

## BACH



## NOTES

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE AMERICAN BACH SOCIETY

## BACH AND THE “THEATRALISCHER STIL”<sup>1</sup>

HANS JOACHIM MARX

Bach research, as far as I have seen, has said practically nothing about Bach’s relationship to the opera of his day. In my view, this restraint stems from the fact that until now little doubt has been raised concerning the “Kirchenstil” of the sacred cantatas and oratorios, which have stood at the forefront of the efforts surrounding the formulation of a philologically safeguarded picture of Bach. But then the questions arises, what is to be understood by the term “Kirchenstil,” and how does “Kirchenstil” stand in relation to the “theatralischer Stil,” which, since Giovanni Battista Doni, had become the most important of the Baroque stylistic terms.

Philipp Spitta has already pursued this question in his monumental Bach biography, and if Spitta had not had an aversion to opera in general, which inevitably influenced his interpretation of Bach’s works, I could restrict myself here to his assessment of certain Bach compositions. A learned theologian, Spitta saw, as formulated by Wilibald Gurlitt, “the essence of Bach’s art in its symbolic significance as protestant church music” (“das Wesen der Kunst Bachs in ihrer symbolischen Bedeutsamkeit als protestantische Kirchenmusik”).<sup>2</sup> It was Spitta’s goal to resurrect Bach’s cantatas and oratorios within the context of the new orthodox revival movement of the late nineteenth century. He interpreted Bach’s sacred pieces as works of art that most fully and completely embodied the purity of religious composition. Against Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut’s conceptions of the harmony and purity of sacred music, Spitta set the eccentric individualism of opera, which he experienced less through Baroque opera than through the music dramas of Wagner. For this reason, he also criticized several

dramatic sections of Bach’s early cantatas, maintaining that solo song must not express individual feelings, but rather common feelings. Spitta had a negative view of early eighteenth-century opera because he believed it was “a plant of the German soil that was rich with leaves but bore no fruit” (“ein blattreiches, doch fruchtloses Gewächs auf deutschem Boden”).<sup>3</sup> But was it really?

In the following remarks concerning Bach and the “theatralischer Stil,” I would first like to offer a brief overview of the state of opera in the years from 1720 to 1740 and indicate the courts and cities in which Bach might have enjoyed performances of opera. Thereafter, I would like to sum up the theological/aesthetic discussion surrounding the influence of the “theatralischer Stil” on church music by drawing on contemporary writings concerning the debate. Finally, I will add some observations concerning the extent to which Bach incorporated and modified the operatic style in his vocal works, especially those from the later period.

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Opera, which Mattheson had once described “as the upper school of many beautiful disciplines . . . above all music” (“als die Hohe Schule vieler schöner Wissenschaften . . . vornehmlich Musik”) had already lost its attractiveness by the time Bach arrived in Leipzig in 1723. Although almost every German royal seat and many free imperial cities maintained an opera house between 1690 and 1715, with its own ensemble of singers and instrumentalists, the “Theatromanie” (as the enthusiasm for opera was called by its pietistic opponents) visibly faded away in the 1720s. The court theatres in Bonn, Celle, Düsseldorf, Hannover, Naumburg, Stuttgart, and Weimar were closed.<sup>4</sup> “The

most radiant and most expensive diversion that the human spirit could devise”—as opera was described by John Evelyn as early as 1645—had, among other things, overtaxed the financial possibilities of the courts. Other royal seats, such as those in Durlach-Karlsruhe, Gotha, Rudolstadt, and Weißenfels, held fast to the tradition of joining dynastic events with opera performances. In the years following 1720, only the courts at Dresden, Munich, and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel maintained a standing opera ensemble. While the performances in Dresden and Munich consisted almost exclusively of Italian opera—the great majority from Venice and Vienna—those in Braunschweig consisted predominantly of German opera or opera in German translation until about 1735. The preference for German-language opera at this court had to do with Braunschweig’s proximity to the Gänsemarkt Opera in Hamburg, with which it maintained an extensive program of exchange. The Theater am Hagen in Braunschweig, which had been modeled after the Hamburg opera house, was the site of Hasse’s debut as an opera composer with the 1721 performance of *Antioco*. In the years from 1723 to 1732, this theatre, under the leadership of Georg Caspar Schürmanns, mounted at least eight Händel operas that included texts partially in German. Although admittance to the court theater was open to the bourgeoisie (sometimes with an admission charge), it is unlikely that the young Bach attended performances at the Braunschweig theater during any of his trips to northern Germany.

The strongest impulse supporting the development of German opera did not come from the courts but from the free imperial cities of Hamburg and Leipzig. Opera in Leipzig, however, despite engagements by Nicolaus Adam Strungk and Georg Philipp Telemann, did not achieve importance beyond its local region, and in fact the Opernhaus am Brühl closed in 1720 due to financial difficulties. The opera in Hamburg, on the other hand, garnered an international reputation. Kings, princes, and dukes included Hamburg in their travel plans in order to attend performances at the “magnifique OperenHauß am Gänsemarckt,” as it was described in one chronicle.<sup>5</sup> This opera house, built by

an Italian after Venetian models, could accommodate an audience of 2000, and the technical features of its stage belonged to the most advanced in all of Europe. With respect to the artists, librettists of the rank of Hunold, König, Postel, and Feind, as well as composers such as Theile, Strungk, Franck, Keiser, and Telemann, enabled German opera to enjoy pre-eminence

for a time among the dramatic and musical genres. Despite strong theological objections to the “pagan entertainment” (“heidnische Ergetzlichkeit”) of the opera—which even Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, at the request of the lease holders of the opera, countered with a positive appraisal<sup>6</sup>—and despite

occasional financial and organizational crises, the Gänsemarkt Opera survived until 1738, with a repertory that extended from the courtly homage operas to the to *galant* Singspiel on local subjects. Ultimately, the forced closing of the Hamburg Opera after sixty years of existence reflected the inability of the directors to manage it as a viable concern operated according to the principles of supply and demand, in both an artistic and commercial sense.

During his visits to Hamburg, Bach certainly attended performances at the Gänsemarkt Opera. As early as the Lüneburg years, during which, according to the obituary, he “traveled from time to time to Hamburg,” he could have seen operas by Keiser, such as *La forza della virtù* (1700) or *Die wunderschöne Psyche* (1701), both to texts translated from the Italian and arranged by Wolfenbüttel court poet Friedrich Christian Bressand. From the music of Keiser, Bach could have learned how text is divided within a scenic complex, how the affect of a text is presented in the melody and in the instruments, and in which situations recitative and aria further the plot or bring it to a standstill. He could also have come to know the opera orchestra in Hamburg, which was superior to most court orchestras, not only because of its great variety of instruments (in addition to the usual scoring for strings, oboes, and trumpets, there were also the viola d’amore, oboe d’amore, piccolo, corno da caccia, and theorbo),<sup>7</sup> but also because of the high level of musical excellence. If Bach visited the Gänsemarkt Opera during his visit to Hamburg in the fall of 1720, he might have heard Steffani’s *Roland* on 6, 14, or 18 November or Schürmann’s *Alceste* on 7, 9, or 13 November. If he had already arrived in Hamburg in mid-October of that year, he might have heard Händel’s *Rinaldo*, in the arrangement by Keiser.

While we can only make assumptions about Bach’s visits to the opera in Hamburg, we are on somewhat surer footing with respect to his visits to the opera in Dresden. Through Forkel, we know of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s remark that his father “often went there to hear the opera.”<sup>8</sup> And

“During his visits to Hamburg, Bach certainly attended performances at the Gänsemarkt Opera. . . . he could have seen operas by Keiser, such as *La forza della virtù* (1700) or *Die wunderschöne Psyche* (1701). . . .”

Forkel's joking comment to Wilhelm Friedemann—asking if they (Friedemann and his father) had not “once again” wanted to hear the “beautiful little Dresden songs” (“schönen Dresdner Liederchen”)—makes Bach's particular interest in the “theatralischer Stil” of the opera unmistakably clear. Bach, then, who stayed in Dresden many times between 1717 and 1741, cannot possibly have been the “affected composer of double counterpoint,” who, as stated in an anonymous review, “in Dresden yawned during superb operas by Hasse.” The commentary on this episode in *Bach Dokumente* seems to me to be somewhat too close to Spitta's understanding of Bach.<sup>9</sup>

But let us return to the “beautiful little Dresden songs.” Do they belong perhaps to Antonio Lotti's pastoral melodrama *Giove in Argo*? This work was in the repertory in 1717, when Bach stayed at the house of the Count von Flemming in order to face Marchand. Or, by “little songs,” which Bach found not somewhat “pretty” but rather “beautiful,” did Forkel mean the arias from Hasse's *Cleofide*? It is very likely that Bach attended the premiere of this work on 13 September 1731. Hasse's arias have a rather *galant*, almost sentimental quality. Their musical idiom captivates through the simplicity and naturalness that elucidates the text. This quality is precisely the reason Scheibe, in his criticism of Bach's “Kirchen-Stücken,” chose the arias of Hasse as positive, up-to-date, *galant* examples of text setting. Most of the arias of Bach's secular cantatas of the 1730s, however, show Scheibe's critique, in many instances, to be ill conceived. The melodic style of the arias of the Peasant Cantata, BWV 212, in particular, seems to exhibit the unmistakable influence of Hasse's *intermezzos*.

At the time that Bach came into contact with the musical/dramatic style of Hasse, opera was little in demand as a statement of European fashion. Contemporary critics, such as Mattheson and Gottsched, place the responsibility for the decline of opera, especially German opera, on intangible, non-material factors. For whatever reasons, German opera could not be established, but its poetic/musical style was taken up by composers and applied to other genres, particularly concerted church music. The rejection of this transfer of style by the majority of the clergy, however, is seen in Kuhnau's employment contract of 1701: he was obliged to compose music for the worship service that did not sound like opera. The same passage is found in Bach's contract. It was retained because one councilman would vote for Bach to become the Thomaskantor only if he agreed to “write compositions that were not theatrical.”<sup>10</sup>

But such commitments were really only formalities because shortly after 1700 the “theatralischer Stil” was already taken up by the poets of sacred texts and by cantors who were

responsible for the composition of concerted church music. One of the first to write sacred texts as madrigalian verse was the theologian and poet Erdmann Neumeister. In the preface to his *Geistlichen Cantaten statt einer Kirchen-Musik*, which appeared in Weißenfels in its second edition in 1704, Neumeister described the new type of sacred cantata and compared it with opera. “Shall I briefly express it,” he wrote in summary, “a cantata does not look any different from a section of an opera, assembled from recitatives and arias” (“so siehet eine Cantata nicht anders aus, als ein Stück aus einer Opera, von Stylo Recitativo und Arien zusammengesetzt”). Beyond the recitative and aria, he also mentions the *arioso* (“affectuösen Periodo”), and defends the *da capo* aria structure, though under the condition that it consist of only one affect or one moral. With this comment, he was reacting to the critics, particularly the pietistic clergy, who feared that the devotion of the listener would be destroyed by various affects within a single aria.

Spitta had already noted, if in a negative context, that “the incorporation of the theatrical style into church music [was] an artistic revolution” (“die Übertragung des theatralischen Stils auf die Kirchenmusik eine Art Kunst-Revolution [war]”) that was not accepted at the time without resistance. In fact, Neumeister's *Geistliche Cantaten* incited a theological conflict that was publicly debated and lasted until the late 1720s. One of the stringent opponents of the new cantata type was the conflict-loving Erfurt organist Johann Heinrich Buttstett, who in his treatise *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, Tota musica* (Erfurt, 1716) indignantly argued that “along with the theatrical recitative style almost all of the licentious things [were brought] into the church” (“nebst dem Stylo recitativo theatri fast aller liederlicher Kram in die Kirche [gebracht würde]”). And with rage he noted that “all church pieces [were set] in the theatrical style” (“alle Kirchenstücke auf theatralische Art [gesetzt würden]”) and even cantors laid “sacred texts under theatrical arias” (“geistliche Texte unter die theatralischen Arien”), creating parodies.<sup>11</sup>

Some years later, the theologian Gottfried

Ephraim Scheibel entered into the discussion with his essay *Zufällige Gedanken von der Kirchenmusik, wie sie heutiges Tages beschaffen* (Incidental Thoughts on Church Music, as it is Composed Today, Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1721). Scheibel had studied under Bach's predecessor as Thomaskantor, Johann Kuhnau, and knew the musical circumstances in Leipzig from personal experience. He stated first that the new form of church music “was livelier and freer . . . more theatrical . . . than the constrained compositions one normally uses in the church” (“lebhafter und freyer . . . mehr theatralisch wäre, . . . als die gezwungene Composition, der man sich in der Kirchen ordinar bedienet”). He reproached the opponents of this modern church music, arguing that they overlook the fact that affect in opera is

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the same as in the church, only the subject of the text is different. “The music that delights me at the opera can do the same in the church” (“Der Thon, der mich in einer Oper vergnügt, der kann auch solches in der Kirche thun”), he argued, “only the objective is different” (“nur daß er ein anders Objectum hat”). Accordingly, one could also create a secular cantata, “a parody from a sacred composition” (“eine Parodie von einer geistlichen Materie darauff”) without the affect “losing its strength” (“[dass der Affekt] seine Kraft verliere”) in the process.<sup>12</sup>

In response to Scheibel’s polemical essay, the Göttingen gymnasium professor Joachim Meyer published his *Unvorgreifliche[n] Gedanken über die neulich eingerissene theatralische Kirchenmusik*, (Unanticipated Thoughts on the Recently Popular Theatrical Church Music, 1726). In this exceedingly learned essay, the author focused less on criticizing the Neumeister cantata texts, to which he refers, and more on highlighting the dangers that could develop from a subjective sacred text that is neither taken directly from the Bible nor drawn from biblical texts.<sup>13</sup> Two years later in the *Musikalischen Patrioten*, Johann Mattheson formulated the crucial point of the church music dispute once again in the following words: “I have in the church . . . the same musical objective as in the opera, namely, that I want to stimulate affections in the mind of the listener and to move those affections in particular ways, toward love, compassion, joy, sadness, etc.” In this regard, he is in complete agreement with Scheibel, except the text must “strive for something serious, as [does] the Holy Scripture—of that we are completely assured . . . by its beautiful poetry.”<sup>14</sup>

Mattheson makes clear that the “theatralischer Stil” was also adopted by cantors of the older generation by pointing to Joachim Gerstenbüttel, Telemann’s predecessor as music director of the Hamburg principal churches. Gerstenbüttel was known as an utter opponent of opera, but this did not prevent him from, “secretly” (“unter der Hand”), as Mattheson noted, having “the scores to many operas copied, especially those by Keiser” (“Partituren von vielen Opern, absonderlich von Keisers Composition”), nor did it prevent him from “imitating the style of those works” (“und dessen Styl zu imitieren”).<sup>15</sup> With these remarks, Mattheson, who along with Keiser was one of the earliest advocates of modern church music, wanted to demonstrate that the theological dispute surrounding the introduction of the “theatralischer Stil” into church music no longer had practical significance if even the conservative composers, such as Gerstenbüttel, made use of the new style.

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Consequently, with respect to concerted church music, the treatises of the 1730s no longer concerned themselves with theological questions, but focused instead primarily on aesthetic and moral questions. This new approach was exemplified by Scheibe, who wrote in *Der Critische Musikus* (1737) that “the ultimate aim of church music” (“der Endzweck der Kirchenmusik”) was “to edify the listeners, to encourage devotion and thereby awaken a quiet and holy reverence for the divine being” (“die Zuhörer(!) zu erbauen, sie zur Andacht aufzumuntern, um dadurch bey ihnen eine stille und heilige Ehrfurcht gegen das göttliche Wesen zu erwecken”).<sup>16</sup> Scheibe was also one of the first theorists to concern himself with the specific nature and structure of church

music. In his pedagogical treatise *Compendium musices* from about 1730, he associates the sacred cantata with the “proper German church style” (“ordentlichen deutschen Kirchen Styl”) and characterizes it as belonging particularly to the Protestants. The cantatas performed “during the worship services on the regular Sundays and feasts” consisted of arias and recitatives, with a choral dictum only at the beginning, which might employ counterpoint or a subtle fugue, and a verse from a “spirited chorale” (“geistreichen Liede”) at the end.<sup>17</sup> With this description, Scheibe seems to reveal that he knew Bach’s cantatas, or at least that he had heard them. In this treatise, he no longer makes an essential difference between the theatrical and church styles. With respect to church cantatas he merely stipulates that arioso should be employed instead of secco recitative, and that in the arias the affect of joy, for example, should be “more a noble liveliness and exhortation” (“mehr eine edle Lebhaftigkeit und Ermunderung”); it should never appear “as comical and excessive as in the theater” (“so lustig und ausschweifend als auf dem Teatro”).

Stemming from the poetics of his teacher Gottsched, Scheibe stipulated further that the composers should take special care to provide a natural musical setting that follows the meaning of the text and the characteristic style of the German language. In particular, one must be aware of word repetitions, which (just as the inclusion of too many accompanying instruments) can “obscure the meaning of the words” (“den Verstand der Worte verdunkeln”). Composers must also watch out for “excessive coloratura” since that makes vocal music “bombastic and indistinct” (“schwülstig und undeutlich”).

This description of the “theatrical style of composition” (“theatralische Schreibart”) is essentially consistent with Scheibe’s

critique of Bach's church pieces that is added as a feigned travel report to the sixth chapter of *Der critische Musikus*. This report, written in a "satirical style," criticizes in a polemical way certain, as Scheibe writes, "growths" ("Auswüchse") in Bach's sacred cantatas. Without question, the matter at hand concerns church music in the theatrical style. But what goes unmentioned—certainly a purposeful omission on Scheibe's part—are the secular cantatas composed in the late 1720s and 30s and performed principally by Bach's collegium musicum. Bach's student Lorenz Mizler had these dramatic (congratulatory and homage-paying) cantatas in mind when he responded to Scheibe in the *Musikalische Bibliothek* (1738), which he edited. There, he wrote that it was indeed correct that in Bach's church pieces the middle voices "were sometimes fuller than the other [voices]" ("zuweilen vollstimmiger gesetzt als andere"). He goes on to note that Bach could also compose otherwise "whenever he wants" ("wenn er will"). Mizler refers here to the lost homage cantata, BWV Anh. 13, which Bach performed at the 1738 Easter service in the presence of the Saxon Elector and Polish King August III and which "had been composed completely according to the latest taste" ("vollkommen nach dem neuesten Geschmack eingerichtet gewesen [sei]").<sup>18</sup> Like most of the cantata texts by Picander from the 1730s, the text to this cantata follows the formal design of an act of *opera seria*. Consequently, the Aristotelian unities of time, place, and action are preserved, as is the stipulation concerning the characterization of the dramatic roles. The "cantata" proves to be, as Gottsched emphasizes in his "Critische Dichtkunst," a "small opera," in which only "the playhouse and the costumes of the singers" ("die Schaubühne und die Verkleidung der Sänger") are missing. Given this definition, it is understandable that Bach designated most of his secular cantatas "dramma per musica." According to the poetics of the day, the secular cantata was, by its very nature, a "dramma per musica," and Bach's manner of composition is also consistent with this characterization. The secular cantatas of the late 1720s and 1730s are essentially oriented toward the opera styles of the day: the homage cantatas appear to resemble *opera seria*, while the cantatas with middle-class subjects seem to resemble *opera buffa* or *intermezzos*.

Just how much Bach was involved with the theatrical style during his lifetime is illustrated by the history of a cantata composed in Weimar in 1716, which received later Leipzig performances after the addition of recitatives in 1723, in the 1730s, and likely again in the 1740s. I refer here to the cantata *Wachet! Betet!*

*Betet! Wachet!*, BWV 70, whose theatrical style thrusts itself upon the listener.<sup>19</sup> The text to this work concerns the Last Judgment and the fear and hope of men, who will appear on the Day of Judgment as either unrepentant sinners ("verstockte Sünder") or chosen children of God ("erwählte Gotteskinder"). With the words "sin" and "salvation," affects arise that Bach portrayed in a bold manner through "theatrical means." The two-part composition is hardly distinguishable from an opera scene. In the Leipzig version, Bach uses not only secco recitative (already a departure from the "Kirchenstil") and *accompagnato*, but also various aria forms, which follow one another in such a way as to create a sense of dramatic development. Beginning with the continuo aria, Bach increases the expression of affect by augmenting and thereby intensifying the compositional resources: beyond the aria with an obbligato melody instrument and the aria accompanied by all the instruments, Bach leads the listener to a complex musical epiphany, the aria "Seligster Erquickungstag" (no. 10), which simultaneously serves as the dramatic climax. This three-part bass aria is constructed according to the principle of contrasting affections: in the first and third parts the feeling of internalized joy is presented, and in the second part, rage, and accordingly, revenge. Bach composed the two outer sections as continuo accompanied *arioso* passages (*molto adagio*) and the middle section as an extremely fast *furioso* in the "stile concitato." The abruptness with which the contrasting sections follow one another owes something to the dramatic art of an opera scene by Keiser. And I could imagine that this undoubtedly theatrical style of composition surprised, if not shocked, some of the listeners of the day. Did not Gerber write of a *St. Matthew Passion* performance in which many ministers and noble ladies found themselves "in the greatest astonishment" ("in die größte Verwunderung") when "this theatrical music began" ("diese theatralische Music angieng"), and

one old lady exclaimed "is it, therefore, as if one were attending a comic opera" ("ist es doch, als ob man in einer Opera-Comödie wäre")?<sup>20</sup>

With my certainly incomplete remarks concerning "Bach and the theatrical style," I mean in no way to pit the "secular" against the "sacred." Far be it from me to support the notion that Bach is

to be seen basically as a (somewhat hindered) exponent of the Enlightenment, and that he was a church musician only because of the position he held. These labels are so inaccurate as to be useless. I wanted instead to draw attention to the fact that in Bach's total output, including of course the late works, there are elements of the "theatralischer Stil" to be discovered that

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have remained concealed since Spitta's overemphasis of Bach as a church musician. Bach's late works are not to be conceived only with respect to the esoteric nature of their counterpoint, or alone from the vocal polyphony of the Mass in B minor. Instead, it seems to me, in his late works he reaches the culmination of his compositional explorations, a "summa musicae," which includes elements of the theatrical style.

<sup>1</sup>This essay appeared in German in Christoph Wolff, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bachs Spätwerk und dessen Umfeld. Bericht über das wissenschaftliche Symposium anlässlich des 61. Bachfestes der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Duisburg, 28.-30. Mai 1986* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988): 148-154. The English translation is by the editor.

<sup>2</sup>Wilibald Gurlitt, "Der Musikhistoriker Philipp Spitta," in *Musikgeschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden, 1966), 2:144.

<sup>3</sup>Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1873-80), 1: 461.

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*Die Bach-Quellen der Singakademie zu Berlin. Katalog*, bearbeitet von Wolfram Enßlin, Bd. 1: Katalog, Bd. 2: Historischer Überblick, Abbildungen, Register, Hildesheim etc. (Olms) 2006 (= Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 8.1-2)

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<sup>4</sup>Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964), passim.

<sup>5</sup>Concerning the history of Baroque opera in Hamburg, see the following works by the author: "Geschichte der Hamburger Barockoper," *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* (Studien zur Barockoper) 3 (1978): 7-34; "Politische und wirtschaftliche Voraussetzungen der Hamburger Barockoper," *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* (Opersymposium 1978 in Hamburg) 5 (1981): 81-88.

<sup>6</sup>The 1682 report is partly reproduced in facsimile in Hans Joachim Marx, ed., *Händel und Hamburg, Ausstellungskatalog der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky* (Hamburg, 1985), 32-34.

<sup>7</sup>Wilhelm Kleefeld, "Das Orchester der Hamburger Oper 1678-1738," in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1 (1899/1900): 219-289.

<sup>8</sup>See Rudolf Eller, "Über Dresdens Bedeutung für das Schaffen Bachs," in *Deutsches Bachfest* 43 (1968): 23-30.

<sup>9</sup>Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750-1800*, vol. 3 of *Bach Dokumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), no. 881a.

<sup>10</sup>Arnold Schering, *Das Zeitalter Johann Sebastian Bachs und Johann Adam Hillers (von 1723-1800)*, vol. 3 of *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* (Leipzig, 1926-41), 437. Concerning the votes cast by the Bürgermeister D. Steger, see Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Fremdschriftliche und Gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685-1750*, vol. 2 of *Bach Dokumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), no. 129; hereafter *Bach-Dokumente*, II.

<sup>11</sup>Quoted in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, s. v. "Buttstett."

<sup>12</sup>Quoted in Arnold Schering, "Über Bachs Parodieverfahren," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 18 (1921): 54f.

<sup>13</sup>For Meyer's polemical essay, as well as Johann Mattheson's reply to the same, see *Der neue Göttingische . . . Ephorus*, 1727; for Meyer's subsequent response to Mattheson, see *Der anmaßliche hamburgische Criticus sine crisi*, 1728, in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Göttingen).

<sup>14</sup>"Ich habe in der Kirche . . . eben die Absicht mit der Music als in der Oper, nemlich diese: Daß ich die Gemüths-Neigung der Zuhörer rege machen, und auf gewisse Weise in Bewegung bringen will, es sey zur Liebe, zum Mitleid, zur Freude, zur Traurigkeit etc.;" "[die Dichtung müsse] auf was ernsthaftes zielen, wie die heil. Schrift uns dessen völlig . . . in ihre schönen Gedichten vergewisse[e]." Johann Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728; facsimile edition: Leipzig, 1975), 105, 109.

<sup>15</sup>Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot*, 142.

<sup>16</sup>Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus. Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage* (Leipzig 1745; facsimile edition: Hildesheim/New York, 1970), 161.

<sup>17</sup>As quoted in Peter Benary, *Die Deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts. Jaener Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, 3 (Leipzig, 1961), page 78 of the appendix.

<sup>18</sup>*Bach-Dokumente*, II, no. 436.

<sup>19</sup>For the genesis and transmission of this cantata, see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke . . . Kritischer Bericht*, ed. Johann Sebastian Bach-Institut Göttingen and Bach-Archiv Leipzig (Leipzig and Cassel, 1954- ), ser. I, vol. 27, p. 112 (by Alfred Dürr).

<sup>20</sup>As quoted in Charles S. Terry, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Eine Lebensgeschichte*, trans. Alice Klengel (Leipzig, 1928; reprint, 1950), 173. See also Friedrich Smend, *Bach in Köthen* (Berlin, 1951), 135ff.

# BIENNIAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN BACH SOCIETY

## “BACH CROSSING BORDERS”

May 11-13, 2006

Bach-Archiv  
Leipzig, Germany

### SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

#### THURSDAY, MAY 11

- 10:30 a.m.-  
2:00 p.m.      **Registration**—Bach-Archiv
- 2:00 p.m.      **Opening Session**—Bach-Archiv  
Welcome: Gregory Butler, President, American Bach Society  
Welcome: Christoph Wolff (Bach-Archiv Leipzig and Harvard University)  
Keynote address: John Butt (University of Glasgow):  
“Bach Crossing Borders”
- 4:00 p.m.      **Depart for Naumburg**
- 5:00 p.m.      **Concert at St. Wenceslaus Church**  
(Hildebrandt organ, 1746) Organ Recital and  
Performance of two Bach cantatas:  
Musica Alta Ripa with soprano Gabriele Hierdeis
- 7:00 p.m.      **Wine Tasting and Dinner in Naumburg**

#### FRIDAY, MAY 12

- 9 a.m.-12 p.m.      **Session I: Style, Structure, and Meaning in the Works of Bach**—Bach-Archiv  
Marie Herseth Kenote (Nyack College): “Bach on the Border of Styles: A Fresh Look at the Controversies Surrounding the Autograph Manuscript of BWV 1032”  
Mark Ellis (University of Huddersfield): “Ritornello and Variation Processes in the Music of J. S. Bach”  
Elizabeth Joyce (Brandeis University): “Bach and the Figure of the ‘Good Shepherd’”
- 10:30–11:00 a.m.      Coffee break  
Don O. Franklin (University of Pittsburgh), “The Role of the ‘Actus Structure’ in the Planning and Composition of J. S. Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*”  
Paul Walker (University of Virginia), “Bach’s Use of Fugue in the *Stile Antico* Vocal Writing of the B-Minor Mass”
- 12–2:00 p.m.      Lunch independently (ABS Board meeting)
- 2:30–5:30 p.m.      **Session II: Bach and His Contemporaries**—Bach-Archiv  
Michael Maul (Bach-Archiv Leipzig), “Leipzig Church Music in the Shadow of Johann Sebastian Bach—Insights into the Cantatas of Johann Gottlieb Görner and Balthasar Schott”  
Anselm Hartinger (Bach-Archiv Leipzig), “Bach and Zelenka: New Light on the Musical Relationship between Two Contemporaries”

Andrew Talle (Peabody Institute, John Hopkins University), “Two Catholic Bach Enthusiasts from Eighteenth-Century Fulda: Johann Heinrich Fischer and Fructuosus Roeder”

- 4:00–4:30      Coffee break  
Szymon Paczkowski (Institute of Musicology, Warsaw University), “Bach and the Story of an ‘Aria tempo di Polonaise’ for Joachim Friedrich Flemming”  
Raymond Erickson (Queens College, City University of New York), “Leipzig Theologians and the Early Enlightenment: A New Avenue to the Issue of Bach and the Jews”
- 5:30 p.m.      **Reception**—Bach-Archiv
- 6:00 p.m.      **Society Business Meeting**
- 7:30 p.m.      **ABS Banquet**

#### SATURDAY, MAY 13

- 9:00–10:30 a.m.      **Session III: Bach Reception**—Bach-Archiv  
Ulrich Leisinger (Mozarteum, Salzburg), “Bachian Fugues in Mozart’s Vienna”  
Albert Clement (University of Utrecht), “The Vocal Parts to Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* used by Mendelssohn in Leipzig, 1829: Some Considerations of the History and Meaning of the Surviving Materials”  
Yo Tomita (Queen’s College, Belfast), “‘Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work’: The English Reception of Bach’s *Well-tempered Clavier* in the first half of the Nineteenth Century seen through the Editions published in London”
- 10:30–11:00      Coffee break
- 11:00 a.m.–12:00      **Session IV: C. P. E. Bach**—Bach-Archiv  
Robin A. Leaver (Westminster Choir College, Rider University), “The C.P.E. Bach 1790 Verzeichnis: What do the Pictures Exhibit?”  
Isabella van Elferen (University of Utrecht), “‘Und ging hinaus, und weinete bitterlich’: Music crossing Social Borders in C.P.E. Bach’s Passions”
- 12:00–2:00 p.m.      Lunch on your own
- 3:00 p.m.      **Bach Cantata Service, St. Thomas Church**
- 4:30 p.m.      **Depart for Störmthal (Hildebrandt organ, 1723)**
- 5:15 p.m.      **Demonstration of Hildebrandt organ and Organ Recital**
- 7:30 p.m.      **Dinner**

#### SUNDAY, MAY 14

Open

## “BACH CROSSING BORDERS”

### ABSTRACTS

#### Bach on the Border of Styles: A Fresh Look at the Controversies Surrounding the Autograph Manuscript of BWV 1032

Marie Herseth Kenote  
(Nyack College)

J. S. Bach's Sonata in A Major, BWV 1032, for flute and obbligato cembalo, has attracted attention over the years, especially since 1977, when the lost autograph manuscript reappeared. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, this manuscript's existence was little-known, a fact that may strike us today as surprising since it is the only known example of a Bach double manuscript, one that unites two independent works of different origin and instrumentation. Bach used the top sixteen staves on each of the first thirty pages for the double harpsichord concerto, so that four staves were left free at the bottom of each page for the flute sonata.

This sonata causes flutists considerable frustration. While movements two and three are complete, the first lacks several pages, an estimated forty percent of the movement. Thus, we are left to ponder how we might respond to this missing music: would it be better to ignore the first movement altogether? or, should we play it as is, with the gap? dare we attempt to reconstruct the missing bars? It has been determined that the excision of the bars occurred while the manuscript was still in Bach's possession. Just what was Bach's intention in 1736? As a fair or revision copy, this autograph manuscript provides valuable clues to Bach's compositional intentions and process.

We will look at the clues in the music to help us understand possible original versions and why Bach excised the bars in the first movement. These clues include the style of writing, “On the Border between Sonata and Concerto,” i.e. Sonata auf Concertenart; the clefs used; the corrections in the manuscript; the melodic style and the strong thematic similarities between BWV 1032 and two cantata movements, both in A major; and the range of the flute writing. Another source for the second movement, Mus. Ms. Bach St. 345, will be examined in detail by looking at the instrumentation, key, articulation markings, and its use in one of Bach's sonatas for obbligato organ.

Examination of the internal evidence in the manuscript, combined with a close look at other works of J. S. Bach, and those of his son C. P. E. Bach, offer evidence that this sonata might be a transcription by Bach himself. Perhaps ironically, the missing bars remain our most significant clue that the piece, as it survives, is possibly a transcription from a differently-scored earlier version.

#### Ritornello and Variation Processes in the Music of J. S. Bach

Mark Ellis  
(University of Huddersfield)

The non-contrapuntal formal processes that Bach explored most intensively are ritornello form, da capo form, Bar form and variation form. Bach frequently combined these forms in unique ways. This paper considers, in particular, combinations of the ritornello and variation principles, which underpin many cantata arias and allegro movements of concertos.

Bach's ritornello construction rarely follows the clear-cut ‘Torelli’ form involving a strongly contrasted tutti-theme/solo-episode outline. Indeed, Bach carefully integrated these originally contrasting elements to create tightly unified structures. Bach's application of the variation principle is similarly individual and innovative. The type of melodic variation associated with ‘theme and variation’ movements is rare. Instead, three distinct processes can be identified: first, textural enrichment, in which material is added to the original theme; second, expansion, in which bars are interpolated into the original material; and third, contraction, in which bars are deleted from the original theme.

In addition, both ritornello and variation forms present the common compositional challenge of being ‘open ended’; by combining the two forms, frequently within an encompassing tonal scheme, Bach has solved this problem. These processes will be viewed through specific examples, including the aria “Ach Herr!, Herr lehre uns bedenken” (from *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*, BWV 106/2b), the first movement of the Violin Concerto in A minor (BWV 1041/1), the sinfonia from the *Christmas Oratorio*, part 1 (BWV 248<sup>1</sup>/10) and the aria ‘Schweig, schweig nur taumelnde Vernunft’ (from BWV 178/6).

#### Bach and the Figure of the “Good Shepherd”

Elizabeth Joyce  
(Brandeis University)

The image of the shepherd played a significant role during a number of historical periods in various places. In the Near Eastern cultures of Biblical times, the designation “shepherd” had royal connotations and was commonly applied to deities. Biblical Jewish culture shared in this tradition, and the Old Testament includes passages that apply the title of “shepherd” to God. Additionally, in the Islamic tradition, Mohammed is said to have been a shepherd as a child. In the New Testament, the evangelist John presents Jesus' redemptive mission in terms of the “good shepherd.” Scholars have yet to point out the combination of these historical elements of divine majesty and eschatology in Bach's interpretation of the shepherd in the cantata *Du Hirte Israel, höre*, BWV 104.

*Du Hirte Israel, höre* is based on one of John's most famous treatments of the good shepherd theme. The cantata depicts a believer's journey to faith and the consequent experience of a "foretaste of heaven," a concept characteristic of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lutheranism. The first recitative and aria trace the Christian's passage to conversion and faith, while the second recitative and aria endeavor to translate into words and music the spiritual experience that faith provides. As a result of his newfound faith, the believer's perception of the world is transformed; what once appeared to be a "desert" is now a "heavenly kingdom." The sermons and commentaries in Bach's library provide the background for an enhanced understanding of Bach's theological interpretation of the "good shepherd," and the composer uses the pastorate to stress the divine or eschatological dimensions of this figure. Tonal organization in the direction of key signatures with more sharps adumbrates the believer's spiritual progress while, in contrast, chromaticism and tonal ambiguity characterize the believer's initial doubts.

### The Role of the "Actus Structure" in the Planning and Composition of J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*

Don O. Franklin  
(University of Pittsburgh)

In his 1985 study of the *St. Matthew Passion*, Martin Petzoldt pointed out the ways in which Bach's libretto reflects the six "acts" that correspond to the primary events of the passion as defined by Lutheran tradition: 1) the Preparation, 2) the Garden of Gethsemane, 3) the Trial before Caiaphas, 4) the Trial before Pilate, 5) the Crucifixion, and 6) the Burial.<sup>1</sup> To date, however, the implications of the *actus* structure for Bach's planning and composition of the *St. Matthew Passion* have not been systematically explored. To do so reveals, embedded within the two-part structure by which we traditionally have viewed the work, a series of six sections, each of which contains a core sequence of movements that comprise what I will call the Passion's schematic structure. After explicating its importance in Bach's composition of the *St. Matthew Passion* score, I will illustrate how the schematic structure is present in a less systematic form in Bach's *St. John Passion*, and, in a simplified and reduced form, in his *St. Mark Passion*. In addition, the paper will examine Bach's performance scores to the so-called "Keiser" *St. Mark Passion* in light of the *actus* structure described above.

<sup>1</sup>Martin Petzoldt, "Passionspredigt und Passionsmusik der Bachzeit," in *Johann Sebastian Bach, Matthäus Passion, BWV 244. Vorträge der Sommerakademie Johann Sebastian Bach 1985*, ed. Ulrich Prinz (Kassel: 1990), 8-23.

### Bach's Use of Fugue in the *Stile Antico* Vocal Writing of the B-Minor Mass Paul Walker (University of Virginia)

With the recent discovery of new sources, scholarly attention has once again focused on Bach's engagement with the *stile antico* in the last two decades of his life. Following up on that work, this paper will take a fresh look at Bach's handling of fugue in his *stile antico* vocal music, more particularly the second "Kyrie" and the "Credo in unum Deum" movement from his B-Minor Mass. The paper begins with an investigation of the ways in which fugue, as understood by sixteenth-century German musicians and found in the motets of Gombert, Clemens, and Lassus, differs from the approach to imitative writing taken by Bach in music that otherwise pays homage to the earlier style. In addition, a brief historical outline will trace the changing nature of fugal writing in vocal music of the *stile antico* through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including such landmarks as Monteverdi's handling of imitation in his *Missa* of 1610, based on a Gombert motet; Palestrina's in his *Offertories* of 1593, cited as models of fugal writing by Christoph Bernhard in the 1650s; as well as the dearth of imitative writing in the most famous collection of *stile antico* motets in seventeenth-century Germany, the *Florilegium Portense*; Fux's famous bringing together of Renaissance-style polyphonic writing and Baroque fugue in the *Gradus ad Parnassum*; and the late seventeenth-century experiments with *stile antico* polyphony and fugue (predating Fux) in Masses by Johann Theile and Dieterich Buxtehude. In light of this history, the paper will offer conjecture about the inspiration behind Bach's treatment of fugue in these two movements and will place that treatment in the broader context of fugal writing for voices more generally.

### Leipzig Church Music in the Shadow of Johann Sebastian Bach: Insights into the Cantatas of Johann Gottlieb Görner and Balthasar Schott Michael Maul (Bach-Archiv Leipzig)

If we look for musicians who observed Bach's activities as Thomaskantor from the beginning of his tenure, and these number among the best informed authorities on his cantata cycles, we soon come across his colleagues who occupied other musical positions in Leipzig. We may assume that the organists at the two main churches were among the best informed, with the most long-term exposure to—and likely also participants in—performances of Bach's cantatas. The organists at the Neukirche, however, who seem to have performed works by Bach on occasion and who apparently fulfilled his duties as Thomaskantor during extended absences, also belong to this circle of authorities. We have not been able to systematically

explore the question of whether the continuous exposure to Bach's music influenced their own artistic output, both from the point of view of compositional technique as well as on a structural level, because their sacred vocal works have not received scholarly attention until now. My paper will pursue this question by focusing on the few extant cantatas by Johann Gottlieb Görner and Bathasar Schott and will simultaneously constitute a summons to give greater attention to the virtually unknown cantatas of Bach's Leipzig colleagues.

The "great unknown" in the life of Leipzig's church music is Johann Gottlieb Görner, who, during Bach's entire tenure, served as organist at the main churches and, as such, was in a unique position to observe Bach's musical activities. I will focus on a work "by Görner" transmitted in an obscure place and hence hitherto unknown, laid out as a "chorale cantata" that provides welcome grounds to reflect on the question raised above. In addition, the discovery of a Pentecost cantata by Georg Schott, hitherto believed to be lost, permits the first glimpses into the artistic capabilities of this composer who was described by Bach as "honest H. Schott" and provides material relevant to this assessment.

### Bach and Zelenka: New Light on the Musical Relationship between Two Contemporaries

Anselm Hartinger (Bach-Archiv, Leipzig)

Bach's relationship to Dresden and its Catholic sacred music has been known for a long time, and partly explained as far as the biography and sources are concerned. Yet a systematic and comparative investigation of the relationship between the works of Bach and those of Jan Dismas Zelenka, doubtless the most important and most innovative Dresden musician and composer of sacred music of his time, has never before been carried out in detail. The absence of such a study is astonishing in light of the fact that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, in his famous letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel of 13 January 1773, counted Zelenka among the few composers Bach respected and knew personally, especially in his later years. And there are definite links between the works and style of both masters that go far beyond their common preference for counterpoint and interest in the reception of the polyphonic tradition of the *stile antico* (Palestrina, Frescobaldi).

Stemming from a profound, sovereign mastery of the craft of composition, both musicians composed works of uncompromising quality involving radical formal designs and textual interpretations. These extraordinary qualities, however, already appear anachronistic in the so-called *galant* century – especially at the Dresden court, where the musical taste was dominated by the modern operatic style.

The remarkable stylistic and musical parallels found in the works of the two composers only begin with the similarities that exist between the "Credo" of the Mass in B Minor and Zelenka's *Missa Dei patris*, ZWV 19. Further, the still mysterious and apparently "purposeless" completion of the Mass in B Minor finds its only counterpart in the uncompleted project of Zelenka's six last Masses.

Apart from demonstrating the obvious similarities, the central part of this paper deals with the search for similarities and differences in composition strategies. Above all, it concerns itself with the interrelationship of motifs and dramaturgical mastery of large-scale, poly-stylistic "choral works." Drawing on the relationship between harmony, invention, structure, and counterpoint as seen in the works of the two composers, discussion shall be encouraged that considers the reasons why Bach respected Zelenka so much. What linked the two masters and what separated them? Instead of the traditional denominational and biographical "drawing of frontiers," more precise musical criteria must be used. In comparing the two composers, the Bohemian Zelenka could appear to be the more innovative with respect to form and structure, though the more "bizarre" and formalistic in compositional detail.

### Two Catholic Bach Enthusiasts from Eighteenth-Century Fulda:

Johann Heinrich Fischer and Fructuosus Roeder

Andrew Talle (Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University)

This paper will examine the musical lives of two Catholic Bach enthusiasts who lived in Fulda in the eighteenth century, Johann Heinrich Fischer and Fructuosus Roeder. Fischer (1711-1775) was an influential lawyer who taught music lessons in addition to serving as *Geheimrath* at the local court. He was very highly regarded in his lifetime as a model for the intellectually curious and musically inclined businessman. Fischer's music library, consisting of 109 volumes, was donated to the newly founded Landesbibliothek Fulda around 1770 and now forms the basis of the substantial music collection of the Hessische Landesbibliothek Fulda. Fischer was clearly a Bach enthusiast, having acquired prints of the *Clavier-Übung*, parts 1 and 2 and the *Musical Offering*. Shortly after he donated his music collection to the Fulda library, the organist at Fulda's Domkirche, Fructuosus Roeder (1747-1789), was given Fischer's Bach prints on loan, presumably for use in church or for teaching purposes. One of the Bach prints formerly belonging to Fischer and Roeder—that of the *Clavier-Übung*, part 1, now in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library—was drastically edited, most probably for religious reasons. The story of Fischer's and Roeder's Bach collection offers insight into the complex and changing cross-confessional attraction of Bach's music in a Catholic city during and shortly after the life of the composer.

## Bach and the Story of an “Aria tempo di Polonaise” for Joachim Friedrich Flemming

Szymon Paczkowski

(Institute of Musicology, Warsaw University)

In 1724, General Joachim Friedrich von Flemming (brother of Jacob Heinrich Flemming, the powerful field-marshal of the Polish-Saxon court during the reign of August II) became governor of Leipzig. As an official representative of the court, Joachim Friedrich became the addressee of numerous panegyrics and cantatas composed by Leipzig artists. The first volume of Picander’s *Ernst-Schertzhafte und Satyrische Gedichte* (1727) contains four texts addressed to Flemming, including two *drammi per musica* in his honour: *Der eifersüchtige Mars über das Vergnügen der Pallas* (for the governor’s arrival on 31 July 1724) and *Erhabner Graf* (for the New Year 1725). The intended composer of the music is unknown.

Bach is known to have composed cantatas in the governor’s honour. Surviving documents attest to the existence of three Bach cantatas composed for Flemming (BWV 249b, BWV Anh. 10 and BWV 210a). For some time now, attempts have been made to make a connection between Bach’s oeuvre and Picander’s libretto *Erhabner Graf* because the poet subtitled one of the arias, “Großer Flemming, Dein Vergnügen,” an “Aria tempo di Polonaise.”

Bach frequently employed polonaise rhythms in cantatas celebrating royalty and aristocrats. Among others, his aria “Großer Flemming, alles Wissen” from the cantata *O angenehme Melodei*, BWV 210a, is a typical sung polonaise. This work is part of a larger set of works—*O holder Tag*, BWV 210, *Angenehmes Widerau*, BWV 30a, and *Freue dich, erlöste Schar*, BWV 30—interlinked by ties of parody. The numerous erasures in the manuscript that preserves the text to the soprano part of BWV 210a provide evidence that Bach used this particular composition at least three times; he changed the text to make it appropriate for the different addressees. As demonstrated by H. Tiggenmann, the first addressee was Duke Christian von Sachsen-Weißenfels (1729). In a later version, BWV 210a became BWV 210, which, according to Michael Maul, celebrated the wedding of the Prussian Court Counsellor Georg E. Stahl (1741). The polonaise aria appears here with the text “Großer Gönner, dein Vergnügen.” Bach recycled the music to the aria once again in setting the text “So wie ich die Tropfen zolle” from cantata BWV 30a (1737), which was composed in honour of Johann Christian von Hennicke, a minister in the cabinet of Chancellor Brühl.

In view of the parallels that exist between the related arias in these cantatas, on the one hand, and the text to Picander’s “Aria tempo di Polonaise” from his *Erhabner Graf*, on the other,

the question arises, what was it that guided Bach’s choice of the polonaise form, and what prompted him to use the same music in at least five works addressed to different persons? The proposed answer will take into account the following factors: (1) the contemporary political context and consequences of the Polish-Saxon union (1697–1763), including the numerous interrelations between Poland and Saxony in terms of cultural affinities and family colligations; (2) the polonaise’s immense popularity in eighteenth-century Saxony; and (3) the symbolic meaning of the polonaise as part of the Dresden court ceremonial.

## Leipzig Theologians and the Early Enlightenment: A New Avenue to the Issue of Bach and the Jews

Raymond Erickson

(Queens College, City University of New York)

A remarkable document of 1714 that has no direct relationship to Bach, music, or liturgy may have something important to contribute to the discussion of possible anti-Judaism in Bach’s Leipzig music. Commissioned by August the Strong to investigate the truth of the allegation that the blood of Christian children was used by Jews in their rituals, this document is an unpublished eighteen-page report by the theological faculty of the University of Leipzig that constitutes an impassioned defense of the Jews, systematically destroying the credibility of the accusation, denouncing persecution of Jews, and at the end appealing for compassion in the name of truth and justice.

The content and methodology of the report (uncited in the Bach literature) run counter to the image of the University of Leipzig at this time as an intellectually conservative, even intolerant institution, typified by the expulsion of Francke and Thomasius late in the seventeenth century; only in the second quarter of the eighteenth century is the *Aufklärung* considered to have found a foothold, and then primarily among literati (e.g., Gottsched, Lessing). The 1714 document provides solid evidence, however, that the *Aufklärung* arrived earlier and likely was first led by theologians.

The paper will establish what links may have eventually existed between the theologian-authors of the 1714 report and Bach, discuss the situation of Jews in early eighteenth-century Leipzig, review treatments of the Jews in the learned journals of the early eighteenth century, and raise the issue of August the Strong’s role in promoting the *Aufklärung* in Saxony, and in Leipzig in particular (for example, through reform of the University). All these factors should lead to a fuller comprehension of the prevailing atmosphere in which Bach composed works that some regard as having anti-Judaic content and purpose.

## Bachian Fugues in Mozart's Vienna

Ulrich Leisinger (Mozarteum, Salzburg)

Paradoxically, both “old” and “new” music were held in high esteem in late eighteenth-century Vienna. Whereas in Protestant Germany organists and music theorists preserved the contrapuntal heritage, in Vienna dilettantes like Emperor Joseph II and Gottfried van Swieten played a leading role in the promotion of the fugue. Fugues by Baroque masters continued to be copied in Vienna in astonishing numbers. From a study of the pertinent sources it becomes evident that the fugues of Bach were a fairly late addition to the repertoire. Mozart's often-quoted enthusiasm about the Bachian fugues may thus be seen as a document of a more general Viennese “Bach discovery” around 1780.

A systematic survey reveals that the reception of Bach's fugues was centered on, but by no means limited to, *The Well-tempered Clavier*. According to his letter of 10 April 1782, Mozart planned “a collection of Bachian fugues” that was to include works by “Sebastian as well as Emanuel and Friedemann.” This study will show the extent to which Mozart's plan was realized. It will become clear that the plan itself involved the actual distribution of sources in Vienna; from copies and arrangements we can derive which types of fugues were most fashionable. As a result the question of “Bach's influence” on Mozart's fugal writing around 1782 needs to be addressed anew: in the works of Bach's sons, Mozart and his Viennese contemporaries found “modern” traits that could be integrated more easily into their compositions than the strict fugal style of Johann Sebastian Bach.

### The Vocal Parts to Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* as used by Mendelssohn in Leipzig, 1829: Some Considerations of the History and Meaning of the Surviving Materials

Albert Clement (University of Utrecht)

Recently, a large number of the vocal (solo and choral) parts to J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* once owned and used by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy in 1829 emerged in the Netherlands. A list accompanying these parts, probably added in the first half of the twentieth century, reveals that at that time—some sixty years ago—the collection consisted of a total of 145 items; of these, seventy-eight have survived. Eight of them are now in the possession of the Internationale Mendelssohn-Stiftung e.V. in Leipzig. Another original set was donated to the Library of Utrecht University, which now also has facsimile copies of all seventy-eight items.

The materials not only raise a number of questions regarding performance practice, (reception) history, etc., but also, through their study, we have the opportunity to gain new insights into

these matters. Taking the surviving materials as a point of departure, this paper will address various issues, including the number of singers involved in the performance, the meaning of the comments in Mendelssohn's handwriting, and the relationship between the parts and the first print of 1830.

### “Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work: The English Reception of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* in the first half of the Nineteenth Century seen through the Editions published in London

Yo Tomita (Queen's University, Belfast)

Unlike in Germany, where Bach was famous and held in unparalleled esteem as a virtuoso organist and composer of keyboard works, it took many decades for his showcase compositions such as *The Well-tempered Clavier* to penetrate into the core repertory of keyboard music in foreign countries. In England, the works did not begin to find a place in the repertory until nearly half a century after Bach's death. The timing of this development coincided roughly with the appearance of the first complete printed editions of the *WTC* by several competing publishers in mainland Europe in 1801 that reached English soil with little delay. In England, too, the *WTC* was also published in many forms. Some editions were identical to those issued on the continental, but others, such as an arrangement for strings and an appearance in a miscellaneous collection of pieces, reflect the wide range of appeal this celebrated work seems to have had at the time in England.

The Bach movement in England appears to have been set in motion by A.F.C. Kollmann, who proclaimed his treatise *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (London, 1799) that Bach's fugues merit wider recognition. Describing the *WTC* as the ‘most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work,’ Kollmann cautiously promoted the *WTC* against the background of Burney's negative appraisal of Bach's fugues. While the three qualities attributed to the *WTC* by Kollmann's may have been influenced by a more general historical trend at the turn of the century in London—particularly, the changing musical aesthetics, the rediscovery of fugue as a musical genre, and the rapidly expanding market for piano music—it can also be argued that Londoners responded to a universal appeal in Bach's music, which gave the movement crucial impetus.

In this paper, I shall discuss how the *WTC* captured London audiences from various social groups. I shall also identify what is both unique and universal in the English Bach reception through the examination of all the editions of the *WTC* issued in London between 1800 and 1850.

**The C.P.E. Bach's 1790 *Verzeichniß*:  
What do the Pictures Exhibit?**

Robin A. Leaver  
(Westminster Choir College,  
Rider University)

A substantial part of the *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des Verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Hamburg, 1790) is given over to a listing of portraits of composers and authors that the Hamburg Bach owned at his death (pages 92-126). Some are originals—paintings in oil, pictures in pastel, and drawings in pen and ink—others are printed engravings, as well as older woodcuts. Among them is the Haußmann portrait of the Leipzig Bach commissioned from the artist (now in the possession of William H. Scheide, Princeton, NJ, USA). There are other oil paintings that C. P. E. Bach must have inherited from his father, such as the painting of his grandfather, Ambrosius Bach (now in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), and of his step-mother, Anna Magdalena Bach (location unknown; no-longer extant?). If these paintings were once owned by Johann Sebastian Bach, it is likely that other portraits in the 1790 listing also came to C. P. E. from his father after the latter's death in 1750.

This paper—which crosses the borders of art history and music history—isolates those portraits that may have once belonged to Johann Sebastian Bach. By eliminating from the 1790 listing portraits of composers and authors who were C.P.E. Bach's contemporaries, rather than his father's, who were obviously connected with C. P. E. Bach's professional life in Berlin and Hamburg, or that were executed in the later eighteenth century, a revealing number of portraits remain: they are of composers whose music J. S. Bach is known to have studied, musicians with whom he is known to have worked, and theologians whose works were to be found in his personal library.

**“Und ging hinaus, und weinete bitterlich”:  
Music Crossing Social Borders in  
C.P.E. Bach's Passions**  
Isabella van Elferen  
(University of Utrecht)

In eighteenth-century musical Passions, Peter's contrition receives special attention. The apostle's tears are painted musically in such a way that audiences could not only feel his remorse, but also – as contemporary concert reviews tell us – join him in his weeping. This effect was in accordance with contemporary theological ideas regarding penitence: genuine remorse could be demonstrated to God and the world by weeping abundantly. Moreover, contemporary theorists of *Empfindsamkeit* also attributed social meaning to crying. Tears were considered proof of virtue or nobility of spirit (*Seelenadel*). Just like penitential tears, sensitive tears gained meaning when

shed publicly so that the world could view the weeper's virtue. In this context, musical performances and concerts acquired an emphasized social dimension: while the musician could show his sensitivity by weeping during the performance, the audience could demonstrate its by shedding tears in response.

In my paper, I will propose a re-evaluation of sensitive and penitential tears from a performance-theoretical perspective, and investigate the role of music as a multi-layered performance art. In the scenes regarding Peter's contrition from C. P. E. Bach's Passions, both types of contemporary tears are joined. These passages illustrate that *empfindsam* music was able to both evoke tears and enforce their social function, as many tears were shed and shared during their performance.

Whereas repentance was described as a private emotion, its tearful expression took place in the new public sphere of the bourgeois described by Jürgen Habermas. In its functionality as a public arena for collective repentance, the mid-eighteenth-century concert hall can be interpreted as the stage on which music evoked the crossing of borders between private and public emotions.

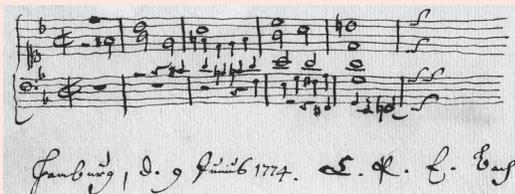
### News from Members

“J. S. Bach and King Frederick the Great: *Musical Offering* or *Collision of Wills?*” was the title of Linda Hathaway Bunza's power-point lecture on November 11, 12, and 13, 2005 sponsored by the Portland Baroque Orchestra in Oregon. Lin is Director of the Columbia Research Institute for the Arts and Humanities. She was also curator and consultant to a symposium held on February 12, 2006 entitled “Musicians and Patrons: the Support of Creativity” sponsored by Reed College and the Portland Baroque Orchestra.

In November of last year, the Bach-Académie de Montréal initiated an annual Bach Festival in that city. Society members Stephen Crist, Don Franklin, and Kerala Snyder were participants in the accompanying symposium entitled “The Musical-Theological Planning, Structure, and Composition of J. S. Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*.” The Festival also featured appearances by internationally renowned performers of Baroque music. For more information, visit [www.bach-academie-montreal.com](http://www.bach-academie-montreal.com).

Junichi Steven Sato's debut recording, *Piano Transcriptions*, has just been released on CD (Sato Music Editions, SME1001). The recording consists of his transcriptions of Bach's Passacaglia and Fugue in C Minor, BWV 582, and Liszt's *Psalm XIII* (“Lord, how long wilt Thou forget me?”) for tenor solo, chorus, and orchestra, and a rare Alfred Cortot transcription of Franck's Sonata in A Major for piano and violin. Sato, who is currently on the faculty at DePaul University, has been the recipient of numerous awards and honors. His works have been heard at the Ravinia Festival and internationally (for more information, visit [www.satomusic.com](http://www.satomusic.com)).

## Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works



### New C. P. E. Bach Edition Publishes First Volumes

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), the second son of Johann Sebastian Bach, was one of the most influential and prolific composers of the eighteenth century. His oeuvre encompassed virtually every musical genre of the time, except opera, and enjoyed a high reputation and wide distribution well beyond the composer's lifetime. The recovery in 1999 of the archives of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, which include many unique copies of Bach's Hamburg Passions and cantatas once thought to have been lost during the Second World War, has made it possible to present for the first time the complete works of this important composer.

*Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works* is an editorial and publishing project of the Packard Humanities Institute, in cooperation with the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, and Harvard University. Its goal is to make available, in both printed and digital formats, a critical edition of the composer's works. We are planning a concentrated publication schedule in an effort to complete the Edition by 2014, the 300th anniversary of Bach's birth.

Four volumes have been published in late 2005 and early 2006: "Probestücke," "Leichte" and "Damen" Sonatas, edited by David Schulenberg; Miscellaneous Keyboard Music II, edited by Peter Wollny; *Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato*, edited by Douglas A. Lee; and *Orchester-Sinfonien mit zwölf obligaten Stimmen*, edited by David Kidger. Pricing, ordering information, and further details on the edition are available at the Web site < [www.cpebach.org](http://www.cpebach.org) >.

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## Book Review

*Hearing Bach's Passions*, by Daniel R. Melamed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. xii, 178 pp. \$24.95

*Hearing Bach's Passions*, a slim but rich volume, is at once scholarly and accessible. Richly detailed enough for the musicologist to appreciate, the book is aimed primarily at the non-specialist, and contains no systematic analysis of musical sources, no printed musical examples, and no footnotes or endnotes. Melamed's goal is threefold: first, to discuss how we hear these works in our own time; second, to explore how listeners in the eighteenth century might have heard them; and third, to suggest ways to bridge that temporal gulf.

The book is organized into three main parts, comprising seven chapters, plus an appendix of tables and "Suggestions for Further Reading and Listening." Every chapter begins with a question, to set the tone for what follows. Melamed then deals with issues such as those concerning performing forces, performing materials, liturgical context, performance spaces and the layout of performing forces, and theology.

Part I discusses Bach's performing forces, especially the "hot button" issue of the number of singers, and whether Bach's Passions are dramatic works. As for the first point, Melamed convincingly discusses the design and apparent function of the performing parts, and determines that Bach most likely employed eight singers, four "concertists" (principal singers) and four "ripienists" (subordinate singers). This division of labor would have consequences not often encountered in modern performances, especially of the *St. Matthew Passion*. To name but one example, the principal tenor would not only have portrayed the Evangelist, but would also have participated in the choruses, chorales, and would have sung the tenor arias. The point here is to invite the listener to step away from the perspective that the Passions are dramatic works with distinct roles, and to consider the eighteenth-century viewpoint that Passions are largely non-representational.

Part II contains the most significant discussion in the entire volume. In chapter 3, "The Double Chorus in the *St. Matthew Passion* BWV 244," Melamed convincingly dismisses the notion that the *St. Matthew Passion* is a work for two equal choruses.<sup>1</sup> He observes that there is hardly any antiphonal writing of the sort usually associated with "double chorus" music; rather, the roles assigned by Bach to the ensembles are quite asymmetrical. This unequal structure reflects both the nature of Bach's performing forces and the origin of this treatment in an earlier work, the *St. John Passion*.

It has long been understood that the larger-than-usual performing forces required for this work were provided by the two ensembles at Bach's disposal capable of performing concerted church music. The better of the two ensembles routinely performed Bach's own pieces, alternating on regular Sundays and feasts between St. Thomas and St. Nicholas, while the second ensemble performed at the other church. The annual Passion performance during Vespers on Good Friday, however, took place at only one church, so both ensembles were available for this service. And as Melamed observes with regard to this piece, "The principal burden of the Passion fell on Bach's first chorus and best instrumentalists, whereas the competent but somewhat less accomplished second choir was probably given a smaller role as Chorus 2." (p. 63)

So much for the distribution of forces – where did Bach get the idea in the first place to write a full-scale Passion requiring two ensembles? Melamed argues that the "musical inspiration for the organization of

forces in the *St. Matthew Passion*” can be traced back to the aria “Mein teurer Heiland” from the *St. John Passion*, in which the four-voice ripieno ensemble plays an essential role, singing a chorale entirely independent of the solo bass. Further, “the dialogue texts that characterize the *St. Matthew Passion*” were inspired by the Brockes Passion, particularly the two dialogues that were taken over in Bach’s *St. John Passion*. “The *St. Matthew Passion* was a fuller realization of the . . . possibilities latent in the earlier passion, and that realization required a second vocal ensemble.” At the end of this chapter, Melamed makes a very good point: the relationship of the *St. Matthew Passion* to the *St. John Passion* (and other “single-chorus” works) is “one of degree, not of difference.” (p. 65) He goes on:

In the *St. John Passion* the second vocal ensemble emerges as an independent group only once, in “Mein teurer Heiland,” but that movement’s dialogue text and Bach’s response to it shows that the potential for extra voices to play [a] greater role was always present. The *St. Matthew Passion*, Bach’s most ambitious work in so many respects, achieves its effects largely through the systematic exploitation of double-chorus possibilities that lay just below the surface in every early eighteenth-century work that used additional voices. From the resources available to him, Bach pulled a second chorus almost out of thin air.

The remainder of Part II deals with the multiple versions of the *St. John Passion* and Bach’s reworking of the “Keiser” *St. Mark Passion*. These chapters explore philosophical and theological questions about the nature of a “work” and what choices to make about its several “versions.” He points out that Bach was no different from his colleagues in reworking an existing Passion to suit his own particular performance and theological context.

Part III contends with two “Phantom Passions,” the *St. Mark Passion*, BWV 247, and the *St. Luke Passion*, BWV 246. I find it puzzling, in light of the book’s title, that these works are included in the main discussion rather than in an appendix. As for the *St. Mark Passion*, which cannot be reconstructed reliably (Ton Koopman’s notorious version notwithstanding), we cannot really hear it as one of Bach’s own Passions. The inclusion of the *St. Luke Passion* is odder yet, for this Passion is not even by Bach, but has gained a kind of legitimacy through association with Bach’s name. These chapters raise some interesting questions about parody, reconstruction, and the consequences of misattribution, but leave the reader with no satisfying answers.

The epilogue asks a final question, “Does any of this matter?” Thankfully, the author does not leave this one unanswered, but says, “Yes it does.” While Bach’s Passions have transcended time and place to a degree – many listeners enjoy these works without any concern for performing forces, theological context, etc. – Melamed rightly points out that meanings accumulate over time and that we would be foolish to claim to understand these works without some attempt to approach them from an eighteenth-century perspective. While it is impossible to discard all the baggage of the centuries, asking questions about the performing parts, distribution of performing forces, etc. is an important step in bridging the gap between twenty-first-century and eighteenth-century perspectives on this beloved repertory.

Jason B. Grant

<sup>1</sup>This chapter is a condensed version of Melamed’s article of the same name that appeared in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 3–50.

## Bach-Jahrbuch 2005 (Contents)

*Michael Maul* (Leipzig), „Alles mit Gott und nichts ohn’ ihn“ – Eine neu aufgefundene Aria von Johann Sebastian Bach

*Anselm Hartinger* (Leipzig), „Eine solche Begleitung erfordert sehr tiefe Kunstkenntnis“ – Neues und neu Gesichtetes zu Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Klavierbegleitung zu Sätzen aus Bachs Partiten für Violine solo, nebst einer Analyse der Begleitung zum Preludio in E-Dur (BWV 1006/1)

*Peter Wollny* (Leipzig), Über die Hintergründe von Johann Sebastian Bachs Bewerbung in Arnstadt

*Michael Maul* (Leipzig), Zur zeitgenössischen Verbreitung von Bachs Vokalwerken in Mitteldeutschland

*Jürgen Neubacher* (Hamburg), Der Organist Johann Gottfried Rist (1741–1795) und der Bratschist Ludwig August Christoph Hopff (1715–1798): zwei Hamburger Notenkopisten Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs

Das Bach-Schrifttum 1996 bis 2000  
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### Kleine Beiträge

*Hans Rudolf Jung* (Kassel), Der Bach-Schüler Bernhard Christian Kayser als Bewerber um die vakante Hof- und Stadtorganistenstelle in Schleiz

*Walter Börner* (Jena) und *Karl H. Schubert* (Sömmerda), Zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufenthalt in Weißensee (Thüringen)

*Markus Rathey* (New Haven, CT), Weimar, Gotha oder Leipzig. Zur Chronologie der Arie „Himmel reiße“ in der zweiten Fassung der Johannes-Passion (BWV 245/11+)

*Uwe Wolf* (Leipzig), Zur Leipziger Aufführungstradition der Motetten Bachs im 18. Jahrhundert

### Besprechung

*The English Bach Awakening. Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his Music in England, 1750–1830*, hrsg. von Michael Kessler, Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2004 (Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain). XXII+455 S. (*Anselm Hartinger*, Leipzig)

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## William H. Scheide Research Grants

The American Bach Society awards William H. Scheide Research Grants to support research on Bach or figures in his circle. The grant is awarded biennially and typically ranges in amount from \$500 to \$4000. It is ordinarily available to Ph.D. candidates, as well as those who have held the doctorate for no longer than seven years. Awards will normally go to citizens or permanent residents of the United States or Canada.

Applications should include a research proposal of no more than three double-spaced pages, along with a curriculum vitae and a budget, all in English. The committee will favor proposals that include concrete statements of (1) the materials to be consulted (specific scores, books, instruments, etc.), if research in libraries or archives is proposed, and why it is necessary to examine them on-site; (2) the itinerary, if travel is in-

involved; and (3) the nature of the ultimate outcome of the research (book, article, edition, etc.).

Grants will be awarded in odd-numbered years, with applications due in the fall of the preceding year. To apply, please send your research proposal and budget by 15 October 2006 to awards@americanbachsociety.org.

### Directions to Contributors

*Bach Notes* is published twice yearly (spring and fall) and mailed to all members and subscribers. Submissions for the Fall 2006 issue are due by July 31, 2006, and should be in Microsoft Word, employ endnotes, and follow the stylistic guidelines of *The Chicago Manual of Style (15th ed.)*. Email submissions (much preferred) should be sent to [bachnotes@americanbachsociety.org](mailto:bachnotes@americanbachsociety.org) and submissions on compact disc (CD), with hard copy, may be mailed to Reginald L. Sanders, Department of Music, Kenyon College, Gambier, OH 43022.

## Contributors to this Issue

**Jason B. Grant** is currently visiting assistant professor of music at the University of Pittsburgh, where he earned his Ph.D. in 2005 with a dissertation entitled "Rise of Lyricism and the Decline of Biblical Narration in the Late Liturgical Passions of Georg Philipp Telemann." A recipient of a William H. Scheide research grant from the Society, Grant has given papers at several conferences and his article on Telemann's 1764 *St. Luke Passion* appears in volume two of *Passion, Affekt und Leidenschaft* (Harrassowitz, 2005).

**Hans Joachim Marx**, professor emeritus at the University of Hamburg, specializes in instrumental music of the Renaissance, music of the Baroque period—particularly the life and music of Corelli, Mattheson, and Händel—and historical performance practice. His extensive publication record includes *Die Überlieferung der Werke A. Corellis: catalogue raisonné* (Volk, 1980), *Die Hamburger Gänsemarkt-Oper: Katalog der Textbücher* (with Dorothea Schröder, Laaber, 1995), *Händels Oratorien, Oden und Serenaten: Ein Compendium* (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998), in addition to numerous articles, critical editions, and edited volumes.

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