, then on to the dominant of the dominant.²³ At the same time, the A atop the arpeggio expands the prelude's melodic register (Example 3-3).

With the infusion of new potential in harmonic direction, Bach placed another measure before the old measure 6, now measure 8 in the *Clavierbüchlein*. Bach's new measure 7, providing a G-major chord in first inversion, balances the voice leading with its G atop the chord and establishes the harmonic descent through a series of fifth relationships. To match the up-a-fourth/down-a-fifth pattern of the melody found between measures 4-6, Bach then revoiced the original measure 6, now measure 8, so that C sounds as the highest note.²⁴ Therefore, Bach's self-borrowing involved a revision component that allowed him to create new structures. Within the span of four measures, not only is the harmonic progression of bars 5-8 in the *Clavierbüchlein* unambiguous, but the two-measure pair of bars 5-6 is now paralleled by the pair of bars 7-8 (Example 3-3). Having given the prelude a clearer harmonic and melodic direction, Bach made only one other voice-leading modification: in measures 10-11 he refined a G-major cadence. Except for Bach's change of the F in measure 9 of the Konwitschny to an F# in bar 12 of the *Clavierbüchlein* version, he left the remainder of the prelude (mm. 13-27) unchanged from its earliest edition.

²³ White, "The Prelude and Fugue in C major ...", p. 52.

²⁴ White, "The Prelude and Fugue in C major ...", p. 52.

Musical notation for Example A, measures 5-7 of the Konvitschny manuscript version of the Prelude in C, BWV 846. The notation shows three measures with fingerings 5, 6, and 7 indicated above the treble clef staff.

A

Musical notation for Example B, measures 5-6 of the *Clavierbüchlein* version of the Prelude in C, BWV 846 prior to Bach's alterations. The notation shows two measures.

B

Musical notation for Example C, measures 5-8 of the *Clavierbüchlein* version of the Prelude in C, BWV 846 after Bach's alterations. The notation shows four measures with fingerings 5, 6, 7, and 8 indicated above the treble clef staff.

C

Example 3-3:

- A=measures 5-7 of Konvitschny manuscript version of Prelude in C, BWV 846
 B=measures 5-6 of *Clavierbüchlein* version of Prelude in C, BWV 846 prior to Bach's alterations
 C=measures 5-8 of *Clavierbüchlein* version of Prelude in C, BWV 846 after Bach's alterations

When Bach returned to the prelude one more time for the 1722 fair-copy manuscript of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, he reunited it with a fugue developed from the corresponding fughetta that was originally paired with it in the Konwitschny version. However, his revisions of the prelude did not stop there for he still found additional areas beyond measure 11 in need of restructuring. One adjustment stemmed from his rather undecided notation of measure 12. In the *Clavierbüchlein* manuscript, Bach had in essence noted two different measure 12's: one in a custos marking on the *recto* side of page 14 and the fully notated bar 12 on the *verso* side of the same page.

The custos indicates a chord voiced from bass to soprano as G-B flat-E-G-C sharp as opposed to the G-D-F sharp-G-B layout of the fully notated bar 12 on the *verso* side (Example 3-4). This discrepancy leads to two very different harmonic perceptions: the custos notation indicates a chord implying a move to D major or d minor, even though the actual first chord on leaf 14 *verso* allows the tonality to remain in G major.²⁵ As he placed the prelude into the final *Well-Tempered Clavier* manuscript, Bach probably recognized both the inconsistencies of his notation and the prelude's murky harmonic return to the tonic. The reappearance of the tonic in measure 16 of the *Clavierbüchlein* version of the prelude is harmonically preceded in measures 12-15 by a series of closely voiced seventh chords. And even when the tonic cadence arrives, the harmony is voiced in first inversion (Example 3-5).

So as Bach inserted the prelude into the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, he identified a longer but improved manner for returning to the tonic in root position. Bach first chose to drop the twelfth measure as it appeared twice in the *Clavierbüchlein* and revoice measure

²⁵ White, "The Prelude and Fugue in C major ...", p. 53.

Musical notation for Example A, measures 9-11. The notation is in treble and bass clefs. Measure 9 shows a G4 and B4 in the treble and a G2 and B2 in the bass. Measure 10 shows a G4, B4, and C5 in the treble and a G2, B2, and C3 in the bass. Measure 11 shows a G4 and B4 in the treble and a G2 and B2 in the bass.

A

Musical notation for Example B, measures 11-12. The notation is in treble and bass clefs. Measure 11 shows a G4 and B4 in the treble and a G2 and B2 in the bass. Measure 12 shows a G4, B4, and C5 in the treble and a G2, B2, and C3 in the bass.

B

Musical notation for Example C, measures 11-13. The notation is in treble and bass clefs. Measure 11 shows a G4 and B4 in the treble and a G2 and B2 in the bass. Measure 12 shows a G4, B4, and C5 in the treble and a G2, B2, and C3 in the bass. Measure 13 shows a G4 and B4 in the treble and a G2 and B2 in the bass.

C

Example 3-4:

A=Bach, Konvitschny version of Prelude, BWV 846, mm. 9-11

B=Bach, *Clavierbüchlein* version of Prelude, BWV 846, mm. 11-12C= Bach, *Well-Tempered Clavier Bk. I*, version of Prelude, BWV 846, mm. 11-13

5

8

A

12

15

B

Example 3-5:
 Bach, *Well-Tempered Clavier Bk. I*, Prelude in C, BWV 846
 A=measures 5-8 paralleled by
 B=measures 12-15

13 as the new bar 12 for the final version. The chordal position of the B-flat and the C-sharp of the final revised bar 12 helped Bach start a new harmonic and melodic scenario for the prelude, for Bach decided to reestablish the tonic via a second circle-of-fifths progression (Example 3-5).

Through a series of revisions to measures 12-19, including a few harmonic revoicings, Bach created a parallel to measures 5-11, but with minor differences. Although both measures 5-8 and 12-15 travel harmonically in fifth relationships, the melodic voice leading of measures 12-15 moves in an up-a-second/down-a-third pattern. Still, Bach recognized that in eight measures, the same harmonic pattern used in the series of seven earlier measures could accomplish his tonal goal for the piece's midpoint.

Other additions to the prelude's final version serve a purpose somewhat analogous to those found in the *Clavierbüchlein*. For example, Bach altered measure 22 of the *Clavierbüchlein* version by raising the bass a half-step, lowering the soprano also a half-step, and doubling the C in the chord rather than F. With these changes, measure 22 of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* prelude functions as the leading-tone diminished-seventh of the dominant instead of a subdominant with an added seventh (Example 3-6). This also prepares the diminished-seventh chord that Bach inserted with a new bar 23, added like other measures to help prepare a cadence.

Bach added similar harmonic functionality to the prelude by appending new measures to the prelude's conclusion. With the voicing of measure 25, Bach established a G pedal point that he uses to delay a full cadence to the tonic. Bach extended the delay of a full tonic cadence further by adding measure 28, functionally similar to the earlier

22

The image shows two measures of music, numbered 22 and 23. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a continuous eighth-note pattern: C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5, A5, B5, C6. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a continuous eighth-note pattern: C3, B2, A2, G2, F2, E2, D2, C2, B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 3-6:
Bach, *Well-Tempered Clavier Bk. I*, Prelude in C, BWV 846, mm.22-23

28

The image shows two measures of music, numbered 28 and 29. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a continuous eighth-note pattern: C4, D4, E4, F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F#5, G5, A5, B5, C6. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a continuous eighth-note pattern: C3, B2, A2, G2, F2, E2, D2, C2, B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 3-7:
Bach, *Well-Tempered Clavier Bk. I*, Prelude in C, BWV 846, mm.28-29

measure 22, and followed it with a tonic chord in second inversion in bar 29 (Example 3-7). The insertion of this measure, along with new measures – like measure 32 with its dominant seventh of the subdominant chord – allowed Bach to increase the size of the prelude far beyond that of its earlier versions. Finally, to close the prelude, Bach inserted measures 33-34, with their rearranged arpeggiation pattern, which facilitated Bach's placement of a C in the soprano of the final measure's root-position chord.

The underlying compositional motivations for Bach's revisions to the *Clavierbüchlein* and the *Well-Tempered Clavier* versions of the prelude are similar to those observed in Bach's Reinken and Albinoni parodies. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Bach uncovered certain principles of balance, voice exchange, and counterpoint from external musical models. While examining the works of his predecessors, Bach observed that musical structures could be elongated through the use of repetition, counterpoint, and voice exchange. While borrowing from Italian trio sonatas, Bach also learned that contrapuntal formulas could be varied by presenting them in different tonalities. Bach's application of these findings can be seen in the successive variants of the C-Major Prelude.

All three prelude versions contain the characteristically clear establishment of the tonic. But Bach's emendations in the *Clavierbüchlein* version mainly enabled him to move a portion of the prelude to the tonality of G major. However, it is in the final *Well-Tempered Clavier* version that Bach expands upon his prior modifications, creating an even longer prelude. In this version, Bach places additions made in the *Clavierbüchlein* in other keys or varies their melodic voicings. Further tactics to delay root tonic cadences

in the final version also allowed Bach to explore distant harmonic territories with a clearer sense of direction.

Although the evidence is not always as striking, revisions similar to those found in the variants of the C-Major Prelude are also present in the other preludes common to all three manuscript sources. According to James Brokaw's study of Bach's expansion techniques, Bach's repositioning and revising of the C-Major Prelude was not an isolated incident. In fact, all seven preludes found in all three sources exhibit progressive expansion with each subsequent version. Additionally, Brokaw generally observed that "Five preludes – those in C major (BWV 846), C-sharp minor (BWV 849), E-flat minor (BWV 860), F-sharp major (BWV 858), and G major (BWV 860) – were revised in part by the insertion of one or two measures, generally in order to strengthen internal cadences."²⁶

As with many Bach keyboard works, the preludes from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* also present in the *Clavierbüchlein* (which in many respects are as sophisticated as they are simple), incorporate ideas important for training in fundamental musical skills: finger independence for keyboard performance, simple and standardized harmonic progressions, thorough-bass realization, and effective melodic voice-leading. But Bach clearly chose to separate the preludes from the fugues when placing them in the *Clavier-Büchlein* in order to cater to the needs of a novice musician. And as Joel Lester has argued, Bach probably used these preludes "to demonstrate to his young son the variety of textures that one could create to enliven very similar basses."²⁷ Therefore, as Bach borrowed the preludes for use in his son's musical workbook, he "preserved the integrity

²⁶ Brokaw, *Techniques of Expansion* ..., p. 99.

²⁷ Lester, "J.S. Bach Teaches Us How to Compose...", p. 37.

of each early version."²⁸ Thus in the case of the C-Major Prelude, Bach did not rhythmically alter or modify the basic patterns established in the work's earliest incarnation.

Nonetheless, Brokaw also noted that "[a]lthough small amounts of material may be added elsewhere in the structure [of these preludes], this is always in order to add or strengthen articulations – in other words, to help clarify the form, not [simply] to expand it."²⁹ This is particularly true of the C-Major Prelude, a work defined primarily by its series of harmonic progressions. In its earliest form, the work's preponderance of harmonic dissonance seems atypical for a keyboard work intended for beginning music students. Therefore, Bach's revisions in the *Clavierbüchlein* seem necessary to the prelude's development so that it could fit its newly designated function as an instructional piece.

Still, it appears that Bach's reworking of these preludes for didactic purposes played a significant role in his later conception of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* cycle as a whole. One can certainly argue that the expansion and functional re-appropriation of a keyboard prelude to a larger combination of prelude and fugue is representative of Bach's revisionist tendencies. But it is important to note that the purpose of the composition affected the types of revisions Bach chose to make while borrowing. According to Lester, Bach needed to complete additional tasks when rejoining these separated preludes with their fugues in the *Well-Tempered Clavier*:

First, he had to expand each prelude to match the scope of the fugues with which he paired them. Second, in the process of making them suitable to precede compositions as strict as fugues, he had to tighten their internal

²⁸ Brokaw, *Techniques of Expansion* ..., p. 99.

²⁹ Brokaw, *Techniques of Expansion* ..., p. 99.

relationships by creating various parallelisms between sections in a manner that is missing from the earlier versions. And as he created those parallelisms, he invariably worked from the same structural principle that he used to determine their ordering within the *Well-Tempered*: the principle of heightening complexity...so in these preludes, whenever material returns, it is reworked into more complex form.³⁰

Bach's expansion and harmonic refinement of the preludes in their final form reflects their new function, not as individual keyboard exercises, but as partners in a two-member musical unit. Bach's transfer of the C-Major Prelude – once a study for a young musician – to its final manuscript places the work in a new context; in the end, the prelude not only acts as an associate of the C-Major Fugue that follows, but as the introduction to all subsequent prelude-fugue pairs of the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I*.

The requisite modifications underscore Bach's recognition that if the prelude was to be paired with a fugue in the same key, a certain structural balance needed to exist between the music of the prelude and that of the fugue. In its final version, the C-Major Prelude's structure delineates tonal arrivals more clearly through paralleled harmonic progressions. At the same time, earlier cadential evasions via seventh chords, once found in the middle of the prelude, are finally placed over pedal points towards the end. Thus, the kinds of changes Bach made to the C-Major Prelude represent the work's shifting role. Similarly, as other preludes were transferred to their final position within the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, we see Bach making significant alterations to these pieces as well.

Other Reasons for Altering Earlier Works

The *Clavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* provides scholars with important insights into Bach's compositional and instructional methods. In addition, the nature of the manuscript makes the purpose and chronology of the *Clavierbüchlein* and

³⁰ Lester, "J.S. Bach Teaches Us How to Compose....," p. 37.

its contents rather unambiguous. Likewise, the fair copy of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* also presents clear evidence of the work's function and dating. On the other hand, the purpose and chronology of many of Bach's other instrumental works still remain unsettled. In investigating the variety of Bach's instrumental compositions, scholars in the past posited that Bach's concentration on certain instrumental genres was probably influenced by the requirements of his professional appointments. Thus, it was asserted for many years that the major portion of Bach's chamber works – sonatas for various instruments and various keyboard works – was written during his tenure in Cöthen from 1717 to 1723 as capellmeister for the princely court of Prince Leopold. The argument continued that while director of the Collegium Musicum during his early years in Leipzig, Bach focused primarily on composing orchestral works, like harpsichord and violin concerti.

However, dating Bach's works according to the supposed correlation between his compositional activities and his official responsibilities has only been challenged within the past forty years. Although the function, chronology, and provenance of much of Bach's instrumental music is often unclear, Christoph Wolff has proposed that "the bulk of the known chamber music of Bach" was composed during Bach's Leipzig years.³¹ Perhaps these works, which include various sonatas employing flute, viola da gamba, or violin as the primary melody instrument, were also part of the Collegium repertoire. Most of these works also illustrate how Bach continued to revise and reuse his earlier compositions. For example, both the Sonata in G Major for Violin and Continuo, BWV 1021, and the Sonata in G Major for Flute, Violin, and Continuo, BWV 1038, share a

³¹ Wolff, "Bach's Leipzig Chamber Music," p. 228.

common continuo line. Identical material is also shared between the Trio Sonata for two Flutes and Continuo, BWV 1039, and the Sonata in G Major for Viola da Gamba and Harpsichord, BWV 1027, which are essentially different arrangements of the same music.

We have already seen within Bach's other parodies his desire to pursue new musical directions. This interest must have been at least one motivating factor for him to become director of the Collegium Musicum. Founded by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) in 1702, the Collegium Musicum was comprised principally of university students who assembled weekly for sightreading sessions. Bach assumed the directorship of the Collegium in April of 1729, holding this position until 1737. After a two year hiatus from the position, Bach resumed as Collegium director in 1739, perhaps remaining in the position until the mid 1740s. The regular performances of the Collegium Musicum, much like the regular weekly church music, must have forced Bach to compose new works quickly.

In light of Bach's relationship with Telemann, a Bach colleague since their meeting in Eisenach during the years between 1708 and 1712, Bach probably also saw the Collegium as an opportunity to match the more successful career of his compatriot. But perhaps more importantly, the Collegium provided Bach with an outlet to compose a wider variety of works than the earlier pieces required for the church, court, and civic functions. While the programs for the weekly concert series – termed the *Ordinaire Concerten* – are unknown, we are still able to make some informed observations about such concerts.

The Collegium must have performed the works of Bach and his contemporaries, some of whom probably also made guest appearances. C.P.E. Bach noted "No master of

music was apt to pass through this place [Leipzig] without making my father's acquaintance and letting himself be heard by him."³² And as mentioned in the previous chapter, there is evidence that several Dresden musicians, such as Johann Adolph Hasse, Georg Benda, Silvius Weiss, Carl Graun, and Jan Dismas Zelenka, paid visits to Bach in Leipzig. Bach's interest in the works of his contemporaries is also verified by the appearance of his name on the subscription list for Telemann's "Paris" quartets. Works by Johann Bernhard Bach, George Frideric Handel, Pietro Locatelli, Nicola Porpora, and other composers were also present in Bach's personal library of Collegium performance materials.³³

Bach's own family may have provided additional motivation for writing chamber music while in Leipzig. In a letter of 1730, Bach stated that within his family he could "already form an ensemble both *vocaliter* and *instrumentaliter*."³⁴ All of this, in addition to other evidence, indicates that Bach required a great variety of pieces during his years in Leipzig. As a consequence of these demands, Bach performed the works of his contemporaries, wrote entirely new compositions, and reused his earlier ones for new purposes.

In addition to the challenge of having music for regular weekly Collegium concerts at Zimmerman's Coffeehouse, Bach probably saw these concerts as an opportunity to showcase his performance abilities. Bach's best chance to demonstrate his performance prowess with the Collegium was via the harpsichord concerto, and between the years of 1730 and 1745, Bach seems to have composed at least fourteen works in this

³² Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 359, p. 366.

³³ For a study of the musical contents of Bach's personal library, see Kirsten Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1992).

³⁴ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 152, p. 152.

genre. Most were partially or entirely based on other works; besides the Concerto in A Minor for Four Harpsichords, BWV 1065, which was a transcription of Vivaldi's Concerto in B Minor for Four Violins Op. 3 No. 10, Bach probably derived the music of the remaining harpsichord concertos of this period from works composed prior to his move to Leipzig. Most of these pre-Leipzig concertos seem to have been for either solo oboe or violin.

Several other Bach keyboard concerti were composed, like the Concerto for Four Harpsichords, for multiple soloists. For example, two such concerti require violin, flute, and harpsichord soloists. The more famous of these two, the fifth *Brandenburg Concerto* in D Major, BWV 1050, is considered by scholars to be not only Bach's earliest keyboard concerto, but also a completely original work in terms of both its content and its format. The second, the *Triple Concerto* in A Minor, BWV 1044, is a reworking of two very different earlier Bach keyboard compositions. The types of alterations Bach made to the earlier works are revealing of Bach's extraordinary imagination.

The Triple Concerto in A Minor BWV 1044

The *Triple Concerto*, written around 1730, consists of three movements all derived from earlier Bach keyboard works.³⁵ For the concerto's outer movements, Bach turned to his Prelude and Fugue in A minor, BWV 894. The inner movement of the concerto is developed from the "Adagio" movement of the Trio-Sonata No. 3 in D minor,

³⁵ It is known that C.P.E. Bach, like his father, also created keyboard concertos by arranging movements from earlier solo keyboard works. See E. Eugene Helm, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 95-97.

BWV 527, for organ. It has also been suggested that both the Trio Sonata movement and the concerto's middle movement are two different arrangements of a common work.³⁶

Although Bach found these two keyboard works appropriate for concerto movements, they represent genres different from both one another and their concerto adaptation. The Prelude and Fugue in A minor stems from the same tradition as the *Well-Tempered Clavier* and was probably written during Bach's Weimar years (although Russell Stinson has suggested that it is one of Bach's Leipzig works).³⁷ The collection of organ trio sonatas, like the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, is a rare example of Bach's keyboard music transmitted in his own hand. The extant autograph manuscript dates from Bach's early years in Leipzig, perhaps between 1727 and 1730. Forkel stated that Bach composed the sonatas for Wilhelm Friedemann,³⁸ perhaps as practice pieces to prepare him for a career as a professional organist.

The organ trio-sonata collection is interesting for a variety of reasons. Like the Bach parodies of Reinken and Albinoni discussed in Chapter 2, the re-use of these sonatas demonstrates Bach's ability to transfer ensemble genres to the keyboard. Still, it remains to be seen where and why Bach proceeded in this way. In his comprehensive study of Bach's organ works, Peter Williams pointed out: "While there is some evidence for instrumental trio sonatas being played in north German churches during Communion or on special occasions in which such composers as Buxtehude or Reinken took part,

³⁶ Hans Eppstein, "Zur Vor- und Entstehungsgeschichte von J. S. Bachs Triplekonzert a-moll (BWV 1044)," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung, Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1971), pp. 34-44.

³⁷ Russell Stinson, "Toward a Chronology of Bach's Instrumental Music: Observations on Three Keyboard Works." *Journal of Musicology* 7/4 (Fall 1989), pp. 440-470.

³⁸ Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), Vol. 1, p. 8.

there is none for organ sonatas in any such context."³⁹ Then too, these trio sonatas do not follow the standard sequence of movements found in instrumental trio sonatas. In fact, all six sonatas have only three movements instead of the four typical of church sonatas. In addition, Reinken's trio sonatas commonly exhibited four voices: two melody instruments and continuo, with the gamba sometimes moving independently of the clavier. But Bach's organ trio sonatas lack a figured bass realization and present only three voices. Finally, the first movement of the Fourth Sonata is itself another illustration of Bach's borrowing, since it is derived from the "Sinfonia" of *Die Himmel rühmen die Ehre Gottes*, BWV 76 composed in 1723.

Since the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor and the Trio Sonata No. 3 represent different genres, their musical content is also very different. Both the prelude and fugue present motivic material primarily in large sections of triplet rhythms (Example 3-8).⁴⁰ The shared presence of triplets aside, the individual structures of the prelude and fugue must have made them viable candidates for parody from the start.

Unlike the preludes in Bach's Reinken parodies, preludes in the *Clavierbüchlein*, and most of the preludes in *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the A-Minor Prelude is closely related in style to an Italian concerto. As noted by David Schulenberg, this prelude strongly resembles in design the opening "Allegro" of Bach's harpsichord concerto in D minor, BWV 1052.⁴¹ Several of the prelude's formal aspects justify Schulenberg's conclusion. While the previously analyzed keyboard preludes are organized around

³⁹ Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, Vol. 1, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁰ David Schulenberg has objected to the rhythmic similarity of the two movements, considering the lack of variety to make it one of Bach's less successful clavier works. David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), pp. 113-114.

⁴¹ Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 114.

3

3

tr

5

3

7

3

3

3

tr

9

3

11

3

Example 3-8A:

Bach, Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 1-12

The image displays a musical score for a piano piece, identified as Example 3-8B, which is a section of Bach's Fugue in A Minor, BWV 894. The score is presented in six systems, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (A minor), and the time signature is 4/4. The first system (measures 1-3) shows the beginning of the piece with a treble staff that is mostly empty and a bass staff with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The second system (measures 4-6) introduces a melody in the treble staff. The third system (measures 7-9) continues the melodic development. The fourth system (measures 10-12) features a more complex texture with sixteenth-note patterns in the treble. The fifth system (measures 13-15) shows a change in texture with chords and eighth notes in the treble. The sixth system (measures 16-19) concludes the section with a final melodic phrase in the treble and a supporting bass line.

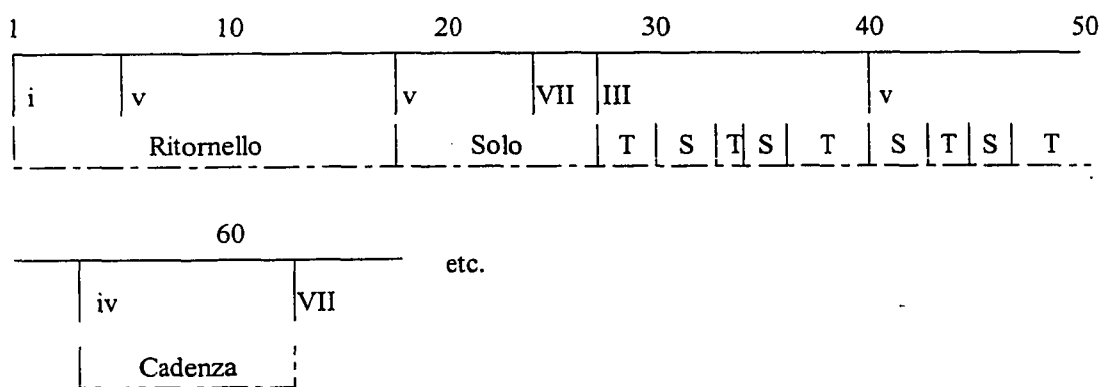
Example 3-8B:
Bach, Fugue in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 1-19

several series of linked harmonic progressions, the motivic and harmonic construction of the Prelude in A Minor gives the impression of ritornelli and solo sections, with numerous cadenza-like passages placed in strategic points.

Diagram 3-1 illustrates some of the key concerto-like aspects of this Prelude. Although the prelude clearly opens in A minor, the music makes a rather sudden tonal move to E minor by measure 5 and does not fully return to the tonic until measure 18. By itself, this does not seem unusual, but this tonic arrival is combined with contrapuntally layered restatements of the opening motives from the first measure. The music continues in measure 20 with batteries of sixteenth-note triplets, sometimes over a G pedal point, until arriving at the relative major by bar 27. From this measure through 40, much of the music reiterates the material and harmonic function of measures 5-18, this time preparing a return to E minor. And like measure 18, measure 40 also opens with contrapuntally layered restatements of the opening motives from the first measure.

Example 3-9 shows how Bach constructed this prelude from two types of material: one restating the opening music in different tonal areas, similar to ritornelli, and another that develops the opening material in various ways. Sometimes within the developmental sections of the prelude, Bach deviates from the triplet rhythms with scalar flurries of thirty-second notes, as in measures 54, 56, and 76-84 (Example 3-10). As a result of these musical structures, the prelude exhibits many standard concerto characteristics. Like most Italian concerto movements, the prelude capitalizes on a contrast between two types of material: solo and tutti. The "solo" sections are comparatively freer than the "ritornelli" in the treatment of the opening "tutti" themes, even including virtuoso and cadenza passages.

Diagram 3-1: Concerto-like structural aspects of the Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894
 Numbers are used to mark every ten measures, Roman numerals mark tonal arrivals
 T= tutti-like sections
 S= solo-like sections



A

B

C

Example 3-9: Bach, Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894

A=mm. 1-4

B= transposition of mm. 1-2 in mm. 5-6

C=contrapuntal and modulatory treatment of mm. 1-2 in mm. 18-22

The image displays six systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is written in A minor, indicated by the key signature of one flat (B-flat) on the bass staff. The systems are numbered 75 through 80. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and rests. The piece is in a 3/4 time signature. The overall texture is a single melodic line in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand.

Example 3-10:
Bach, Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 76-82

81

82

The image shows two systems of musical notation for piano. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system is labeled '81' and the second system is labeled '82'. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the second system.

Example 3-10:
continued

The construction of the A-minor Fugue, on the other hand, exhibits no concerto movement qualities. In fact the fugue might be viewed as possessing the characteristics of a *moto perpetuo* ; the persistent driving rhythm of triplets seems almost relentless, with the only minor rhythmic variation coming from the hopping figure of an eighth-note followed by a sixteenth rest. In addition, the harmonic rhythm in the fugue generally changes with each dotted eighth-note (Example 3-11). But the perpetual motion of the triplets really elaborates a rather simple fugue subject. By reducing the subject to its basic elements, one sees the theme primarily as a descending scalar pattern.

Therefore the fugue, unlike the prelude, would require significant modifications if it were to work as a concerto movement. Nevertheless, Bach made substantial alterations to both the prelude and the fugue, as he transformed them into concerto movements. The most obvious change is the orchestration. Even though it would seem that the creation of a concerto for solo flute, violin, harpsichord, and string ensemble would require Bach to develop new types of material, the solo parts show minimal modifications to preexisting material from the prelude and fugue movements. In the solo sections, the harpsichord carries the primary solo material, while the flute and violin concertato provide contrapuntal fill through the use of alternating triplet figures. In only a few measures of the first movement (for example, measures 51-53) do the flute and solo violin present thematic material. The orchestral accompaniment mainly completes or punctuates the harmonies of the figured bass implied within the themes of the parodied works (Example 3-12).

In a similar manner Bach discovered ways to reduce the number of structural revisions needed for both the first and third movements of the concerto. From the

i vii i v7 i iv VII III iv ii V7
 4
 6
 i 4 II(V/V)
 7

Example 3-11:
 Bach, Fugue in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 1-8 with harmonic analysis

The image displays a musical score for Example 3-12A, which is a section of Bach's Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894. The score is presented in two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system begins at measure 27 and ends at measure 28. The second system begins at measure 29 and ends at measure 30. The music is written in a single key signature of one flat (A minor). The first system features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a supporting line. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' above it in measure 28. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development, with a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' below it in measure 30.

Example 3-12A:
Bach, Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 27-30

51

Fl.
Vln. Solo
Vln.
Vla.
Vlc. D.B.
Harp. Solo

53

3
3
3

Example 3-12B:
Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Allegro," mm. 51-54

beginning, Bach derived ritornelli from material present in the prelude and fugue. Although the prelude already had ritornello-like material that spanned eighteen measures, Bach selected certain elements from these bars to make a more compact, eight-measure-long ritornello for the concerto. This shorter version is constructed from an amalgam of motivic elements.

Example 3-13 demonstrates that while the juxtaposition of the duple and triplet groupings of sixteenth notes occurs over two measures in the prelude, Bach repositions the rhythms so that the triplets arrive in the first measure of the concerto. Bach also generates the opening four measures of the concerto through octave echoes. The second measure echoes the first an octave higher with increased counterpoint. The first two beats of the second violins in bar 2 take up the last two beats of the first violins from measure 1. Bar 4 is also an echo of measure 3 an octave lower. The last identifiable rhythmic pattern to be presented is the grouping of dotted-sixteenth followed by thirty-second notes combined with ever increasing interval jumps (Example 3-14 m. 10). Thus the opening eight-bar tutti of the concerto also introduces the many rhythmic and contrapuntal elements found in the rest of the movement. With the creation of a modified ritornello, Bach was able to use the opening of the prelude for the first solo entrance (Example 3-14). Bach also lifted subsequent solo passages directly from the prelude, using them in the concerto for the identical function with only minor alterations of detail.

Bach's similar approach in designing the ritornello for the third movement of the concerto can be seen in Example 3-15. First, he converted the 12/16 time signature of the borrowed A-Minor Fugue into an *Alla breve* marking, allowing him to create an opening ritornello with a slower rhythmic design that provides rhythmic contrast to the triplet

The image displays a musical score for Example 3-13B, which is a section from Bach's Triple Concerto, BWV 1044, "Allegro," measures 1-4. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Violin Solo (Vln. Solo), Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello/Double Bass (Vcl. D.B.), and Harp Solo (Harps. Solo). The Flute part is mostly silent. The Violin Solo part features a triplet of eighth notes. The Violin and Viola parts also feature triplet markings. The Violoncello/Double Bass part has a triplet of eighth notes. The Harp Solo part has a triplet of eighth notes and is marked with "6" and "6 4+" below the staff. The second system continues the Violin Solo, Violin, and Viola parts with complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixths. The Violoncello/Double Bass part continues with a triplet of eighth notes. The Harp Solo part continues with a triplet of eighth notes and is marked with "6", "6 6", "4", "6", and "6" below the staff.

Example 3-13B:

Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Allegro," mm. 1-4

9

Fl.

Vln. Solo

Vln.

Vla.

Vlc. D.B.

Harps. Solo

Example 3-14:
Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Allegro," mm. 9-12

11

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system consists of two treble clef staves and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The second system consists of a grand staff. The music features eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and triplet markings. The first system shows a melodic line in the upper treble staff and a bass line in the lower bass staff, with a grand staff in between. The second system shows a more complex melodic line in the upper treble staff and a bass line in the lower bass staff, with a grand staff in between.

Example 3-14,
continued



A

Fl.

Vln. Solo

Vln.

Vla.

Vlc. D.B.

Harps. Solo

B

Example 3-15:

A=Bach, Fugue in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 1-4

B=Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Alla breve," mm. 1-4

Circled notes of A are basis for harpsichord bass line of B

eighth-notes, converted from sixteenths, in the solo passages. Bach then constructed the newly conceived ritornello and other tutti sections through a harmonic reduction of the figured bass implied in the original fugue. But rather than taking the obvious notes from the fugue subject, Bach used primarily the thirds of the chord to construct the ritornello motive.

As was true in the first movement, the solo passages of the third movement preserve most of the original borrowed harpsichord music. Nevertheless, Bach made detailed adjustments to the harpsichord part in several places. For example, he rhythmically modified measures 90-91 of the fugue in their parodied location of bars 144-145 (Example 3-16). Here Bach gave the concerto solo more flare in the treble line while making the bass line more *Alla breve* in accordance with the movement's new metrical designation. Other detailed rhythmic changes in measures 121-129 of the fugue (equivalent to measures 175-186 of the concerto) also give the revised music a greater virtuosic stamp (Example 3-17).⁴²

Bach used several equally subtle parody techniques in the concerto's second movement, based on the "Adagio" of the Organ Trio Sonata No. 3. While the outer movements contain a combination of solo and tutti orchestration, Bach decided against additional orchestral accompaniment in the middle movement, leaving only the three soloists. And although the music from the "Adagio" of the Trio Sonata No. 3 is in F, the middle movement of the *Triple Concerto* is in C. In the concerto, the three soloists assume the roles of the three organ voices in the Trio Sonata. As a result of this, in an

⁴² In light of the minor parody modifications of the A-Minor Fugue appearing in the concerto's *Alla breve* movement, Raymond Erickson has suggested that Bach may have composed the *Triple Concerto* in haste. When considering how much of the Prelude and Fugue and Trio Sonata sources remain virtually unchanged in the *Triple Concerto* parody, Erickson does not find the *Triple Concerto* in general to be one of Bach's more successful parodies.

ironic twist, the concerto version of this “Adagio” behaves more like a sonata movement than the organ version (Example 3-18).

In the concerto version, the harpsichord always carries one of the two melodic lines, as well as the bass line appearing in the organ version. Meanwhile the flute and solo violin take turns either playing the other melody voice or arpeggiated harmonies. Therefore, with this type of construction Bach closely approximates through role reversal the typical assignment of instruments in a trio sonata, in which the harpsichord normally functions as a member of the continuo. Diagram 3-2 shows that in the concerto “Adagio” the same instruments that can possibly present one of the two available melodies also share the duty of thoroughbass realization. At the same time, the harpsichord is relegated to playing only a melody line and the supportive bass.

The exchange of melody between the flute and violin is also connected to another modification. The organ movement is a binary form with repeated sections; the first, eight measures long, and the second, twenty-four. In the concerto arrangement, Bach wrote out the repeats, having the violin carry the melody in the repetition of each half. This substitution of instrumental roles as a replacement for repeats strongly resembles the formation of the Allegro movements seen in Reinken's *Hortus musicus*. As shown in the previous chapter, Reinken's reassignment of melody as a form of variation within sectional repeats involved, for the repeat, moving the melody from a treble or soprano instrument to one with a bass range. However, in this movement Bach's solution to sectional repeats still leaves the melody with a treble-voiced instrument.

The two instances of self-borrowing examined so far have demonstrated Bach's approach to moving material between various keyboard genres. The development of the

A

B

Example 3-16:

A=Bach, Fugue in A Minor, BWV 894, m. 90

B=Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Alla breve," m. 144

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system is labeled with the measure number 121. The second system is labeled with the measure number 124. The third system is labeled with the measure number 127. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs, characteristic of a fugue.

Example 3-17A:
Bach, Fugue in A Minor, BWV 894, mm. 121-129

175

Fl.

Vln. Solo

Vln.

Vla.

Vcl. D.B.

Harps. Solo

177

Example 3-17B:
 Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Alla breve," mm. 175-182

180

The musical score for Example 3-17B, continued, begins at measure 180. It is presented in five systems of staves. The first system consists of two staves. The second system consists of four staves. The third system consists of two staves. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and ornaments. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C).

Example 3-17B,
continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a three-part setting. Each system consists of three staves: a treble clef staff (top), a bass clef staff (middle), and a bass clef staff (bottom). The first system includes a triplet of eighth notes in the second measure of the top staff, marked with a '3' above it. The second system begins with a measure number '4' above the first staff. The third system begins with a measure number '6' above the first staff. The music is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/8 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

Example 3-18A:
Bach, Organ Trio Sonata, BWV 527, "Adagio e dolce," mm. 1-8

The image displays a musical score for three instruments: Flute (Fl.), Violin Solo (Vln. Solo), and Harpsichord Solo (Harps. Solo). The score is written in 6/8 time and consists of two systems. The first system shows the initial measures of the piece, with the Flute and Harpsichord parts featuring melodic lines and the Violin part providing a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system, starting with a measure rest (3) above the first staff, shows more complex rhythmic patterns and melodic development in all three parts. The Harpsichord part includes a fermata and a second ending mark (2) in the first system, and a fermata in the second system.

Example 3-18B:
Bach, *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044, "Adagio," mm. 1-5

Diagram 3-2: Comparison of Instrumental Assignments in the Organ Trio Sonata, BWV 527 and the *Triple Concerto*, BWV 1044

Organ Trio Sonata "Adagio" Movement	
<i>Melody</i>	
Organ Right hand	
Organ Left hand	
<i>Continuo</i>	
Organ Bass pedals	
mm. 1-8	Repeat of mm. 1-8
Concerto "Adagio" Movement	
<i>Melody</i>	
Flute	Violin (arco)
Harpsichord Right hand	Harpsichord Right hand
<i>Continuo</i>	
Violin (pizzicato)	Flute
Harpsichord Left hand	Harpsichord Left hand
mm. 1-8	mm. 9 - 17 (Repeat of mm. 1-8)

C-Major Prelude from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* was influenced by its changing function, from an instructional piece in a keyboard workbook to a partner for a corresponding fugue as well as opening piece of a large cyclical keyboard work. Likewise, both the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor and the organ Trio Sonata acquired a new purpose as concerto movements through a combination of restructuring and reorchestration. Therefore, Bach's revision process not only included considerations of genre and function, but also took into account the relationship between genre and instrumentation.

However, a key difference between these two parody examples is found in the parody source. The Prelude in C, regardless of version, always existed as a prelude and functioned as such. This was not the case with the sources of the *Triple Concerto*. The Prelude in A Minor, with its ritornello form, shares more in common with concerto idioms than it does with other keyboard preludes. Similarly, the respective Fugue in A Minor behaves like a *perpetuum mobile*. The Organ Trio Sonata, like the Italian sources for Bach's youthful instrumental parodies, could be readily altered through combinations of new contrapuntal possibilities and new instrumentation, therefore making it a candidate for the concerto's second movement. Thus Bach transformed the key components of sonata movements and other instrumental genres to create the structural basis for the movements of the *Triple Concerto*. Therefore, in composing the *Triple Concerto*, he discovered ingenious ways to stay within certain confines of a genre and yet modify several of its expected characteristics to adapt it to a different one. But perhaps a better example of Bach's ability to recognize the affinities existing between genres, instrumentation, and function can be found in his construction of another trio-sonata set.

The Violin and Harpsichord Obligato Sonata BWV 1019

The final sonata of the collection of Six Sonatas for Violin and Keyboard Obligato, BWV 1014 –1019, is particularly pertinent to our discussion for two reasons. First, due to the transmission of this collection, the chronology of this sonata set and the sixth sonata in particular still remains unclear. Several different sources of this collection survive, offering minor variants of the first five sonatas, but very different readings for the last sonata. Second, the diverse versions of the sixth sonata show evidence of Bach's borrowing techniques, although not all variants of the sixth sonata contain parodied elements. Nonetheless, an investigation of the borrowing evidence in the manuscript sources for the Sonata in G major, BWV 1019, as well as a comparison of the variant sonata versions, helps to clarify some difficult dating issues for such sources. The presence of parody also draws attention to Bach's search for appropriate preexistent compositional models.

There are seven manuscript sources for the sonata collection, with Bach's hand appearing in only one manuscript. Table 3-1 presents a synopsis of the manuscript sources currently available for the sixth sonata.⁴³ In *Mus. ms. St 162* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), Bach's handwriting is only present in the keyboard part for the third, fourth, and fifth movements of the final sonata while the remainder of the keyboard parts are written by Bach's nephew Johann Heinrich Bach (1707-83). While there are no violin parts for the fifth and sixth sonatas of the collection, those for the remaining four sonatas were copied by an unidentified scribe.

⁴³ Information taken from Johann Sebastian Bach, *The Music for Violin and Cembalo/Continuo*. Richard D.P. Jones ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.75-76. For an extremely detailed analysis of the differences among the sources, see Richard D. Claypool, *J.S. Bach's Sonatas for Melody Instrument and Cembalo Concertato: An Evaluation of All Related Manuscript Sources*. (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1975).

Table 3-1: Manuscript sources for BWV 1019, showing movement tempi, time signatures, and keys. Numbered columns represent movement sequence.

MANU-SCRIPTS	1 ST	2 ND	3 RD	4 TH	5 TH	6 TH
<i>St 162</i>	Vivace 4/4 G major	Largo 3/4 E minor	Corrente; Cembalo solo 3/8 E minor	Adagio 4/4 E minor	Violino Solo e Basso acc. 2 E minor	Vivace (repeat of 1 st mvt.) 4/4 G major
<i>P 229</i>	Allegro 2/2 G major	Largo 3/4 E minor	Allegro; Cembalo solo 2/4 E minor	Adagio 4/4 B minor	Allegro 6/8 G major	
<i>St 463-8</i>	Molto allegro 2/2 G major	Andante 3/4 E minor	Cembalo solo 2/4 E minor	Andante 4/4 B minor	Allegro assai 6/8 G major	
<i>P 426</i>	Molto allegro 2/2 G major	Largo 3/4 E minor	Cembalo solo 2/4 E minor	Adagio 4/4 B minor	Allegro assai 6/8 G major	
<i>St 403</i>	Molto allegro 4/4 G major	Largo 3/4 E minor	Cembalo solo 2/4 E minor	Adagio 4/4 B minor	Allegro assai 6/8 G major	
<i>MU 6705.1031</i>	Presto 2/2 G major	Largo 3/4 E minor	Cantabile ma un poco. Adagio 6/8 G major	Adagio 4/4 E minor	Presto (repeat of 1st mvt.) 2/2 G major	
<i>Am.B. 61</i>	Presto 2/2 G major	Largo 3/4 E minor	Cantabile ma un poco. Adagio 6/8 G major	Adagio 4/4 E minor	Presto (repeat of 1st mvt.) 2/2 G major	

In *Mus. ms. P 229* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), the sonata appears in the hand of Bach's pupil and son-in-law Johann Christoph Altnickol (1719-59). On the other hand, in *Mus. ms. St 463-8* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek) the sonata exists as instrumental performance parts copied out by Schlichting, a Hamburg scribe, for Bach's son, Carl Philip Emanuel Bach. In *Mus. m. St 403* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), which also comes from the musical circle of C.P.E. Bach, only a keyboard part exists, written by one of C.P.E. Bach's Berlin copyists, known in Bach scholarship as 'Anonymous 300.' The remaining manuscripts – *Mus.ms. Am.B. 61* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), *MU 6705.1031* (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Musikafdelingen, Weyses Samling), and *Mus.ms. P 426* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek) – are all in unknown hands.

Plausible dating of these sources can be derived from studies of manuscript watermarks and handwriting. While such studies provide clues that allow one to make a possible stemma for the manuscripts, some scholars still consider the question of when Bach first composed these sonatas an unresolved issue. Although Yoshitake Kobayashi has argued that Bach began composition on at least the sixth sonata, and possibly the whole sonata collection, no later than 1725,⁴⁴ other factors cast doubt on this idea.

On the title page for *St 162*, for instance, there is a note written in the hand of Bach's second youngest son, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (1732-95) that reads: 'NB Diese Trio hat er vor seinem Ende componiret.' In his proposed chronology of Bach's late works, Kobayashi takes this as evidence that Bach was working on these sonatas during a time period prior to his death, perhaps from October of 1749 until March or

⁴⁴ Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 74 (1988), pp. 7-71.

April of 1750.⁴⁵ By this time Bach was blind from unsuccessful attempts at optical surgery and one would suspect, as Marpurg indicated in his preface to the *Art of the Fugue*,⁴⁶ that any work on these sonatas would have been carried out through a scribe, perhaps a pupil, or one of Bach's sons.

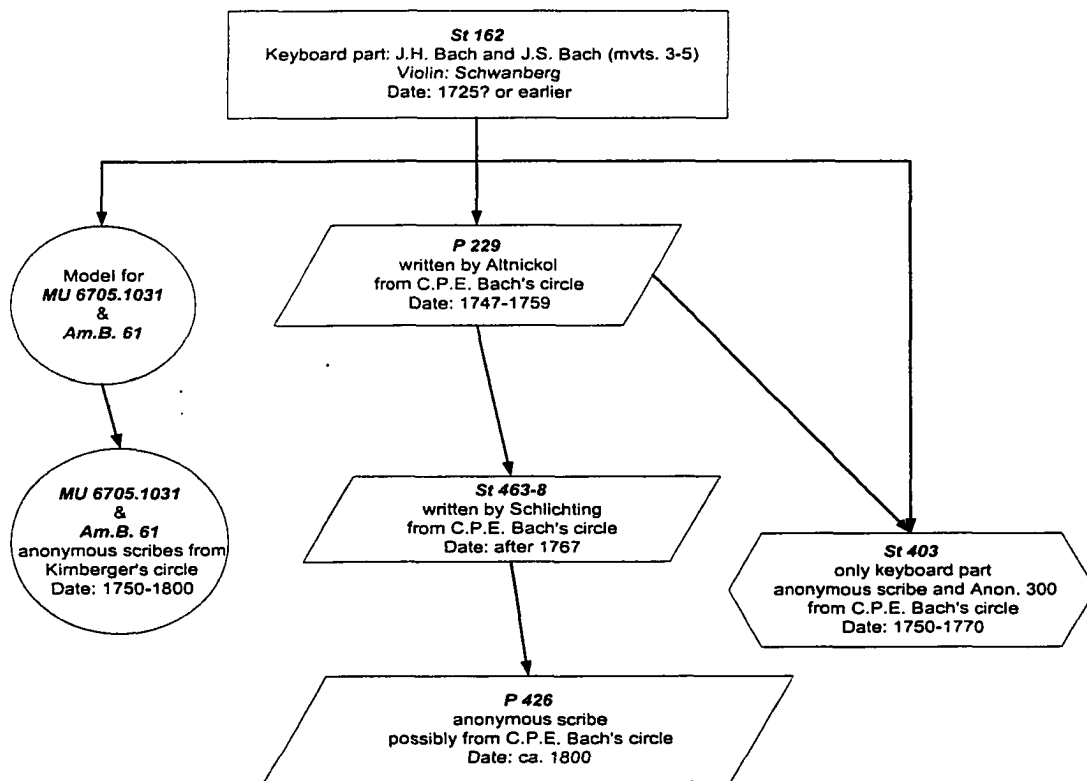
Our remaining sources for the collection are dated according to their relationship to Bach's son Carl Philipp Emanuel. Since *P 229* also contains the Sonata for Flute and Obligato Keyboard, BWV 1030, as well as a *Sonata a 3* (H. 576) by C.P.E. Bach written in 1747, this manuscript must date from between the younger Bach's composition and the death of the copyist Altnickol in 1759. Evidence that the two anonymous writers of *St 403* are also from C.P.E. Bach's musical circle indicates that this manuscript may date from sometime between 1750-1770, while *St 463-8* is believed to have been written after 1767. The remaining anonymous manuscripts seem to date from the second half of the eighteenth century (See Figure 3-1).

When results of watermark and handwriting studies are supplemented with parody studies of Bach's variant constructions for the sixth sonata, the apparent sequence of transmission and composing events become a bit clearer. There are essentially two sonata variants providing evidence of borrowing. The keyboard parts in Bach's hand from the third and fifth movements of the sixth sonata in *St 162* are minor variants of the *Corrente* and *Tempo di Gavotta*, respectively, from Bach's Partita in E minor BWV 830. Although the E-Minor Partita was published as part of the *Clavier-Übung I* between 1726 and 1731, an earlier version of the work is found in the second *Clavierbüchlein für Anna*

⁴⁵ Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke..."

⁴⁶ "...we are proud to think that the four-voiced chorale fantasy added here, which [Bach] in his blindness dictated ex tempore to one of his friends..." Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*..., no. 374, p. 376.

Figure 3-1: Possible stemma for Sonata in G Major, BWV 1019



Magdalena Bach. From the date appearing on the cover of this *Clavierbüchlein*, it is known that Bach began compiling this book in 1725. Thus the keyboard parts from *St 162* would appear to date circa 1725. Watermark studies of this manuscript indicate that the violin parts were made sometime after the autumn of 1727 and represent copies of a lost original series of violin parts.⁴⁷

Further dating clues come from another instance of Bach's self-borrowing found in *MU 6705.1013* and *Am.B. 61*, two manuscripts from Kirnberger's circle dating after 1750. The version of the Sonata in G found in these manuscripts contains with some differences a movement that appears in the cantata *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille*, BWV 120, composed in 1728 or 1729. Thus, the borrowing evidence and the provenance of *MU 6705.1013* and *Am.B. 61* indicate the possibility that they were copied from another source also dating from the 1720's. Therefore, Kobayashi's hypothesis for c.1725 as the beginning of composition for the sixth sonata appears to be the best accurate dating available.

Besides its contribution to the Bach chronology, a survey of the different extant versions of the last sonata and their pre-existent models shows that Bach sought new solutions to the matter of sonata design, perhaps as a way to expand the potential of the genre. While the other five members of this collection of violin and harpsichord sonatas conform to the four-movement structure of the Italian *sonata da chiesa*, the Sonata in G Major does not (See Figure 3-2). Like Bach's early Italian *sonata da chiesa* models by Reinken and Albinoni, the first five sonatas consist of four movements: a slow introductory movement, a more contrapuntal or canonic allegro, followed by a slow

⁴⁷ Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958), p. 88.

cantabile movement and lastly a quick finale. On the other hand, all seven variants of the sixth sonata from the collection behave more like a *sonata da camera*, since they contain five movements: a contrapuntal or canonic allegro, followed by a slower largo or andante movement, a variable third movement, another slower adagio or andante movement and a faster more contrapuntal finale. And while no direct reference to the four regular dance movements – allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue – typical of the late seventeenth-century *sonata da camera* can be found in these seven variants, Bach's use of parody in some versions of this sonata does indirectly suggest the presence of some of these traditional musical dance forms.

The first movement of this last sonata as presented in all seven sources is in a fast tempo – *Vivace, Allegro, Molto allegro, or Presto*. This is atypical of the *sonata da chiesa*, but characteristic of the *sonata da camera*. In the second movement, which also appears essentially the same in all manuscript sources, Bach continues the sonata with a slow movement. The sonata's remaining movements differ depending upon which source is considered.

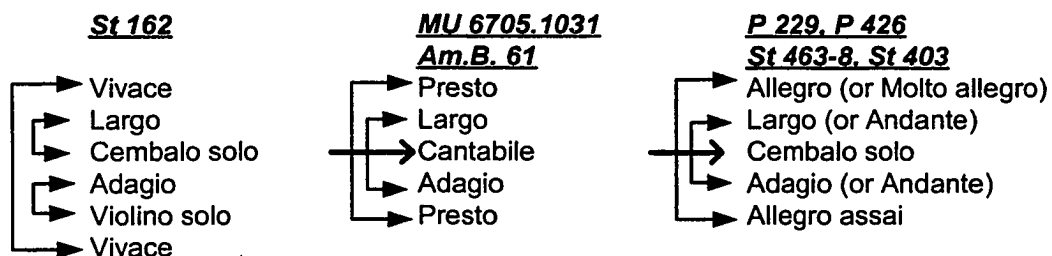
In the *St 162* version, the cyclical structure of the sonata once again demonstrates Bach's originality within the Baroque sonata tradition. Although the G-Major Sonata in *St 162* contains five notated movements, Bach left instructions – “Repetature ab initio/Presto” – to return to the opening fast movement (*Vivace*) after playing the fifth movement.⁴⁸ Based upon this evidence, Bach may have intended this version of the sonata to consist of six movements in the pattern of fast-slow-fast (cembalo solo)-slow-fast (violin solo)-fast, not the customary four movements in the pattern of slow-fast-slow-

⁴⁸ Claypool, *J.S. Bach's Sonatas for Melody Instrument and Cembalo Concertato...*, p. 16.

fast as found in the Italian *sonata da chiesa*. This structure, then, consists of two pairs of alternating movements – one slow movement followed by another movement highlighting each instrument through solo presentation – framed by the repeated first movement (See Figure 3-2).

The third and fifth movements from the *St 162* version of the G-Major Sonata are notable not only because they appear relatively unchanged in another work, but also for their structural function within this early sonata rendering. Unlike all other movements in *St 162*, the third movement of the G-Major Sonata, designated as a *corrente* for solo cembalo, is the only movement in which the violin is tacet. Still Bach's re-use of the *corrente* for the "Cembalo solo" illustrates Bach's interest in experimenting with the various parameters of the eighteenth-century trio sonata. While originally conceived as a dance movement within a solo keyboard partita, the "Corrente" borrowed for the "Cembalo solo" in the *St 162* manuscript of the G-Major Sonata retains its role as a dance movement typical of a *sonata da camera*. However, as a solo movement within a multi-instrument trio sonata, the re-use of this movement seems atypical to *sonata da camera* paradigms. Yet, in its new context surrounded by other non-dance movements, Bach intended the "Cembalo solo" movement to take on a new function.

Figure 3-2: Movement organization for variants of the Sonata in G Major, BWV 1019



Bach's use of the "Corrente" in the G-Major Sonata appears to be motivated by several factors. In the "Corrente," the keyboard performs two distinct functions: the left-hand produces steadily moving eighth-note triplets while the right hand plays against the left in syncopation and thirty-second notes (Example 3-19). Thus the "Corrente" is unlike the previous two movements of the sonata. In addition to the tacet violin, there is a lack of invertible counterpoint between the two voices. However, as established beforehand in earlier movements, the solo keyboard still utilizes the left hand part as the bass line. Also unlike prior movements, the "Corrente" exhibits a binary form typical of the common sonata dance movements, with A and B sections marked off by repeats. In fact, it seems that Bach intentionally chose a dance form to emphasize how different this movement is – as a cembalo solo movement – from those preceding it in the sonata. Nevertheless, Bach used another dance movement to create an equally interesting fifth movement.

As transmitted in *St 162*, the G-Major Sonata's fifth movement is incomplete, consisting of only the left hand of a keyboard part. The persistent dotted rhythms and the triplet runs found in the keyboard left hand indicate that Bach clearly conceived of this movement's structure as a dance form with a binary division. Additional clues to Bach's intentions can be found in his reuse of this movement's material for the keyboard left hand of the "Tempo di Gavotta" also in the E-Minor Partita (Example 3-20). Aside from the key transposition, a comparison of the incomplete sonata movement with its

The image displays five systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals. The systems are numbered 7, 12, 18, and 24, indicating the starting measure of each system. The music is a continuous piece with a flowing, rhythmic character.

Example 3-19A:
Bach, Partita in E Minor, BWV 830, "Corrente," mm. 1-29

The image displays five systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The systems are numbered 7, 13, 19, and 25 at the beginning of their respective staves. The music features a complex texture with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 3-19B:
Bach, Sonata in G Major, BWV 1019, St 162 version
“Cembalo solo,” mm. 1-27

The image displays five systems of musical notation for a piano piece. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The systems are numbered 1 through 5, corresponding to measures 1 through 14. System 1 (measures 1-3) features a triplet of eighth notes in the treble staff. System 2 (measures 4-6) continues the melodic line. System 3 (measures 7-9) includes another triplet of eighth notes in the bass staff. System 4 (measures 10-11) contains a first ending bracketed over the final measure. System 5 (measures 12-14) contains a second ending bracketed over the final two measures, with a triplet of eighth notes in the bass staff.

Example 3-20A:
 Bach, Partita in E Minor, BWV 830, "Tempo di Gavotta," mm. 1-14

The image displays a musical score for the bass line of a piece. It consists of ten staves of music, each starting with a measure number: 1, 4, 8, 11, 14, 18, 22, 26, and 29. The key signature is one flat (F major or D minor), and the time signature is 2/4. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and includes several triplet markings (indicated by a '3' below the notes). At measure 11, there are two first endings (labeled '1.' and '2.') that lead to different subsequent phrases. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the final staff.

Example 3-20B:
 Bach, Sonata in G Major, BWV 1019, St 162 version, “Violino solo e Basso
 l’accompagnato,” mm. 1-32

counterpart from the Partita suggests that Bach may have intended the left hand in the *St 162* version to function as an independent bass line. In this manner, like the preceding first and second movements, the keyboard would support the two solo lines provided by both the keyboard right hand and the violin.

Yet, the title of the movement, *Violino solo e Basso l'accompagnato*, may be an indication that an obbligato right-hand keyboard part was never intended at all. Rather, the title implies that the keyboard was meant to function strictly as basso continuo rather than harpsichord obbligato. Perhaps this movement was planned as a counterbalance to the third movement for cembalo solo. If so, Bach may have intended the violin to play material as it appears in the keyboard right hand from the Partita's "Gavotta."

The same sonata as transmitted in *Am.B. 61* and *MU 6705.1031* exhibits quite a different sequence of movements from *St 162*. While movements one, two, and four in these sources and the instruction to repeat the first movement at the end of the sonata remain the same as those found in *St 162*, these sources provide a different third movement and omit the fifth movement. The third movement of the sonata in the *Am.B. 61* and *MU 6705.1031* manuscripts is a *Cantabile* compared with the dance intended for cembalo solo in the *St 162* manuscript. However, it is probably more important to note how in the *Am.B. 61* and *MU 6705.1031* manuscripts the third movement is positioned within the sonata's overall structure.

In these manuscript sources, the third movement becomes the central movement in a five-movement sonata: the fifth movement is a repeat of the first movement, thus framing the two slow movements of the second and fourth, while the *cantabile* third stands in the middle. In both *Am.B. 61* and *MU 6705.1031* the third movement consists of

an *arioso* for both violin and cembalo. Just as the third movement in the *St 162* version of the sixth sonata was borrowed so is the third movement in the *Am.B. 61* and *MU 6705.1031* variants, for the *arioso* also appears as the fourth movement, a soprano aria, in the cantata *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille*, BWV 120, composed in 1728 or 1729.

It is uncertain whether this movement was first composed for the sonata or the cantata. The movement is written in an *arioso* style with a tempo marking and time signature indicating a clear departure from the *corrente* dance found in *St 162* (Example 3-21). Given Bach's tendencies in the *Triple Concerto* toward expanded parody development, it would seem that the sonata version predates that of the cantata. Like Bach's *Triple Concerto* orchestration of the Prelude and Fugue in A minor, the instrumentation of the cantata points to a fuller realization of the figured bass appearing in the keyboard part of the sonata movement. And like the relationship of the harpsichord lines in the *Triple Concerto* to their parody sources, the solo violin lines of both the aria and sonata are identical. It also seems as though Bach substituted the soprano line of the aria for the keyboard right hand of the sonata and added lyrics to the line.

However, other qualities of this "Cantabile" hint that Bach – or someone in his circle – fashioned the sonata movement from the cantata movement. Unlike other movements in the sixth sonata, true invertible counterpoint is missing between the violin and harpsichord in the "Cantabile." The violin part is typically far more florid than the harpsichord right hand, but the harpsichord right hand is still more ornamented than the comparable soprano line in the aria. Nevertheless, in the sonata version the violin's elaborate passages seem more pronounced particularly where the solo portion of the keyboard right hand drops out, leaving a left hand with figured bass notation, atypical

1

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6

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Example 3-21A:
 Bach, Sonata in G Major, BWV 1019, version in Am.B. 61 and MU 6705.1031
 "Cantabile, ma un poco Adagio," mm. 1-9

The image displays a musical score for Example 3-21B, consisting of two systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Vln. Solo, Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., S., and B.C. The second system includes staves for Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., S., and B.C. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/8 time. The first system begins with a first ending bracket (1) and features trills (tr) in the violin parts. The second system begins with a fourth measure bracket (4) and includes a trill (tr) in the first violin part. The vocal line (S.) is mostly silent, and the bassoon (B.C.) provides a steady accompaniment.

Example 3-21B:

Bach, *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille*, BWV 120, "Heil und Segen," mm. 1-5

of other movements found in the rest of this version of the sonata. And much like an aria, the sonata “Cantabile” contains a refrain of the opening measure in various key areas as well as a *da capo* construction.

The remaining sources – *P 229*, *St 463-8*, *P 426*, and *St 403* – present an identical organizational plan for the sixth sonata, but a plan different from the aforementioned three sources. Again the first two movements are essentially the same as those appearing in the other three sources. And in these manuscripts the third movement, as in *St 162*, is composed for cembalo solo with the violin tacet. However, in these four sources, the musical material of the third movement differs completely from that of *St 162*.

In the final version of the sixth sonata found in *P 229*, *St 463-8*, *P 426*, and *St 403*, the third-movement *corrente* for harpsichord solo observed in the *St 162* edition is exchanged for a movement with contrapuntal voicing more akin to a two-part invention. Like the third movement from *St 162*, this E-minor Allegro is in binary form and is comprised of two independent voices, which exchange contrapuntal material only in a few places. For the most part, each voice has its own character: the left hand with mostly leaping eighth-note gestures and the right hand with running sixteenth notes. These opposing rhythmic qualities, as well as the binary structure, echo the distinctions made between the two voices in the *St 162* version of the cembalo solo movement.

We have seen that the *MU 6705.1013* and *Am.B. 61* sources lack a fifth movement for the G-Major Sonata and that the fifth movement of the *St 162* version is missing a violin part. But an alternative reading of the sonata is found in the remaining sources, which contain a final, fifth movement, an “Allegro” in 6/8, typical of *giga* dances. In *P 229*, *St 463-8*, *P 426*, and *St 403*, as in *MU 6705.1013* and *Am.B. 61*, the

sonata's structural center is still the third movement, which is framed by two slow movements, themselves framed by or paired with two fast movements. Yet in these four sources, the third movement is a cembalo solo movement while the *MU 6705.1013* and *Am.B. 61* sources contain a *cantabile* movement for both violin and keyboard obbligato.

While all seven sources for the sixth sonata show various changes to individual movements, resulting in three different overall designs for the sonata, there remains a common compositional goal. All versions of the G-Major Sonata illustrate Bach's determination to mix elements found in other genres – solo keyboard suite, keyboard invention, concerto, and cantata *da capo* aria – within the genre of sonata. Signs of Bach's ingenuity can be observed everywhere – in the sophisticated ritornello forms, invertible counterpoint, voice exchange, orchestration, and parody.

In all versions, the style of the sonata's first movement is fast and imitative. And much like the fast, imitative movements found in Reinken's *Hortus musicus* sonatas, this movement can also be divided into various sections. The opening twenty-two measures, considered an A section that is repeated via a *da capo*, really consist of three sections of invertible counterpoint: section 1 from measures 1-8, section 2 between measures 9-16, and the third section from measures 17-22. The movement's B section, found between measures 22 and 69, can also be similarly divided into two sections, one from measures 22-50 and the other from measures 51-69. The B section combines some musical elements from the A section with new contrapuntal and motivic ideas and moves through a series of keys before arriving in bar 69 at the dominant.

A comparable construction exists in several Bach concerto movements. In the first movement of the second and fifth *Brandenburg Concertos*, the D-Minor Double Violin

Concerto, and the *Triple Concerto*, the opening A section of the movement is repeated via a *da capo* while the B section encompasses harmonic modulations achieved through alternating solo and tutti passages. By using within both sonata and concerto movements *da capo* structures common to both Italian operatic arias and Bach's cantata arias, Bach was willing to incorporate elements of vocal music into his instrumental works. But in addition to an aria-like construction, the tripartite structure of the A section in the first movement of the G-Major Sonata imitates the construction of the allegros found in Vivaldi's concertos for strings:

The Vivaldian *ritornello* on its first appearance is usually a complex of at least three associated, though contrasted, ideas, of which the last frequently recalls the first. . . One fairly constant factor is the ending of a movement with the original *ritornello* (often indicated in manuscript by a *da capo* direction) or at least its final section – an innovation in concertos when first introduced, in Op. III, though no doubt influenced by the Scarlattian operatic aria.⁴⁹

The first movement from the G-Major Sonata, BWV 1019, also shares a common contrapuntal structure with some of Bach's instrumental concertos. In the opening sonata movement, analogous to all the movements of the D-Minor Double Violin Concerto, each solo part in takes a turn presenting contrapuntal and melodic material. The sonata shows the violin and keyboard right hand exchanging the role of leading the invertible counterpoint while the left hand of the keyboard functions as the tutti and continuo part. Such a mixture of sonata and concerto elements as found in the opening movement of the G-Major sonata appears to have been an acceptable musical construct. Johann Adolph

⁴⁹ Michael Talbot, "The Concerto Allegro in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Music & Letters* 52/1,2 (January, April 1971), p. 170.

Scheibe, in his book *Der Critische Musikus*, makes note of merged sonata and concerto styles in his discussion of the *Sonate auf Concertenart*:⁵⁰

...the essence of the concerto in its chief melodic material [is] the ritornello delimited by tonal closure. Accordingly, the *Sonate auf Concertenart* approximates the concerto by distinguishing sections in which material from the ritornello is either present or absent. This stands to reason, since the sonata cannot easily indicate the alternation of texture between the “tutti” and the “solo” which characterizes the real concerto grosso.⁵¹

In *St 162*, *MU 6705.1013*, and *Am.B. 61*, the first movement is repeated at the end of the sonata while the final movement as presented in *P 229*, *St 463-8*, *P 426*, and *St 403* is also a fast movement. Within *P 229*, *St 463-8*, *P 426*, and *St 403* the last movement, whose opening thirty-one measures can also be divided into multiple sections of invertible counterpoint, also presents certain qualities of *Sonate auf Concertenart* form. At the same time, Bach's use of invertible counterpoint can be traced back to the basic lessons he learned from his Reinken parodies. Perhaps Bach recognized that the characteristic invertible counterpoint of the *Sonate auf Concertenart* was an element shared by Reinken's trio sonatas, and thus he used it.

Another compositional aspect that departs from trio sonata norms is that of instrumental setting. The entire group of six sonatas is set so that in most cases there are three individual voices; two treble parts carried by the violin and the right hand of the harpsichord, and a bass line, appearing in the keyboard left hand. The collection as a whole shows that Bach seems to have been interested in the problem of conveying three

⁵⁰ For detailed information on the *Sonate auf Concertenart* see Jeanne Swack, “On the Origins of the ‘Sonate auf Concertenart’,” *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 46/3 (Fall 1993) pp. 369-414.

⁵¹ Lawrence Dreyfus, “J.S. Bach and the Status of Genre: Problems of the Style in the G-Minor Sonata BWV 1029,” *Journal of Musicology* 5/1 (Winter 1987), p. 58.

voices with only two instruments, without a gamba or violoncello, as opposed to the historical precedent of the trio sonata with three independent voices carried by three instruments.

This is not unlike the similar problem posed in Bach's works for unaccompanied violin and violoncello. In the solo violin sonatas and partitas, BWV 1001-1006, Bach takes a monophonic instrument and creates the illusion of multiple voices. In the obbligato keyboard collection, the violin is always a melodic instrument, but it is the harpsichord that serves two functions with the left hand as the bass line continuo and the right hand as a solo melodic line. However, there are places where the keyboard acts as solo instrument, as in two *Cembalo solo* versions of the third movement from the last sonata. This type of writing should also be compared with a similar approach to voice setting present in Bach's organ trio sonatas; the organ performs the functions of both dual melody instruments and continuo. It appears, then, from the instrumentation that these keyboard obbligato sonatas are indeed conceived as trio sonatas composed for two instruments. Certainly the note written by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach found in *St 162* that reads: 'NB Diese Trio hat er vor seinem Ende componiret'⁵² indicates that at least the younger Bach evidently understood these sonatas as trio sonatas for two instruments.

Finally, the clearest evidence of Bach's ability to interchange components among genres is observed in the instances of self-borrowing. For the *Triple Concerto*, primarily a keyboard work, Bach drew inspiration from earlier keyboard compositions that contained a modicum of concerto-like elements. In some cases, this required Bach to

⁵² *Bach-Dokumente III*. Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), Item 631.

develop new strategies to construct concerto forms from other genres. But in the various versions of the violin sonata, the parodied movements remain fundamentally unmodified, seemingly interchangeably placed into a proper location within a sonata, partita, or aria. In this respect, this sonata shows Bach experimenting with the pliability of the larger form more so than the internal workings or smaller details of each movement.

We can see, then, that much of the same creative effort Bach invested in borrowing from others can also be found in his self-borrowing. Not only did he recraft his works when borrowing, but he also incorporated both subtle changes and more pronounced acts of restructuring in such reworkings. At other times, Bach focused on transferable genre characteristics in his parodies, characteristics that could be easily exchanged between various types of instrumental and vocal works. It should be noted at this point that Bach was not alone in these parody practices, for Handel, Vivaldi, and Telemann also used parody as part of their compositional techniques. How these contemporaries used parody, and how their approach compares with Bach's are the topics of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Borrowing Practices of Bach's Contemporaries

Our focus in Chapters 1 to 3 has been on the various issues surrounding the creative and inventive ways that Bach used parody as a compositional procedure. But of course Bach was not the only Baroque composer who developed new compositions by reusing pre-existent material. Three of Bach's greatest contemporaries – George Frideric Handel (1685-1759), Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), and Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) – also used borrowing while composing a wide variety of pieces for various ensembles. The question thus arises: if Bach was not alone in his use of parody, was he “using procedures common to [his] tradition and generation, perhaps to a greater degree or in a more obvious manner than others,”¹ as Peter Burkholder has put it?

In order to answer this question and fully understand Bach's borrowing practices, we need to compare Bach's methods to those of his generation. Examining the careers and works of these three famous Bach contemporaries provides such comparisons and reveals several interesting parallels among the parody procedures of all four musicians. In addition, investigating musical parody in the works of Handel, Vivaldi, and Telemann broadens our understanding of how parody functioned within the Baroque era.

Handel and His Borrowings

Handel's career and use of parody have been the most documented of all Bach's contemporaries and comparisons are commonly made between the life and works of both composers.² The details of Handel's childhood and early music instruction, like Bach's,

¹ Burkholder, “The Uses of Existing Music...”, p. 860.

² Biographical information on Handel summarized from John Mainwaring *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London, 1760); Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* ((New York: Thames a Hudson, 1985); H.C. Robbins Landon *Handel and His World* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984); and Winton Dean, *The New Grove Handel* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982).

remain unclear. Nevertheless, we can be certain that both Bach and Handel were significantly influenced during their youth by their common interest in Middle and North German practices. Born in Halle in Saxony, Handel probably began his musical studies in 1692 with Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow, a church organist in Halle. However, unlike Bach, Handel pursued a law degree, matriculating in 1702 at the university in Halle. Yet analogous to Bach, Handel earned a church position at age seventeen, holding the probationary post of organist at the Domkirche, Halle's main church. Handel, however, resisted a career as a church musician and in 1703 moved to Hamburg, an important center for opera in Germany.

At first, Handel played violin in Hamburg's opera orchestra, but by 1704 he had composed *Almira*, his first opera, a genre that would consume much of his creative life. In contrast to Bach's youthful journeys to hear famous organists in north German cities, Handel departed for Italy in 1706, spending the next three years in Rome, Florence, Naples, and Venice. During this time, he composed a large number of cantatas and Italian oratorios, met some of the leading Italian composers, and earned a reputation as a gifted harpsichordist. After composing his first successful Italian opera, *Agrippina*, in 1709, Handel went back to Germany.

Upon his return in 1710, Handel was appointed the successor to Agostino Steffani (1654-1728), Kapellmeister to the Elector of Hanover. Even though Steffani sanctioned Handel's appointment, Handel almost immediately took a leave of absence in order to travel to London, where his opera *Rinaldo* was given with great success the next year. Again in London on leave in 1712, he settled there, never returning to his post in Hanover. Between 1712 and 1715 he staged four operas, and in 1713 wrote a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht, receiving a life pension of £200 from

Queen Anne. On her death in 1714, the Elector of Hanover succeeded to the British throne as King George I, but apparently took a lenient view of his former Kapellmeister's truancy, for Handel's pension was soon doubled.

Handel's most prolific period as an opera composer began in 1720, and over the next twenty years, he wrote more than thirty works. As the popularity of Italian opera in England waned, Handel increasingly turned to oratorio in the 1730s. His last opera was produced in 1741, after which he devoted his time chiefly to composing oratorios. After the success in 1742 of the *Messiah*, apparently composed in a single burst of inspiration, Handel wrote twelve more oratorios, some on Old Testament texts (*Samson*, *Solomon*), others on classical mythology (*Semele*). He continued to appear in public as conductor and organist, playing concertos between parts of his oratorios. As Handel's health declined, he spent his last years in blindness. His last major public success came in 1749 with the suite for wind instruments, to accompany the Royal Fireworks in Green Park.

Handel composed more than thirty operas, nearly twenty oratorios, eleven anthems, dramatic cantatas, numerous other solo and duo cantatas, funeral anthems and other church music, numerous Italian cantatas, and chamber duets. His output of instrumental music is equally varied, including sonatas for various instruments and continuo, trio sonatas, twelve concerti grossi for strings, oboe concertos, organ concertos, *Water Music*, *Fireworks Music*, and a wide variety of keyboard music, including organ fugues and harpsichord suites. His fame rested primarily on the popularity of his numerous operas and oratorios.

For more than two centuries, Handel's borrowings have been a major focus of Handel studies, which resonate with issues similar to those seen in the Bach research discussed in Chapter 1. In fact, mention of Handel's borrowings predates mention of

Bach's: In the July 1722 issue of *Critica musica*, one of Handel's musical Hamburg associates, Johann Mattheson, noted that two Handel operas, *Agrippina* of 1709 and *Muzio Scevola* of 1721, had used almost note-for-note an aria from Mattheson's 1702 opera *Porsenna*. Mattheson did not consider this musical borrowing plagiarism but "rather a special honor" for the source composer "when a famous person comes upon his ideas and makes from them a true basis of his own music."³

Handel's borrowing practices were apparently well known throughout Europe; other Mattheson and Handel contemporaries such as Johann Adolph Scheibe in Germany and Abbé Prévost in Paris corroborated Mattheson's remarks. After Handel's death, Charles Burney of London defended Handel's parody techniques in a 1785 publication, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey*:

All that the greatest and boldest musical inventor can do, is to avail himself of the best effusions, combinations, and efforts, of his predecessors; to arrange and apply them in a new manner; and to add his own source, whatever he can draw, that is grand, graceful, gay, pathetic, or, in any other way pleasing. This Handel did, in a most ample and superior manner; being possessed, in his middle age and full vigour, of every refinement and perfection of his time.⁴

Burney's view of Handel's techniques encapsulates the positive late eighteenth-century sentiment towards Handel's musical borrowings. However, Handel's own librettist, Charles Jennens, had a less favorable judgment of his colleague's approach to composition. Jennens mentioned in a 1743 letter that "Handel has borrow'd a dozen of the Pieces [from my personal library] and I dare say I shall catch him stealing from them as I have formerly, both from Scarlatti and Vinci."⁵ The following month, Jennens regrets

³ Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica I* (Hamburg, 1722), p. 71.

⁴ Charles Burney. *Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon in Commemoration of Händel* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1785), p. 39.

⁵ Bernd Baselt, ed. *Handel-Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978-1986), Vol. 5 p. 356.

that he “mention’d [his] Italian Musick to Handel, for [he didn’t] like to have him borrow from them who has so much a better fund his own.”⁶ This more suspicious view of Handel’s parody process gained greater acceptance during the early nineteenth century, as scholars focused on the quantity of Handel’s borrowings.

Nineteenth-century criticism of Handel’s parodies took two particular paths. The first was to equate the majority of these musical parodies with plagiarism. In an article by Irish music critic Frederick William Horncastle, one can see how such accusations of plagiarism led to questions of Handel’s moral character:

Originality in any art or science is considered by the critics a most essential quality in the works of either the theorist or practitioner who puts forward any claim to public notice... We are frequently told of the plagiarisms of young composers, who... are immediately assailed with the imputation of plagiarism, if only a bar or two is found to resemble the composition of some abler and more established writer....

...may the plagiarism I... notice be called musical felonies when whole passages, subjects of fugues, and other equally important parts of a composition are pilfered by men whom perhaps, from their previous good character, we may be inclined to recommend to mercy; yet... they must certainly be brought up to the Harmonic Old Bailey, where they are to receive the reward of their crimes by the verdict of a jury of critics.... Yes... G.F. Handel is certainly about to undergo his trial; attend therefore to the catalogue of his crimes.⁷

While Horncastle’s comments may seem rather harsh, the moral consequences of borrowed compositions became a consideration of other nineteenth-century music critics as well.

The second tendency in nineteenth-century Handel studies was to catalog the number and sources of Handel’s parodies. William Crotch, a music professor at Oxford, had noted in a series of published lectures from 1831 that Handel had either copied or

⁶ Baselt, *Handel-Handbuch*, Vol. 5 p. 357.

⁷ Frederick William Horncastle. "Plagiarism." *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 4 (1822), pp. 141-147.

quoted directly the music “of Josquin, Palestrina, Turini, Carissimi, Calvisius, Urio, Corelli, both Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti, Bach, Purcell, Locke, Caldara, Colonna, Clari, Kerll, Habermann, Muffat, Kuhnau, Telemann, Graun, Mondonville, Porta, Pergolesi, Vinci, Astorga, Bononcini, Hasse, etc.”⁸ Although this list of borrowed sources is not entirely accurate, it was clear to Handel scholars that the composer sought inspiration from a wide variety of other works.

While Handel research uncovered a growing number of parody examples, some questioned why Handel relied so heavily upon parody as a compositional method. As scholars became more interested in explaining Handel’s borrowing practices, the accusatory tone and rhetoric of morality found in earlier Handel research intensified. In his 1859 Handel biography, *Sketch of the Life of Handel*, George A. MacFarren provided his explanation of Handel’s borrowings:

Handel wrote for applause, and was utterly unscrupulous as to the means he employed to obtain it, appropriated, with equal indifference, former ideas and even entire compositions, whether his own or those of other musicians, to the purpose of the moment . . . Expediency appears to have been Handel’s main rule of action.⁹

But as more parodies were discovered in Handel’s work, others, like Friedrich Chrysander, focused on the variety of Handel’s pre-existent sources. As an aid to late nineteenth-century Handel parody studies, Chrysander, a Handel biographer and editor of the *Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, published six supplemental volumes of Handel’s parody sources in his edition of Handel’s complete works. These additional volumes contain works such as Keiser’s opera *Octavia*, Urio’s *Te Deum*, and Muffat’s

⁸ William Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831; reprint, Clarabricken Co. Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press, Ltd., 1986), p. 122. For Handel’s borrowings from the music of his contemporary, Maurice Greene (1696-1755), see Henry Burnett, “Greene and Handel: The Choral Music,” *The American Organist* 20/6 (June 1986), pp. 66-74.

⁹ George MacFarren, *Sketch of the Life of Handel*, (1859), pp. 3, 15, 42.

collection of harpsichord works *Componimenti Musicali*. Prior to these supplements, Chrysander had edited for publication four oratorios by Carissimi, which represented yet another parody source for Handel.

Sparked by Chrysander's research and publications of Handel's parody sources, British musicologist Sedley Taylor in 1906 issued the first comprehensive twentieth-century study of Handel's borrowing practices. Taylor's book, *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers: a Presentation of Evidence*, draws upon Chrysander's work, citing specific examples of Handel's reuse of his own works as well as those from Muffat, Clari, and Graun, among others. After seven chapters of evidence, Taylor rendered his verdict on Handel's reuse of existing material:

The fact remains that he accepted, indeed practically claimed, merit for what he must have known was not his own work. That this was wrong can, it appears to me, be denied by those only who are prepared to estimate the morality of an act according to the amount of genius shown in performing it.¹⁰

Once again, according to British standards of the Victorian era, Handel's morality was deemed questionable. But soon afterward, Percy Robinson presented an opposing position in his 1908 book *Handel and His Orbit*. While Taylor had cited Handel's music as evidence against the composer's best intentions, Robinson instead chose to focus on the reports of Handel's contemporaries, stressing that an eighteenth-century, rather than a twentieth-century, perspective was needed to evaluate Handel's methods.

In contrast to Taylor, Robinson proposed that the wide variety and methods of Handel's adaptations of both his and other composers' works were publicly acknowledged. Handel's borrowings, he argued, demonstrate the composer's true genius

¹⁰ Sedley Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), p. 188.

and not his intent to secretly claim others' accomplishments for his own. While Robinson's work certainly pointed Handel parody studies in a new direction, the hypothesis of the book's concluding chapters was flawed. In his attempt to counter the accusations aimed at Handel's moral character, Robinson went so far as to contend that Handel had really composed those Handel parody sources typically attributed to Stradella, Erba, and Urio. Although Robinson's assertion was quite incorrect, contending that Handel had reused his own work more than the works of others was an attempt to reduce the severity of attacks on Handel's intentions.

Subsequent Handel scholars, seeking to explain Handel's reliance on parody, proposed equally unusual rationalizations. Prior to World War II, scholars had little evidence that Handel had used large-scale parody earlier than 1736. In a 1934 biography of Handel, Edward Dent saw Handel's supposed mental collapse of 1737 as justification for the sudden appearance of borrowed elements in Handel's late works:

There is no need to go so far as to suggest that Handel suffered from moral insanity and was incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong.... But after his attack of paralysis there may well have been occasional moments when Handel could not make up his mind to write down an idea of his own, but may very likely have found that once he had an idea ready on paper before him, whether that of another composer or an old one of his own, he could then continue to compose, and often make alterations in the music under his eyes which transformed it from a commonplace into a masterpiece.¹¹

Why has it taken over two hundred years for Handel research to reassess Handel's parody procedures? Parallel to Bach scholarship, Handel research during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was framed by two ideological trends. The first came as England's philosophers, much like Germany's academics, developed new definitions of genius. Under their new criteria, borrowing practices were viewed as less than

¹¹ Edward J. Dent, *Handel* (London: Duckworth, 1934), pp.105–108.

imaginative, and contrary to the creative process. The origins of such late eighteenth-century British conceptions of invention and genius can be seen in the writings of Edward Young (1683-1765).

Young was an English poet, born in Upham, Hampshire, and educated at Oxford University. He wrote *The Universal Passion* (1725-1728), a collection of verse satires, which was highly acclaimed. Young had also served as the chaplain to the Princess of Wales in 1726. From 1730 until his death, Young served as rector at Welwyn, Hertfordshire. There he wrote his masterpiece, *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (1742-1745), a long meditative essay in blank verse. One of his last publications, entitled *Conjectures on Original Composition*, summarized Young's philosophical conceptions of originality and genius:

An Original may be said to be of vegetable nature; it rises spontaneously from the vital root of Genius; it grows, it is not made: Imitations are often a sort of Manufacture wrought up by those Mechanics, Art, and Labour, out of pre-existent materials not their own.¹²

We see that Young's analysis of genius parallels that of Immanuel Kant described in Chapter 1.¹³ Young's claim of the organic and natural creativity found in genius is analogous with Kant's assertion that "nature prescribes the rule through genius not to science but to art."¹⁴ Both philosophers perceive genius and its output in opposition to the notion that creation via prefabricated materials lacks spontaneity and originality. After further discussion of the virtues of genius versus the riches of learning, Young draws the connection between genius and morality:

¹² Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (London: A. Millar and R. and J. Dodsley, 1759; reprint Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1918), p. 7.

¹³ See Chapter 1, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*. Translated in *Critique of Judgment* by James Creed Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) Vol. 1 Section 46.

With regard to the moral world, *conscience*, with regard to the intellectual, *genius*, is that god within. Genius can set us right in Composition, without the rules of the learned; as conscience sets us right in life, without the laws of the land: *This*, singly, can make us good, as men: *that*, singly, as writers, can, sometimes, make us great.¹⁵

Such a concept of genius gained popularity during the Romantic era, eventually becoming entangled with issues of morality pervasive within Victorian England. This potent combination of ideologies and perspectives led to the rather virulent accusations that Handel was a plagiarizer.

A second trend – that of nationalism spreading throughout Europe during the nineteenth century – merged with the new concepts of genius in England, as it had done in Germany. But while it had been easy for German writers to claim Bach as an important representative of German cultural history and part of its creative lineage, it was harder for their British counterparts to claim the same for Handel. Although Handel represented a culmination of British art music, he was, after all, a native German. As a result, those who wished to claim Handel as a national treasure were forced to defend not only his birthright, but also his borrowing practices from those who perceived him as weak in both creativity and moral character. Nevertheless, the books by Robinson and established Handel scholars like Winton Dean¹⁶ have forced one to reconsider Handel's borrowing practices as a method of compositional inventiveness.

How do Handel's borrowing techniques compare with Bach's? Handel researchers have classified his borrowings into separate types. These three categories of parody, as outlined by Winton Dean¹⁷ and Bernd Baselt¹⁸ are:

¹⁵ Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p.15.

¹⁶ See Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959) and Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

¹⁷ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, pp. 50–61.

1. large-scale transfer: the use of an entire piece or movement, sometimes with the same text in another work;
2. small-scale transfer: the use of an especially expressive musical movement with a pregnant theme, subjecting it to a new creative process, with insertions, extensions and detailed modifications, which results in a 'quasi new piece'; and
3. grouting: the use of individual themes, accompaniment figures or other characteristic short melodic motifs, to build a fully new movement.¹⁹

Because Handel frequently borrowed from the works of others as well as his own pieces, scholars have found multiple examples for each parody type. For the purpose of a survey, however, we will examine pertinent representatives of each borrowing class.

Handel's Large-scale Transfers

The category known as large-scale transfer includes borrowings that evolved from Handel's reuse of an entire piece, or a substantial portion of a piece, moving the material from one context into another. Numerous examples of Handel's large-scale borrowing are present in his oratorio *Deborah*. Some time ago, Winton Dean pondered the prevalence of parody within this work: "Of its forty-one movements other than recitatives, at least twenty-eight – thirteen arias, fourteen choruses, and the Overture – consist in whole or part of old music, more than half of them with scarcely a note altered."²⁰ A fine illustration used by Dean is the musical transfer of the chorus 'Let thy hand be strengthened' from the *Coronation Anthem* to the chorus 'Despair all around them' in *Deborah* (Example 4-1). Dean was particularly troubled by Handel's mere replacement of lyrics from the anthem chorus to make the same music fit within the oratorio:

¹⁸ Bernd Baselt, "Zum Parodieverfahren in Händels Frühen Opern." *Händel-Jahrbuch* 21/22 (1975-1976), pp. 19-39.

¹⁹ Baselt, "Zum Parodieverfahren ..."

The potent five-part chorus 'Despair all around them,' in which the Israelites anticipate the wrath of Jehovah upon their enemies, Handel lifted without change from the *Coronation Anthem* 'Let thy hand be strengthened.' His absolute neglect of the sense of the last two lines ('While transports of joy Our praise shall employ') is less difficult to explain than his original setting of such somber music to the words 'Let justice and judgment be the preparation of thy seat, let mercy and truth go before thy face.' Perhaps he considered the coronation service and *Deborah* too rich in transports of joy.²¹

Dean's difficulty with linking the lyrics and music in Handel's parodied vocal works parallels the issues that troubled Bach scholars in the parody studies surveyed in the opening chapter. As with Bach scholars, Handel specialists questioned how a composer could find the same music appropriate for conveying the meaning of two different texts. Similar scholarly reservations could be raised after investigating the large-scale borrowings present in Handel's famous oratorio, the *Messiah*. As was mentioned earlier, the *Messiah* appears to have been composed quickly, with Handel arranging his earlier works, particularly his *Italian Duets*, as the basis for several movements of this oratorio.

²⁰ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, p. 230.

²¹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, pp. 231-232.

64

Vln.

Vla.

mer - cy, judg - ment, mer - cy, truth go be - fore thy face!

mer - cy, judg - ment, mer - cy, truth go be - fore thy face!

mer - cy, judg - ment, mer - cy, truth go be - fore thy face!

mer - cy, judg - ment, mer - cy, truth go be - fore thy face!

mer - cy, judg - ment, mer - cy, truth go be - fore thy face!

B.C..

6 6 # 7 6 6 6 4 #
5 5 5 5 5 5 5

Example 4-1A:

Handel, *Let thy hand be strengthened*, "Let justice," mm. 64-78

70

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

Example 4-1A,
continued

63

Vln.

Vla.

while trans-ports, swift-ly, trans-ports our praise— shall em-ploy.

while trans-ports, swift-ly, trans-ports our praise— shall em-ploy.

while trans-ports, swift-ly, trans-ports our praise— shall em-ploy.

while trans-ports, swift-ly, trans-ports our praise— shall em-ploy.

B.C..

6 6 # 7 6 6 6 4 #
5 5 5 5

Example 4-1B:

Handel, *Deborah*, "Despair all around them," mm. 63-78

70

6 6 # 7 6 6 5 7 5 4 #

Example 4-1B,
continued

In contrast to the large-scale vocal works that made Handel famous, the duets were written for two sopranos and continuo, an ensemble more closely related to the Italian madrigals of the early seventeenth century. Example 4-2 shows the canonic or fugal imitation of the two vocalists in the duet *L'ocaso ha nell' aurora*. In some passages the imitation occurs at the octave and in others the counterpoint is invertible. But when Handel reused this same duet for the *Messiah* chorus "And he shall purify," he rearranged the original vocal lines, converting one soprano to an alto and adding tenor and bass. The two additional voices allowed Handel to create greater distances in range when using imitation at the octave. And in the oratorio chorus Handel realized that additional voices and instruments permitted greater contrapuntal and ornamental possibilities. With the accompanying chamber orchestra Handel could also double vocal lines at the octave with violins and oboes while using violas to bolster the harmony and counterpoint of the continuo.

Example 4-3 demonstrates how Handel altered the original duet in several ways. Measures 15-16 of the oratorio chorus show the first violins doubling the soprano line that had been the first soprano of the original duet. The second soprano line from the duet has been transferred in the chorus to the alto line, which is now doubled by the second violins. The continuo line has also been altered so that it doubles the newly composed bass voice, which provides a fugal answer to the soprano line. The eighth notes of the soprano line have also been ornamented with the smaller sixteenth-note values so that the running passage of the original duet is extended. Thus we see a procedure similar to Bach's parody of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* or his borrowing in the middle movement of the *Triple Concerto*: while a substantial portion of the chorus is constructed without

1

L'oc - ca - so ha nell'au - ro - ra, e perde in un sol di la pri - ma -

4

ve - - - - ra, la pri - ma - ve - ra.

L'oc - ca - so ha nell'au - ro - ra, e

7

per - de in un sol di la pri - ma - ve - - - -

Example 4-2A:
Handel, *Italian Duets*, "L'ocaso ha," mm. 1-10

9

L'oc - ca - - - so ha nell' au - ro - - ra, e

ra,

Example 4-2A,
continued

1 *senza rip.* *p*

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

S.
Ob. 1, 2 *tutti*

B.C.

And He shall pu - ri - fy, and he shall pu-ri-fy

4 *p*

the sons of Le - - - vy.

And He shall

Example 4-2B:
Handel, *Messiah*, "And he shall purify," mm. 1-5

15

de, e per-de in un sol di la pri-ma-ve - - - - -
- - - - - ra, e per - - - - -

This musical system contains measures 15 and 16. It features three staves: a vocal line in the upper staff, a keyboard accompaniment line in the middle staff, and a bass line in the lower staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "de, e per-de in un sol di la pri-ma-ve - - - - - ra, e per - - - - -".

17

- - - - - ra, e per - - - - - de,
de, e per-de in un sol di la pri-ma -

This musical system contains measures 17 and 18. It features three staves: a vocal line in the upper staff, a keyboard accompaniment line in the middle staff, and a bass line in the lower staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "- - - - - ra, e per - - - - - de, de, e per-de in un sol di la pri-ma -".

Example 4-3A:
Handel, *Italian Duets*, "L'ocaso ha," mm. 15-18

15 *f* con rip. throughout

Vln. I

Vln. II rip.

Vla. rip.

S. and He shall pu - ri - fy

A. the sons

T. Le - - - - - vi,

B. and He shall pu - ri - fy, and

B.C. rip.

Example 4-3B:
Handel, *Messiah*, "And he shall purify," mm. 15-18

17

the sons of Le - - - - -

- of Le - - - - - vi,

and He shall pu - ri - fy

He shall pu - ri - fy - - - - - the sons of Le - - - - -

7 64

Example 4-3B,
continued

significant internal modifications to the structure and material of the original duet, the addition of easily incorporated new elements creates new harmonic and contrapuntal textures.

Handel's Small-scale Transfers

A second category of Handel's parody practices encompasses the way in which he directly transferred a theme, phrase, or figure into a new work. David Ross Hurley²² has noted a lesser-known instance of such small-scale transfers, one in which Handel used passages in "Bless the glad earth" from his opera *Semele* for portions of "And why? Because the King," the penultimate chorus in the *Dettingen Anthem*. Table 4-1 (after Hurley) illustrates the sections from the opera chorus and their corresponding appearance in the anthem chorus. The table shows that, rather than reusing the entire chorus, Handel was particularly interested in the fugal section of his opera chorus, reworking measures 49 to the end of "Bless the glad earth" as the fugal portion of the new anthem chorus.

Table 4-1
Musical material shared between *Semele* and *Dettingen Anthem*

<i>Semele</i> "Bless the glad earth"	<i>Dettingen Anthem</i> "And why? Because the King"
Bars 49-51	Bars 47-49
Bar 53	Bar 50
Bars 56-68	Bars 51-63
Bars 71-87	Bars 64-79
Bars 97-101	Bars 80-84

Thus, with procedures similar to those seen in the previous example of large-scale parody, Handel made several modifications while transferring material from one work to

²² David Ross Hurley, "The Summer of 1743": Some Handelian Self-Borrowings." *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 4 (1991), pp. 174-193.

the other. Example 4-4 shows how Handel truncated the earlier chorus, removing three measures (mm. 53-55) when reusing the opera chorus material in the anthem chorus. The new anthem text imposed new rhythmic constraints so that Handel was required to alter rhythmic details in the vocal lines. Handel also reorchestrated the material from the opera chorus so that the oboes double the soprano line.

The autograph manuscript of the anthem allowed Hurley to discover another creative aspect of Handel's borrowing procedures. The autograph shows that Handel had apparently planned to deviate significantly from the fugal model of his opera chorus by inserting a new stretto section within the anthem chorus parody beginning at measure 64.²³ Handel ultimately rejected this idea, however, choosing instead to continue with additional modifications to the material from the opera chorus. In the anthem he dispensed with measures 87-96 (a restatement of bars 71-80) of the opera chorus (Example 4-5). He then composed a new closing section, which incorporated bars 97-100 of the opera chorus further augmented with a new instrumental ritornello (Example 4-6).

How do Handel's small-scale parody techniques compare with Bach's parody process? The anthem examples demonstrate that Handel, like Bach, was not troubled by moving material that was originally in a secular vocal work to a sacred vocal work. These examples also show that Handel's borrowing methods for constructing the anthem chorus, "And why? Because the King," included a series of musical additions and subtractions, as well as modifications of certain details. On the other hand, Bach's construction of the outer movements of the *Triple Concerto* or that of the opening prelude from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* demonstrates an unwillingness to remove material from

²³ Hurley, "The Summer of 1743'...", p. 182.

49

Ob. I

Ob. II

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

A.

T.

B.

B.C.

and to that pitch th'e - ter - nal ac - cents raise

that all ap-pear di - vine;

Example 4-4A:
Handel, *Semele*, "Bless the glad earth," mm. 49-59

54

and to that pitch th'e - ter - nal ac - cents_

that all ap-pear di - vine,

Example 4-4A,
continued

47

Vla.

S.
in his mer - cy he shall not mis - car - - - - -

A.
he shall. not mis - car - ry,

T.
he shall. not mis - car - - - - -

B.

B.C.

Example 4-4B:
Handel, *Dettingen Anthem*, "And why," mm. 47-59

51

--- ry,
in his mer - cy he shall not mi - car
--- ry,
he shall not mis - car

Example 4-4B,
continued

55

he shall not mis - car - - - - -

- - - - - ry, he shall not mis -

Example 4-4B,
continued

90

Vla.

S.
all, that all appear di - vine, that all ap -

A.
raise, that all appear di - vine, that all ap -

T.
raise, that all ap - pear di - vine, that all ap -

B.
ac - cents raise, that all ap -

B.C.

4 6 4 6 6 6
2 4 2

Example 4-5A:
Handel, *Semele*, "Bless the glad earth," mm. 90-101

95

pear. di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine!

pear. di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine!

pear di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine!

pear di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine, that all ap - pear di - vine!

6 5
4 3

Example 4-5A,
continued

73

Vla.

S.
-ry, he shall not mis - car-ry,

A.
-ry, he shall not mis - car-ry,

T.
-ry, he shall not mis - car-ry,

B.
-ry, he shall not mis - car-ry,

B.C.

8 7 6 7 7 6 5 6 5 8 8 7 6 7 7 6 5
6 5 4 5 5 4 3 4 3 6 6 5 4 5 5 4 3

Example 4-5B:
Handel, *Dettingen Anthem*, "And why," mm. 73-80

79

he shall not mis-car-ry.

he shall not mis-car-ry.

he shall not mis-car-ry.

he shall not mis-car-ry.

6 5 / 4 3 6 6 6 / 4 6 5 6 6 / 4 4 3

Example 4-5B,
continued

85

6 4 3

Example 4-6,
Handel, *Dettingen Anthem*, "And why," mm. 85-89

large-scale parody sources; Bach typically works from the initial large structure of the borrowed source and then reorganizes and expands its original musical elements. Yet, Bach used parody procedures similar to Handel's small-scale borrowings when composing the "Et expecto" portion of the Credo from his *B-Minor Mass*.

The core of this Mass movement Bach borrowed from only the A section of the da capo chorus "Jauchzet, ihr erffreuten Stimmen" from the cantata *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille*, BWV 120. In the end, Bach only parodied a portion of the cantata movement. Not only did Bach leave off the B section of the cantata chorus, he also shortened the chorus's opening ritornello and eliminated the closing ritornello. In addition, Bach inserted two nine-measure passages of new imitative music between sections of the cantata's borrowed material.²⁴ Therefore, both Bach's and Handel's parodies show evidence of expansion and truncation, processes facilitated by the modular construction of their music. Parody for both composers could be achieved by separating and removing portions from the original musical source while inserting new material between previously connected passages.

Handel's Grouting Techniques

Our final category of Handel's composing methods is the grouting of borrowed melodic or contrapuntal motives as opposed to the borrowings of larger structures seen in the previous two categories. In order to build a new movement from such rather short musical ideas, Handel typically mixed grouting procedures with various combinations of other parody techniques, such as expansion, insertion, excision, and modification. Unlike Handel's large- and small-scale borrowings, many of Handel's grouting methods often go

²⁴ For additional details see Friedrich Smend, "Bachs h-moll-Messe. Entstehung, Überlieferung, Bedeutung," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 34 (1937) pp. 1-58.

undetected due to their utilization of individual themes, accompaniment figures or other characteristic short melodic motifs whose sources may not be identifiable. The sources for such borrowings were typically the works of his teachers, close associates, and other contemporaries. One of Handel's closest colleagues was Telemann, whose own borrowings will be examined later, and Handel scholars are only beginning to recognize how indebted to Telemann Handel really was.²⁵

In recent times Handel scholars John Roberts and Ellwood Derr have uncovered a significant number of Handelian borrowings from Telemann. Derr has calculated that between 1728 and 1751, Handel borrowed musical ideas from more than fifty of Telemann's one hundred and forty-four cantata arias from the *Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst*, the first of Telemann's five published church cantata cycles.²⁶ John Roberts, after considering Handel's borrowings only from Telemann's *Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst*, *Musique de table*, and *Sonates sans basse*, inventoried more than one hundred and twenty parody examples.²⁷

We have already seen how Handel borrowed from the chorus "Bless the glad earth" from *Semele* for use in his *Dettingen Anthem*. However, it should be noted that another movement from the *Dettingen Anthem*, "Thou shalt give him everlasting felicity," contains elements borrowed from Telemann. This chorus (unlike the earlier examples of Handel's borrowings) was constructed primarily from the opening contrapuntal material found in the "Presto" second movement of Telemann's Sonata No.6, Op.2 for two

²⁵ There is also speculation that Bach may have borrowed ideas from Telemann. See Ian Payne, "Double Measures: New Light on Telemann and Bach," *The Musical Times* (Winter 1998), pp. 44-45.

²⁶ Ellwood Derr, "Handel's Procedures for Composing with Materials from Telemann's "Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst" in "Solomon"" *Göttinger Händel-Beitrage* 1 (1984), pp. 116-146.

²⁷ John H. Roberts, "Handel's Borrowings from Telemann: An Inventory" *Göttinger Händel-Beitrage* 1 (1984), pp. 147-171.

recorders (or violins) without continuo. Since Handel's new composition is built upon a single motive of Telemann's work, significant augmentation was required to expand the material into a fully orchestrated four-voice chorus.

The obvious addition made by Handel to Telemann's work is the text underlay that appears with Telemann's instrumental motive. Handel also transposed Telemann's work from E major to D major, even shifting the fourth bar of the source motive up an octave. The opening of Handel's vocal parody does retain Telemann's "Presto" instrumentation of only two instruments. Nevertheless, additional orchestra accompaniment gave Handel the ability to double the voices at both the unison and the octave (Example 4-7).

But Handel's chorus eventually goes beyond the ensemble limitations of Telemann's work, introducing greater counterpoint via additional vocal and instrumental lines. Example 4-8 illustrates how Handel was able to incorporate elements of his modified Telemann motive, eventually introducing unaltered portions of Telemann's work (alto line of Handel's mm. 33-35 = Telemann mm. 10-12) while supporting it with a new continuo line. This last Handel example is akin to Bach's borrowings from Albinoni and Reinken. Just as Bach developed large keyboard fugues from Italian trio sonata movements, Handel has created a large vocal movement from a small portion of another composer's work. This Handel example also demonstrates Handel's ability to move material across both genre and setting.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piece in D major (two sharps) and 2/4 time. The first system, starting at measure 1, shows a treble clef with a whole rest in the first measure, followed by a descending eighth-note scale in the bass clef. The second system, starting at measure 6, shows a treble clef with a whole rest in the first measure, followed by a descending eighth-note scale in the bass clef. The notation is in a standard staff format with a key signature of two sharps and a time signature of 2/4.

Example 4-7A:
Telemann, Sonata Op.2 No.6, "Presto," mm. 1-9

1

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

S.
Thou shalt give him ev-er-last-ing, e-ver-last-ing fe-li-ci-

A.
Thou shalt give him ev-er-

T.

B.

B.C.

Example 4-7B:
Handel, *Dettingen Anthem*, "Thou shalt give him," mm. 1-6

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piano piece. The first system, starting at measure 10, consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower in bass clef. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The melody in the upper staff features eighth and sixteenth notes, with a fermata over the final note of the system. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system, starting at measure 15, also consists of two staves in the same clefs and key signature. It continues the melodic and harmonic lines, ending with a fermata over the final note of the system.

Example 4-8A:
Telemann, *Sonata Op. 2 No. 6*, "Presto" mm. 10-17

33

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

S.

A.
make ——— him — glad, ———

T.

B.

B.C.
8 7 6 6 5

Example 4-8B:
Handel, *Dettingen Anthem*, “Thou shalt give him,” mm. 33-35

The examples of Handel's various parody types show techniques analogous to those of Bach described in earlier chapters. Those procedures exhibited in these Handel examples underscore how composers of the late Baroque worked with the numerous controlling elements of contemporary music. German music of the eighteenth-century in particular was controlled by several different parameters. During the eighteenth century, the relationships between the various keys and tonalities became increasingly codified. The same can be said of the numerous musical gestures and rhetorical figures, referred to as *musica poetica* or *figurae melodiae*, documented in a range of treatises, music dictionaries, and encyclopedias written by Bach's and Handel's predecessors and contemporaries.²⁸ Certain types of music were also associated with particular social functions or performance contexts; church chorales and cantatas were by and large considered sacred music, while dance genres were more appropriate as secular music. As a subset of these larger musical considerations, composers needed to bear in mind the inherent qualities of smaller musical elements, such as meter, key, rhythmic patterns, and contrapuntal structures.

Like Bach, Handel often reused earlier vocal works by replacing the original text with a different one. Both Bach and Handel were equally comfortable reusing secular music in sacred works. Both also discovered ways to add to vocal works material typically associated with instrumental music. Often the reworking of substantial portions of a pre-existent source included surrounding the original with added instrumental accompaniment or new contrapuntal voices. At others times, a small musical sample could act as a stimulus for further musical elaboration. Therefore, for both Bach and

²⁸ For a survey of these sources, see Dietrich Bartel *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*, Rev. and enl. ed. of *Handbuch der musicalischen Figurenlehre* (Lincoln:

Handel, musical ideas could be constructed from pre-existent motives with their associated field of contrapuntal implications, larger musical passages promising new possibilities in instrumentation or vocal setting, or complete movements equally appropriate as members of several genres.

We have seen how parody was a productive and creative technique for a German composing large vocal works intended for an English audience. Let us see how an Italian composer utilized analogous methods in his works.

Vivaldi and His Borrowings

Vivaldi's musical career has more in common with Handel's than it does Bach's. As is the case with the early years of Bach and Handel, Vivaldi's youth remains largely unknown. Like Bach, Vivaldi was the product of a religious and musical family and was probably trained by his father, Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, a violinist at Saint Mark's Cathedral. After entering the church in 1693 and becoming an ordained priest in 1703, Vivaldi began teaching at the Ospedale della Pietà, a conservatory for orphaned girls. In 1711, he was given the title *maestro di violino* and maintained an association with the Pietà, usually as music director, until 1740, training the students and composing concertos and oratorios for weekly concerts.

However, with the successful 1713 production in Vicenza of his first opera, *Ottone in Villa*, Vivaldi gradually developed a wider reputation as an opera composer and producer in Venice. Between the years 1720 and 1723, he resided in Mantua as *maestro di cappella da camera* to the Margrave Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt. As his operas gained popularity, Vivaldi toured Europe between 1729 and 1733, traveling to cities such as

University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

Florence, Munich, Parma, Milan, and Rome to oversee performances of his other successful operas. In 1740, he accepted a position at the court of Emperor Charles VI in Vienna, where he died in 1741.²⁹

Although known today primarily for his instrumental compositions, particularly the very popular *Quattro stagioni*, Vivaldi, like Handel, gained fame in his own time from the success of his vocal works. These works include about forty-five operas, religious music, including the oratorio *Juditha Triumphans* (1716) and the *Gloria in D* (1708), masses, and motets, more than five hundred concertos and over seventy sonatas.

Similar to both Bach and Handel, Vivaldi was also a musical borrower, finding ideas in a wide variety of sources and adapting material across both genre and setting. Much like Handel's large-scale borrowings or Bach's poetic parodies, some of Vivaldi's musical borrowings from the works of others show little evidence of modifications to the original work. For instance, within Vivaldi's *Gloria*, RV 588, both Denis Arnold and Michael Talbot have identified multiple parody movements taken from the work of Giovanni Maria Ruggieri.³⁰ Three choral passages from the first movement, "Qui tollis peccata mundi," as well as the "Cum Sancto Spiritu" contain reworked portions from Ruggieri's own *Gloria in due chori*. Another instance of parody can be found in Vivaldi's use of an anonymous setting of *Dixit Dominus* as a model for the "Tu es sacerdos" movement in his own *Dixit Dominus*, RV 595.³¹

²⁹ A significant number of Vivaldi manuscripts remained in Austrian-German cities, particularly Dresden. See Manfred Fechner, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Dresdner Vivaldi-Manuskripten," *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere* (Firenze: Olschki, 1988), pp. 775-784.

³⁰ Denis Arnold and Michael Talbot, 'Critical Notes' to Antonio Vivaldi, *Jubilate, o amoeni chori RV 639/639a* and *Gloria RV 588* (Milano: Ricordi, 1990), pp. 164-5. See also Henry Burnett, "Ruggieri and Vivaldi: Two Venetian *Gloria* Settings," *American Choral Review* (Winter 1988), pp. 3-8.

³¹ Kees Vlaardingerbroek, "Vivaldi and Lotti: Two Unknown Borrowings in Vivaldi's Music." *Vivaldi Vero e Falso: Problemi Di Attribuzione* (Firenze: Olschki, 1992), p. 94.

According to Kees Vlaardingerbroek,³² Vivaldi twice borrowed ideas from his Italian contemporary Antonio Lotti (c. 1667-1740), drawing upon two selections from Lotti's *Duetti, terzetti e madrigali a più voci*, Op. 1. For his *Dixit Dominus*, RV 595, Vivaldi derived a substantial portion of the "Gloria Patri" movement from the madrigal *Inganni dell'umanità*, the thirteenth work in Lotti's Opus 1. Vivaldi's arrangement retains many aspects of Lotti's madrigal, such as the scoring, harmonic characteristics, and even the shape of the melodic lines. But Vlaardingerbroek is quick to point out that "Vivaldi did not go about his borrowing in a thoughtless or mechanical way."³³

Lotti's *Inganni dell'umanità* and Vivaldi's "Gloria Patri" parody are both in D major and scored for continuo and three voices – alto, tenor, and bass. But Vivaldi's "Gloria Patri" is constructed from melodic lines that Vivaldi reworked from Lotti's piece. Vivaldi's detailed alterations derive first from his restructuring of Lotti's common-time metrical marking into a 3/8 time signature for the "Gloria." Vivaldi achieved this metrical conversion by retaining the fundamental melodic elements of Lotti's work while modifying note values, thus reallocating rhythmic patterns (Example 4-9). Reducing some of the repeated notes, used to represent musically the trumpets and war of Lotti's vocal lines, to single notes also facilitated the newer time signature appearing in Vivaldi's parody. With the new metrical marking and rhythmic patterns, Vivaldi's lyrics, which speak of God's glory, are more appropriately represented in the music by removing the repeated notes used in Lotti's vocal lines (Example 4-10). Similar to

³² Vlaardingerbroek, "Vivaldi and Lotti..."

³³ Vlaardingerbroek, "Vivaldi and Lotti...", p. 102.



Musical notation for Example A, showing a short excerpt in 4/4 time, G major. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G, an eighth note A, a quarter note B, and a quarter note C. The bass line starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G, an eighth note A, a quarter note B, and a quarter note C. The notation is enclosed in a box labeled 'A'.



Musical notation for Example B, showing a short excerpt in 3/8 time, G major. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G, an eighth note A, and a quarter note B. The bass line starts with a quarter note G, an eighth note A, and a quarter note B. The notation is enclosed in a box labeled 'B'.

Example 4-9:

A=Lotti, opening of "Inganni dell'umanita"

B=Opening of Vivaldi, *Dixit Dominus*, RV 595, "Gloria"

1

A la trom-ba di Mar-te cor-re il guer-rier,
A la trom-ba di Mar-te cor-re il guer-rier,

B.C.

3

A la trom-ba di rier, cor-re il guer-rier,
cor-re il guer-rier,

Example 4-10A:
Lotti, *Duetti, terzetti e madrigali a più voci*, Op. 1,
“Inganni dell’umanità,” mm. 1-4

1 **Andante**

T.
B.
B.C.

9

Glo-ri - a Pa - tri, Pa-tri et
Glo-ri - a Pa - tri, Pa-tri et Fi - li-o,

6

Example 4-10B:
Vivaldi, *Dixit Dominus*, "Gloria Patri," mm. 1-15

Bach in his parody of Pergolesi, Vivaldi found that one way to achieve variety in vocal parody was to modify the lyrics of the parody model and create new rhythmic structures to coincide with newer syllabic content.

But Vivaldi also made larger structural changes to Lotti's work. The "Gloria" movement begins with a newly added continuo ritornello constructed from Vivaldi's rhythmic transformation of Lotti's melody. Other changes include Vivaldi's extended development of Lotti's material; in *Inganni dell'umanità*, the third vocal line first appears in the fourth measure, but in the "Gloria" setting, the alto voice enters for the first time in measure 36 (Example 4-11). While the "Gloria" exemplifies Vivaldi's reuse of others' work, researchers have only begun to investigate this aspect of Vivaldi's compositional process. On the other hand, Vivaldi's reuse of his own earlier musical ideas, particularly within his vocal works, has received more attention.

Perhaps the most astonishing instances of self-citation can be found in Vivaldi's operas. John Walter Hill has discovered that Vivaldi was particularly interested in reusing opera arias.³⁴ Hill investigated the facts surrounding numerous Vivaldi opera productions and noted their unusual correlation to the casting of Vivaldi's prima-donna and protégée, Anna Giraud. Giraud performed the female lead in the majority of Vivaldi's operas between 1723 and 1747, playing twenty-five roles in forty-six opera productions. Of these forty-six opera productions featuring Giraud, Hill found "forty-three instances in which the music was borrowed, with or without text changes, from a different role, or from a

³⁴ John Walter Hill, "Vivaldi's Griselda," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31/1 (Spring 1978), pp. 53-82.

30

A.

T.

B.

B.C.

6
5

36

Glo - ri - a Pa - - tri, Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o,

Pa - - tri, glo - ri - a

Pa - - tri, glo - ri - a Pa - - tri, Pa - tri, et

6

Example 4-11:
Vivaldi, *Dixit Dominus*, "Gloria Patri" mm. 30-39

different libretto, composer, or both.”³⁵ According to Hill’s calculations, this is nearly one-fifth of the two hundred arias that Giraud probably sang during this period. As further supporting evidence connecting Vivaldi’s borrowing with Giraud’s performances, Hill noted that while Giraud was exclusively Vivaldi’s prima-donna between 1731 and 1740, eighteen of twenty-two known productions during that decade included borrowed material from Giraud’s earlier roles.

Of course, the prevalence of nearly identical arias appearing in multiple Vivaldi operas raises questions about how Vivaldi understood the relationship between text, music, and opera plot. Researchers have wondered how Vivaldi could have inserted an aria from one opera into another by simply replacing the text to fit the new opera story without modifying the music accordingly. Hill concluded that the recurrences of particular arias specifically for Giraud’s performances were “motivated by an understandable desire to save time and effort and to repeat success.”³⁶ But there are several examples in which Vivaldi borrowed an earlier aria because its sentiment easily fit within the context of its new target work.

For example, Eric Cross³⁷ points to the fact that three Vivaldi operas –*Orlando furioso*, *L’Atenaide*, and *Farnace* – all contain a common aria, appearing in a different scene respective to its opera, in which the character hopes that a particular situation will resolve positively. Both the text and the music of these shared arias are nearly identical. Another example of similar arias can be found among the operas *Griselda*, *L’Atenaide*,

³⁵ Hill, “Vivaldi’s *Griselda*”, pp. 68–69.

³⁶ Hill, “Vivaldi’s *Griselda*”, p. 70.

³⁷ Eric Cross, “Vivaldi’s Operatic Borrowings.” *Music & Letters* 59/4 (1978), pp. 429-439.

and *Farnace*. Again the arias in common not only convey the same music, but also a comparable message of judgment in the court of love.

However, this was not to say that all of Vivaldi's operatic borrowings were merely a matter of lifting ideas from one opera and placing them with little or no modification into another. Like Bach and Handel, Vivaldi also reused existing instrumental works either as opera arias or as the aria ritornelli. In the opera *Il Giustino*, the opening ritornello of the fifth scene of the first act first appeared as the opening portion of the concerto "La primavera" from the *Quattro stagioni*. Portions of the same concerto, this time transposed to C major, also appeared in the 1734 performance of Vivaldi's opera *Dorilla in Tempe*, RV 709, in both the sinfonia and first chorus. Still, the autograph manuscript of *Il Giustino* provides some additional insight into Vivaldi's parody process.

The appearance of material from "La primavera" in *Il Giustino* signals the entrance of the character Fortuna. The opera manuscript shows that although Vivaldi originally intended to copy the concerto ritornello straight into the opera, he later decided to modify the instrumental introduction, removing measures 4-6 and thus the echo of bars 1-3 (Example 4-12). Vivaldi also altered the tonal direction of the parody by turning to the dominant B major in bar 6 of the scene's sinfonia. The following measure 8 represents a reworking of measure 66 of the concerto. But while the passage of bars 66 through 70 in the concerto provide little harmonic direction, analogous measures in the sinfonia bars 8-11 permit Vivaldi to return to the tonic E major.

What was Vivaldi's motivation for using "La primavera" in the opera? Vivaldi must have recognized the affinity between the programmatic content of both the concerto and the opera. Fortuna is a *dea ex macchina* in the opera, typically associated in the visual arts with nature. Fors or Fortuna was an Italic fertility goddess who controlled the cycles

Vln. solo
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 B.C.

4
 7 5 *p*
 7 *f*
 6 5 4 3

8
 6 5 4 3 *p*
 6 5 4 3 *p*
 6 5 4 3 *p*

Example 4-12A:
 Vivaldi, Concerto Op.8 No.1, RV 269, "Allegro," mm. 1-14

12

6 5 6 5
4 3 4 3

Example 4-12A,
continued

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

4

7
5

6 5
4 3

8

6 5 6
4 3 4

Example 4-12B:
 Vivaldi, *Il Giustino*, Act I, Scene 5, "Sinfonia,"
 measures are crossed out in manuscript

12

6 5
4 3

7^b

16

#

6 5
4 3

19

6 5
4 3

6 5
4 3

Example 4-12B,
continued

of the seasons and became associated with the Greek conception of good or bad fortune (tyche). She was often represented holding the cornucopia in one hand and a wheel in the other, to signify the rising and falling of an individual's prospects. Thus the programmatic elements of the "La primavera" concerto were ideally suited as an instrumental preface to Fortuna's entrance in the opera.

We can see another imaginative approach to borrowing in another aria from *Il Giustino*. The aria "Sentire che nel sen" from Act III, scene 7 represents a new arrangement of the last movement from Vivaldi's F-Major Flute Concerto, RV 434. The structure of the concerto movement illustrates Vivaldi's influential ritornello forms, typically found in the outer fast movements of his solo concerti. Vivaldi's flute concerto movement, like Bach's *Triple Concerto*, capitalizes on the contrast between solo and tutti material. The ritornelli consist of four to six tutti sections that are separated by solo sections. Connecting these contrasting performance forces through thematic relationships develops the variety within the movement. Harmonic direction is usually provided by the freer virtuoso treatment of solo themes. Table 4-2 illustrates the structure of the contrasting tutti and solo sections.

Performance	Im	S	Im	S	Im	S	Im	S	Im
Tonal areas	I	I-VI	VI	VI-IV	IV	IV-III	III	III-I	I

This particular concerto movement must have appeared as a natural candidate for use as an opera aria. Vivaldi's orchestration in the "Allegro" followed a pattern of tutti ritornelli with only solo flute and unison violins for the solo passages. And a similar pattern is used in the opera aria, as the soprano Arianna alternates material with orchestral

ritornelli. Even the orchestration of the aria replicates that of the concerto movement, except the soprano voice replaces the flute soloist.

Thus at first glance, the vocal version of the concerto movement seems to have been a matter of simple transfer with a key transposition from F major to B-flat major. However, in the aria Vivaldi simplified the melody by removing the ornamental sixteenth-note figures (Example 4-13). He also transposed the repeat of the opening six measures, appearing in bars 7-12, down an octave. But while both the concerto and the aria share a common orchestral accompaniment, Vivaldi has the first and second violins play in unison with the vocal melody in the aria. Therefore, for comparable solo passages from the “Allegro,” he shifted the harmonic and contrapuntal violin roles to a new independent viola line in the aria (Example 4-14).

This survey of parody within Vivaldi’s works illustrates a variety of borrowing techniques. Like Bach and Handel, Vivaldi sometimes used poetic parody in order to compose new vocal works. At other times, Vivaldi modified ideas from instrumental works to fit them within the structures of a vocal genre, such as an aria. And in addition to reusing his own material, Vivaldi occasionally found the works of others to be appropriate sources and models for his future compositions. A majority of Vivaldi’s parodies typically involved alterations in orchestration, key, ornamentation, and rhythmic figures. Sometimes these adjustments were made in conjunction with the removal and rearrangement of pre-existent measures. It is clear, then, that Handel and Vivaldi, located in countries other than Germany, found parody an important technique of musical composition. Telemann represents another Bach contemporary and associate, who also used musical borrowing, but one working primarily in northern Germany.

The image shows a musical score for five instruments: Violins I and II (Vln. I,II), Viola (Vla.), Arpa (AR.), and Cello/Bass (C.B.). The score is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system (measures 1-7) includes dynamics markings such as *(f)* and rests for the AR. part. The second system (measures 8-16) includes accidentals (b) in the C.B. part. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks.

Example 4-13B:
 Vivaldi, *Il Giustino*, "Sentire che nel sen," mm. 1-16

Fl.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

18

Example 4-14A:
Vivaldi, *Flute Concerto in F*, RV 434, "Allegro," mm. 12-23

Vln. I,II *p*

Vla.

AR.

C.B.

Sen - ti-re-che nel sen il cor pia - ga - - - - - to sta, e

24

dal-l'a-ma-to ben più non a - ver pie - tà, no, no, no, più non a

30

ver pie - tà. Ve - der-si ab-ban - do - nar da chi fu

Example 4-14B:

Vivaldi, *Il Giustino*, "Sentire che nel sen," mm. 17-33

Telemann and his Borrowings

Telemann, whose career closely parallels Bach's, had a close relationship not only with Handel but also with Bach, so much so that he served as godfather of Bach's son Carl Philipp Emanuel. Telemann was born in Magdeburg and educated at Magdeburg and Hildesheim before attending Leipzig University, where he read law. Nevertheless, according to Telemann's autobiography,³⁸ he seems to have been largely self-taught in music. Having mastered a number of musical instruments, Telemann embarked on a musical career marked by various posts with churches and private orchestras. While in Leipzig he founded a student collegium musicum, which Bach later directed. Although Telemann was appointed organist of the Leipzig Neukirche in 1704, he moved to Sorau, Poland in 1705 to become Kapellmeister to Count Promnitz.

Telemann returned to Germany to serve in the court at Eisenach between 1708 and 1712. As the Eisenach Kapellmeister, he made the acquaintance of Bach in nearby Weimar, then worked in Frankfurt until his appointment in 1721 as Cantor of the Johanneum and municipal music director in Hamburg, where he remained for the rest of his life. Telemann became the best-known German composer of his time, with a contemporary reputation much greater than Bach's. Although Bach was hired in 1723 as Cantor for St. Thomas Church in Leipzig, Telemann had been invited for the position as the first choice of the Leipzig Town Council. Telemann also traveled a good deal, visiting Berlin several times, and making a successful visit to Paris in 1737.

Telemann's musical output surpasses that of Bach and Handel, and possibly even of Vivaldi. His vocal works include approximately forty-five operas, forty-six liturgical

³⁸ Telemann's autobiography was submitted to Mattheson for publication in his book *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, woran der Tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrte* (Hamburg: 1740; reprint, Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1969).

Passions, twelve sets of cantatas for the church year, numerous oratorios, Passion oratorios, motets, and psalms. He also composed large quantities of instrumental music, including *Musique de table* (Hamburg, 1733), concertos, orchestral suites, trio sonatas and other chamber music, as well as keyboard music. Scholars have spent a great deal of time resurrecting Telemann's music, leaving parody a subsidiary issue.

We have already seen that Handel utilized Telemann's works as parody sources. This musical relationship was, in fact, reciprocal. The written correspondence between Telemann and Handel suggests a close personal association – one that extended to Telemann's arrangements of Handel's operas. On more than one occasion, Telemann had arranged Handel's operas, originally intended for English spectators, for presentation to German audiences. Handel's *Tamerlano*, *Ottone*, *Richard I*, *Porro*, and *Almira* were all arranged by Telemann for Hamburg performances as *Tamerlan*, *Otto*, *Der mißlungene Braut-Wechsel oder Richardus I König von England*, *Der Triumph der Großmut und Treue oder Cleofida Königin von Indien*, and *Almira*, respectively.

The motivation for Telemann's arrangements of Handel's work stems from an eighteenth-century German interest in Italian opera libretti. During the first half of the 1700's, some German librettists looked to existing Italian libretti as the basis for creating new German texts, either through plot modeling or direct libretto translation from Italian to German. But in their translations, German librettists incorporated additional structural modifications. These newer German libretti usually contained fewer arias and set changes than their Italian models. On the other hand, the German libretti included a greater number of scene-ending exit arias. Also, German librettists typically altered the original

Italian plot, sometimes adding new characters and restructuring the plot so as to focus less on “frivolous love intrigues and comic episodes”³⁹ and more on real-life situations.

Klaus Harnisch has pointed out that in *Der mißlungene Braut-Wechsel oder Richardus I König von England*, Telemann’s arrangement of Handel’s *Richard I*, Telemann made a number of significant alterations to his colleague’s work in order to make it appealing for Hamburg audiences.⁴⁰ First, a revised libretto introducing a comic subplot and new characters was fashioned by C.G. Wend. With a new text in hand, Telemann carried out numerous musical changes to Handel’s work. For example, while Handel’s opera consists of forty musical numbers, Telemann’s arrangement contains forty-five, only twenty-seven of which stem from Handel’s original. Telemann replaced Handel’s original accompanied recitatives with new secco-recitatives. Telemann’s arrangement of the opera even included three newly composed Intermezzi. The plot and characters of the altered libretto also allowed Telemann to replace Handel’s original Italian arias with new arias set to German texts. Example 4-15 illustrates some of Telemann’s aforementioned modifications to Handel’s original opera.

Example 4-15AA shows Handel’s music from Constanza’s aria “Bacia per me la mano” of *Richard I* Act III, Scene 4. For the identical scene in his opera arrangement *Richardus I*, Telemann left Handel’s music unchanged. However, Richard’s aria, “Atterato il muro cada” from the Act III, Scene 5 of *Richard I* (Example 4-15AB and Example 4-15AC) became in Telemann’s hands “Es müsse die Mauer zu boden sich

³⁹ Robert Lynch, “The Influence of Operatic Reform in Hamburg, 1700-1738” *Current Musicology* 28 (1979), p.76. For detailed descriptions of German reform libretti, see Nathaniel Burt, “Opera in Arcadia,” *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955), pp.145-170 and “Plus ça change: or the Progress of Reform in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Operas Illustrated in the Books of Three Operas,” *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 325-340.

⁴⁰ Klaus Harnisch, “Telemann als Bearbeiter von Händels Oper ‘Riccardo I.’ (Hamburg 1729).” *Die Bedeutung Georg Philipp Telemanns für die Entwicklung der Europäischen Musikkultur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Magdeburg: Buchdruckerei Wolfgang Koch, 1983), I pp.114-120.

legen” (Example 4-15B) for the equivalent scene in *Der mißlungene Braut-Wechsel*. While Telemann’s choices of language and text setting for the aria are the most obvious differences from Handel’s version, Telemann’s scene consists of completely new music. Telemann’s aria uses alternative instrumentation, achieving a regal character via horns rather than the trumpets used in Handel’s aria. Handel’s aria begins with a lengthy twenty-four-measure instrumental introduction, compared to Telemann’s brief four-measure instrumental ritornello. Telemann even chose a 12/8 meter for his new German aria as opposed to the 3/4 meter of Handel’s Italian original. Similar types of comparisons can be made between Handel’s aria for Costanza, “Si m’è contrario il Cielo” from Act II, and Telemann’s version, “Will mir der Himmel widerstreben.”

In Telemann’s *Richardus I König von England*, we once again see how a late Baroque composer found the sectional construction of early eighteenth-century music conducive to borrowing procedures. The previous example demonstrates how whole opera numbers were replaced by new music and text, the substitute movements so constructed as to fit seamlessly within the original design of the parody source. Annerose Koch has shown that Telemann took a similar approach when arranging Handel’s *Ottone*.⁴¹ Like Handel’s *Richard I*, the libretto of *Ottone* was expanded to include a new

⁴¹ Annerose Koch, “Telemanns Bearbeitung der Händel-Oper ‘Ottone’ in Bezug auf Sujet, Libretto und Rezitativstil.” *Telemann und Seine Dichter* (Magdeburg: n.p., 1978), pp. 58-67. See also Annerose Koch, “Telemanns Auseinandersetzung mit Charakterisierungskunst und Wort-Ton-Verhältnis im Opernschaffen Händels.” *Telemann und seine Freunde* (Magdeburg: n.p., 1986), II pp. 15-26 and *Die Bearbeitungen Händelscher Opern auf der Hamburger Bühne des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts* (PhD diss.,: Martin-Luther-University, Halle, 1982).

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

mi tor-men - ta mà la sua pe - - na più, più mi tor -

B.C.

7 6 5
4 3

6 7

men - ta mà che la pe - na su - a più mi tor - - men - ta.

6 6b 6 6b 6 6 6 7

4 4

Detailed description: This musical score is for a vocal aria from Handel's *Richard I*. It features four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bassoon (B.C.). The vocal line is written in a soprano clef. The lyrics are in Italian. The score includes fingerings for the Bassoon part, such as 7 6 5 / # 4 3 and 6 7, and 6 6b 6 6b 6 6 6 7, 4 4. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The music consists of two systems of staves.

Example 4-15AA:
Handel, *Richard I*, Act 3 End of Scene 4 aria
prior to da capo

1

Tpt. 1,2

Ob. 1,2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

RICC.

B.C.

5

Example 4-15AB:
Handel, *Richard I*, Act 3 Scene 5 mm. 1-8

The image displays a musical score for Handel's *Richard I*, Act 3 Scene 5, measures 17-25. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 17-20) features a vocal line (soprano) and a basso continuo line. The second system (measures 21-25) features a vocal line (soprano) and a basso continuo line. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "At - ter - ra - - - -". The basso continuo line provides a harmonic accompaniment. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature.

Example 4-15AC:
Handel, *Richard I*, Act 3 Scene 5 mm. 17-25

1

Hn. 1

Hn. 2

Vln. I &
Ob. 1

Vln. II &
Ob. 2

Vla.

RICHARDUS

B.C.

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top two staves are for Horns 1 and 2, both in treble clef. The next two staves are for Violins I and Ob. 1, and Violins II and Ob. 2, both in treble clef. The fifth staff is for Viola in alto clef. The sixth staff is for the character RICHARDUS in bass clef. The seventh staff is for the basso continuo (B.C.) in bass clef. The time signature is 12/8. The music is marked with a first ending bracket (1) and features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes.

Example 4-15B:
Telemann, *Richardus*, Act III, Scene 5, "Es müße die Mauer," mm. 1-6

Es mü-ße die Mau-er zu bo-den sich le-gen

Example 4-15B:
continued

comic character named Isaurus, Ottone's servant. In the music Telemann modified Handel's original recitatives and added eight new arias. Telemann also reorganized various scenes. For example, he divided the first act into fourteen scenes compared with Handel's original twelve. Telemann's new additions can also be found in the overture, duets, and choruses appearing throughout the opera.

Telemann was also not averse to reusing some of his earlier works for new purposes. And, similar to Bach, Handel, and Vivaldi, Telemann did not hesitate to move material from one genre to another. Such is the case with Telemann's reuse of his 1716 collection of partitas for melody instrument and continuo known as *Die kleine Kammermusik*. Telemann reworked the material from a "Vivace" – the third movement of the third partita – into the quintetto aria "Euer Welken," from the singspiel *Der geduldige Sokrates* of 1721.

The "Vivace" is structured as a rondeau with a refrain and couplets. "Euer Welken" is also constructed as a rondeau, beginning, however, with the couplet rather than the refrain (Example 4-16). Of course the obvious difference between the partita movement and the aria is the aria's text. But closer inspection shows that Telemann did not simply add a text underlay to the existing instrumental "Vivace" in order to create an aria. Instead, Telemann, recognizing an affinity between the Italian text of the aria and the melody of the "Vivace" refrain, extracted the opening seven-measure refrain from the instrumental work and surrounded it with newly composed material. By composing the aria around a pre-existent instrumental melody Telemann generated new music that meshes seamlessly with the existing refrain and allows suitable declamation of the aria text. Simultaneously, Telemann also capitalized upon the additional contrapuntal

6
5

6

6

3

6
5

4

b

4

6

5

6

6

6

6

5

4

6

4

6

6

4

Example 4-16A:

Telemann, *Der Kleine Kammermusik*, No.3 "Vivace" mm. 1-9

Ob.

Bsn.

Vln.
Vla.

XEN.
AL.
PIT.

PLA.

SOC.

Voi, sfio - ran - do - vi, ci mo - stra - te la mor - ta - le ca - du - ci -

B.C.

4

ta, la mor - ta - - - -

Example 4-16B:
Telemann, *Der geduldige Socrates*, "Euer Welken" mm. 1-15

7

Fio - ri fra - gi - li, che ser - ba - te co - si
 Fio - ri fra - gi - li, che ser - ba - te co - si
 le ca - du - ci - tà.

4 6 6 6
 2 5

11

po - co la vo - stra bel - tà, fio - ri fra - gi - li, che ser -
 po - co la vo - stra bel - tà, fio - ri fra - gi - li, che ser -

tr 6 6 b 6 4 4 6 6
 5 2 5

Example 4-16B,
 continued

14

ba - te co - si po - co la vo - stra bel -

ba - te co - si po - co la vo - stra bel -

6 6 # b #

5

Example 4-16B,
continued

possibilities created by the presence of multiple voices in the aria, as opposed to the single melody line in the partita.

In the “Vivace” a solo treble instrument carries the melody. In the aria, Telemann reverses the roles of the bass and treble so that the melody is present in the bass voices – Socrates and Plato – during the verses and shifts to the tenor voices during the refrain. Telemann also adds oboe and bassoon to the new arrangement. The oboe provides counterpoint to the bass in the verses but remains tacit as the trio of tenor voices carries the melody of the refrain. The bassoon’s responsibility, on the other hand, is to double the melodic bass voice throughout.

The examples of Telemann’s borrowings exhibit similarities with those of Bach. Telemann’s new arrangements of Handel’s operas are, for instance, analogous to Bach’s reworking of Pergolesi. Both composers creatively preserved the basic structure of another composer’s work while seamlessly incorporating new material with new text. In other ways, these same Telemann opera parodies display similarities with Handel’s and Vivaldi’s vocal parodies; all three men looked for ways to insert new movements and reorganize prior larger musical designs when composing from borrowed material. Finally, we can see that Telemann, like Handel and Bach, found that new works could be generated by reorganizing the sequence of musical events, thereby redefining the function of certain passages as they moved from an earlier work to a newer one.

Telemann’s new treatment of his earlier ideas through genre transfer echoes similar situations seen in Bach’s composition of the *Triple Concerto* and harpsichord obbligato sonata. Both Telemann and Bach found ways to relocate music from one idiom to another, thus blurring the distinctions between instrumental and vocal music. In addition, like Bach, Handel, and Vivaldi, Telemann’s reassignment of previous musical

ideas to different genres sometimes included changes of initial order and instrumentation within a given movement.

Explaining the Prevalence of Borrowing

The examples in this chapter demonstrate that Bach's methods of musical borrowing were far from unique. On the contrary, they were clearly acceptable composing techniques used by many successful Baroque composers. These examples have also demonstrated that borrowing was a compositional approach commonly shared by Baroque composers regardless of their differing musical needs. If, as Robinson suggested nearly a century ago, we consider evidence contemporary with Bach, we can dispel previous nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critical perspectives of musical parody and find other clues to suggest that borrowing was simply standard practice during the eighteenth century.

We have already seen in the comments of Burney and Mattheson that some of Handel's contemporaries and associates viewed his borrowings as a sign of his superiority as a composer. In addition to his opinions expressed in both *Critica Musica* and *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, Mattheson clearly endorsed musical parody in his large composition treatise, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* of 1739. In the fourth chapter of the second part, "On Melodic Invention," Mattheson described the rules of imitation: "Borrowing is permissible; but one must return the thing borrowed with interest, i.e., one must so construct and develop imitations that they are prettier and better than the pieces

from which they are derived.”⁴² This instruction is prefaced by the caution that such imitation should be of “fine models” and that inventions should be “simply imitated, not however copied or stolen.”⁴³

Through a small publication, probably aimed at amateur musicians and novice composers, noted Bach pupil Johann Kirnberger advocated a similar approach to composing new works from existing musical ideas. In his five-page pamphlet entitled *Methode Sonaten aus 'm Ermel zu schüddeln (Method for Tossing off Sonatas)*, Kirnberger suggests that in order to “make a piece...so that listeners of different temperaments are [kept] entertained” one should take

...a piece by a good master...and [construct] an entirely different melody over its bass. Now since a note can have manifold values, a change in the note values already will remove any similarity to the previously known melody; yet this [new] melodic beauty will be strengthened and enhanced still more by the changes made [in connection] with the bass line. Furthermore, one [next] makes a [new] bass for the newly found melody, so that now neither bass nor melody line remains similar to the original.

This method is [applicable] so universal[ly] that it meets the most severe tests. For instance, it can be reversed by fitting a different bass to a melody, and to this in turn a different melody.⁴⁴

With this basic assertion that “[o]ne needs to employ no further knowledge than that of composing to a thorough bass” in order for this procedure to be successful, Kirnberger goes on to list other techniques which would further “conceal the similarity and derivation [of the source material in one’s sonata].”⁴⁵ These alterations include changing the source work’s meter, key, or adding new harmonies and double

⁴² Johann Mattheson, *Der Volkommener Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herlod, 1739). English translation by Ernest Hariss in *Johann Mattheson's "Der vollkommene Capellmeister": A Translation and Commentary* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), part 2, chapter 4, paragraph 81.

⁴³ Mattheson, *Der Volkommener Capellmeister*, part 2, chapter 4, paragraph 81.

⁴⁴ William S. Newman, “Kirnberger’s ‘Method for Tossing Off Sonatas,’” *Musical Quarterly* (1961), p. 521.

⁴⁵ Newman, “Kirnberger’s ‘Method for Tossing Off Sonatas,’” p. 521.

counterpoint. Quite significantly, Kirnberger's endorsement of instructional borrowing for musical neophytes is illustrated by his own parody of Bach's "Gigue" from the sixth French Suite in E Major, BWV 817. But while the pamphlet demonstrates borrowing from a good model, it also underscores the various components required for musical composition.

Certainly the examples from the current and previous chapters fall within the guidelines cited by Mattheson. Rarely are reworkings by Bach, Handel, Vivaldi, and Telemann of pre-existent music strict copies of an original. And even if the borrowed source happens to be a less-than-stellar model, the parody work always seems to introduce a significant return on the borrower's investment. The parody and imitation fashioned by these Baroque composers typically includes added embellishments and ornaments, new melodies and contrapuntal voices, extended possibilities in tonality and harmony, alterations to instrumental roles and ensemble requirements, and a transfer of ideas between various genres while shifting existing music to different social or religious functions.

Although it can be shown that parody was indeed a creative composing technique, the question still remains why parody was such a productive and prevalent method of writing for Baroque composers. Music scholars have often answered this question by citing time constraints imposed by the eighteenth-century demand for a constant supply of new music. Bach was compelled to produce enormous amounts of music at various points in his life: weekly church cantatas between 1723 and 1729, for instance, or weekly Collegium music between 1729 and 1737. It was once calculated that, during Bach's early Leipzig period, the combination of weekly duties and necessary rehearsals prior to performances meant that he had only Monday through Wednesday to compose the weekly

cantata.⁴⁶ An observation of Bach's first annual Leipzig cantata cycle from 1723-1724 shows that twenty-six of the sixty-five church performances consisted of parodied or revised works from Bach's pre-Leipzig compositions and other composers.⁴⁷

More recently Robert Marshall, echoing his predecessors, explained that under such conditions Bach, unlike Beethoven, often did not have the "luxury of time" to allow for a long gestation period of musical ideas.⁴⁸ This fact may not only clarify why revisions of Bach's early works appear often in fair copies, but may also account for why Bach looked to extant material for inspiration. It is perhaps a consequence of time constraints that the larger musical corrections found in Bach's manuscripts often appear as reorchestrations or reuse of previously composed material.

Like Bach, Handel, Vivaldi, and Telemann often called upon pre-existent music as sources of inspiration. Although more research is needed in the area of Telemann's borrowings, he, like Bach, was also required to produce a vast amount of music for regular religious services as well as for social occasions. The musical demands on Handel and Vivaldi, however, were due to their fame not so much as composers of religious music but rather as composers of operas. Thus while the social and religious demands of north German culture determined the compositional output of Bach and Telemann, Handel's production was influenced primarily by the need to satisfy the theatrical interests of both the English nobility and the paying public. In a similar manner Vivaldi's

⁴⁶ Arnold Schering, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leipziger Kirchenmusik. Studien und Wege zu Ihrer Erkenntnis* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1936), pp. 32-39. This notion was proven incorrect in Alfred Dürr, "Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J.S. Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 44 (1957), pp. 5-162 (rev. ed., *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J.S. Bachs* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976]).

⁴⁷ Performance dates and the sequence of several Bach cantata cycles can be found in Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*.

⁴⁸ Marshall, *The Compositional Process...*, Vol. 1, p. 235.

productivity was determined in part by the musical needs of his Italian patrons and audiences as well as his students at the Ospedale.

Like the borrowings of Bach, those of both Handel and Vivaldi have often been explained as solutions to composing within short time frames. Even though MacFarren had argued that Handel was an amoral praise-seeker, he still saw “expediency” as Handel’s *modus operandi*. Handel’s manuscripts also hint that his reputation for rapid composition was justified. Handel was usually careful to date his manuscripts, and his notations for the *Messiah* indicate that the work was completed in three weeks. Reverend Thomas Morell, one of Handel’s librettists, also reported on the speed of Handel’s musical invention. According to Morell, Handel, upon receiving the text for the chorus “Fall’n is the foe” from the oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*, improvised at the harpsichord “and immediately carried on the composition as we have it in that most admirable chorus.”⁴⁹

In a similar manner, Vivaldi is reported to have been proud of his ability to create whole operas rapidly. One of Vivaldi’s close associates, Charles de Brosses, mentioned in a letter of 1739 that Vivaldi “had a prodigious passion for composition. I have heard him boast of composing a concerto with all its parts in less time than it would take a copyist to copy it.”⁵⁰ Some biographers, like Walter Kolneder, understood that Vivaldi’s ability to generate new compositions quickly was primarily a prerequisite for successful Baroque composers:

The rapid work and therefore great number of compositions of the Baroque composers have very various reasons. As opposed to listeners of

⁴⁹ Cited in Winton Dean, *New Grove Handel* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), p. 79.

⁵⁰ “... qui a une furie de composition prodigieuse. Je l’ai ouïse faire fort de composer un concerto, avec toutes ses parties, plus promptement qu’un copiste ne le pouvait copier.” Charles de Brosses, *Lettres Familières Sur L’Italie*. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1931), I p. 237.

today, who will accept music written within a period of at least 300 or 400 years, Vivaldi's listeners were entirely geared to 'first performances.'... Above all the ability to write quickly was a necessity also in the operatic life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Certainly the impresario would plan his season long in advance.... If...an opera was a failure...then a substitute had to be concocted at a moment's notice, as it were. Allotting the acts to different composers and plundering freely from one's own (or even other composers') earlier works were common, and in the circumstances inevitable methods....⁵¹

Recently, however, some scholars have offered alternative explanations for Baroque borrowing. Gesa Kordes has suggested that reasons for musical borrowing must have gone beyond time constraints and social demands.⁵² My analyses in Chapters 2 and 3 have already demonstrated that there are many other Bach parody works that were written during less harried periods in his life, revealing that Bach borrowed throughout his musical career. Kordes has proposed that the degree of a composer's borrowing practices may be representative of his compositional perspective and abilities. For example, it is easy, in most cases, to find the original source of Bach's borrowings (if they are extant) because of the way in which the composer leaves intact most of the musical characteristics of his borrowed inspiration. By contrast, Handel often chose to borrow small portions of material from a variety of sources before incorporating the musical snippets into a single work. Thus it seems as though Bach's views of musical invention in pre-existing works, as well as his reasons and methods for modifying such material, differed from those of Handel. C.P.E. Bach reported that his father viewed the generation of musical ideas seriously, steering away from composition students who

⁵¹ Walter Kolneder, *Antonio Vivaldi: His Life and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 79–80.

⁵² Gesa Kordes, "Self-parody and the 'Hunting Cantata' BWV 208: An Aspect of Bach's Compositional Process," *Bach: the Quarterly Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 22/2 (Fall/Winter 1991), pp. 35–57.

lacked inventive abilities.⁵³ On the other hand, John Roberts has proposed that Handel borrowed because he lacked such creative ability, choosing instead to cull ideas of musical invention from others.⁵⁴

While the discussions of this and previous chapters show that borrowing was not just a time-saving technique, the foregoing survey of eighteenth-century musical parody techniques also offers insight into the remarkable composing abilities of Bach and his contemporaries. The comparisons between parody models and resulting new compositions also provide clues to strong improvisation skills and a keen musical memory, attributes needed to become a successful and prolific composer during the Baroque era. The reports of Handel's ability to set words quickly to music demonstrate how important improvisation was to Baroque music making. An example of Bach's ability to improvise was already mentioned in student recollections cited in the previous chapter. But a more famous instance is Bach's spontaneous fugue on a theme presented to him by King Frederick of Prussia. This remarkable demonstration of improvisation was reported in the May 11, 1747 issue of the Berlin *Spencersche Zeitung*:

[The King] immediately gave orders that Bach be admitted, and went, at his entrance, to the so-called "forte and piano," condescending also to play, in person and without any preparation, a theme to be executed by Capellmeister Bach in a fugue. This was done so happily by the aforementioned Capellmeister that not only His Majesty was please to show his satisfaction thereat, but also all those present were seized with astonishment.⁵⁵

Bach eventually delivered to the King a complete set of contrapuntal variations of this royal theme known as the *Musicalisches Opfer*. But what is also striking about the

⁵³ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader...*, no. 395, p. 399.

⁵⁴ John Roberts, "Why did Handel Borrow?" *Handel Tercentenary Collection*. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks, eds. (London: MacMillan Press, 1987), pp. 83-92.

⁵⁵ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader...*, no. 239, p. 224.

genesis of this particular work is the fact that Bach mentally carried the theme back home with him only then to complete the series of contrapuntal movements on paper.

And as was also mentioned earlier, published editions of music were hard to come by during the Baroque. Certainly music was transmitted through handwritten copies, but a good musician must have had a remarkable ability to retain mentally a large number of musical ideas. Again Mattheson's writings provide some clues to this required talent. In the aforementioned chapter on melodic invention, Mattheson indicates that the possibilities of invention and its variation should be memorized if they are to be used effectively:

These particulars must not be taken so strictly that one would perhaps write down an index of like fragments, and, as is done in school, make a proper invention box out of them; but one would do it in the same way as we stock up a provision of words and expressions for speaking, not necessarily on paper nor in a book, but in one's head, through which our thoughts, be they verbal or written, can then be quite easily produced without always consulting a lexicon.

True, whoever wants and needs to can always have a written collection in which everything that pleases or is encountered now and then in fine passages and modulations is to be found, organized under certain chapters and titles, so that he could locate counsel and consolation as necessary. However, a lame patchwork will probably result if one's clumsy piece of work were patched together from such rags, even if they were of silver and gold.⁵⁶

Mattheson's analogy of musical invention to verbal dialog expresses that a good Baroque musician should have been able to generate compositions from a catalogue of musical ideas that were recalled from memory in much the same fashion that one is able to improvise. More recently, others have observed close ties between improvisation and composition for Baroque composers. David Schulenberg has suggested that improvisation

⁵⁶ Mattheson, *Der Volkommene Capellmeister*, part 2, chapter 4, paragraphs 17–18.

was a highly integrated component of composition for Bach and his circle of students.⁵⁷ Gerald Abraham,⁵⁸ Ellwood Derr,⁵⁹ and Ellen Harris⁶⁰ have argued for a similar perspective in Handel research.

In this light, let us turn to the issue of how musical borrowing may have been intertwined with other noted Baroque musical skills, particularly improvisation and musical memory. Chapter 5 will integrate some recent psychological theories of musical memory and improvisation with eighteenth-century evidence to show that the true importance of parody for Bach and other Baroque composers lies within the context of a larger picture of Baroque musical practices.

⁵⁷ David Schulenberg, "Composition as variation: inquiries into the compositional procedures of the Bach circle of composers," *Current Musicology* 23 (1982), pp. 57-87.

⁵⁸ Gerald Abraham, "Some Points of Style." *Handel: A Symposium*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 262-274.

⁵⁹ Ellwood Derr, "Handel's Procedures for Composing with Materials from Telemann's 'Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst' in 'Solomon'," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* Band I (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1984), pp. 116-146.

⁶⁰ Ellen Harris, "Integrity and Improvisation in the Music of Handel." *Journal of Musicology* 8/3 (1990), pp. 301-315.

Chapter 5: The Role of Musical Borrowing and Memory in Baroque Traditions

The preceding chapters have demonstrated that musical borrowing was a technique commonly used by Baroque composers. Still, for more than two hundred years, music scholars have suggested that Bach and his contemporaries used musical parody mainly to generate new music on a regular basis while fulfilling other numerous duties daily. Such explanations were sometimes linked with accusations of plagiarism, along with questions of religious sincerity, mental stability, and moral character. However, the examples from the previous chapters illustrate that when Baroque composers borrowed, they did so from a variety of materials that were then used in creative ways. In light of the numerous inventive modifications incorporated during the parody process, the argument that parody was principally a matter of expediency needs to be reconsidered.

As a youth, Bach borrowed from the works of others in order to learn the principles of composition. During his later years, Bach looked to the works of others in order to keep abreast of a wide range of historical and contemporary musical styles. And although Bach sometimes reused his own ideas as a matter of expediency, earlier compositions originally intended for one purpose were often altered to serve a new and different function. Thus, it appears that throughout Bach's development as a musician and composer he found interest in material from a variety of sources.

The findings in the preceding chapters show that Bach's primary objective when borrowing was to improve upon his musical models. Through the comparisons between what Bach began with as musical models and what he eventually composed, I have illustrated how he, as an artisan, carefully considered his options when composing new

works. This study has revealed that even in instances where time may have been the primary motivating factor for borrowing, Bach was always concerned with structural matters as well as corrections of detail. Therefore, this investigation of Bach's borrowings has identified his recognition of additional composing potential latent in many pre-existing musical ideas. It is this ability to recognize musical potential that links Bach's parody procedures with his musical memory and skill at improvisation.

Parody as Sketch

The examination of musical examples has presented comparisons of borrowed sources and their later modifications. In essence, these comparisons show "before" and "after" stages of creative development, not unlike comparisons found in musical sketch studies. However, as noted by Gerald Abraham, many nineteenth- and twentieth-century discussions of parody often implied that it was equivalent to rote copying. Speaking of past Handel parody studies, Abraham stated that: "Hasty and superficial critics have observed identical openings and too often assumed that what follows is identical too; that is by no means always the case."¹ Such assumptions have often overshadowed those clues to compositional process available from parody studies. Parody materials, which may involve a certain level of musical replication, contain evidence of a work's growth and provide ample and sometimes vivid traces of an artist's thought process.

Studies of compositional process via musical sketches and drafts illustrate why music composition has been typically understood as a "discontinuous process of creation and iteration (usually through notation) of musical ideas."² Manuscript evidence of larger

¹ Gerald Abraham, ed. *Handel: A Symposium* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 266.

² Ed Sarath, "A New Look at Improvisation," *Journal of Music Theory* 40/1 (Spring 1996), p. 2.

compositional issues – a series of drafts for melodies or overall structure, or movements composed in non-sequential order – suggests that a composer could flesh out his ideas over days, weeks, months, or years. Such evidence is the type found in Beethoven's compositional sketches: since Beethoven was not required to produce new works each week, he was able to work from larger to smaller musical details and vice versa over a long time period, as his sketchbooks show.

However, what if one considers pre-existent ideas as types of musical sketches for Baroque composers who were short on time? Understanding parody sources as compositional drafts could, through analyses of re-orchestrations and reuse of previously composed material, reveal the evolution of a musical idea. And if the primary objective of Baroque parody was to improve upon borrowed sources, the case can be made that such sources functioned as drafts for Bach and his contemporaries.

It has already been mentioned that even late twentieth-century Bach scholars like Robert Marshall think that Bach, unlike Beethoven, did not have the “luxury of time” to allow for a long gestation period of musical ideas.³ In reviewing Bach’s productivity during the 1720’s, Marshall saw that the “hectic pace of production obviously did not tolerate passive reliance upon the unpredictable arrival of Inspiration.”⁴ Perhaps the time constraints imposed on Bach during his early years in Leipzig explain in part why Marshall found that composing-score autographs and performance materials for Bach’s instrumental compositions are virtually non-existent.⁵

³ Marshall, *The Compositional Process...*, p. 235.

⁴ Marshall, *The Compositional Process...*, p. 235.

⁵ Robert Marshall, “The Compositions for Solo Flute: A Reconsideration of Their Authenticity and Chronology,” *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), p. 201.

Indeed, in contrast to Beethoven sources, there are no drafts or sketches for most of Bach's works. For Bach's instrumental music, the majority of works have survived as fair copy manuscripts in the hands of Bach, his family, students, or copyists. In some cases, such as the G-Major Violin and Harpsichord Obbligato Sonata, BWV 1019, variants are transmitted in student copies made some time after Bach first completed the composition. These variants often show Bach's second thoughts in retrospect – second thoughts that sometimes concern structural matters, but often concern corrections of detail as well. With a method functionally analogous to a series of successive drafts, Bach appears to have worked through the larger structural issues of the G-Major Sonata by composing complete variants. There are some shared elements among these variants, while other alternate versions contain movements parodied from his earlier works.⁶

In a sense Marshall is correct: for the most part, Bach's approach to composition is unlike Beethoven's. With Beethoven, both large structural and detailed melodic and harmonic alterations can be traced throughout a series of sketches. With Bach, on the other hand, larger musical modifications often appear as reorchestrations or reuse of previously composed material, presumably due to time constraints. In other cases, revisions in Bach's own fair copies may reflect the recycling of music for didactic or performance purposes. From another perspective, the differences between Bach's and Beethoven's approach to the compositional process is merely a distinction between their drafting procedures, for the function of Bach's borrowing practices should be considered comparable to that reflected in Beethoven's sketchbooks. The similarity of each composer's respective techniques is particularly evident when considering Bach's last

⁶ For a survey of these variant versions, see Claypool, *J.S. Bach's Sonatas for Melody Instrument and Cembalo Concertato...*

twenty years, a period during which he probably had a greater “luxury of time” to generate musical ideas.

Bach’s proclivity during his later years for developing new music through revision and parody is clearly illustrated by the *Christmas Oratorio* and the *B-Minor Mass*. In the case of the *Christmas Oratorio*, its choruses and arias first existed as components of three different cantatas written in the years prior to the oratorio. But as Bach incorporated these earlier cantata selections into the oratorio, he modified their order and sequence, transposed their original key, re-scored them, and set them with new texts. Such modifications required that Bach attend to larger compositional issues, such as the oratorio’s structure, including order and instrumentation of movements as well as tonal organization. At the same time, such parody processes necessitated detailed alterations, such as new text underlay with comparable syllabic and metrical content, melodic and harmonic changes needed to make parodied movements fit appropriately with the new texts, and newly composed recitatives and chorales.

Similarly, the *B-Minor Mass* was the result of an analogous series of revisions and borrowings from a variety of pre-existent vocal works. In his compilation of the Mass, Bach, much like Beethoven with his sketchbooks, returned to earlier musical ideas, some written twenty or even thirty years beforehand.⁷ Some parodied movements appearing in the Mass required detailed modifications as they were restructured internally with new contrapuntal and melodic relationships suitable for the new composition. But in addition

⁷ George Stauffer has noted that since the “oldest music in the B-Minor Mass...is derived from...Cantata 12 of 1714,” one could argue that the Mass was generated “over a period of thirty-five years, a gestation longer than that of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony (thirty-two years) or that of Wagner’s Ring (twenty-six years).” Stauffer is careful to state that “such a claim would be stretching a point, for when Bach wrote Cantata 12 in Weimar he surely had no inkling that he would one day appropriate the music for a monumental *Missa tota*.” George Stauffer, *Bach: The B-Minor Mass* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), p. 32.

to such detailed changes, Bach had to address larger structural issues within the Mass as he placed older borrowed material between newly composed movements or next to other parodied movements. For example, the “Symbolum Nicenum” consists of selections borrowed from four different earlier Bach vocal works, yet it also contains newly composed material seamlessly integrated with older music to generate a completely new composition. Such composing methods in both the *Christmas Oratorio* and the *B-Minor Mass* highlight Bach’s ability to work through numerous structural and detailed compositional issues via parody. These two large-scale vocal works also illustrate how over time Bach built upon previously notated musical constructions in much the same way that Beethoven periodically referred to his own musical sketches.

Time Constraints, Parody, and Improvisation

So far, we have seen that Bach’s borrowing, in addition to satisfying the need for new music during periods when time was of the essence, also functioned like compositional drafts that could be revised over an extended period of time. But if Bach’s creativity often could not depend upon the “unpredictable arrival of Inspiration,” how does one explain, other than through the use of parody, the volume of Bach’s creative output? So far the parody process accounts for a fraction of Bach’s music, meaning that the majority of Bach’s works may have no reliance upon borrowed ideas. Like the parodies, a majority of these works have been transmitted only as fair copies with few if any discernable revisions. In light of the role of parody in Bach’s compositions, borrowing could be recognized as an extension of improvisation. Like spontaneous musical creations, parodies depend upon a composer’s ability to quickly combine existing musical material with newer musical elements in order to create a new work. Marshall’s

observations seem to hint at Bach's ability to generate spontaneously – even improvise – an enormous amount of music for various functions on a weekly basis.

The studies of other modern scholars also suggest that Baroque composers used improvisation in combination with borrowing to generate new musical works. Manfred Bukofzer observed that Handel's borrowings were an outgrowth of his "improvisatory attitude toward composition which explains at the same time the breakneck speed with which he habitually composed."⁸ Gerald Abraham used a similar argument to clarify Handel's prevalent use of parody in his compositional process:

The point that Handel often borrowed or repeated mere introductions is more important, for it appears to throw light on a peculiar aspect of his creative process.... We know from a dozen contemporary sources that he was a masterly improviser, and it is clear that a large portion of his published work originated in private improvisation, however polished and worked up after being set on paper. There is ample evidence that Handel frequently began to compose by playing the harpsichord, starting from the first favorite cliché that came under his fingers – whether his own, someone else's, or common property of the age, he probably neither knew nor cared – and allowing it to grow into something that was usually in the end absolutely his and his alone.⁹

The significance of Abraham's concept of Baroque composition lies in his recognition that the combination of pre-existing ideas and a composer's own original musical thoughts could be the inspiration for improvisation. David Schulenberg, writing nearly thirty years after Abraham on the importance of improvisation in Bach's compositional process, similarly stated that:

⁸ Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc, 1947), p. 344.

⁹ Gerald Abraham, *Handel: A Symposium*, p. 266. Ellwood Derr and Ellen Harris have argued for a similar perspective in Handel research. See Ellwood Derr, "Handel's Procedures for Composing with Materials from Telemann's 'Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst' in 'Solomon'," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* Bd. I (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1984), pp. 116-46 and Ellen Harris, "Integrity and Improvisation in the Music of Handel," *Journal of Musicology* 8/3 (1990), pp. 301-315.

...at least at levels close to the surface, a great composer like Sebastian Bach literally conceived his composition as the working-out of a figured bass *Satz*. Certainly this was how Bach and his students viewed improvisation, and there are even a number of solo keyboard works in the Bach canon that include passages notated in figured bass, either because the texture is in imitation of an aria with continuo accompaniment...or, just possibly, because the work as it has been preserved is a sketch intended to serve as an exercise in improvisation or composition.¹⁰

It is important to note that these scholarly perspectives imply the existence of interlocking relationships between improvisation and notated composition, constituting a spectrum of Baroque compositional and performance practices, and that these scholars have ample reason to believe that accomplished Baroque composers like Bach and Handel relied upon improvisation as a compositional tool.

Most Baroque keyboardists were required to improvise at length as part of auditions for church and court positions. The highly respected German music theorist and organist Andreas Werckmeister (1645-1706) noted such requirements in his treatises on organ testing. In his *Erweiterte und Verbesserte Orgelprobe* of 1689, Werckmeister states that

...when an organist is being auditioned, he must be given a theme to be developed in various manners. Or one might select a few chorales and have him play variations on them and let him transpose them. One must also examine him in thorough-bass, particularly with regard to accurate realization of the figuring. For it is certainly not enough merely to play notes without rhythmic stumbling. The figuring, too, must be realized with good voice leading, lest the entire texture be ruined. Those who maintain that the figures over the bass line are not needed and that one could do without are in error.¹¹

¹⁰ David Schulenberg, "Composition as Variation: Inquiries Into the Compositional Procedures of the Bach Circle of Composers," *Current Musicology* 23 (1982), p. 80.

¹¹ Andreas Werckmeister, *Erweiterte und Verbesserte Orgel-Probe* (Quedlinburg, 1689; English translation by Gerhard Krapf, Raleigh: Sunbury Press, 1976), p. 64.

Evidence of the tradition of improvisation indicated by Werckmeister can be found in the incomplete musical notation used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical works. For instance, many features of rhythmic exactness and styles of ornamentation are not specifically transmitted through the musical notation. In addition Baroque composers often incorporated such improvisatory genres as preludes and toccatas into larger musical structures like the sonata and suite. Ground and ostinato bass themes such as “La Folia” allowed for standard possibilities of improvising over pre-established, repetitive harmonic progressions.

The use of improvisation by Baroque musicians is also well documented and demonstrated by the system of shorthand notation used for continuo realization. In Baroque thorough-bass accompaniment composers typically provided only a single bass-line, under or over which they wrote figures or accidentals indicating what the harmony above that bass was to be. However, such a notational system does not indicate how the harmonies were to be spaced or distributed among the other voices. And although figured-bass substituted for a completely written-out full harmonic accompaniment, thorough-basses were not always completely figured, and sometimes not figured at all.

Therefore, continuo performance practice is an important clue to improvisatory musical methods employed from the beginning of the seventeenth century until about the end of the eighteenth century. There is little doubt that figured-bass realization requires a certain amount of improvisatory skill; the harmonies dictated by the numbers and accidentals allow for numerous possible voicings. This important facet of thorough-bass performance was certainly stressed in Baroque music treatises, particularly in the second

and third volumes of Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung*. And there is no question that Bach stood as one of the most proficient executors of figured bass.

Several documents speak of the remarkable skills Bach exhibited while playing continuo. Kittel's report of Bach's continuo expertise was already noted in Chapter 3. Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711-1778), who studied with Bach from 1731-1734, stated in 1738:

Whoever wishes truly to observe what delicacy in thorough bass and very good accompanying mean need to only take the trouble to hear our Capellmeister Bach here, who accompanies every thorough bass to a solo so that one thinks it is a piece of concerted music and as if the melody he plays in the right hand were written beforehand. I can give a living testimony of this since I have heard it myself.¹²

In a letter to Forkel, C.P.E. Bach echoed Mizler's assessment of Sebastian's remarkable ability to improvise:

Thanks to his greatness in harmony, he accompanied trios on more than one occasion on the spur of the moment and, being in a good humor and knowing that the composer would not take it amiss, and on the basis of a sparsely figured continuo part just set before him, converted them into complete quartets, astounding the composer of the trios.¹³

This report, in addition to indicating Bach's skilled continuo practice, alludes to the type of compositional alterations found in Bach's parody practices. Emanuel Bach speaks of the manner in which his father converted trios into quartets, but this manner is also present in his father's written modifications of Reinken's and Albinoni's trio sonatas. Historically these notated parodies have been perceived as the products of Bach's premeditated intentions while his elaborate thorough-bass accompaniments were recognized as elements of his spontaneous creativity. Thus, the two composing methods

¹² Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 327, p. 328.

¹³ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 394, p. 397.

have been distinguished by Bach's application of musical acumen within a certain passage of time: Bach necessarily took more time to create and notate his elaborate Reinken parodies than he employed to convert trios into quartets on the spot.

Yet, other letters of C.P.E. Bach refer directly to his father's limited use of improvisation for composition:

If I exclude some (but, *nota bene*, not all) of [my father's] clavier pieces, particularly those for which he took the material from improvisations on the clavier, he composed everything else without instrument, but later tried it out on one.¹⁴

The younger Bach's report indicates that Sebastian sometimes drew compositional ideas from his own improvisations but more frequently called upon material conceived within his inner musical ear. This description also shows that, at first glance, blurring the distinction between improvisation and composition seems inappropriate since musical improvisation appears to be opposite to the intentional process of composing via a series of sketches and drafts. Unlike notated compositions, improvisation implies "the spontaneous creation and performance of musical materials in a real-time format."¹⁵ And because the apparent differentiation between notated composition and improvisation rests upon the parameter of time, improvisation implies the improviser's inability to modify ideas conceived and performed on the spot.

But as Ed Sarath has indicated, temporal parameters should not preclude reworked inspiration:

Perhaps the primary reason for assuming improvisation and composition to be the same process undertaken at different speeds is that both involve the structuring of musical ideas in a temporal sequence. One event is placed after another, and from each idea created, a field of implications is

¹⁴ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 395, p. 399.

¹⁵ Sarath, "A New Look at Improvisation," p. 3.

generated, containing one or more possible successors to the realized idea. With each realization of what was previously an implied successor, an additional link is added to the accumulating chain of events in a piece.¹⁶

The art of improvisation and its pervasive presence in Baroque practice would explain Bach's and others' ability to generate quickly fair copies and draw upon references to extant musical material beyond the scope of known parodies. This would also mean that, in order for any musical improvisation to be recognized for its quality, it had to conform to contemporary musical expectations and styles. A successful Baroque composer therefore had to call upon his knowledge of current musical rules so that he could rapidly synthesize both existing and new ideas to create either spontaneously performed or notated works. But from where did eighteenth-century composers acquire these rules?

Musical Constraints and Musical Memory

One source was instructional tutors on writing good compositions. Bach was certainly aware of such sources; it was noted in previous chapters that he drew upon contemporary composition and basso continuo treatises, in addition to borrowing from the musical works of others, particularly Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung*. However, both Alfred Mann¹⁷ and Joel Lester¹⁸ have posited that Bach chose to paraphrase Niedt because the *Musicalische Handleitung* provided one of the best succinct descriptions of thorough-bass practice. Even with the availability of several contemporary basso continuo and composition manuals, good Baroque musicians must have internalized

¹⁶ Sarath, "A New Look at Improvisation," p. 3.

¹⁷ Alfred Mann, "Bach and Handel as Teachers of Thorough-Bass," *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*. Peter Williams, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 245-257.

¹⁸ Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 66.

many musical rules and practices over a period of time. Such a mental “pool” of compositional rules and acquired musical gestures facilitated rapid generation of new music – whether notated or improvised.

What, then, was the relationship between music and memory for Baroque composers, and how did such a relationship correspond with the integration of parody and improvisation into Baroque compositional practices?

We shall begin to answer these questions by first outlining the systems that constitute human memory. The modern scientific view of human memory and recall proposes a series of mental processes involving several components. Current psychological theories explain human memory by means of a storage metaphor,¹⁹ in which the process of memorization is divided according to measurements of time and awareness. The retention interval, or parameter of time between acts of memorization and recall, is distinguished as short-term and long-term memory. Awareness parameters are measured according to the distinction between the seemingly automatic consultation of memory, or implicit memory, and the awareness of the conscious act of recall, known as explicit memory (see Table 5-1).

Short-term memory, currently referred to as working memory, may be seen as a platform that briefly holds a small amount of information. This information may easily be lost or displaced by other incoming information. In order to move such data to a more permanent storage area, it must be organized and sorted via rehearsal. To organize this information, the mind breaks down data into smaller units of sense, a process known as

¹⁹ Robert C. Atkinson and R. Shiffrin, “Human Memory: A Proposed System and its Control Processes,” *Psychology of Learning and Motivation* 2 (1968), pp. 89-195.

chunking.²⁰ An aid to the chunking process is the ability of the mind to make these smaller units meaningful and sensible, thus deepening the organization process within the chunk. These units can then be linked to one another or to other information previously memorized and stored away (see Figure 5-1).

Table 5-1: Constituents of Human Memory

<i>Memory</i>			
Time (Retention Level)		Awareness	
Short-term (Working) Memory – loading platform	Long-term Memory – information warehouse	Implicit Memory – acquired unconsciously through practice and resistant to data loss	Explicit Memory – acquired consciously and easily forgettable

In contrast to the restructuring of information, which takes place in short-term memory, the function of long-term memory is seen as an information warehouse in which the data organized on the loading platform of short-term memory is moved to the storage area of long-term memory. The types of knowledge stored in long-term memory may be divided by the awareness parameters of the memory model. The data found in implicit memory is usually acquired unconsciously through a practice system and is typically

²⁰ George A. Miller, "The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information," *Psychological Review* 1012 (1994), pp. 343-352.

Figure 5-1: Data Connections between Short Term and Long Term Memory

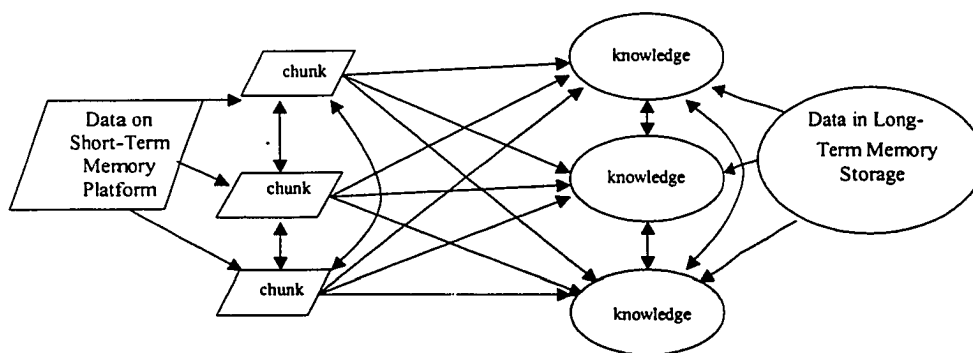
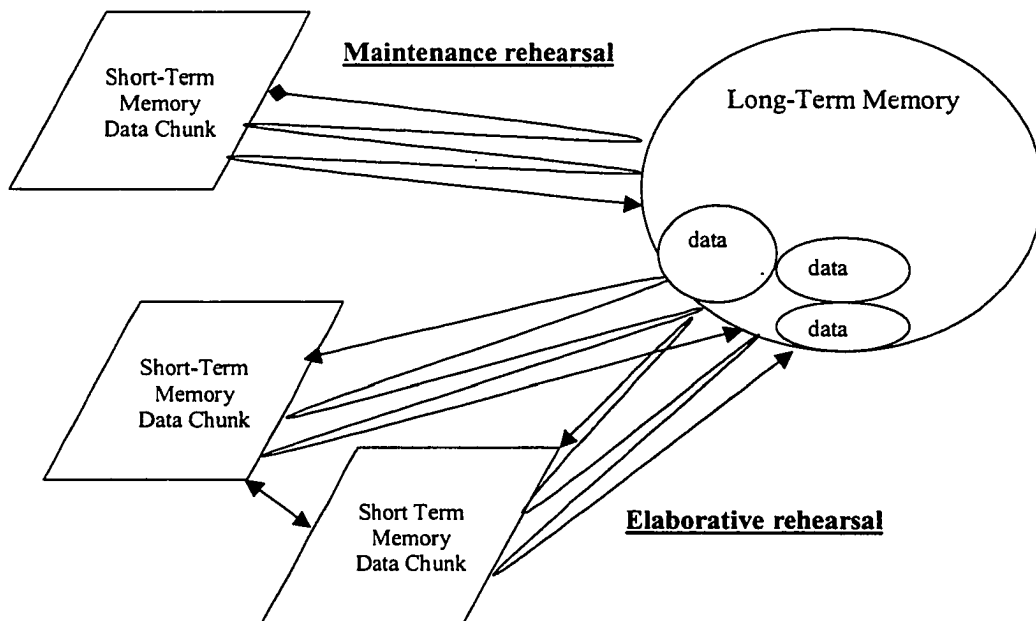


Figure 5-2: Diagram differentiating the processes of maintenance rehearsal and elaborative rehearsal



resistant to decay. Data stored in explicit memory, on the other hand, is consciously acquired without practice and can be more easily forgotten.²¹

Once information has been stored, it must still be made accessible for recall. Part of this accessibility has already been prepared via the reorganization and storage accomplished in short-term memory functions. Research has indicated that two types of rehearsal acts aid in mental reorganization; maintenance rehearsal recycles data that have already been stored in memory while elaborative rehearsal cycles information, at the same time making connections to other previously stored data in memory, thus reinforcing the processing of information. It is the connecting procedures of elaborative rehearsal that contribute to the mind's ability to recall information accurately (see Figure 5-2).

The mental process of recalling information stored in long-term memory begins with some type of stimulus, or a retrieval cue, which triggers the retrieval of information.²² The acts of sorting, storing, and recalling the same information repeatedly, or "repetition priming," enables the mind to respond more quickly and accurately to a given retrieval cue. Psychologists believe this improvement in recall is due to the feeling of familiarity created through repetition. Improved recall is also a product of multiple retrieval cues presented at the same time. The depth-of-process techniques incorporated during the organization of information in short-term memory allow for the recall of units of sense; if part of the meaningful unit is triggered, it may carry with it the retrieval of the remainder of the unit to complete the meaning of the whole. Current memory models and their relationship to the transmission of music have been the ongoing interest of

²¹ Larry R. Squire, B. Knowlton, G. Mussen, "The Structure and Organization of Memory," *Annual Review of Psychology* 44 (1993), pp. 453-495.

²² Endel Tulving, *Elements of Episodic Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

psychologist David C. Rubin. His book *Memory in Oral Traditions* is a culmination of almost two decades of research into the process of transmission and recall in oral traditions. The key discovery in Rubin's work reveals how many of the aforementioned concepts regarding memory are knowingly or unknowingly part of the construction of orally transmitted material. Rubin's theory of how memory functions in oral traditions is as follows:

Recall in oral traditions is serial. It starts at the first word, or perhaps a rhythm or melody, and proceeds sequentially.... To overcome [the tendency to recall the beginnings and ends of information better than middles], other forms of constraint are needed.... These constraints serve both to limit choices and to increase the chances of uniquely cuing the target.²³

Rubin's theory is the result of several psychological studies conducted by himself and his colleagues. While working with fellow psychologist Wanda T. Wallace, Rubin looked at the effect of retrieval cues on recall. After experimenting with dual-cued and singly-cued aurally perceived lists, Rubin found that there was greater accurate recall of dual-cued data than for data that was well cued singly, either by rhyme scheme or meaning. These experiments showed that of three possible retrieval cues — rhyme, meaning, and dual cues — dual cues had the greatest effect on memory recall.²⁴

Rubin moved onward to study the functions of memory on musical data, researching with Ira Hyman, Jr. the memory and recall of lyrics to songs written and performed by the Beatles:

Although songs by the Beatles are not the kind of material usually studied by cognitive psychologists, they have several characteristics that make them well suited for such research, including the following: (1) clearly

²³ David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: the cognitive psychology of epic, ballads, and counting-out rhymes*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 176.

²⁴ David C. Rubin and Wanda Wallace, "Rhyme and Reason: Analyses of Dual Retrieval Cues," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 15/ 4 (1989), pp. 698-709.

defined units (the lines) which can be scored for recall; (2) a complex, but analyzable, structure that depends on meaning, imagery, poetics, rhythm, and emotional connotations; (3) a large well-defined corpus from which to select; (4) material that is already learned and interesting to many potential subjects; and (5) lyrics that were better known at an earlier time, which is a property that facilitates cuing studies.²⁵

Rubin and Hyman asked over seven hundred undergraduates to recall complete Beatles songs after providing them with the songs' titles and opening lines. The study revealed that although subjects, when prompted with the first line of lyrics for a Beatles song, could only recall about a fifth of the lyrics, their recall was extremely accurate. And even in instances of inaccurate recall, the incorrect words still conformed to one or more of the structural rules of the songs — theme, rhyme, or poetry.

Where did this knowledge or awareness of song structure come from? The subjects, college undergraduates, had been exposed in their daily life to Beatles songs over a number of years, thus creating a situation of repetition priming. The Beatles songs also contain more parameters, which not only control the structure of the lyrics, but also provide for multiple retrieval cues. While one may know completely the meaning and words of a particular stanza, the gaps in recall for the following stanza can be completed by adhering to the structural constraints of the song:

For example, many sets of words can mean "save one's soul." Fewer can be found that do so in three syllables (one is down to "revival," "survival," "salvation," "redemption," "save one's soul," and perhaps a few others). Only two can be found that also provide a weak rhyme with Bible ("revival" and "survival"). Thus, each new variable cuts down the number of words that can fit at any given point, and finding the last word of the last line of "Rocky Raccoon" becomes a much easier task.²⁶

²⁵ Ira E. Hyman, Jr. and David C. Rubin, "Memorabeatlia: A Naturalistic Study of Long-Term Memory," *Memory & Cognition* 18/ 2 (1990), p. 205.

²⁶ Hyman and Rubin, "Memorabeatlia..." p. 213.

From these results, Rubin and Hyman concluded that not only units of meaning but sound patterns as well are important components in the learning and recall of musical information.

Again working with Wallace, Rubin next studied the oral tradition of ballads originating in North Carolina during the early twentieth century. The purpose of this study was to see how memory and recall were affected by the following constraints:

...verse length, presence of refrains, presence and location of poetics, the pattern and number of end rhymes, the metrical patterns, average number of syllables per word, the pattern of meaning and imagery in lines, the frequency of repeated lines both within and across ballads in the set, the musical scales used, and the agreement of metrical stresses and musical beats.²⁷

Rubin and Wallace concluded that the reason orally transmitted ballads can maintain relative stability over many years – even as long as a century – is due to numerous characteristics that are built into the structure of the ballads:

Several mechanisms can improve recall. First, the chances of a singer correctly recovering original words that were distorted in transmission or guessing an unknown word are increased. Second, the many forms of organization also act as multiple-retrieval cues. Third, characteristics chunk portions of the ballad and provide additional memory associations so that recall of one portion increases the likelihood of recalling other portions. The presence of any one characteristic provides some stability for memory, but the combination of characteristics is much more effective.²⁸

Rubin's other study of ballads from the southeastern United States shows how quickly implicit rules of organization in ballads can be understood. The researchers aurally exposed undergraduates to five ballads and asked them to compose ballads of their own. The results showed that in the creation of their new compositions, the subjects

²⁷ Wanda T. Wallace and David C. Rubin, "Characteristics and Constraints in Ballads and Their Effects on Memory," *Discourse Processes* 14 (1991), p. 181.

²⁸ Wallace and Rubin, "Characteristics and Constraints..." p. 182.

adhered to sixty-two percent of the objective regularities in rules of ballad construction – including the content, form, word choice, and poetics – within the heard ballads. It was also observed that “the same subjects could, on the average, explicitly state 27% of these rules.”²⁹

More recently, Wallace investigated the effect of melodies on text memorization and recall. Her series of four different experiments on ballad memorization and recall revealed that music could be both an aid to recall as well as a hindrance.³⁰ In general, Wallace found that the combination of melody and text aids in the learning and recall of verbal data. This is probably due to the fact that besides the parameters of rhyme scheme and meter found in ballad lyrics, the music added yet another organizing constraint.³¹

However, Wallace also determined that the positive effect of melody upon memorization is contingent upon the same melody being repeated over a number of stanzas, providing repetition priming. If the melody is particular to only one verse or a number of verses each have a different melody, the added information of each new

²⁹ David C. Rubin, Wanda T. Wallace, and Barbara C. Houston, "The Beginnings of Expertise for Ballads," *Cognitive Science* 17 (1993), p. 446.

³⁰ Wanda T. Wallace, "Memory for Music: Effect of Melody on Recall of Text," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 20/ 6 (1994), pp. 1471-1485. Richard F. Yalch, in an earlier study of advertising jingles, saw similar effects in the linking of music and text. In asking a group of undergraduates to correctly match slogans with the appropriate advertiser, Yalch noted that advertisements that included a slogan linked to a jingle were recalled with greater accuracy than those without. He concluded "a jingle aided retrieval of an advertising slogan by acting as a mnemonic, aiding retrieval of this information from the audience's memory." Richard F. Yalch, "Memory in a Jingle Jungle: Music as a Mnemonic Device in Communicating Advertising Slogans," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 76/ 2 (1991), pp. 268-275.

³¹ Leo Treitler reached similar conclusions in his studies of music and its transmission during the Middle Ages. Treitler's analysis of both the offertory and tract psalm verses demonstrated that chant melodies, like ballads, were constructed with the following components: melodic or motivic patterns, syntactical units which were contained within melodic phrases, and cadential figures which closed the melodic phrase and further developed sense units of text. All of these constraints, Treitler argued, would have enabled a person to learn and recall music and lyrics rather accurately, even if the rules of composition and performance were not consciously apparent. See Leo Treitler, "The 'Unwritten' and 'Written Transmission' of Medieval Chant and the Start-up of Musical Notation." *Journal of Musicology* 10/ 2 (1992), p. 140. and Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: the Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *Musical Quarterly* 60/ 3 (1974), p. 350.

melody becomes disruptive to accurate recall. Wallace also found that certain melodies were more suitable than others in functioning as retrieval cues:

Melodies with simple, symmetrical melodic contours show better facilitation of text recall, presumably because they are easier to learn....

Melodies provide more than just a context; they provide an information-rich context that is critically connected to the text. In addition to rhythmical information, the melody can provide information about the lengths of lines and intonation patterns within the line. Furthermore, the melody can chunk the text into melodic phrases and link textual phrases with similar melodic contours. For example, a melody usually starts and ends on the tonic note, thus linking the beginning and ending of the text. In addition, if the text falls on, for example, a descending contour at the end of the melody, then the text is marked to belong uniquely at the end. The melody can assist in positioning and sequencing textual units and thus decrease the likelihood that units will be misplaced and disrupt memory for succeeding units. Therefore, when enough of the information provided by the music is acquired, the music can facilitate recall of the text.³²

These psychological studies demonstrate the built-in organizational patterns found in either music or verse alone. A key finding in all of these studies is the added degree of organization and memorability created by the combination of text and music. Even more interesting is how these studies support Sarath's view of improvisation. The observations of both Rubin and Sarath underscore that musical memory and recall as well as musical composition, either notated or improvised, are dependent upon a temporal sequence of events.

Uncovering Bach's Musical Memory

How then do the rules of Baroque compositional practices compare with Rubin's rules of musical constraints? For a glimpse at Bach's rules of composition, we return to two previously mentioned eighteenth-century sources; the letters of his son and pupil, C.P.E. Bach and "The Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-bass or

³² Wallace, "Memory for Music....," p. 1482.

Accompanying in Four Parts . . .," a manuscript in the hand of Carl August Thieme, a Bach pupil at the *Thomasschule*.³³

As noted in Chapter 3, C.P.E. Bach stated that his father's composition "pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough bass. From this he went to chorales; first he added the basses to them himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses themselves."³⁴ According to Marshall, Bach probably composed his chorales using the same method, working first from the soprano, then providing a supportive bass and completing the task by filling the harmonies with inner voices.³⁵ Considering all of Bach's early years of choral and church participation, the chorale melody was probably the most prominent feature in Bach's mind when writing chorales. And when the melody was combined with its associated text, it functioned as the compositional foundation for the work as a whole. However, while the sequence of events described above seems to be a logical method for chorale composition, C.P.E. Bach's report lacks corroboration from his father's own musical manuscripts.

In fact, manuscripts of Bach organ chorales copied by his student Johann Tobias Krebs, as well as some of Bach's own manuscripts, show that the chorales were often constructed first with the outer voices. Yet, this evidence does not clarify whether the soprano or the bass was the first voice to be notated as the primary source of structure. While one would assume that Bach would have sensibly begun chorale composition by

³³ Hans-Joachim Schulze, "'Das Stück in Goldpapier' - Ermittlungen zu einigen Bach-Abschriften des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts." *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978), pp. 19-42.

³⁴ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 395, p. 399.

³⁵ Robert Marshall, "How J.S. Bach Composed Four-Part Chorales," *Musical Quarterly* 56/2 (April 1970), pp. 198-220. Also appearing as parts of chapter IV "Autograph scores of the four-part chorales" in *The Compositional Process of J.S. Bach...*, vol. 1, pp. 69-89.

first notating the melody, some manuscripts seem to negate that assumption: in addition to instances of fully drafted chorale melodies without the remaining three lower voices, there are cases of a fully drafted figured bass line without a melody above.

Other manuscripts show that Bach composed some chorales phrase-by-phrase, writing both the soprano and bass parts in sections as opposed to first writing the complete chorale melody. Although the chorale melodies in the *Orgelbüchlein* are more ornamented than the vocal chorales from cantatas, Russell Stinson's studies of the autograph of this particular collection³⁶ reveal a similar variety of compositional practices.

Additional indications from most chorale manuscripts show that when composing four-part chorales, Bach probably did not copy the melodies from any particular pre-existent source, demonstrating his internal familiarity with chorale tunes. Bach's chorales are often notated with shorter quarter-note values rather than the half-notes usually found in contemporary *Gesangbücher*. In addition, Bach's treatment of traditional melodies includes altered rhythms and phrase structures stemming from Bach's non-standard placement of barlines and cadences. However, Bach's rhythmic and metric restructuring of these melodies was usually motivated by the need to construct the chorales according to eighteenth-century notational practices.

Still, this does not mean that Bach disregarded the other components associated with a particular chorale. For example, in the *St. Matthew Passion* Bach used the chorale melody from "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" for five different chorale movements. For each separate occurrence of this chorale, Bach varies the chorale strophes, keys, and

³⁶ Russell Stinson, "Compositional Process," *Bach: the Orgelbüchlein* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), pp. 35-58.

harmonizations in order to have music and text that complement the plot of the passion story. In a sense, these varied reappearances of this chorale function like poetic parody, for all five chorales share a common melody with texts of analogous meters and rhyme schemes. However, Bach's conscious efforts to adjust the chorale settings throughout the work demonstrate that he was keenly aware of the associations between text and music.³⁷

But if Emanuel Bach's testimony is true, why is there a lack of musical evidence to verify that his father composed chorales working first from the soprano, then providing a supportive bass and completing the task by filling the harmonies with inner voices?

Marshall, remarking on the ease with which J.S. Bach approached chorales, explains that the lack of drafts for this genre reflects the multiple constraints built into these melodies:

Bach was in general a remarkably "clean" worker. And never did he work so cleanly as when he was composing a four-part chorale. The choral autographs contain on the whole only a few scattered corrections, and an observer is rarely even sure whether the manuscript he is studying is a fair copy or a first draft "composing" score. This is not really surprising, since the idiom is relatively unproblematic: melody, form, texture, and scoring are all for the most part predetermined. The compositional effort concentrated accordingly to a great extent on such problems of musical grammar and technique as voice-leading and chord-tone disposition.³⁸

Marshall's statement indicates that the manuscripts' appearance is a testament to Bach's "extraordinary facility and fluency in the purely technical facets of eighteenth-century composition."³⁹ While one does not doubt Bach's compositional prowess, could Bach's "clean" work also be explained by certain procedural norms of Baroque composition? One can compare Marshall's conclusions with Rubin's assertion that at

³⁷ David Hill, *The Persistence of Memory: Mode, Trope, and Difference in the Passion Chorale* (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY/Stony Brook, 1994), p. 274. See also David Hill, "The Time of the Sign: 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden' in Bach's St. Matthew Passion," *Journal of Musicology* 14/ 4 (1996), pp. 514-543 and "Think of Damnation: J.S. Bach's Cantata 161 and Luther's Sermon on Preparing to Die," *Journal of Musicological Research* 16/1 (1996), pp. 17-39.

³⁸ Marshall, "How Bach Composed Four-Part Chorales," p.199.

³⁹ Marshall, "How Bach Composed Four-Part Chorales," p.199.

“the beginning of a song, genre-specific (i.e., schematic) constraints are known and are useful as cues.”⁴⁰ Certainly within chorale composition constraints of melody, meter, harmonic rhythm, and form are co-generated with the additional constraints of the rhymed verse and syllable count contained within chorale lyrics.

Not only do the multiple constraints of chorale melodies make them more memorable, but Bach also had numerous opportunities to either hear or perform these chorales over many years. Bach's education included serious religious Lutheran studies at the Lyceum in Ohrdruf with further emphasis in orthodox Lutheranism and Latin from his education in Luneburg at the Michaelisschule, associated with the Michaeliskirche. According to John Butt's study of Lutheran music education in the German Baroque, an early exposure to music (especially chorales) must have been common to numerous German schoolboys during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴¹

Evidence from psalm books show that as early as the sixteenth century, Lutheran schools recognized the “importance of music in education: all teaching is better engrained in the memory if set to music.”⁴² As a result, music was incorporated into lessons of handwriting and simple arithmetic. Also students of Latin schools were engaged in strictly musical endeavors:

According to the first Lutheran ordinances, all boys had to attend singing lessons, join in the singing which opened and closed instruction and lead the congregational singing in the daily church services, Mass and Vespers.⁴³

⁴⁰ Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions*, p.176.

⁴¹ John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For information on the curriculum at the Michaelisschule, see Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*, pp. 56-58.

⁴² Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, “Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600.” *Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 54, (Regensburg: Bosse, 1969), p. 619.

⁴³ Butt, *Music Education...*, p.3.

In addition to integrated music and academic activities, Bach's childhood music training was supplemented by his upbringing within a very musical family. While in school Bach's musical activities included choir participation, either as a singer or instrumental accompanist. Bach may have also been a singer in numerous other student and church choirs, at the very least in a school choir in Eisenach. Even extending to his professional duties in Leipzig, all of this musical activity provided Bach with ample opportunities for memorization through repetition:

In most schools morning and afternoon lessons were still opened and closed with the singing of a sacred song; this practice is still documented in the ordinances of the Thomasschule, Leipzig in 1733. Furthermore, music could still be used as a mnemonic system to learn basic facts and elements of faith, since some believed it to affect both singers and listeners alike...⁴⁴

Therefore, Bach's education provided many occasions to reinforce musical expertise and knowledge of chorales either through rehearsal or performance. The resulting training of musical memory enabled Bach to compose efficiently and spontaneously in this genre primarily through recall.

While Rubin's hypothesis of orally transmitted material can easily be applied to a vocal genre like the chorale, what does it explain about the role of memory in the composition of instrumental genres? It has already been shown how for the Baroque composer the practices of composition and live performance overlapped, particularly while realizing figured-bass. And there is much evidence to suggest that during the Baroque era, improvisatory traditions in music existed simultaneously with traditions based upon composition, rehearsal, and performance from notated music. Within these

⁴⁴ Butt, *Music Education...*, p. 20.

Baroque performance practices numerous components function as a variety of syntactical elements that control the process of improvisation.

Music of the Baroque Era may be defined by the following constituents: relationships between various keys and tonalities; musical gestures/rhetorical figures; and social functions or performance contexts, which may be further subdivided into sacred music, such as church chorales and cantatas, and secular music, such as dance genres. These compositional elements were variously addressed by seventeenth-century music theorists, as well as by Bach's contemporaries and former students.

As early as 1655 Christoph Bernhard (1627-1692) observed that factors such as the types of dissonances used in the work, the relationship between text and music, and the place of performance were associated with specific musical styles.⁴⁵ Other controlling musical factors were perceived in tonal and harmonic associations. Structures used to define relationships among keys, such as the musical circle devised by Johann David Heinichen, illustrated the connections of both major and minor keys. Complex and expansive modulatory schemes could be constructed when "...the closely related keys are those whose tonic triads exist in the original key."⁴⁶

The selection of key in the compositional process could also be determined by the desire to arouse a specific emotion. Johann Philip Kirnberger (1721-83), a Bach pupil, confirms in *The Art of Strict Musical Composition* that each key was thought to possess a different quality and should be used to evoke certain moods or emotions in the listener:

Thus it can generally be accepted as a true and well-founded rule that major modes are particularly suited to cheerful, lively, and extroverted, carefree melodies; the minor modes, however, are preferable where

⁴⁵ Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*. Dresden ca. 1655.

⁴⁶ Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 215.

tenderness, sad, and adverse sentiments, caution and indecision are to be expressed.⁴⁷

Although there was no universal agreement on what key best suited a particular type of music, specific keys become more appropriate than others for certain genres and performance environments. The emotional impact from the choice of key was an important component of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theories of *Figurenlehre* or *Affektenlehre*. Theorists, in accordance with the belief that music should be written to arouse the emotions, identified numerous musical figures with corresponding rhetorical nomenclature.

Therefore, during the Baroque era, rhetoric and the doctrine of affections dictated compositional practices such as key relationships, musical figures, ornamentation, and formal construction. The interaction of key, affect, and rhetorical musical figures is easily understood when joined with a text chosen for a particular musical event. In addition to chorales, other genres were traditionally transmitted aurally in conjunction with activities in religious contexts: psalms, chorales, hymns, and Latin chant were all used for specific instances and appropriate occasions within the liturgical year.

In instrumental music, however, the links of such elements are more obscure. Yet in the secular context, the various social dances all had characteristic time signatures, rhythmic patterns, and phrase structures. For example, both the *bourrée* and *gavotte* might be identified by a duple meter and four-bar phrases. But the *bourrée*, unlike the *gavotte*, typically contains dactyl figures built from quarter- and eighth-notes as well as syncopations in the second and fourth measures of a phrase. The faster tempo of the *bourrée* may also distinguish it from the *gavotte*. Of course, none of these subtle musical

⁴⁷ Johann Philip Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* (Berlin: 1776; English translation by David Beach and Jürgen Thym as *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 338-

differences escaped Bach's attention, as seen by his integration of popular Baroque instrumental dance forms into vocal music.

For instance, Bach designated the closing soprano aria movement of the cantata *Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten*, BWV 202 as a *gavotte*. Even without such labeling, the *gavotte* characteristics are apparent; phrases are eight beats long divided into four-beat-long pairs, and each phrase begins in the middle of a measure (Example 5-1). Equally relevant is the *passepied* construction for another aria, the seventh movement of the same cantata. Although Bach did not mark this movement as a *passepied*, the dance elements of the music are again unmistakable; the fast triple meter, the upbeat to the four-bar-long phrases and the prevalent use of hemiola rhythms all signal the presence of a *passepied*. The use of instrumental dance forms for movements of vocal music is similarly found in arias from the cantata *Durchlauchtster Leopold*, BWV 173a: the aria "Güldner Sonnen frohe Stunden" is written as a *gigue*, "Leopolds Vortrefflichkeiten" as a *corrente*, "Unter seinem Purpursaum" as a *minuet* (Example 5-2), and "So schau dies holden Tages Licht" as a *bourrée*. Thus, both vocal and instrumental as well as sacred and secular music were defined and controlled by the combined behavior of its musical constituents.

While some theorists perceived keys as tools for presenting different moods, Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) wrote that different dance forms expressed different moods as well.⁴⁸ We know that dance forms served a social purpose, and that specific dances were appropriate for specific social functions. As Meredith Little and Natalie

339.

⁴⁸ Hans Lenneberg, "Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music," *Journal of Music Theory* II/1 (April 1958), pp. 57-66.

The image displays a musical score for a chamber ensemble. The top system includes staves for Oboe (Ob.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Soprano (S.), and Bassoon (B.C.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The Oboe and Violin I parts feature a trill (tr) in the final measure of the system. The Soprano part is silent. The bottom system, starting at measure 6, shows the continuation of the piece for all instruments, with the Soprano part now active.

Example 5-1:
Bach, *Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten*, BWV 202, "Gavotte," mm. 1-13

11

Musical score for Example 5-1, continued. The score consists of five staves. The top four staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is written in a common time signature. The first staff contains a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The second staff contains a similar melodic line. The third staff contains a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes, including a sharp sign on a note. The fourth staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. The fifth staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes.

Example 5-1,
continued

1

Fl. Tr. 1

Fl. Tr. 2

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

S.

B.

B.C.

6

12

p

p

p

p

Un - ter sei - nem Pur - pur - saum ist die

Example 5-2:

Bach, *Durchlauchtster Leopold*, BWV 173a, "Unter seinem Purpursaum." mm. 1-17

Jenne have noted, "most of the dance forms used were choreographically alive and flourishing in Germany during [Bach's] lifetime."⁴⁹

However, the distinctions between these various dance forms were often subtle, a point well illustrated by Niedt in his *Musicalische Handleitung*. In Chapter X of Volume II, "On the Variation of the Thorough-bass," Niedt presents a list of musical terms that includes thirty-four identifiable compositional types. While specific features define each term, any one feature can be found as a defining characteristic for other terms. To construct new pieces, Niedt proposes a simple figured bass line which itself can be altered rhythmically to develop *chaconnes* and trios as well as other genres.

Of interest is how Niedt sees certain compositional forms as derivatives or variations of other forms. Of further interest is how these transformations are more often than not accomplished by metrical and rhythmic alterations of the bass line rather than through modified harmonic and tonal behavior. Thus defining a musical genre goes beyond purely morphological characteristics. According to both Mattheson and Niedt, many dance types may share common traits, but no one musical feature is the dominant force in defining a musical work or its occasional function.

Niedt's discussion of genres underscores the type of musical flexibility available to Baroque composers working within the limits of late Baroque musical grammar. Consistent with Niedt's examples, an existing musical idea can be used to generate new works through modifications of one or more characteristics. This is precisely what occurs in Baroque parody practices: pre-existent works were embellished or reorchestrated, as in Bach's treatment of Reinken's trio sonatas, or rhythmically altered, as in Vivaldi's parody of Lotti. As a result of such adjustments, the new work can be assigned, perhaps

⁴⁹ Little, *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach*, p. i.

with accompanying social and instrumental performance contexts, to a genre different from its parody source.

Musical Constraints in the Spectrum of Bach's Composing Practices

If the study and performance of sacred vocal music dominated the musical experiences of Bach's childhood, how and from where did he learn the art and rules of instrumental composition? We have already seen from Chapter 2 how Bach used the works of other composers as compositional models to expand his own musical horizons. Bach's parodies of Italian instrumental trio sonatas demonstrate his recognition and manipulation of many musical fundamentals such as form, genre, figured bass, melody, meter, rhythm, and instrumentation. Still, Bach needed to synthesize efficiently these elements in order to become an effective composer and improviser.

According to Forkel, it was Bach's studies of Vivaldi concertos that "taught [Bach] how to think musically," for Forkel determined that Bach "studied the chain of ideas, their relation to each other, the variation of the modulations, and many other particulars"⁵⁰ found in Vivaldi's music. Forkel's explanation of Vivaldi's musical components echoes Rubin's models for musical memory as well as Sarath's paradigm for improvisation: a Vivaldi concerto movement is developed from a small set of ideas which carry a field of possible variants and relationships joined together in order to construct larger musical forms. From Forkel's account we begin to see where Bach discovered the importance of modular components in late Baroque musical composition.

As pointed out by Christoph Wolff, Bach's lessons from Vivaldi concertos were less concerned with the genre of concerto and more concerned with the "substance of a

⁵⁰ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, pp. 441-442.

musical idea with the aim of elaborating on it.”⁵¹ In analyzing the construction of a Vivaldi concerto movement, Wolff observed:

The generative motivic substance (a) contains the potential for developing further motives – (b) and (c), both related and contrasting to (a) – and juxtaposing them. The ideas are hierarchically organized – (a)=tutti, (b)=solo – with an irreversible order. In the course of the movement, both the primary idea (a) and the secondary ideas (b) and (c) develop variants in order to secure continuity and change, yet throughout the movement – in a gradually unfolding scheme of order, coherence, and relation – each measure possesses an unmistakable identity. Moreover, the successive order of measures constitutes a chain of clearly structured correlations and metric periodization, with shifting proportions between chordal and figurative measures.⁵²

Wolff’s analysis of the structural principles found in Vivaldi’s concerti highlights a series of processes and musical goals also noted by Sarath in his explanation of improvised compositions. While Wolff sees a “generative motivic substance [containing] the potential for developing further motives” in Vivaldi’s music, Sarath perceives that improvisation is accomplished as “[o]ne event is placed after another, and from each idea created, a field of implications is generated, containing one or more possible successors to the realized idea.”⁵³ And as Wolff underscores the presence of “continuity and change...in a gradually unfolding scheme of order, coherence, and relation” in Vivaldi’s concerto movements, Sarath finds that in improvisation “each realization of what was previously an implied successor [carries] an additional link...added to the accumulating chain of events in a piece.”⁵⁴

In his analysis of Bach’s vocal music, Paul Brainard has presented a picture of Bach’s compositional procedures, which is rather analogous to Wolff’s observation of

⁵¹ Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*, p. 172.

⁵² Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Learned Musician*, p. 172.

⁵³ Sarath, “A New Look at Improvisation,” p. 3.

⁵⁴ Sarath, “A New Look at Improvisation,” p. 3.

how Vivaldi built concerto movements. After investigating Bach arias, Brainard concluded:

...it is I think no exaggeration to say that for [Bach] the composition of the ritornello represented the largest single expenditure of creative effort in setting an aria text to music. What Marshall has aptly termed 'formative' corrections are heavily concentrated in the opening portions of a large majority of Bach's arias and choruses.... The advance notation of ritornello themes makes up a large and significant proportion of his 'sketching' activity.... And repeatedly we gain the impression, in looking at his composing scores, that once the ritornello 'sits' and the vocal opening is under way, the main compositional hurdles have already been crossed.... Bach treats the ritornello as a determinant of context throughout long stretches of his vocal settings. From it emanate either extensive melodic quotations by the voice, or instrumental restatements against which the voice supplies counterpoint...or – most frequently – a combination of both.⁵⁵

Brainard's estimation that ritornello material was the "determinant" as Bach composed an aria resembles Wolff's idea of a "generative motivic substance" appearing in Vivaldi's concerto ritornelli. And similar to Wolff's opinion of a "gradually unfolding scheme of order, coherence, and relation" in Vivaldi's development of concerto solo sections, Brainard proposes that Bach's "extensive melodic quotations by the voice, or instrumental restatements against which the voice supplies counterpoint" stem from thoroughly conceived ideas appearing in the aria ritornello. Hence, Bach needed to invest more time inventing a ritornello that would inherently contain a wealth of potential for musical development.

Forkel's explanation of Vivaldi's musical components also echoes Sarath's paradigm for improvisation: Vivaldi's concerto movement is developed from a small set of ideas which carry a field of possible variants and relationships joined together in order to construct larger musical forms. Therefore, Vivaldi's music illustrated for Bach how

⁵⁵ Paul Brainard, "Aria and ritornello: New aspects of the comparison Handel/ Bach," *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*. Peter Williams, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 24-25.

manipulation of small musical ideas – along with their pool of potential variants and links to other musical ideas – could be used to generate large compositions. A given musical idea may be altered contrapuntally, rhythmically, melodically, and harmonically, creating a rather large range of musical possibilities and connections to other musical material. Similar types of approaches were seen in the previous chapter, where Handel, Vivaldi, and Telemann found ways to construct new works by beginning with a small pre-existent motivic idea. Yet, the sequence of musical events in Vivaldi's concerti movements is often determined by a harmonic plan or ever-increasing ornamentation. Bach, however, recognized the inherent flexibility of Vivaldi's compositional structures and the potential to reorder their sequence of musical events. Thus Bach's interest in Vivaldi was not limited to the details of small motivic elements but extended to the organization of larger musical passages.

The extent to which opportunities are present in such musical constructs continues to increase when one considers how composers could also write new music by reorganizing larger formal components of particular genres. For example, Handel's ability to graft and reassemble portions from various sources was facilitated by the prevalence of multi-sectional forms in Baroque music. The binary and *da capo* forms in vocal genres such as the aria and chorale, dance genres, and particularly in the structures of instrumental genres like the French overture illustrate a design common within the broad spectrum of late Baroque genres. The length and breadth of fugues, suite and sonata movements, chorale preludes, and even improvisatory genres like the toccata or variations on an ostinato bass greatly depend upon the diversity presented through discernable sections. And perhaps the most influential multi-sectional construct in eighteenth-century instrumental music can be found in concerto ritornello form.

But the true enabling force of multi-sectional construction lay in a new harmonic and tonal language. Music grounded in older church modes limited the tonal possibilities of early Baroque composers. But by the late Baroque, composers had developed a system in which any key could function at any time as a tonal center. In the writings of Heinichen and Mattheson, key relationships are diagrammed as a circle with more closely related tonalities appearing adjacent to one another in the circle. With modulations and cadences to new tonal regions in both the major and minor keys dictated by intervals of thirds and fifths, composers found new structural and contrapuntal possibilities.

The interest in these new key connections is clearly demonstrated by François Couperin's twenty-seven *ordres*, a series of harpsichord suites grouped according to common keys. Bach's two volumes of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* also illustrate how composers of the late Baroque took an interest in exploring the new tonal language. Similarly Baroque parody works reveal how the establishment of tonality and a well-tempered scale opened new possibilities for structural expansion and variety. Recall the methods used by Reinken and Albinoni to construct contrapuntal movements and compare them with Bach's parodies of the same works. The Bach arrangements, which are held together by the logic of functional tonal harmony, traverse a tonal landscape beyond the boundaries of their original sources. Similar tonal exploration can be found in Bach's expanded development of the preludes from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.

Bach's composition of the *Triple Concerto* provides an interesting demonstration of how several features of late Baroque music enabled him to realign and reassemble existing musical structures to create a new work. In the outer movements, Bach created new ritornello material from either the motivic or the harmonic implications of the existing material from the Prelude and Fugue. The ritornellos, which introduce new

instrumentation, are interspersed between the material already present within the Prelude and Fugue in A minor. Bach used the solo keyboard sections from the concerto to modulate to new tonal regions, solidifying the newly reached keys of the solo sections with orchestral ritornellos. The virtuosic cadenza-like material from the Prelude and Fugue movements could be transferred to the concerto movements by preparing dominant pedal points in the last solo sections of the first and third movements. Both outer movements are closed with a *da capo* section following these solo cadenzas.

The concerto's second movement also shows how Bach modified existing designs, primarily through reorchestration and variation. The concerto arrangement of the Trio Sonata obtained new sonorities through the use of string pizzicato, which helped to fill out the harmonies implied in the solo organ work. And it was after rescoring his earlier Organ Trio Sonata movement for use in the concerto that new structural and contrapuntal possibilities through voice exchange were revealed. Instead of retaining what previously existed as a standard structural repeat, Bach recognized that a new variation could be achieved by reassigning and alternating melody and accompaniment functions of the three solo instruments. Therefore, much like drafts, the borrowed materials from both the Prelude and Fugue and the Organ Trio Sonata receive a more elaborate treatment when reworked for the *Triple Concerto*. In the final parody work we can observe Bach's concern with large structural issues as well as details in orchestration and harmony.

How, then, did the various controlling constituents of Baroque music enable productive improvisation as well as musical parody? We return to Sarath's argument that the distinction between composition and improvisation lies in the temporal directionality of the generated musical events; composed-notated works consist of musical events

dependent upon cumulative and retrospective processes, whereas events in improvised music are controlled by the localized present.⁵⁶ As psychologist Jeff Pressing perceives it, improvisation "may be partitioned into a sequence of non-overlapping sections."⁵⁷ Each section consists of a cluster of sonic events with the decision processes in each cluster controlled by preceding events, sonic goals, long-term memory, and formal scheme.

Thus the ability to synthesize the musical possibilities of both the localized present and the compositional future was an important skill required of Baroque court or church musicians whose successful improvising was regarded highly. Emanuel Bach noted such a demonstration of his father's mental ability to isolate musical potential – multiple contrapuntal possibilities in particular – in aurally transmitted material:

When he [Sebastian] listened to a rich and many-voiced fugue, he could soon say, after the first entries of the subjects, what contrapuntal devices it would be possible to apply, and which of them the composer by rights ought to apply, and on such occasions, when I was standing next to him, and he had voiced his surmises to me, he would joyfully nudge me when his expectations were fulfilled.⁵⁸

As with his testimony of Sebastian's thorough-bass accompaniment, the younger Bach's observations underscore Sebastian Bach's skill in rapidly discerning new musical possibilities within certain compositional constraints. There should be no doubt that such skills served Bach in good stead, whether he was spontaneously performing figured bass or deliberately notating it for future use.

The above quote also demonstrates the type of real-time mental operation proposed in current psychological theories. For Bach, in a fashion similar to cued retrievals, each piece of material presented as a musical event carried with it a field of

⁵⁶ Sarath, "A New Look at Improvisation," p. 3.

⁵⁷ Jeff Pressing, "Improvisation: Methods and Models," *Generative Processes in Music: the Psychology of Performance, Improvisation and Composition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 152-153.

⁵⁸ Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, no. 394, p. 397.

possible sequential temporal events, some successors being deemed more viable than others. Viability could be determined by temporal proximity of musical events and their contextual meaning in traditions recalled from stored memories. Such a close tie between improvisation and composition for both Bach and his contemporaries could explain the ingenious way in which Baroque composers were able to use contemporary musical constraints to their advantage while rapidly generating a large and varied catalog of music.

The improvisatory nature of Baroque compositional practices would also explain some of the thematic affinity found within late Baroque music. For example, the relationship between Bach's Prelude and Fugue in A minor and the *Triple Concerto* is certainly clear. It would seem that as Bach composed the *Triple Concerto*, he had a notated form of both the Organ Trio Sonata and the Prelude and Fugue at his disposal. But what of the correspondence between the first movements of these two works to the Prelude in F, BWV 928 and the prelude on the chorale "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend," BWV 655?

The melodic contour and rhythmic pattern common to the opening motive of all four works (Example 5-3) might well have been linked together in Bach's consciousness. It appears as though Bach's application of this motive necessitated that the elements of melody and rhythm remain inseparable, much like cued items stored in memory. In addition, this particular combination and its compositional potential had enough appeal for Bach to utilize it in various guises on more than one occasion. While all four works share a common motivic idea, the differences between these works illustrate Bach's ability to generate a variety of new works from a single, alterable musical idea. Bach's

genius is therefore his recognition of the bonds between certain musical components and his optimization of the plasticity inherent within these connections.

In light of the role of memory and parody in Bach's compositions, then, borrowing is to be recognized as an extension of improvisation, for both are dependent upon the ability to synthesize existing musical material through memorized and recalled structural rules. From this perspective Handel scholar Ellwood Derr suggested:

...that Handel's selections of pre-existent raw materials for the composition of new pieces were made on the basis of contextual referents established for the large work, and that these choices were conditioned primarily by musical and only rarely by text-related situations. For instance, prevalent melodic/rhythmic figures are matched from piece to piece. When the continuity of a scheme is interrupted, it is for a demonstrable dramatic purpose. The hypothesis is put forward here that Handel was able to encode and store large quantities of music in long-term memory, retrievable by activation of stimuli aroused by various contextual parameters; and that the guise of the recalled data in new pieces results from conscious crafting procedures.⁵⁹

Derr's hypothesis purports to explain how Baroque composers utilized the constraints presented by both performance context and eighteenth-century musical grammar to facilitate new composition. These composers also understood pre-existent musical materials as sources of musical ideas. Whether these borrowed works were transmitted via notation or aural memory was of little consequence. For Bach and his contemporaries, it was far more important that these parodied works had the potential to be improved and to function in a new context. The rules and variety of ideas present in

⁵⁹ Derr, "Handel's Procedures," p. 117.

A

B

Praeludium

C

D

Example 5-3: Ideas common to the opening of four Bach works.

A=Prelude in F, BWV 928

B=chorale prelude *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*, BWV 655

C=Prelude in A Minor, BWV 894

D=*Triple Concerto* in A Minor, BWV 1044

the musical environment of the eighteenth century made the prospect of regularly generating new music a far less onerous process for inventive composers like Bach.

Given the musical conventions of the late Baroque, Bach may have taken the following steps in composing a closing four-voice chorale for a Lenten vocal work. 1) He chose a chorale with an appropriate text for the liturgical season, and consequently obtained a melody through its connection to the text. 2) Now working within the fixed structure of four-voiced chorales, Bach would decide upon the most appropriate key for conveying the meaning of the text. Bach's choice of key would also be determined by the context of the cantata or Passion into which it was to be inserted. 3) With the key carrying some of its own emotional or symbolic implications, Bach could choose from a new set of compositional priorities. He could proceed by starting first with the bass voice, or work the melody and harmonies through phrase by phrase, or even focus primarily on the detail work of voice-leading in the inner voices.

What might have been Bach's decision process in composing larger works, for instance, a cantata for the church day commemorating Mary's Visitation? In composing *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren* BWV 10, Bach may have begun by choosing an appropriate text for the liturgical season and then locating an equally suitable chorale. Typically an important component of Bach's cantatas, the chorale could then readily exist in a relatively straightforward four-voice presentation as in the cantata's last movement. But in the case of *Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren*, Bach looked for ways to incorporate a single chorale melody into three of the seven movements of this cantata. Acting as a musical given, much like a parodied work, the musical characteristics and textual meaning of the chorale would then dictate the characteristics of the surrounding

movements. Bach's choice of keys would be determined by the liturgical context and emotional quality of the text in each cantata movement.

With text and keys carrying their own defining elements and expectations, Bach could use *figurae melodiae*. In the fifth movement we see that Bach combined the *palilogia* – “a repetition of a theme, either at different pitches in various voices or on the same pitch in the same voice”⁶⁰ – with repetitive texts to surround the chorale contrapuntally and canonically. The chorale could even be treated as a melody chorale, like those in the *Orgelbüchlein*, where the melody is presented in the uppermost voice and interludes are interspersed between the chorale phrases. Provided with certain limiting factors, Bach was then free to channel his creative energies into other facets of composition. Both the need and opportunity to consider a musical event as the result of cumulative musical time is greatly reduced due to established musical components and behaviors.

We now consider our second source of Bach's rules for composition, a transcription of Bach's dictated text preserved by the Bach student Carl August Thieme.⁶¹ In Chapter 3 it was noted that the second section of this four-part document paraphrases Chapters I-IX from the first volume of Friederich Erhardt Niedt's three-volume treatise, *Musicalische Handleitung* (1710).⁶² If, as Pamela Poulin suggests, Bach's teaching style relied more upon demonstration and dictation to students rather than instruction from a

⁶⁰ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*, Rev. and enl. ed. of *Handbuch der musicalischen Figurenlehre* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 342.

⁶¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Vorschriften und Grundsätze zum vierstimmigen Spielen des General-Bass order Accompagnement* (Leipzig, 1738; English translation by Pamela Poulin as *J.S. Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the thorough-bass or accompanying in four parts*, London: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁶² Friederich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1700, 1710, 1721; English translation by Pamela Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor as *The Musical Guide*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

tutor or workbook,⁶³ perhaps the relationship between Bach and Niedt is closer than previously thought.

In light of the existence of established Baroque performance traditions, the *Musicalische Handleitung* may be as much a written record of Johann Nicolaus Bach's teachings to Niedt as the Bach "Precepts" is a transcription of an oral/aural instructional practice. If all evidence of Bach's instruction and composition techniques, whether documentary or musical, represents a written account of aural information and recalled memories, the correspondence between the teachings of Sebastian Bach and Niedt may not be a matter of paraphrasing as much as it is a matter of information derived from a common source within an established teaching tradition.

A similarly established tradition of musical sources could greatly aid a composer who was required to produce an enormous amount of music for various functions. In order to have music for weekly church services and instructional sessions, as well as chamber music for home and Collegium use, Bach must have called upon a large mental store of musical ideas. Some musical ideas were perhaps accumulated over time through recall of aural reception, some borrowed from other sources, and some derived from improvisational "working-out."

Within this musical environment, the composer who was best able to incorporate these aurally perceived practices into both his vocal and instrumental compositions was Bach. In his music, the dividing lines of social context, and therefore genre, along with its appropriate musical material, are easily blurred. One can observe a calculated mixing of different genres in many of Bach's works; in some cases, extremely similar musical

⁶³ Poulin, *J.S. Bach's Precepts* ..., p. xix.

gestures appear in multiple genres. Why would Bach use the same musical figure – an expressive ascent from G to E-flat – to open the aria *Wenn kömmt du, mein Heil* of Cantata 140, the *Largo* of the trio sonata in the *Musicalisches Opfer* BWV 1079, and the *Siciliano* of violin and harpsichord obbligato sonata BWV 1017, all of which are in C minor? This rhetorical *exclamatio* gesture seems to have had a stronger relationship to keys and to rhetorical/allegorical meanings than to the function of a specific genre.

The mixing of elements across genres becomes even clearer with Bach's prolific borrowings from his own works as well as those of others. Numerous examples show that Bach used some component of his own instrumental work in a vocal composition as well as vice versa. For example, Bach transposed the opening *Preludio* of the E-major violin partita BWV 1006 into the key of D major and reorchestrated it for organ and orchestra as the opening movement for the *Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir* Cantata 29 as well as Cantata 120a.

Bach took a similar approach with the works of other composers. At least one lied (*Liebster Gott, wann werd*, BWV 483) and a chorale (*Liebster Gott, wann werd' ich sterben*, BWV 8) are derived from the *Musicalisher Kirch-und Haus-Ergötzlichkeit*, a collection of keyboard works by Daniel Vetter. With his acute aural memory and ability to conceive quickly of contrapuntal possibilities, Bach also looked beyond his own work for themes ripe for contrapuntal treatment. Music by other members of the Bach family, such as Johann Christoph Bach and Bernhard Bach, were the inspiration for some of Sebastian's chorale preludes.

Conclusion

We have demonstrated that Bach's voluminous output was achieved through his utilization of a wide variety of pre-existent musical sources. In some cases these sources were works by others or Bach's own earlier compositions. At other times, Bach called upon his vast mental store of knowledge of earlier and contemporary music. Even under serious time constraints, he was able to combine materials from a pool of both parodies and mentally stored music, quickly bypassing the larger structural features of a work and focusing on corrections of detail. Therefore Bach's redistribution of compositional tasks was made possible by his skill at realizing the musical potential of linking together various musical constituents. As an accomplished performer and composer, Bach could determine which components could take priority in the compositional process. Once one musical component was established, Bach was able to comprehend further what other musical constituents would be deemed appropriate with their connections to that primary component. As a consequence, Bach's compositional process must have often involved numerous mental or live "rehearsals" of musical ideas and material through borrowing, improvisation and performance long before actually setting these works down in musical notation.

We now see how borrowing was part of a larger tradition of music composition. For Bach and his contemporaries, pre-existent ideas – from earlier works or from the music of other composers – were often used to stimulate composition of new works. The importance of parody for Bach and others came through the recognition of musical affinities between old and new ideas, as well as of the potential to utilize pre-existing materials within the context of contemporary musical idioms.

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