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# **Bach's Creative Journey**

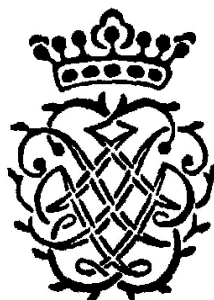
A Study of Source, Circumstance, Genre,  
Interpretation and Procedure in the Earliest Music of  
J. S. Bach (1685-1750)

**NICHOLAS STEPHEN GRIGSBY**

2015

# **Bach's Creative Journey**

A Study of Source, Circumstance, Genre,  
Interpretation and Procedure in the Earliest Music of  
J. S. Bach (1685-1750)



A thesis submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of

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**NICHOLAS STEPHEN GRIGSBY**



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# Abstract

Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) is one of the most researched composers in Western music, yet attempts to comprehend the universal personality of the man continue unabated. The earliest period of his creative life, between 1685 and 1705, presents many, as yet unsolved, problems, and what is becoming apparent is the need for a further, fresh perspective on his earliest creative development.

Recent advances in document analysis techniques have pushed back the accepted dating of works usually regarded as fully mature, altering the previously accepted chronology of the point at which Bach reached full creative maturity as a composer. It is becoming increasingly apparent that this is likely to have been by 1705, expunging some of the previously accepted, but evidentially unsubstantiated or incorrect biographical positions assumed by Schweitzer and Spitta, many of which have remained largely unquestioned for over one hundred years.

With specific focus on Bach's Ohrdruf and Lüneburg periods, and with reference to source-based palaeographic research undertaken here, in particular concerning a fresh examination of the earliest available copies of BWV 768, this thesis undertakes an analysis of Bach's initial compositions, focusing on the chorale partitas. It provides fresh perspectives on the creative processes which led to the composition of the extensive Lutheran chorale variations and defines the circumstances in which the young composer operated during his adolescent years.

The final contribution in this thesis concerns fresh evidence contained in Bach's initial compositions for keyboard, in particular through original research on the manuscript sources of BWV 768, which indicate a chronological shift to an earlier point in Bach's life at which maturity in his keyboard pieces may now be determined.



# Acknowledgements

## Dedication

*This research is dedicated to my grandparents, John & Brenda Grigsby, for their lifelong support of my ideas and studies, and to my parents, Stephen & Sandra, for never dissuading me from exploring seemingly obscure avenues of learning.*

## Other Contributors

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## List of Abbreviations

ABB	Andreas-Bach-Büch
AMB	Anna Magdalena Bach
AMS	Autograph Manuscript
Anh	Anhang (Appendix)
BC	<i>Bach Compendium</i> ed. Schulze/Wolff vol. 1 1985-1989
Dok I, II, III	<i>Bach-Dokumente</i> ed. Bach-Archiv Leipzig, 3 vols. 1963 Neumann/Schulze, 1969 Neumann/Schulze, 1972 Schulze
BJ	<i>Bach-Jahrbuch</i> ed. Schulze/Wolff (1975 <sup>ff.</sup> )
BWV	Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis, Schmieder 1950, rev. 1990
CB	Clavierbüchlein
CM	Chorale Melody
CPE	Carl Philipp Emanuel
CT	Chorale Text
DürrC	Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke
FDE	Forensic Document Examination
JSB	Johann Sebastian Bach
KB	Kritischer Bericht
MM	Möllersch-Handschrift
MS	Single Manuscript
MSS	Multiple Manuscripts
NBA	<i>Neue Bach-Ausgabe</i> ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach- Institut Göttingen/Bach-Archive Leipzig (1954 <sup>ff.</sup> )
PT	Partitas
QD	Questioned Document
WZ	Wasserzeichen (Watermark)

# Part One

## Introduction:

### Johann Sebastian Bach

#### Early Biographical Detail in Context

“It seems that no other creative period of Bach’s life presents so many unsolved problems, and the list has been expanding rather than shrinking as a result of more recent research. The central questions continually revolve around the establishment of an authentic body of works, the chronology of the compositions, and the direct and indirect spheres of musical influence that might have affected the young Bach. These critical questions are so closely intertwined that they cannot be treated separately. Moreover, the acute lack of firm biographical knowledge and compositional data makes a broader approach to the matter all the more necessary.”<sup>1</sup>

Christoph Wolff

“The interest shown by Bach in so many kinds of music – an interest still not fully documented – lasted his whole life and took various practical forms: owning collections, copying foreign music and its notation, reworking whole movements or their themes, transcribing whole works, ‘completing’ others for performance, or arranging them, even into his final years.”<sup>2</sup>

Peter Williams

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<sup>1</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Williams, *The Life of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 134.

## Overview

Here, I will:

1. Lay out the historical positions about Bach's early musical development adopted by previous biographers, and demonstrate the purpose of the study to review sources surrounding the early eighteenth century chorale variation idiom.
2. Outline a methodology to explore anew the biographical and manuscript sources available to us which are presumed, through long-standing scholarship, to have originated during Bach's youth.
3. Through document examination, and with specific focus applied to the chorale partitas (sets of variations on chorale themes), explain how Bach began constructing them in the first two decades of creative life.
4. Give an original standpoint on the creation of Bach's earliest keyboard compositions, and provide fresh perspectives on the influence which progenitors, teachers, and other scribal copyists had on the creative development of the young musician. This relies upon building a framework of accurate data collection and review through Forensic Document Examination techniques (FDE), leading towards a more precise representation of historical fact in this area, upon which research may be conducted in future.

For the purposes of this thesis Johann Sebastian Bach will be referred to only as Bach; all other members of the Bach family will then be referred to by their Christian names and their number in the Bach family, as per the family

tree present here below. For example thus: Bach's father Johann Ambrosius

(11), Bach's brother as Johann Christoph (22) etc.

SELECTIVE GENEALOGY OF THE BACH FAMILY

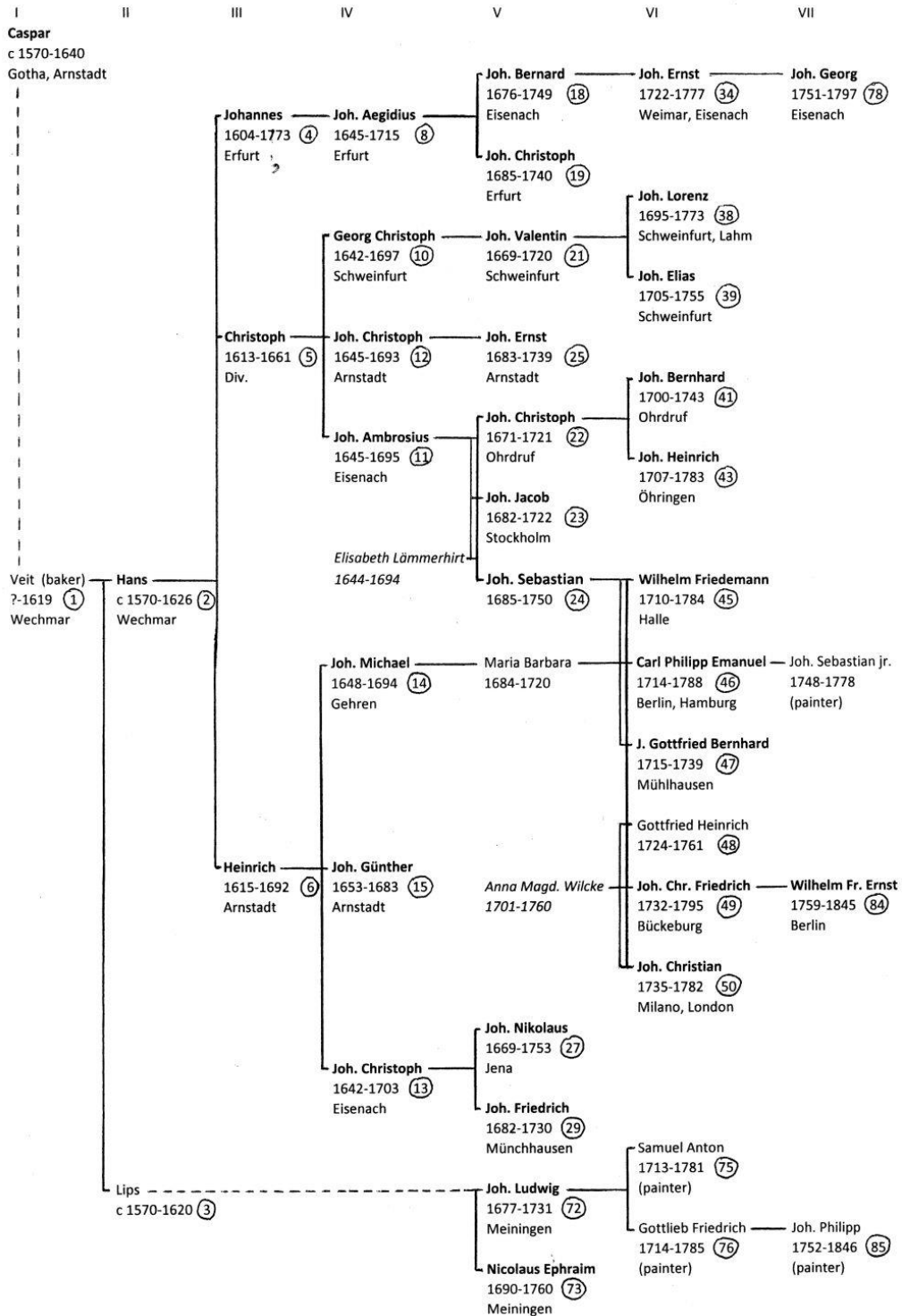


Plate 1.1: Genealogical Tree of the Extended Bach Family; Carus-Verlag Stuttgart, 1999.

<http://www.carus-verlag.com/images-intern/img/Stammbaum.jpg>

It is becoming ever more apparent that the young Bach may have had at his disposal multiple examples of the compositional progress of others, spanning at least a century, principally although not exclusively, drawn from the North German and Flemish circle of organist-composers.<sup>3</sup> With the application of comparative document analysis techniques,<sup>4</sup> we have developed an increased understanding of the significance which exposure to these materials may have had in forming or shaping the young musician.

Today we are coming to view Bach in totality not only as having provided an unparalleled summation of all earlier musical styles available to him, but also as a resourceful individual, progressive in his approach to life and his art. His journey to reaching creative maturity may have occurred at an earlier stage in his life than previously thought, and, as such, may not yet have been fully explored or discerned. Through the application of FDE this study suggests that previous chronologies discussing the point at which Bach reached creative maturity as a musician require reconsideration. However, on this point, it is important to note that it is not the intention of this study to refute the findings of previously applied document analyses, but to apply another component of scientific document analysis to this strand of early Bach studies.

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<sup>3</sup> Richard D. P. Jones, 'His superior ideas are the consequences of those inferior ones: Influence and Independence in Bach's Early Creative Development', *Understanding Bach*, 3, Bach Network UK, (2008), pp. 31-38.

<sup>4</sup> Bryan Found and Douglas Rogers, 'Documentation of forensic handwriting comparison and identification method: A modular approach'. *Journal of Forensic Document Examination*, (1999), pp. 1-68. See also: Ordway Hilton, *The Scientific Examination of Questioned Documents*, New York: Elsevier, (1982).

Questioning historically authoritative accounts of Bach's life presents daunting challenges for the musicological researcher.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately factual redress of historically allegorical or hagiographic statements have already been taken by eminent and respected Bach-scholars, inviting new approaches to establishing facts upon which future research may proceed.<sup>6</sup> In order to begin considering Bach's forward-thinking approach to his art, we turn to one of his own statements, recorded in a Memorandum to the Leipzig Town Council on August 3, 1730, described by Dreyfus as "... an implied narrative of renewal and regeneration":<sup>7</sup>

"The state of music is quite different from what it was, since our artistry has increased very much, and the taste has changed astonishingly, and accordingly, the former style of music no longer seems to please our ears".<sup>8</sup>

Christoph Wolff observed that, in Bach's Leipzig Memorandum, he appears to state very clearly his own personal aesthetic position on "the former style of music".<sup>9</sup> It would seem that both the older and the modern styles were equally integral to his overall creative palette:

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<sup>5</sup> André Pirro (1869-1943), *J.S. Bach* (London: J. Calder, 1957); Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), *J. S. Bach* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), p. 32; Phillip Spitta (1841-1894), *Johann Sebastian Bach: His work and influence on the music of Germany, 1685-1750* vol. 1 (London: Novello & Co., 1951), pp. 210-214.

<sup>6</sup> John Butt, 'Bach's metaphysics of music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. by John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 46; Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the patterns of invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 33; Jones (2008), pp. 31-38; Williams (2004), p. 134; Wolff (1991), p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Dreyfus (2004), p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> "Seit sich unsere Kenntnisse über die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Musik so sehr erweitert haben, ist Musik etwas völlig anderes als sie vorher war, und damit hat sich erstaunlicherweise auch der Geschmack verändert und dementsprechend scheint der frühere Stil der Musik unser gehörend nicht mehr zu erfreuen." *Bach-Dokumente* ed. Bach-Archiv Leipzig, 3 vols. 1963 Neumann/Schulze, 1969 Neumann/Schulze, 1972 Schulze. *Dok I* (1963), no. 22; *Bach-Jahrbuch* ed. Schulze/Wolff (1975<sup>ff.</sup>), 123.

<sup>9</sup> *Dok I* (1963), no. 22; *BJ*, 123.

“Whatever tangible evidence of Bach’s actual involvement with earlier repertoires we have points in a different direction: Bach’s extreme selectivity regarding both modern and older musical composition, with no particular preference given to any type of repertoire – for example – German music”.<sup>10</sup>

Part 2 of this study points to influences among Bach’s progenitors and wider family, rarely identified in prior studies,<sup>11</sup> who undoubtedly played as significant a role in his early musical formation as did Böhm, Buxtehude, Reinken and Pachelbel. In the course of this analysis, care has been taken to reflect on Carl Dahlhaus’s pertinent question: “What is a fact of music history?”<sup>12</sup>

Many documents have been examined thereafter, and whilst FDE techniques have been applied to the sources, some of which are questionable, it must be noted that this is one system among many, and that whichever is applied is by no means an exact science: “It is one of the basic tenets of the historical sciences that documents – the data at an historian’s disposal – must be distinguished from the facts which he reconstructs from these data: not the source itself, but the process it refers to, represents an historical fact, a component part of an historical analysis”.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Except carefully documented in Wolff (2000).

<sup>12</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 33.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

## Purpose of the Study

That Bach chose to set hymns in variation form has to some commentators seemed a great irony. Peter Williams refers to evidence that: “Bach found writing variations a thankless task because of their reiterated harmony. Perhaps Carl Phillip Emanuel <sup>(46)</sup> or Wilhelm Freidemann <sup>(45)</sup> said so, or Forkel assumed it from the rarity of variation sets in the Bach oeuvre, by comparison with Handel’s or Mozart’s”.<sup>14</sup> The tradition of employing a chorale melody as the *modus operandi* in keyboard variation-sets would appear to have begun in the Netherlands with Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), reaching a creative summation in Bach’s own settings, namely BWV 766, 767, 768, 770, 771<sup>15</sup> and the later 769/769a. Hymn melodies, as a basis for musical composition, occupied a place of enormous significance in Bach’s mind, and served him for virtually his entire creative life. Although the setting of the chorale melody in variation form was established by his predecessors and progenitors, how did Bach, as in many other fields of his work, bring the genre to its zenith? Was this creation reached via circumstance? More precisely, and perhaps most significantly, how did he manage to achieve this at a youthful age? The function and role of music in church, specifically in terms of the permitted congregational contribution in formal worship, is explained in this study in relation to the variation style of composition. Furthermore, the precise place of the organ in the context of Lutheran worship in Reformation Europe is explained.

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<sup>14</sup> Williams (2004), p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> There is continued speculation around this work, with a suggested attribution to Johann Nicolaus Vetter. See pp. 211-217.

Many minor details of these services are still unclear: what exactly is a chorale prelude for? Was there a big organ voluntary at the end of the service? What specifically was the liturgical organist permitted to do, or not, as the case may be, in Lutheran liturgy of the eighteenth century? A comprehensive examination of the chorale variations and chorale partitas is made here, and it is determined if in fact they were conceived for liturgical use, or for another purpose altogether.<sup>16</sup> An example of Bach's lifelong desire to explore a thematic idea comprehensively may be found in his submission of canonic variations on Luther's Advent melody *Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her*, to the *Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften*, founded by Lorenz Mizler in 1738.<sup>17</sup>

Bach's obituary, written in 1751, and published in 1754, recorded the following:<sup>18</sup>

“In June 1747 he entered the Society for the Musical Sciences. Certainly our late Bach did not involve himself in deep theoretical speculation but was all the stronger in practical music. He presented to the Society the chorale *Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her* completely worked out, and this was afterwards engraved on copper”.<sup>19</sup>

The submission of this work to the Society with a specific purpose in mind demonstrates Bach's zeal in revisiting an obsolete genre and an obsolete style of composition, supporting Wolff's observation that throughout his life, Bach continually

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<sup>16</sup> Williams (2004), pp. 5-6.

<sup>17</sup> Williams (2003), pp. 512-513.

<sup>18</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>19</sup> “In die Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften ist er im Jahr 1747 Junius ... getreten. Unser seel. Bach liess sich zwar nicht in tiefe theoretische Betrachtungen der Musik ein, war aber desto stärker in der Ausübung. Zur Societät hat er den Choral geliefert: *Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her*, vollständig ausgearbeitet, der hernach in Kupfer gestochen worden”. *Dok III*, (1972), pp. 88-9. See also: Williams (2003), pp. 512-514.

“... used pieces from contemporary and retrospective repertoires”.<sup>20</sup> Whilst the Canonic Variations are today regarded as an esoteric musical puzzle, of continuing fascination to academics, this was also the first time that the composer had produced something in chorale-based variation form since his original, and then largely ignored, exploration of the idiom some four decades earlier.<sup>21</sup> The genre sometimes appears in diverse manuscripts as either *chorale partitas* or *chorale variations*, both seemingly referring to series of variations set to the theme of a hymn. Can it be established that there was a distinction between the two titles?

Bach’s own progenitors, principally Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> and Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup>, produced compositions in variation idiom, and this study will consider these pieces in the context of the influence which they may have exerted over his early compositions. This consideration suggests that these composers should now be counted as having been decisive rather than broad mentors to the young Bach, and as influential in his development as were Böhm, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, and Reinken, particularly in the light of recent study.<sup>22</sup>

Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> and Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> also warrant assessment in terms of their own styles of keyboard variation writing and textural influences – do parallels exist between their compositions and those of Bach? Furthermore, Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> and Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> are known to have composed early sets of variations on Chorale melodies.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Bach studies 2*, ed. by D. R. Melamed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 307.

<sup>21</sup> Jones (2008), pp. 31-38.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Wollny, ‘The “Weimar Organ Tablature”: Bach’s Earliest Autographs’, *Understanding Bach*, 3, Bach Network UK, (2008), pp. 67-74.

<sup>23</sup> Christoph Wolff, ‘Bach, Johann Michael’, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy.

<<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008]; David Fuller and Cliff Eisen, ‘Partita’, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*

The preservation and eventual bequest of these compositions to Bach was in all likelihood through the generosity of two of his pupils, Johann Tobias Krebs (1690-1762), and the organist and lexicographer, Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748).<sup>24</sup> Assessment of these figures is also made.

Upon the death of his parents in 1695, the young Bach lodged with, and received instruction from, his older brother Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>. Whilst this relationship is recorded as having been somewhat strained at times, it remains an example of creative home-schooling in musical history.<sup>25</sup> Further, it invites academic investigation as to its probable impact and influence upon Bach prior to his commencing formal instruction at the Lyceum in Ohrdruf between 1696 and 1700.<sup>26</sup> Shortly after, he proceeded to the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg, at which point this study argues that Bach, partly as a result of his extensive network of artistic human relationships, became wholly self-sufficient as a student. This study then explores in depth Bach's chorale variations, in particular BWV 768, as invited by Williams' invitation: "implications ... [surrounding BWV 768] ... may or may not be justified in the light of further research".<sup>27</sup> The method whereby assessment is achieved is through the application of FDE analysis techniques to the manuscript sources of this previously misunderstood piece.

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<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/20982>> [Accessed: 29 Sep., 2008].

<sup>24</sup> Karl Geiringer, *The Bach Family* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1954), pp. 97-99; Graham Barber, 'Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748); A Tercentenary Tribute', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 125, No. 1702. Dec. (1984), pp. 721, 723, 725.

<sup>25</sup> Melamed (1995), pp. 345-365.

<sup>26</sup> Williams (2004), pp. 5-25; Wolff (2000), pp. 33-52.

<sup>27</sup> Williams (2003), pp. 506-507.

## Method

This study presents an examination of the available sources for the chorale variations as listed in the tables 1.1-1.7 below, and explores their wider context. From examination of the raw materials, an assessment of the compositional processes can be made, which considers the conditions and circumstances under which the pieces were composed.<sup>28</sup> From this, the significance of the chorale variations as part of the early eighteenth century narrative is considered afresh, presenting conclusions which should be tested as historical facts: “Studies of theology, religious symbolism, allegory and rhetoric tell us much about the historical context and function of Bach’s music, but alone they do not adequately reveal how Bach conceived of his music. In other words, the purely theological viewpoint often illuminates the message of Bach’s music without giving any explanation of his conception of the medium.”<sup>29</sup>

The process undertaken here is not from a perspective aiming to dispute the allegorical or hagiographic interpretations of previous historians. It is more to propose hypotheses and to examine the sources through the chosen model of FDE techniques, with the aim of creating a “framework of history” to which competing interpretative systems may be applied in future.<sup>30</sup> References relate to some or all copies of the autographs (AMS), as well as to manuscript copies (MS), and also multiple copies (MMS), from the hands of numerous scribes, listed here, in no order of preference, as follows:

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<sup>28</sup> Dahlhaus, (1995), pp. 33-43.

<sup>29</sup> Butt, (1997), p. 46.

<sup>30</sup> Dahlhaus, (1995), pp. 33-43.

Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis	MS Call Numbers for Examination
<b>BWV 766:</b>  Chorale Partita sopra:  <i>Christ, der du bist der helle Tag</i>	D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 837 D-DS Mus. ms. 73 D-DS Mus. ms. 1300 D-LEm Ms. 4, Faszikel 11 GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 55 GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 70, Faszikel 3 US-NH LM 4704 US-NH LM 4843 [Ma 21 Y 11 B12] Verschollen BWV 766, 767, J. N. Forkel Verschollen BWV 766 (1), K. W. F. Guhr Verschollen BWV 766 (2), F. X. Gleichauf Verschollen BWV 766 (3), J. N. J. Koetschau Verschollen BWV 766 (4) und Choralbearbeitung: <i>Nun komm der Heiden Heiland</i> , Versteigerungskatalog Erfurt 1810

Table 1.1: BWV 766: MS call numbers of sources examined in this study.

Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis	MS Call Numbers for Examination
<b>BWV 767:</b>  Chorale Partita sopra:  <i>O Gott, du frommer Gott</i>	D-ALT Bethmannhollweg Mus. ms. S. 10 D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 Verschollen BWV 766, 767, J. N. Forkel Verschollen BWV 767 (1), E. L. Gerber Verschollen BWV 767 (2), J. Christoph Westphal Verschollen BWV 767 (3), F. A. Roitzsch

Table 1.2: BWV 767: MS call numbers of sources examined in this study.

Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis	MS Call Numbers for Examination
<p><b>BWV 768:</b></p> <p>Chorale Variatio sopra:</p> <p><i>Sei/Sey Gegrüsset, Jesu gütig</i></p> <p>and</p> <p><i>O Jesu, du Edle Gabe</i></p>	<p>A-Wn S. m. 2234</p> <p>B-Bc 12102 MSM</p> <p>D-B Am. B. 46 I</p> <p>D-B Am. B. 47</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 284</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 291, Faszikel 1</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 312</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 406</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1118</p> <p>DK-Kk Gades Samling BWV 768</p> <p>D-LEm III 8.17</p> <p>D-LEb Ms. 7, Faszikel 23</p> <p>F-C Ms. 1086 (1)</p> <p>GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 55</p> <p>GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 70, Faszikel 4</p> <p>Verschollen BWV 768 (1), F. X. Gleichauf</p> <p>Verschollen BWV 768 (2), Versteigerungskatalog Erfurt 1810</p> <p>Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839 [unavailable since 1937]</p> <p>Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold Rf alpha 6, Faszikel 13</p>

Table 1.3: BWV 768: MS call numbers of sources examined in this study.

Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis	MS Call Numbers for Examination
<p><b>BWV 770:</b></p> <p>Chorale Partita sopra:</p> <p><i>Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?</i></p>	<p>B-Bc 15137 MSM, Faszikel 2</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 489</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802</p>

Table 1.4: BWV 770: MS call numbers of sources examined in this study.

Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis	MS Call Numbers for Examination
<p><b>BWV 771:</b></p> <p>Chorale Partita sopra:</p> <p><i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'</i></p>	<p>B-Bc 15142 MSM, Faszikel 2</p> <p>PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035 (frueher Z. 35)</p> <p>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1143</p> <p>PL-Kj Z 35</p> <p>US-NH LM 4843 [Ma 21 Y 11 B12]</p>

Table 1.5: BWV 771: MS call numbers of sources examined in this study.

Post WWII Source Dispersal Information & Literary Commentaries
<p>NBA KB IV/1, S. 200ff.</p> <p>NBA KB IV/1, S. 203</p> <p>NBA KB IV/2, KB</p> <p>NBA KB IV/3, KB</p> <p>NBA KB IV/10, S. 181</p> <p>NBA KB IV/11, S. 207</p> <p>NBA KB V/11 S. 169f.</p> <p>Kast, 1958<sup>31</sup></p> <p>Krause, 1964<sup>32</sup></p> <p>Blehschmidt, 1965<sup>33</sup></p> <p>Zietz, 1969<sup>34</sup></p>

Table 1.6: Post WWII source dispersal information and critical literary commentaries.

<sup>31</sup> P. Kast, 'Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek', *Tübinger Bach-Studien* 2/3 (Trossingen, 1958).

<sup>32</sup> P. Krause, *Handschriften der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs in der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1964).

<sup>33</sup> E. R. Blehschmidt, *Die Amalien-Bibliothek: Musik-Bibliothek der Prinzessin Anna Amalia von Preussen (1723-1787)* (Berlin, 1965).

<sup>34</sup> H. Zietz, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen an den Bach-Handschriften P 801, P 802 und P 803* (Hamburg, 1969).

Reference Materials Held at Other Centres	
➤	Verein Thomaskirche Bach e.V., Thomaskirchhof 18, 04109 Leipzig Bachhaus Eisenach gGmbH, Frauenplan 21, D- 99817 Eisenach
➤	Bach-Archiv Leipzig, Stiftung bürgerlichen Rechts, Thomaskirchhof 15- 16 D-04109 Leipzig
➤	Loeb Music Library, Music Building, North Harvard Yard, Harvard University, MA USA
➤	Institute of Sacred Music, Department of Music at Yale University, New Haven CT USA
➤	School of Music, Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland
➤	Riemenschneider-Bach Institute, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio (BWV 769) <sup>35</sup>
➤	Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (BWV 769) <sup>36</sup>

Table 1.7: Reference materials held at other centres.

The following will be undertaken in the subsequent parts of this thesis:

1. Part 2 reassesses the young Bach's relationship with his closest progenitors, and considers the extent to which he was influenced in his own early compositions by the compositions and guidance of his closest family members. How much of this information can be treated as an accurate and factual historical narrative upon which future research may be based?
2. Part 3 provides a comprehensive assessment of Bach's early life, charting in depth the manner of his education, his introduction to the organ, his first musical appointments, and the development of his personal and creative human networks. These details are then linked to the circumstances which led

<sup>35</sup> Gerhard Herz, *Bach-Quellen in Amerika* (New York: Bärenreiter; Distributed in North America by UMI Research Press, 1984), pp. 1-53.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

to the production of his early keyboard compositions, in particular the emergence of the chorale variation sets.

3. Part 4 concerns itself with the available manuscript sources of the chorale variations, revisions and written sources on them. These assist in identifying Bach's own reasons for setting the Lutheran chorale in variation form. Is there, for example, a unifying concept underpinning such works, and by what process were they produced?
4. Part 5 provides a comparative document analysis of four manuscript sources of early handwritten keyboard works from the first decade of the eighteenth century. Comparisons relate to the handwriting discerned in these documents, which includes MS F-C Ms. 1086 (1), the relatively little regarded, yet complete, set of Bach variations, BWV 768. This analysis allows conclusions to be drawn about the provenance of the writer of the Carpentras MS F-C Ms. 1086 (1) of BWV 768, which having been discussed since 1909, has hitherto remained inconclusive and largely misunderstood.
5. a) The question of poetic, pictorial and symbolic settings of text in music when juxtaposed against the harmonic strictness of the variation form: might it be possible to demonstrate that the variation genre does not lend itself to relationships between texts and music, as is often assumed and taught? If this is the case, what other types of relationships exist among the comprehensive sets of chorale variations?  
b) Many writers suggest that Bach related the colour of his melodic and harmonic language, and use of dissonance, to suit verbal and visual

conceptions: to what extent can this assertion be supported by analysis of the chorale variations?<sup>37</sup>

- c) Whether it is useful to attach to analysis of the chorale variations the assertions of Spitta,<sup>38</sup> Schweitzer,<sup>39</sup> and Pirro,<sup>40</sup> whose commentaries were based on the premise that Bach varied his harmonisation of a chorale according to the setting and tenor of the words, and the existence of motives representing joy, grief and other pictorial clichés? To what extent can these suppositions be factually proven to have been in Bach's creative consciousness, as perpetuated in the following statement by Schweitzer, referring to BWV 766:<sup>41</sup>

Var. 6: "... falling line 'expressing' the death, burial and rest referred to in v7 of the text".

Var. 7: "... the chromatic motif expressing 'the sad wait for the signal of the resurrection' in v8".

Var. 8: "... the 'imposing animation' of the movement expressing the praises of the Trinity in verse nine".

Among the five sets of Bach's chorale variations dating from his early years, a significant progression of variation form exists covering styles from the early Mid-

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<sup>37</sup> Ernest Newman, Foreword to: *The Organ Works of J.S. Bach vol. XIX* (London, Novello Company, 1891). There would, for example, appear to be very real differences in the figurative and descriptive nature of both BWV 766 and BWV 767, parallels which may not be so easily drawn in BWV 768, in which such pictorialism in the music may not exist.

<sup>38</sup> Spitta (1951), pp. 210-214.

<sup>39</sup> Schweitzer (1966), p. 32.

<sup>40</sup> Pirro (1957), p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *J.S. Bach: le Musicien-Poète* (Leipzig, 1905), reproduced in: Williams (2003), p. 365. See also: Ernest Newman, Foreword to: *The Organ Works of J.S. Bach vol. XIX* (London: Novello Company, 1891).

German and North-German schools.<sup>42</sup> Also seen are influences drawn from other European schools of composition, i.e. Flemish and French.<sup>43</sup> As such, they can be considered a catalogue of compositional devices in this style which dominated at least the first twenty-five years of the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> There are surprisingly few critical writings for the chorale partitas in their entirety, and much of the focus has rested upon BWV 768, the extensive set of chorale variations on *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*.<sup>45</sup>

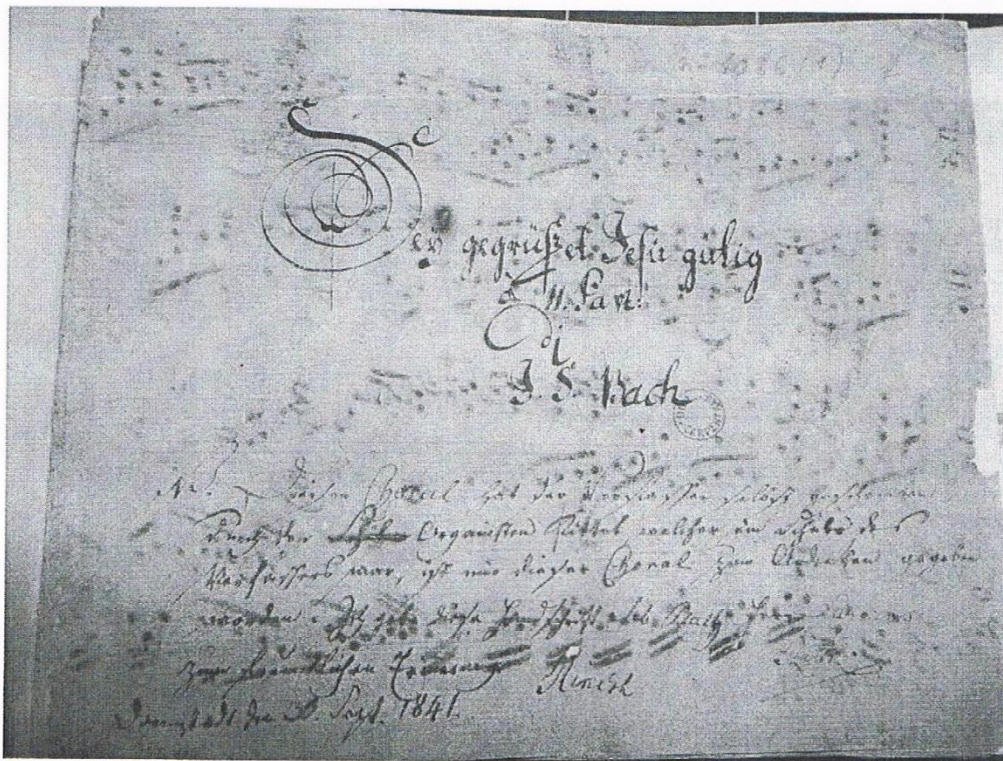


Plate. 1.2: Title-Page - BWV 768 "Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig"; MS F-C Ms. 1086 (1)  
Bibliothèque-Musée *Inguimbertain*, Ville de Carpentras, Provence, France.

<sup>42</sup> Williams (2003), p. 365.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Peter Williams, *The Organ music of J.S. Bach, Vol. II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 301-329.

<sup>45</sup> See: Clement (1989), pp. 180-192. See also: Ulrich Meyer, 'J.S. Bach's Variationenzyklus "Sei begrüßet, Jesu gütig" (BWV 768)', *Die Musikforschung*, XXVI/4 (1973), pp. 474-81; See also: Pieter Dirksen, 'J.S. Bach und die Tradition der Choralpartita', *Bach und die deutsche Tradition des Komponierens, Wirklichkeit und Ideologie. Festschrift Martin Geck zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinmar Emans and Wolfram Steinbeck, Dortmund Bachforschungen, Bd. 9; Witten: Klangfarben-Verlag (2009), pp. 39-48. See also: Williams (2003), p. 506-512.

## Part Two

### Progenitors: Musical Influences in Bach's Formative Years - An Overview

Here, I will:

1. Reassess the extent to which the young Bach was influenced and inspired in his early compositions by the guidance of his closest family members.
2. Evaluate the musical output of each of these progenitors, and consider the extent of their skill as organists, teachers, and as composers.
3. Evaluate the significance for the young Bach of genres of keyboard music popular in the last decades of the seventeenth century in North Germany.
4. Address the influence of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), in particular the depth of his impact on the various Bach musical progenitors.
5. Provide a focussed examination of compositions in variation form by Bach's progenitors. The discussion is focused on the *Aria Eberliniana pro dormente Camillo*, and various uncertainties surrounding the identity of the composer of this composition will be probed.
6. Give an assessment of Johann Gottfried Walther's (1684-1748) role as lexicographer, and preserver of other Bach-family manuscripts (MSS).

“It is not uncommon in the history of art to find musical talent handed on from father to son. But only the Bach family can boast of having produced fine musicians for more than two hundred years, and of having contradicted fundamental theories of heredity by not running dry even after it produced an immortal genius.

This family opens up a wide field of research to the historian investigating the conditions responsible for the development of extraordinary musical gifts.”<sup>1</sup>

“How Bach fits into the chain remains a mystery to us; the answer no doubt lies in Bach's nature. There are no accidents in the development of a genius, everything is imperative. From ancestry comes talent, from a modest but potentially active coincidence of life's circumstances, from an insight into the possible and from a sure grasp toward the necessary, from all this grows the extraordinary, the mastery of the mature Johann Sebastian Bach.”<sup>2</sup>

When considering how some of Bach's earliest works came to fruition when he was still apparently so young in his creative life, questions are immediately raised about the personal circumstances which must have combined to allow this. Have errors hitherto been made in our evaluation of his early creativity? Even now, more questions remain unresolved than answers have been unearthed about the composer's earliest pieces to fully explain his apparently precocious maturity, and hagiographic rhetoric such as in the examples above has been unhelpful in providing for research based upon irrefutable facts.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Geiringer, 'Artistic Interrelations of the Bachs', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3, Jul. (1950), p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Blume and Wilburn W. Newcomb, 'J. S. Bach's Youth', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 1, Jan. (1968), Oxford: Oxford University Press Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/741080> [Accessed: 25 April 2008], pp. 1-30.

Williams has observed that:

“Despite careful work by several authors, in particular Luedtke and Dietrich, it will never become quite clear how far J.S. Bach was indebted to his various predecessors and contemporaries for two particular strands in the tapestry of his organ chorales: the expressive quality (from ‘objectivity’ through ‘expressiveness’ to ‘symbolism’) and certain formal shapes (the trio-chorale or the ritornello-fantasia). Reasons for this difficulty lie in the uncertain chronology and in the incomplete nature of extant sources, in both cases for J.S. Bach and other composers alike. Uncertain chronology makes it doubtful, for example, whether the chorale-partitas do ‘go back’ in some way to Georg Böhm, as is often claimed, since Böhm lived until 1733 and the sources have not been dated precisely.”<sup>3</sup>

This study addresses the two concerns which Williams raises about the chorale partitas: through careful analysis of sources for the chorale partitas at least a more certain chronological standpoint is reached. With a factual understanding of the idiom, further analytical document analysis may be undertaken with fewer uncertainties. Uncertainties surrounding the chronological development of the chorale variation sets have led to perceptions that the musical and stylistic development of a Bach as a composer progresses in straight lines, that is to say, that initial immaturity eventually leads to a maturity of style. This has, of course, been disproved in previous cases, not least in other early Bach-studies.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, from the outset, arguments in this study proceed without making linear assumptions

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<sup>3</sup> Williams (2003), p. 506.

<sup>4</sup> “... examining Bach’s nearly limitless quest for novel combinations, one misses their underlying pattern of invention if his music amounts to well-wrought artifices. In fact, Bach’s music often embodies a destructive moment, in that it frequently displays a high-handed disregard and critique of exemplary models. For rather than submitting to commonly accepted precepts of style and good taste – a sine qua non of the conventional rhetoric of invention – one of the hallmarks of Bach’s music is its strange distortion of models that were presumably chosen, after all, for their exemplary qualities.” Dreyfus (1996), pp. 35-36.

based on perceived stylistic maturity and quality, only to be disproved by the results of subsequent forensic examination which may scientifically date the questioned sources.

An example of this concerns analyses of BWV 768, where the later variations contained in the set are perplexingly sophisticated when viewed against the other variation sets in similar chorale partitas by Bach. However, this should not necessarily negate the possibility that they were still conceived by Bach in youth. But in posing a hypothesis regarding non-linear development, the outcome of certain data tests is required before chronological decisions may be safely reached.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in pursuing the supposition that the later variations of BWV 768 were indeed the creation of an individual between 10 to 20 years of age, a reasonable starting point is to explore the statement that at or before reaching age twenty, Bach had received "...a musical preparation [which] was exceptional, comprehensive, and in every respect well-rounded".<sup>6</sup>

The codicological uncertainties which surround Bach's early manuscripts present many challenges to the researcher seeking to draw factual conclusions as to the extent to which his earliest works may be presumed composed by a knowledgeable and refined musical thinker.<sup>7</sup> In this instance, palaeographic and notational evidence

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<sup>5</sup> Consider, for example, Johann Adam Reinken's *Partita diverse sopra l'aria Schweigt mir von Weiber nehmen, altrimente chiamata La Mayerin*, eighteen separate variations on a fairly limited G major melody, which despite the work's overall length, struggles to extend itself compositionally beyond the inevitable harmonic restriction of variation form.

<sup>6</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> "The reason for such uncertainty is not difficult to discern. Only a handful of autograph manuscripts of Bach's early works has survived. The other compositions are preserved in a motley assortment of manuscript copies of varying degrees of proximity to the composer. [...] The wide variety in both the quality and the number of manuscripts for a given work has meant that each composition must be evaluated by its own merits". S.A. Crist, 'The early works and the heritage of the seventeenth

exists, with the Andreas Bach Book (ABB) and the Möller Manuscript (MM).<sup>8</sup> Both documents serve as evidence of the considerable collection of keyboard compositions from northern, central, and southern Germany, as well as Italy and France, which we now know the young composer had at his disposal for examination and personal instruction in Ohrdruf.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the combined worth of these two sets of manuscripts, both dating back at least to 1703,<sup>10</sup> is crucial in terms of the picture they help us to build about Bach's formative adolescent musical environment:

“The Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript [...] present a highly sophisticated, multifaceted, and unbiased keyboard repertoire that offers welcome insight into the musical environment of the young Sebastian. Indeed, the two manuscript sources reveal the composers, genres and styles that formed his musical background. [...] they provide resounding testimony that by 1705, at about age twenty, his works already reflect an unusual degree of experience and sophistication, raising the question about what preceded them.”<sup>11</sup>

This part of the study considers the extent to which available models of keyboard compositions in variation form, from the latter part of the seventeenth century, to the

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century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 75-85.

<sup>8</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 46-60. See also: Robert Hill, ed. *Keyboard Music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript* (Cambridge, MA: *Harvard Publications in Music*, vol. 16, 1991), pp. 24-66: Wolff provides this important footnote to this citation: “The exact dating of the two manuscripts is problematic, but the Möller Manuscript (MM), at least in part, most likely preceded the Andreas Bach Book (ABB). Schulze, 1984a, who at first identified the principal scribe, dates both in the period 1705-13, with late entries by scribes other than Johann Christoph (22); Hill dates MM c. 1703-7 and ABB c. 1708-13 and beyond. There are, however, neither philological nor codicological reasons that speak against the possibility of assuming slightly earlier dates for the beginning of both manuscripts, especially for ABB.”

<sup>9</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 30-56.

<sup>10</sup> If not earlier. See: Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

<sup>11</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 46-47.

first decade of the eighteenth century, could have laid the foundation for Bach's own pieces in this genre. It outlines this with specific reference to works in the variation genre written by Bach's progenitors and contemporaries, pieces it is likely he had access to during the first two decades of his life, and during his formative educational period. This comprehensive overview, combined with the implication of Peter Wollny's recently recovered early Bach sources from the Weimar Organ Tablature, allows us in later sections to consider afresh the extent to which Bach produced effective and advanced keyboard variations in the first decade of eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> From this, we are able to challenge recent statements which have, in some respects, perpetuated the chronological uncertainties surrounding the period of construction of Bach's early keyboard variations.<sup>13</sup> A palaeographic analysis of these sources allows us to ascertain with far greater certainty that the chorale variations emerged in entirety at the very beginning of Bach's compositional life, and therefore did not originate across two or more distinct periods of musical productivity in later maturity, as has until now, been the most widely accepted theory.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Peter Wollny, 'The "Weimar Organ Tablature": Bach's Earliest Autographs' (*Understanding Bach*, 3, Bach Network UK 2008), pp. 67-74.

<sup>13</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

*Ein Profonder Componist / Ein Habiler Componist.*  
The Legacy of Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703) <sup>(13)</sup>,  
Johann Michael Bach (1648-94) <sup>(14)</sup>, and a Brief  
Examination of the Keyboard Variations



Plate 2.2: Johann Christoph Bach <sup>(13)</sup> (1642-1703).

The relationship between Bach's earliest compositions and the extent to which they may have been based on acquaintance with the music of his own direct predecessors has, for many years, been approached with a degree of scepticism by scholars. Many have found it easier to draw parallels with music drawn from farther afield in seventeenth century Europe, perhaps at the expense of focusing in greater analytical depth on the music of Bach family members, who had closer geographical and personal links to Bach in his earliest years.<sup>15</sup> Assessment of the lives of the early Bach family has not been as widespread as might be imagined. However, study of the tenacity, vigour, and productivity of the wider family lineage, spread as it was across nearly two hundred years, brings us closer to a more complete understanding of Bach's own zeal and productivity, which he demonstrated consistently throughout

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

his life. In this study, the starting point must be to assess the natural leaders among the older members of his family line. Bach himself bestowed a significant, if brief, accolade on the legacy of Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, describing him as “ein profunder Componist”.<sup>16</sup> We know that successive members of the Bach-family made concerted efforts to preserve the musical heritage and legacy of their family. The numerous works copied out by older members of the family, we may reasonably presume, were intended to be passed from generation to generation. This was not only for the purpose of upholding the perceived attributes and standing of the family name, but also perpetuating further musical enterprise within the family.

The first member of the family line to begin a methodical process of recording the legacy of the previous generations was Bach’s father, Johann Ambrosius <sup>(11)</sup>. A notable addition to his inherited collection was an autograph manuscript, which included a complete set of parts and other performance instructions for the Wedding Cantata *Meine Freundin, du bist schön*, by Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>.<sup>17</sup> To his father’s collection, Bach added a further work by Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, the motet *Der Gerechte*. This motet was later utilised by Bach’s son, Carl Philipp Emanuel <sup>(46)</sup>, as the first chorus of the Cantata for the Sixteenth or Twenty-Fourth Sunday in Trinity:

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<sup>16</sup> Daniel R. Melamed, ‘Constructing Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703)’, *Music & Letters*, Vol. 80, No. 3. (Aug., 1999), pp. 345-465.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*



Ex. 2.1: *Der Gerechte, ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt*: motet for five voices - Johann Christoph Bach (13) (1642-1703).  
Soprano part, 1 page, in the hand of Bach.<sup>18</sup>

In this one case alone, two consecutive generations of the Bach family had gone to some length to acquaint themselves with the musical efforts of their predecessor, Johann Christoph (13). From this, we are able to discern similarities between Bach's early chorale partitas, and to some extent, Johann Christoph's (13) adoption of identical Lutheran melodies discernible among the Neumeister Chorales:<sup>19</sup>

"Music was considered a craft that could be taught and learned through untiring industry, and for a Bach, the obvious source of information was the work of another Bach. Numerous are the instances in which younger members of the family are artistically indebted to their elders."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Christoph Wolff, 'Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al. a Preliminary Report on the Music Collection of the Berlin Sing-Akademie', Music Library Association: *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 58, No. 2, Dec. (2001), pp. 259-271.

<sup>19</sup> Russell Stinson, 'Thoughts on Bach's Neumeister Chorales', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Autumn, 1993), pp. 455-477.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hans Löffler. Nachrichten über die St. Georgenkirche in Eisenach (In: *Zeitschrift für Evangelisches Kirchenmusik*, 1924).

It was not until the eighteenth century in Germany that the practice of musical composition, specific to Lutheranism, became considered a professional pursuit or a recognized occupation, finally gaining as it did propriety as part of the role undertaken by a Kappellmeister, or increasingly by the independent musician.<sup>21</sup> Despite a relatively small corpus of work connected to him, the significance of Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, and the association of his name with the term “composer”, must have been as a result of Bach and Carl Philipp Emanuel’s <sup>(46)</sup> deliberate management of his legacy, albeit independent of each other. This provides factual confirmation that it was the intention of both men to cement the social advancement of their ancestor’s name. This was realised in statements to this effect, such as: “[Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>], particularly, was strong in the invention of beautiful ideas as well as in the expression of the meaning of the words”.<sup>22</sup> His legacy appears to have survived intact despite the potentially injurious “galant” epithet which was used to describe him.<sup>23</sup> Occasionally this was taken to suggest that he even transcended entire generations with his art:

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<sup>21</sup> Luther considered music an important part of his own theological stance, as well as an integral facet in the education of the young: “Music I have always loved. He who knows music has a good nature. Necessity demands that music be kept in schools. A schoolmaster must be able to sing; otherwise I will not look at him. And before a young man is ordained into the ministry, he should practice music in school.” Musicians, such as Bach, in the service of the Lutheran Church, were effectively occupying the status of professional people as ordained by Luther himself. Robin A. Leaver, ‘Music and Lutheranism’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. by John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 42.

<sup>22</sup> “Dies ist der große und ausdrückende Componist; War ein güter Componist, und von munterm Geiste.”: “This is the great and expressive composer; [He] was a good composer of lively spirit.” A description relating to the compositional style of Bach’s uncle, Johan Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, contained in the Bach Obituary. It should be noted that many of the source-statements made in the Bach Obituary are questioned frequently throughout this thesis in terms of their evidential veracity as statements of historical fact. See: Bach Obituary, *Dok III* (1972), nos. 647 & 666. Eng. trans. in: *The New Bach Reader* (ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. and enlarged by Christoph Wolff, New York & London, W.W. Norton, 1999), pp. 283-94.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

“His writing was, so far as the taste of the day permitted, galant and singing, as well as remarkably [consistent]. To the first point, a motet written seventy-odd years ago, in which, apart from other fine ideas, he had the courage to use the augmented sixth, may bear witness; and the second point is borne out just as remarkably by a church piece composed by him for twenty-two obbligato voices, without the slightest violence to the purest harmony, as by the fact that both on the organ and on the clavier he never played in fewer than five obbligato parts.”<sup>24</sup>

Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> is the pivotal musical figure of the family preceding Bach, and the parallels between them are striking. He had received a thorough musical grounding from his father, Heinrich Bach (1615-1692) <sup>(6)</sup>, and at the age of twenty-one, was appointed organist of the Arnstadt Castle Chapel. By the age of twenty-three, he had been elected organist of the Georgenkirche, Eisenach, a post later held by his nephew.<sup>25</sup> Similar to some of the anecdotal incidents recorded about Bach, Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> was also considered an occasionally tempestuous employee. It is recorded that he brought numerous grievances before the Eisenach Consistory Court, even going so far as to proffer his own advice on how they could best run their affairs, all of which was considered unwelcome and unsolicited advice by the authorities.<sup>26</sup> He remained in close professional contact with Bach’s father,

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<sup>24</sup> “Besonders ist obiger Johann Christoph in Erfindung schöner Gedanken sowohl, als im Ausdrücke der Worte, stark gewesen. Er setzte, so viel es nämlich der damalige Geschmack erlaubte, sowohl galant und singend, als auch ungemein vollstimmig. Wegen des erstern Puncts kann eine, vor siebenzig und etlichen Jahren von ihm gesetzete Motete, in welcher er, ausser andern artigen Einfällen, schon das Herz gehabt hat, die übermäßige Sexte zu gebrauchen, ein Zeugniß abgeben: wegen des zweyten Puncts aber, ist ein von ihm mit 22 obligaten Stimmen, ohne jedoch der reinsten Harmonie einigen Eintrag zu thun, gesetzetes Kirchenstück eben so merkwürdig, als dieses, daß er, auf der Orgel, und dem Claviere, niemahls mit weniger als fünf nothwendigen Stimmen gespielt hat.” *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>25</sup> Christoph Wolff. *Bach, Johann Christoph*, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008].

<sup>26</sup> Geiringer (1954), pp. 30-39.

Johann Ambrosius (1645-1695) <sup>(11)</sup>, who for a short period at least, served his cousin as a copyist, assisting with at least a portion of Johann Christoph's <sup>(13)</sup> output.<sup>27</sup> In 1968, Friedrich Blume and Wilburn W. Newcomb observed that:

“Ambrosius and his cousin Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> were apparently not on particularly intimate terms; one hears of no connection between the two. Our knowledge of this stage in Bach's youth therefore remains indefinite. One would, in the final analysis, do well to relegate all of those garnishments of Bach's childhood in Eisenach - so beloved by biographers - to the realm of fantasy.”<sup>28</sup>

We know with confidence that this statement is factually incorrect. Furthermore, Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> also came into contact with Johann Pachelbel, the latter having been a member of the Eisenach Court Kapelle between the years 1677 and 1678. Taking into consideration that there are two surviving copies of the keyboard works of Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> in existence, nonetheless Pachelbel's creative influence permeated the keyboard writing of Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>. It has been identified that Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, principally a harpsichordist and organist throughout his career, wrote keyboard pieces which: “show him as a capable composer, stylistically akin to Pachelbel, though in general less pedantic”.<sup>29</sup> The Obituary refers in more specific terms to his keyboard technique, suggesting that: “[he] was as good at inventing beautiful thoughts as he was at expressing words. He composed, to the extent that current taste permitted, in a galant and cantabile style, uncommonly full textured. On the organ and the keyboard [he] never played with fewer than five independent

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<sup>27</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 28-31.

<sup>28</sup> Friedrich Blume and Wilburn W. Newcomb, ‘J. S. Bach's Youth’, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 1, Jan. (1968), Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/741080> [Accessed: 25 April 2008], pp. 1-30.

<sup>29</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Bach, Johann Christoph*, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008]

parts” [See ex. 2.2]:<sup>30</sup>

The image shows a musical score for Variation 15, consisting of two systems of music. The first system starts at measure 129 and the second at measure 133. The music is written for a five-part texture, with five staves per system. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom four staves are in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (A minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The music is highly chromatic, featuring many accidentals and complex rhythmic patterns. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Ex. 2.2: Five-part texture in Variation 15 (chromatic): Aria, a-moll [15 variations]; ed. G. Birkner (Zürich, 1973).

Wolff has observed that: “Christoph’s organ chorales (probably in effect written-down improvisations) demonstrate his mastery of the small form, while the strength of his artistry is developed in his extended harpsichord variations”.<sup>31</sup> This last point is certainly telling, for whilst we are told that Johann Christoph (13) excelled in the development of the keyboard variation,<sup>32</sup> only two of the four scores frequently attributed to him, actually survive.<sup>33</sup> It seems that he restricted this genre to both the pedal harpsichord, and possibly the organ.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wolff (1997), p. 33.

<sup>31</sup> Wolff (1997), pp. 33-34.

<sup>32</sup> Albeit based on secular melody, and certainly with no surviving manuscripts indicating that he ever set the compositional form to any Lutheran-based chorale melodies.

<sup>33</sup> “Gerber owned an incomplete set in B flat, now lost”. Loc. cit., cited by: Spitta, (1951), pp. 129-30. Discerned in: Melamed, (1999), pp. 345-365.

<sup>34</sup> The extended compass demanded in some of the variations would appear to suggest that some of the notes in the bass would require the use of a pedal equipped instrument. Part 3.1, in examining in close detail the genesis of Bach’s own chorale variations, considers the potential influence that a pedal-equipped version of the harpsichord may have exerted over the young composer during his period in the Lüneburg Mettenchor; therefore a harpsichord, equipped with a pedal board, like that of an organ. Hardly any original examples survive, although a number of Italian harpsichords and virginals show clear evidence, in the form of attachments on the underside of the bass keys and holes in the bottom of the case, that at one time they were equipped with eight to 18 pedals connected to the lowest keys by cords. (Two Italian virginals in the Tagliavini collection, Bologna, of the 16th and early 19th centuries respectively, have been restored with reconstructions of their

## The Aria Eberliniana:

[15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [fac., Leipzig, 1992]; ed. C. Freyse,  
Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940):

### An Assessment

This section draws attention to some recent advances in our understanding of the chronology and authorship of the *Aria Eberliniana* variations, hitherto attributed to Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, but with recent research having questioned this historical attribution.<sup>35</sup> Between the years 1650 and 1750, there were at least five members of the Bach family bearing the forenames Johann Christoph. The greatest confusion of all arises when referring to the very small number of extant keyboard works by Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, and those presumed to have been written by Bach's older brother, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, referred to in greater detail in the next section of this thesis.

Both figures played significant roles in Bach's earliest years. The Obituary records Bach observing Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> playing the organ in Eisenach, or having directly taken an active role in raising him, while Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> had an active role in bringing his younger brother into his household in Ohrdruf. There remains, however, a fair degree of uncertainty as to the extent and significance of these

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missing original pedal-boards.) Although this 'pull-down' system was also known in Germany, it seems that the more usual practice in Germany and France was to build a separate instrument with a pedal keyboard, to be placed on the floor underneath an ordinary two-manual harpsichord. The Weimar court organist J.C. Vogler (1696–1763), a pupil of J.S. Bach, possessed an extraordinary instrument (described in a contemporary advertisement, reprinted in Anthon, 1984) consisting of a two-manual harpsichord (with 2 × 8', 1 × 4', a buff stop, and a six-octave compass of C' to c''') and a pedal harpsichord in its own case underneath, disposed 1 × 32', 1 × 16', 2 × 8', with two buff stops and a door in the lid to adjust the volume. Edwin M. Ripin and John Koster, *Pedal Harpsichord*, Grove Music Online ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008].

<sup>35</sup> Melamed (1999), pp. 345-365.

relationships, and what they contributed, if anything, to Bach's upbringing, after the death of his own parents. The answer would appear to lie with an issue surrounding the chronology and provenance of the *Aria Eberliniana pro dormente Camillo*,<sup>36</sup> a keyboard work bearing a curious title which to this day is still not fully understood.<sup>37</sup> Although this extensive set of variations is founded on an aria-based melody, the original song at the heart of it, presumed composed originally *for the sleeping Camillo*, is currently lost.<sup>38</sup>

The original aria or thematic material was most likely composed by Daniel Eberlin, between the years 1685 and 1692. Eberlin was a colleague of Johann Christoph<sup>(13)</sup> in Eisenach, and known as a somewhat itinerant violinist and composer, as well as being a rebarbative individual.<sup>39</sup> This set of fifteen variations, supposedly for harpsichord but perhaps also transmutable to organ, appears to have been handed

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<sup>36</sup> Eisenach, Bachhaus, 6.2.1.05, *olim* AA 1, headed 'Aria Eberliniana | pro dormente Ca= | millo, | variata a | Joh. | Christoph Bach org. | Mens. Mart ao. 1690.'; the first page is reproduced, and the work published in Johann Christoph Bach, *Aria Eberliniana*, ed. Conrad Freyse ('Veröffentlichung der Neuen Bachgesellschaft', xxxix/2), Leipzig, 1940, and the whole reproduced in Johann Christoph Bach, *Aria Eberliniana pro dormente camillo variata (1690). Faksimile der Handschrift im Bachhaus Eisenach mit einem Nachwort von Claus Oefner*, Leipzig, 1992. The watermark in the paper of both manuscripts is reported as an A with trefoil in Hill, p. 114, and Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studiern zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1984, p. 52, n. 170; cited in: Melamed (1999), pp. 345-365. Modern edition: ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

<sup>37</sup> Does for example "Pro Dormente Camillo" indicate that the work was intended for an already sleeping Camillo, or alternatively as a musical remedy for insomnia? Nor is it known whether whether or not the dedicatee of the piece were child or adult, but interestingly, the child-like charm of the aria provides a soporific theme for a set of variations with this intention in mind, and tantalizes as to whether it was indeed a significant model for the *Goldberg Variations*, as has been discussed in some academic circles.

<sup>38</sup> *Pro dormente Camillo*, aria, reconstructed in Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bach-Gesellschaft, xxxix/2 (Leipzig, 1940): Susette Clausing, *Eberlin, Daniel* (Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/08496>> [Accessed: 17 Dec., 2008].

<sup>39</sup> Pieter Dirksen, Editorial preface to: *Johann Christoph Bach: Werke Für Clavier (Cembalo, Orgel)* (Edition Breitkopf 8730, Wiesbaden, Leipzig, Paris, 2002); Susette Clausing, *Eberlin, Daniel* (Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/08496>> [Accessed: 17 Dec., 2008].

down through many generations of the Bach family, finally leaving their care after passing from the hands of Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) <sup>(50)</sup>, eventually falling into the possession of Philipp Spitta. Spitta determined the copyist of the manuscript set of variations to be Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>. From an assessment of his hand as seen in his vocal works, it would appear that Spitta reached his supposition that Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> was the copyist, based merely on aesthetic grounds, and as such, his opinion lacks the strength of modern scientific method. He held the view that the compositions which we have, as copied by Bach at Ohrdruf, could not have been by any Bach family member other than Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>. This position was based on the perception of an aesthetic maturity of style present in the composition, and Spitta's belief that he detected mature and sophisticated writing which he believed to be indicative of Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>:

“The use of chromatic passages gives the harmony a strange, intoxicating effect, reminding us of the most modern means of expression used by Schubert and Schumann. It might be safely wagered that no one, unacquainted with the instrumental music of the seventeenth century, would guess at this day that these variations were composed in 1690; rather would he imagine from their softness and sweetness that they were by Mozart.”<sup>40</sup>

More recently, it has been suggested that the actual handwriting to be found on the *Eberliniana* manuscript may in fact be that of Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, the older brother of Bach.<sup>41</sup> It is possible to call into question Johann Christoph's <sup>(13)</sup> authorship of the work if we recall the statement concerning him in the Obituary. At no stage in the manuscript of the aria and fifteen variations is a five-part texture to be found, save

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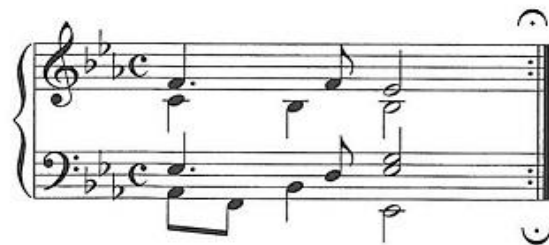
<sup>40</sup> Spitta, (1951), pp. 129-30. See: Melamed (1999), pp. 345-365.

<sup>41</sup> Melamed (1999), pp. 345-365.

the final E<sup>b</sup> major chord of the introductory aria, and in the final variation, the lowest note of which might indicate its intended performance on either organ or a pedal-equipped harpsichord:



Ex. 2.3: Final Bar in Variation 15: Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [fac., Leipzig 1992];  
ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).



Ex. 2.4: Final Bar in Variation 15: Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690;  
ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730).

Further justification for the need for a pedal board may be found in a fragment of the first bar of the B section of the final variation, where the depth of low-compass notes required, could only reasonably be performed on a pedal-equipped instrument:



Ex. 2.5: First Bar fragment of section B from Variation 15: Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [fac., Leipzig 1992]; ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).



Ex. 2.6: First Bar fragment of section B from Variation 15: Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730).

In ex. 2.6 above, the opening G major triad already reaches a sustained span of a tenth, before the addition to this texture of a pedal figure dropping to low D a further octave and a half beneath, finally coming to rest on bottom C natural.

The overall texture remains steadfastly in four parts, with no attempt made to add in the much recounted fifth internal part which, inevitably, would have crowded the

overall interplay. After the expansive journey of the theme throughout the course of the fifteen variations, in a work of such importance, we might imagine that Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> would have concluded the piece with his trademark flourish. This is not the case, and in fact the final variation appears to be almost clinically understated, for such a dramatic conclusion [see exs. 2.7 / 2.8 below]:

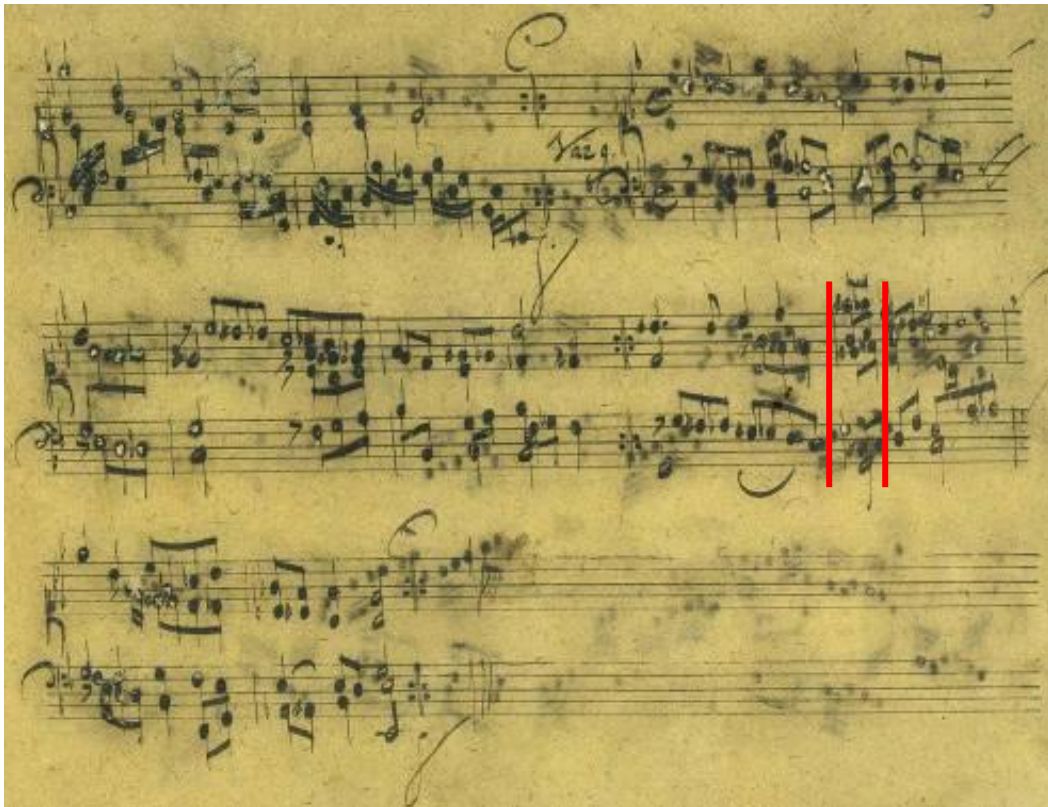


Ex. 2.7: Variation 15 complete: Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [fac., Leipzig 1992] ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).



Ex. 2.8: Variation 15 complete: Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Again, the heavily chromatic statement of the theme in variation 9, while architecturally a central axis to the work, steadfastly remains in a four-part texture overall [exs. 2.9 / 2.10], except at three brief points: the first two chords of bar six of the variation, and the final E<sup>b</sup> major chord - where the addition of the fifth voice only momentarily enlivens the notion of: “On the organ and the keyboard [he] never played with fewer than five independent parts”:<sup>42</sup>



Ex. 2.9: Chord in five-parts denoted between the red lines: Variation 9 complete (chromatic texture):  
Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [facsim., Leipzig 1992];  
ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).

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<sup>42</sup> Wolff (1997), p. 33.



Ex. 2.10: Chord in five-parts denoted between the red lines Variation 9 complete (chromatic texture): Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)



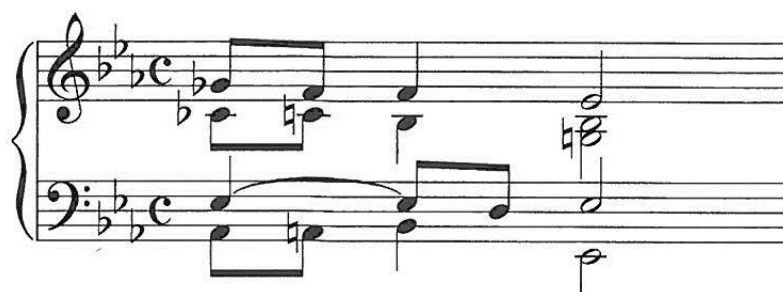
Ex. 2.11: Five-part chordal texture, bar 6, Variation 9 (chromatic): Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [facsimile, Leipzig 1992]; ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).



Ex. 2.12: Five-part texture of chords i & ii, bar 6, Variation 9 (chromatic): Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)



Ex. 2.13: Five-part texture in final bar, Variation 9 (chromatic): Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb [fac., Leipzig 1992]; ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).



Ex. 2.14: Five-part texture in final bar, Variation 9 (chromatic): Aria Eberliniana [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Beyond the characteristic nature of the writing in the *Eberliniana* variation set, evidently contradicting of statements in the Obituary, at variance with the fifteenth and final variation of the *Aria Variata* [see ex. 2.2],<sup>43</sup> also attributed to him, further uncertainties surrounding his authorship continue to emerge:

Variatio 15

129

133

Ex. 2.15: Five-part texture in Variation 15 (chromatic): *Aria*, a-moll [15 variations]; ed. G. Birkner (Zürich 1973).

Research by Melamed in 1999<sup>44</sup> demonstrated convincingly that authorship of the *Eberliniana* variations could be assigned to its hitherto presumed copyist, Johann Christoph (22). At first glance, this may seem to be an insignificant detail, but its implications are actually wide-ranging and extend into the findings of this study. Daniel Eberlin (1647- c.1713-15), the presumed original composer of the title-bearing *Aria*, most likely enjoyed a professional connection with both Johann Christoph (13) and Johann Christoph (22). Whilst it is possible that musical relations in Eisenach connect Eberlin with Johann Christoph (13) between the years 1685 to 1692, a

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<sup>43</sup> *Aria*, a-moll [15 variations] (ed. G. Birkner, Zürich, 1973).

<sup>44</sup> Melamed (1999), pp. 355-356.

parallel link with Johann Christoph (22) may in all likelihood also have existed. Whilst Johann Christoph (22) is principally referred to through his Ohrdruf connection with his younger brother, Bach, this has potentially distracted some scholars and biographers from other significant details which surround his own formative years. It would appear that the first fifteen years of Johann Christoph's (22) life were spent in Eisenach, and despite moving away sometime in the year 1685, it seems that he continued to maintain strong links with the town thereafter.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that a professional connection existed between Eberlin undertaking his Eisenach work, and the youthful Johann Christoph (22), and this may have inspired the characteristics and stylistic traits found in the *Eberliniana* variations.<sup>46</sup> Either way, reasonable doubt surrounding the authorship of these two remarkably similar sets of keyboard variations warrant forensic investigation into their provenance, chronology, and the extent to which they may have provided a well-executed compositional model for Bach lodging in Ohrdruf.

A change of authorship would provide us with musical compositions directly attributable to Johann Christoph (22). To date, as no other examples of his compositional activities are known to exist, steps to determine the authorship of the *Eberliniana* variations would seem to be both warranted and important. Given the structural and harmonic similarities between the *Eberliniana* variations and the *Aria Variata* set in a-minor, it seems reasonable to link these two works. Regardless, if these details continue to be tested and confirmed, they will supply scholars with compelling examples of keyboard writing which were certainly available within the Ohrdruf household in which Bach lodged.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

Melamed's assertions about *Eberliniana*, whilst wide-ranging, are summed up here:<sup>47</sup>

"The date March 1690 might provide a hint of the younger man's authorship. In June 1690, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> was installed as organist in Ohrdruf. He had spent most of the years between 1684 and 1690 in Erfurt, briefly as organist in the Thomaskirche, and for three or four years as a pupil of Johann Pachelbel, whose tutelage provides a plausible context for Johann Christoph's <sup>(22)</sup> composition of the variations. Variation technique plays an important role in Pachelbel's music, figuring in chaconnes and passacaglias, in variations on chorale melodies (like those in the *Musicalische Sterbens-Gedancken*, Erfurt, 1683), and in sets of variations on arias transmitted in manuscript and published in his *Hexachordum Apollinis* (Nuremberg, 1699)."<sup>48</sup>

Given that the *Eberliniana* variations and the similarly related *Aria Variata* appear to be in the hand of Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, there seems convincing evidence to credit authorship of the works to him. Not only does this provide us with a probable model which demonstrates the style of Pachelbel's organ-playing instruction to a pupil, but it also charts the lineage of his compositions for keyboard. It allows us to imagine the circumstances of the working relationship between Eberlin and Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, and translation of Pachelbel's own keyboard style to that of his pupil, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>.

Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, identified relatively recently as a copyist of the MM and the ABB, should be credited as a plausible candidate as composer of the two sets of aforementioned variations. It seems unlikely that, for an individual well-known as an

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

organist, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> should have made no attempt to commit his musical thoughts to manuscript at some stage in his working life. Increasingly, this area is likely to receive forensic investigation in the near future, through evolving document analysis techniques and with other types of paleographic testing. It remains a tantalizing prospect that when this detail finally becomes clear we will possess a considerably more complete picture of the individual so loftily described in his burial notice of 1721 as “Optimus Artifex”.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, ‘Johann Christoph Bach (1671-1721): “Organist und Schul Collega in Ohrdruf”’; Johann Sebastian Bach’s erster Lehrer’, (*BJ*, 1985), pp. 55-81.

## Johann Michael Bach (1648-1694) <sup>(14)</sup>



Plate 2.3: Memorial to Johann Michael Bach (1648-94) <sup>(14)</sup>, Gehren.

Johann Michael (1648-94) <sup>(14)</sup> possessed similar musical skills and attributes to his elder brother, Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>.<sup>50</sup> He gained a reputation for having an individualistic voice among the wider Bach-family, in particular for his handling of the chorale prelude for organ. Although considered by Bach as a valuable ancestral ‘artist’, similar in nature to Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, the way in which Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> conducted his personal affairs was notably distinct from those of his brother. Anecdotally, he appeared to his curious nephew, Bach, as a character of gentility, and considered less engaging than the persona which his brother Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> presented.<sup>51</sup> When he became Town Organist at Gehren in 1673, an official document refers to his manner as a being that of a “quiet, reserved and artistically

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<sup>50</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Bach, Johann Michael*, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008].

<sup>51</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

experienced subject".<sup>52</sup> Putting anecdotal recollections aside, the picture of Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> as a composer, and his recorded influence on the later Bach-family members, is significant. Wolff provides a concise précis of his contribution to the early Baroque organ repertory, ever mindful of the need to employ the Lutheran chorale in inventive and resourceful ways:

“They [the chorales] are mainly in the central German tradition of concise, contrapuntal and practical settings, showing a clear relationship to similar works by Johann Pachelbel. The central German organ chorale underwent a slight shift of emphasis in the work of Johann Michael Bach. His four-part figured chorales with the melody in the highest part, as well as others that combine forms more freely, show him to have been a decidedly independent composer, and he must have influenced the young [Bach] in particular.”<sup>53</sup>

Whilst Johann Michael's <sup>(14)</sup> comprehensive collection of seventy-two *verschiedene figuren und figurierte Choralvorspiele*,<sup>54</sup> referred to by Gerber in his *Lexikon*,<sup>55</sup> has not come down to us complete, it is likely that further discoveries surrounding his compositions will continue to be made in future.<sup>56</sup> What we already have in our possession is, however, sufficient to point to the considerable compositional merits and innovations which may be attributed to him. Of significance to this study are the chorale preludes for organ, some of which are followed with sets of variations,

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<sup>52</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Bach, Johann Michael*, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008].

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> transl. “Chorale Preludes, diverse, and with figured bass.”

<sup>55</sup> Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Neues Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Berlin, 1812-14).

<sup>56</sup> Christoph Wolff, ‘Ten years after the re-discovery of the Berlin Sing-Akademie archive: A summary report’, *Understanding Bach*, 3, Bach Network UK (2008).

referred to here as chorale partitas.<sup>57</sup>

Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> appears to have written a number of these, each with numerous variations set to the initial theme of the chorale subject, originally recorded simply as chorale preludes. The chorale variations on *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein* owe much to the stylistic influence of Samuel Scheidt, rather than the usual attribution to Pachelbel as the overriding influence in pieces by Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup>.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps a more balanced conclusion on the prevailing merits and weaknesses of Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> is presented in the following statement: “[Johann] Michael was a composer of great, but uneven talent. He was fully conversant with the art of his time, and used both German and Italian models with considerable success.”<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Wolff attributed 25 chorale preludes to Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> from the 82 compositions documented in the MS LM 4708, the so called “Neumeister Collection”, to which collection Bach himself is believed to have contributed at least 38 of his own chorale preludes.

<sup>58</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Bach, Johann Michael*, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy.  
<<http://www.grovemusic.com>> [Accessed: 24 April 2008].

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

Johann Bernhard Bach (1676-1749) <sup>(18)</sup>:  
The Early Chorale Partitas - Preservation and Bequest  
by Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748)

In terms of his significance, it is as an organist that Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> is particularly notable among the later members of the Bach family who were in musical service. The proximity of Johann Bernhard's <sup>(18)</sup> dates with those of Bach inclines us to believe that he may have provided some sort of professional musical example to the slightly younger composer. They were, after all, recorded as having had a "great friendship".<sup>65</sup> To what extent it is possible to test the veracity of this claim is hard to say, as the documentary evidence required is missing. We do know that both men had at certain stages been in contact with each other, Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> later becoming the godfather of one of Bach's sons, Johann Gottfried Bernhard (1715-1739) <sup>(47)</sup>. It would appear that Bach held his relative in high musical esteem, having had at least four of Johann Bernhard's <sup>(18)</sup> orchestral suites copied whilst in Leipzig,<sup>66</sup> and the Obituary recorded that: "he composed many beautiful overtures in the manner of Telemann".<sup>67</sup>

The significance of Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> in this study is threefold: Firstly, the artistic relationship between him and the ambitious Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) is important. Secondly, his tutelage of Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748), Bach's cousin, is highly significant in terms of his own friendship, familial proximity and professional parallel with Bach. Whilst the Leipzig instructions for the copying of Johann Bernhard's <sup>(18)</sup> orchestral suites is a useful pointer to his considered worth as a composer, it is his keyboard works which may have provided a more significant

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<sup>65</sup> Geiringer (1954), pp. 97-99.

<sup>66</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666, as discussed in Wolff (1997), p. 40.

<sup>67</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

functional model for the young Bach, particularly the chorale partita genre. Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> quickly became a very well-regarded organist. With a career never appearing to have been mired in controversy, he began at the Kaufmannskirche in Erfurt, then pulled away briefly to Magdeburg, a musical centre of greater importance. Finally he returned to Thuringia, this time to Eisenach, succeeding Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> as organist of the Michaeliskirche, upon his death in 1703. At this time, Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> became the Town Organist and Court Harpsichordist, both positions being of standing. At various stages he would have taken responsibility for the organ instruction of the younger Walther, and also worked under the direction of Telemann, his church music director. The harmonious musical collaboration taking place in this Eisenach church must have been noticed by the youthful Bach, about to embark on his own church music career at Arnstadt's Neuekirche. It would have been most unusual for Bach, a native of Eisenach, and steeped in the heritage of church and organ music, not to have returned to hear the rich liturgical alliance taking place in Eisenach. Confirmation of this is indicated in a reflection from 1709:

“On this [new] organ every Sunday, graceful music is performed in the honour of the Lord, often with kettledrums and trumpets. The Council has engaged for this purpose Herr J. Konrad Geisthirte as Cantor, Herr J. Bernhard Bach as organist and Herr J. Heinrich Halle [the successor of J. Ambrosius Bach] as musicus instrumentalis. All three are renowned and well experienced in their art. Recently the church music has been really perfected, as the newly appointed court musicians, who are all outstanding, have been commanded to the organ loft so as to be heard for the honour of God and the edification of the congregation. This whole body of musicians is under the direction of Herr Telemann, a man of profound knowledge and eminent invention.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Contemporary report: Cf. *Das im jahre 1708 lebende und schwebende Eisenach 1709*. Reported by Johann Limberg. Geiringer (1954), pp. 97-99.

Analysts of Bach's music observe that he was a voracious borrower of ideas.<sup>69</sup> To have had such a well-celebrated and important church musician from within his own family circle operating so profitably, and yet so close to Arnstadt, must have been alluring. Certainly, by this stage, Telemann's own reputation was already well-established, and the overall musical symbiosis taking place in Bach's hometown would, we might imagine, have been worth closer examination by Bach himself. Whilst not recorded directly, we can presume that from the degree of travel which Bach undertook during earlier formative years, on foot from both Lüneburg and Arnstadt, a return home-visit to Eisenach, however brief, certainly is not out of the question.

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<sup>69</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 42-43.

## Preserved Works by Johann Bernhard Bach <sup>(18)</sup> (1676-1749)

<p>➤ <b>4 Overtures:</b> orch, D-Bsb: g, ed. A. Fareanu (Leipzig, 1920); G; e; D, ed. K. Geiringer, <i>Music of the Bach Family</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); all ed. H. Bergmann and H. Max (Stuttgart, 1985–8)</p>
<p>➤ <b>Overture:</b> g, lost, listed in C.P.E. Bach's <i>Nachlassverzeichnis</i></p>
<p>➤ <b>Organ Works:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fugue, F, ed. H. Riemann (Leipzig, n.d.);</li> <li>• Fugue, D, ed. A. G. Ritter, <i>Zur Geschichte des Orgelspiels</i>, ii (Leipzig, 1967)</li> </ul> <p><b>Organ chorales:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ</i></li> <li>• <i>Vom Himmel hoch:</i> both ed. D. Hellmann, <i>Orgelwerke der Familie Bach</i> (Leipzig, 1967)</li> <li>• <i>Christ lag in Todesbanden</i></li> <li>• <i>Nun freut euch lieben Christen:</i> both ed. in EDM, 1st ser., ix (1937)</li> <li>• <i>Wir glauben all an einen Gott</i></li> <li>• <i>Jesu, Jesu, nichts als Jesus</i></li> </ul>
<p>➤ <b>Other Keyboard:</b></p> <p>Chaconne: B<sup>b</sup>, hpd; [three versions]</p>

Table 2.1: Preserved Works by Johann Bernhard Bach <sup>(18)</sup> (1676-1749).

Only a fraction of Johann Bernhard's <sup>(18)</sup> known compositions survive. Of these, it is his keyboard music which provides significant insight into the early Lutheran text-based partita model.<sup>70</sup> Throughout the early Lutheran period, it quickly became fashionable to elaborate on chorale texts symbolically through variations on an associated hymn melody.<sup>71</sup> The reciprocal relationship between text and the melody associated with it thus became established, and the foundations of the chorale partita as a well-received genre of keyboard music emerged. Johann Bernhard's <sup>(18)</sup> partita style was fortunately preserved in copies by his pupil Walther.<sup>72</sup>

Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> was particularly proficient in composing the *bicinia*, a two-part arrangement where, at least in earlier stages, a rapidly moving upper part provides a decoration to the chorale melody lying as a *cantus firmus* beneath. By the time Bach came to write his own early partitas BWV 766, 767, 768, 770 and 771, this type of movement appears to have established itself as the variation which immediately succeeds the opening statement of the initial chorale harmonisation.<sup>73</sup>

Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> may well have provided a key example for the young Bach, in his depiction and interpretation of the predominant moods of the texts. These are often reflected in the shape of the melodic line used in the two-part *bicinia*.

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<sup>70</sup> The term *partita* appears to have emerged firstly in Italy in the late sixteenth century, the Italian word *Parti*, roughly translating to mean, *in parts*. This appears to have morphed quickly into the term *Partite*. To what extent this was consciously derived from *parti* is unknown, but both seem to be equivalent in meaning to *mutanze* or *modi*, i.e. variations or elaborations on the basis of a traditional tune. David Fuller and Cliff Eisen, *Partita*, *Grove Music Online*; Oxford Music Online <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/20982>> [Accessed: 29 Sep., 2008].

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Graham Barber, 'Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748); A Tercentenary Tribute', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 125, No. 1702. Dec. (1984), pp. 721, 723, 725.

<sup>73</sup> The chronology for the apparent 'rules and methods' employed in structuring the chorale partita is explored in greater detail in Part 4 of this thesis. See pp. 172-174.

His confidence with this type of thematic structuring, as well as his understanding of its *Affekt*, became a valuable model for Walther at least, who recorded the example of this technique in his seminal work *Praecepta der Musicalisches Composition*.<sup>74</sup> Whilst Walther's treatise is not strictly an instructional manual for the composition of either religious works or pieces in a variation mould, it is clear that the example of the Lutheran partitas of the late seventeenth century, and early eighteenth century, must have hugely influenced his thinking.<sup>75</sup> Whilst there is very little documented criticism of Johann Bernhard's (18) style, most commentators seem clear that his influence and compositional style, certainly in his approach to the construction of the keyboard variation, make him a seminal influence for both Bach and Walther, most notably in that he "cultivated"<sup>76</sup> the chorale partita.

His abilities in handling the variation form are concluded to have been both innovative and inspired: "within the narrow limitations of this form the composer succeeds in exhibiting a series of highly engaging vistas [...] In particular, [Bach's] early Partitas show the influence of [Johann] Bernhard's style".<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Barber (1984), pp. 721, 723, 725.

<sup>75</sup> "... it is clear from the presentation that Walther is more concerned with the practical acquisition of good part-writing. This rational and de-mystifying standpoint marks a shift in emphasis from earlier didactic works of this nature. Towards the end of his survey of dissonance treatment Walther highlights some so-called 'new' linear configurations (superjectio, subsumptio, variatio, multiplicatio, ellipsis, retardatio, heterolepsis, abruptio, quasi transitus). This passage has been taken by modern theorists of rhetoric to support an application of musical symbolism to the performance of textless keyboard works. However, almost all the examples given are of vocal works where the external meaning is clear from the words. It seems that Walther is simply codifying some common-property musical ideas which otherwise 'broke the rules' but which nevertheless had been current since Merulo, Monteverdi, Frescobaldi and Schütz. What is important is that the systematization itself enabled these figures to become a source of inspiration for wordless thematic material and its extension." Barber (1984), pp. 721, 723, 725.

<sup>76</sup> Geiringer (1954), pp. 97-99.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

It is this last point which perhaps invites a closer analysis of these works by both men. For example, the lower part of the *bicinium* in BWV 768 bears a remarkable similarity to Johann Bernhard's <sup>(18)</sup> own model on the chorale *Jesu, Jesu, nichts als Jesus*.<sup>78</sup> Certainly, there are a number of coincidences and parallels which call for further reflection. Whilst explicit professional links between Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup> and Bach may ultimately remain slight, what we do have is sufficient to present a realistic example of a successful progenitor-keyboardist who was also an enlightened composer working virtually in parallel to the developing career of his illustrious cousin, Bach.

However, the most significant link between the compositions of the two must rest with Walther, that devoted copyist and lexicographer who, whilst composing a not insignificant number of chorale-based works, is more valued as having handed down to us such a large collection of Lutheran chorale literature which, without his due diligence, would in all probability now be lost.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Albeit, perhaps slightly more *altmodisch*, considering the advances in prevailing styles of his age, and perhaps also technically brittle in their overall *Affekt*; Barber (1984), pp. 721, 723, 725.

Johann Christoph Bach (1671-1721) <sup>(22)</sup>,  
the Influence of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706),  
and Bach's Ohrdruf Years (1695-1700)



Plate 2.4: Contemporary Plate of Ohrdruf; <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~tas3/ohdruf.gif>.

Bach's five-year sojourn in Ohrdruf presents a significant difficulty in Bach-scholarship, for whilst details relating to the young composer's musical development during this period remain scant, the major part of his formative development must have taken place during this time. Therefore, the challenge presented is to ascertain as far as possible, through evidence-based research, the actual circumstances which led to the development of the "self-aware"<sup>1</sup> Bach. During the period which Bach spent under the care of his brother Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, the young musician had at his disposal examples of compositional progress spanning some two centuries or more, principally, although not exclusively, drawn from the South German and Flemish circle of organist-composers.<sup>2</sup> Knowledge of this detail has advanced our understanding of the significance which early exposure to these

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<sup>1</sup> Christoph Wolff, 'Defining Genius: Early Reflections of J. S. Bach's Self-Image', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 145, No. 4, Dec. (2001), pp. 474-481.

<sup>2</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

materials had in forming or shaping Bach's thinking, leading to his amalgamation of seemingly endless creative ideas.

In 1695, Bach was forced to move from his home-town Eisenach upon the untimely deaths of his parents, Johann Ambrosius <sup>(11)</sup> and Maria Elisabeth. In the case of Bach and his brother Johann Jakob <sup>(23)</sup>, a decision was reached whereby they would lodge in Ohrdruf among the young family of their older brother, Johann Christoph (1671-1721) <sup>(22)</sup>. Johann Jakob <sup>(23)</sup> remained in the household for a period of 1 year, Bach for 5 years. It is only lately that a less obscure picture of Bach's early musical life, between the ages of nine and fourteen years of age, whilst living with Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, is beginning to take shape.

It appears that, during the Ohrdruf period, Bach gained access to varied manuscript sources held in his brother's care,<sup>3</sup> providing insight into the creative environment which enabled the young musician to examine and absorb numerous compositional techniques. We now have a more assured basis for understanding his early development and fluency in handling the established musical styles of his era. Particularly, it establishes the range of compositional techniques used in music written for organ and harpsichord prior to 1695. They were ultimately a sound foundation upon which Bach's first compositions for keyboard were established.

Bach's access to his brother's collection of manuscript autographs and copies is significant for at least two reasons. Firstly, this new perspective on the extent of Bach's access to his brother's manuscripts would appear to not fully substantiate the

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<sup>3</sup> Melamed (1999), pp. 345-365.

frequently-recounted assertions in the Obituary.<sup>4</sup> This describes, somewhat poetically, how Bach effectively stole music from “a ... cabinet, whose doors only consisted of grillwork, copying them diligently by moonlight”, only to have his labours confiscated upon discovery by his allegedly enraged brother.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, it would seem far more sensible to deduce that the environment in which Bach acquired his confidence and competence as a composer of mutual respect, appreciation and cooperation which existed between the brothers.<sup>6</sup> With this in mind, it seems appropriate to view the Obituary report as a slightly embellished tale, more hagiographic than factual in tone. The “moonlight” description, whether a remarkable construct of imagination, or statement of fact,<sup>7</sup> would have been recounted to eventual biographers for the purposes of encouraging the belief of a self-realised individual of outstanding abilities.<sup>8</sup>

Today, some scholars are advancing a hypothesis that Bach not only provided an unparalleled summation of all earlier musical styles available to him, but also was an extremely resourceful individual.<sup>9</sup> He appears to have been progressive in his approach to life, as well as his art. Central to this is the character of Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, and we must consider the substantial influence which he exerted over his younger brother. Johann Christoph’s <sup>(22)</sup> personal characteristics, and his stature and standing as a musician in his chosen, small Thuringian town of residence, call

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<sup>4</sup> Even though the Obituary was not published until 1754, Laurenz Mizler is known to have received a copy of it in Warsaw in March 1751, so it must have been written by then. *NBR* (1999), p. 297, note 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>6</sup> Melamed (1999), pp. 345-365.

<sup>7</sup> Neither statement, after all, can be proven or disproven.

<sup>8</sup> Wolff (2001), pp. 474-481.

<sup>9</sup> Richard D. P. Jones, ““His superior ideas are the consequences of those inferior ones’: Influence and Independence in Bach’s Early Creative Development” *Understanding Bach*, 3, Bach Network UK (2008), pp. 31-38.

for closer examination:<sup>10</sup>

“In combining traits of both the Catholic and Protestant schools of organists, he was able to exert a powerful influence toward assimilation of polyphonic and harmonic principles in the development of an art form characterized by simplicity and [clarity] of harmonization.”<sup>11</sup>

“The chorale partita represents a direct transfer of the keyboard variation suite to the organ chorale. Except that the chorale tune takes over the position held in the suite by a song, aria, or dance, all of the stylistic features of the secular category remain unchanged. Organ and harpsichord idioms were seldom conclusively separated in the 17th century, but the chorale partita shows an even more generous share of the latter idiom than is usually seen in organ music.”<sup>12</sup>



Plate 2.5: Ohrdruf-Kirchstrasse; [http://www.deutsche-schutzgebiete.de/webpages/Ohrdruf\\_Kirchstrasse+jpg](http://www.deutsche-schutzgebiete.de/webpages/Ohrdruf_Kirchstrasse+jpg).

<sup>10</sup> Schulze (1985), pp. 55-81.

<sup>11</sup> Ruth Melville, 'The Chorale Preludes of Johann Pachelbel', *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, No. 3, Apr. (1939), pp. 11-12. California: University of California Press on behalf of the American Musicological Society, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/829409>> [Accessed: 19 December 2008].

<sup>12</sup> Edwin Hanley, 'Chorale Variations. Johann Gottfried Walther: Meinen Jesum lass' ich nicht; Jesu meine Freude. Georg Böhm: Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig; Auf meinen lieben Gott; Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend by Finn Viderø ; Georg Böhm; Johann Gottfried Walther', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 2, Apr. (1954), pp. 289-294. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/739685>> [Accessed: 19 December 2008].

Establishing the background and character of Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> is challenging given that scant detail about him exists. Thus, his own words would seem a logical starting point. On December 29 1700, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, in line with many other members of his family who were also attentive to recording aspects of their cultural lives upon the instructions of the church superintendent, wrote an autobiographical note. Published in 1985 in the *Bach-Jahrbuch*, it is reproduced here in entirety from the entry in *The New Bach Reader*, to assist our insight into his beliefs and attitudes:

“I, the undersigned, was born honourably in Erfurt on June 16<sup>th</sup> of the year 1671. At the time my father, Joh. Ambrosius Bach, was town musician there, and my mother was Elizabetha, née Lemmerhirt; both of them now deceased. These, my dear parents, readily had holy baptism given to me. My godfather was Mr. Christoph Herthumb, kitchen manager for the Schwarzburg court, as well as court and town organist at Arnstadt. Since my late father was called to Eisenach by the Honored and Most Wise Town Council in the year stated above, I was schooled and educated there in the Christian belief. After I attended school until my 15<sup>th</sup> year, my father, seeing that I was more inclined toward music than toward the studies, sent me to Erfurt, to Mr. Johann Pachelbel, then organist at the Predigerkirche, in order to master the keyboard, and I remained under his guidance for three years. In the last year of my tutelage I was called to be organist at St. Thomas’s; but since I found both the remuneration and the structure of the organ - the latter being my principal concern – to be poor, I followed the wish of my cousin and went to Arnstadt. As the old organist there, he could no longer easily attend to his duties, because of age, and I took them over until God led me here in the year 1690. Having been admitted to the examination, I was accepted by the Count’s Consistory, and since I did not tend toward school instruction, this was ordered to be entrusted to Mr. Joh. Günther Schneider. I was assigned only to work at the organ. In the year 1696 there came a call to the vacant organist position from the Honored and Most Highly Esteemed Magistrate of Gotha, but since during my stay here I always

experienced good will, from both high and low, and having beseeched God's wisdom, I resolved to remain here and be content with the smaller pay and benefits. When in the year 1700 my colleague of the Sexta class was called to be a verger, I applied in turn for his post, since my predecessor had also held it along with his organist's duties, and it was assigned to me by the Count's Consistory. But after I had worked in the Sexta for a quarter of a year, Mr. Joh. Günther Schneider, the teacher of Quinta, departed in God, whereupon I was transferred by order of the Count's Consistory to the Quinta class. When confirmation from my gracious Superiors arrived, I was duly installed, for which, this having been my wish, I give thanks to God. By order of the Most Honored Superintendent I have put this down for the record.

Ohrdruf, December 29, 1700, Johann Christoph Bach".<sup>13</sup>

This autobiographical note is useful for a number of reasons:

1. As one might expect, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> makes clear his conviction in the Lutheran ideals instilled in him early on by his parents, through baptism and recording the status of his godfather, and receipt of Christian schooling.
2. From this, we may reasonably assume that his own household continued to be founded upon the same tenets and values, and thus Bach's upbringing in the Ohrdruf household would have been one of continuity from his early years.
3. Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> confirms that at the age of fifteen, on account of his lack of direction with scholarship, it was determined by his father that training

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<sup>13</sup> *Bach-Jahrbuch*. Leipzig and Berlin (1904- ) Ed. by Arnold Schering (1904-39), Max Schneider (1940-52), Alfred Dürr and Werner Neumann (1953-1974), Hans-Joachim Schulze and Christoph Wolff, (1975<sup>ff.</sup>). First discussed in: *BJ* 71 (1985), pp. 10-42. English translation provided in: *NBR* (1999), p. 35.

which might facilitate a position as a liturgical organist might be prudent, and he was subsequently sent to Pachelbel “...in order to master the keyboard”<sup>14</sup>. Here it is interesting to note that training as a musician, not least with study of the pipe-organ, was considered a less academic alternative to the pursuit of scholarship. Was this therefore what was considered to be a more practical and vocational direction?

4. His move to study with Pachelbel at the age of fifteen allows us to establish that he would have spent little time growing up, including the forging of relationships with his younger siblings in Eisenach, namely Johann Jakob <sup>(23)</sup>, Johann Nikolaus <sup>(27)</sup> and Bach.
5. Therefore, when Johann Jakob <sup>(23)</sup> and Bach moved to Ohrdruf in 1695 to lodge with their older brother, both would have had to establish the strength of their familial relationship afresh from this point. This would presumably have been quite challenging, particularly given that, at the same time, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> had only recently married, and now had a young child of his own to care for, raise and educate.
6. Mutual assistance and Christian values aside, Bach and Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> must have worked hard at establishing a good personal bond. Whilst Johann Jakob <sup>(23)</sup> remained in this household for only one year, Bach lodged for five, and during this time contributed financially to the strength of this youthful household.<sup>15</sup>
7. Johann Christoph’s <sup>(22)</sup> reasons for relinquishing the position at St. Thomas’s

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<sup>14</sup> *BJ* 71 (1985), pp. 10-42. transl. *NBR* (1999), p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> Geiringer (1954), pp. 119-127.

are interesting in that they directly parallel some of the more temperamental character traits exhibited by his younger brother in later years. Not only was the remuneration for the position considered too low (is this a practical statement of required means, or failure to recognise the status of a Bach?), but the technical deficiencies of the instrument were key to relinquishing the post. Here is evidence that Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> was similarly versed in the strengths of organ design, as he was able to discern sub-standard instruments, or what constituted an instrument in disrepair. Is this also a reflection that he, like his brother, considered his training and skills as an organist, and required instruments of high quality as vehicles for these skills?

8. The commentary on the eventual Ohrdruf appointment and terms of duty is also enlightening. Here Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, with a degree of humility and candour unusual in a Bach-family autobiographical account, states that in not tending toward school instruction,<sup>16</sup> he was restricted to organ-playing duty only.
9. Clear distinction is therefore made between instruction and instrumental teaching; one academic, the other vocational, as in Johann Christoph's <sup>(22)</sup> own upbringing. For if he felt himself unqualified to provide school instruction in his own household, most likely this reticence did not extend to instrumental instruction on keyboard instruments given to his younger brother, Bach.<sup>17</sup>

10. Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> probably considered it important to record in his

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<sup>16</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 35; Wolff (2000), p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

autobiographical note that he was offered, but declined, an important promotion to Gotha. Whilst he would have been aware of the need to record his strengths, ultimately he reports that, no less than upon “God’s advice”,<sup>18</sup> he remained in Ohrdruf with lower remuneration.<sup>19</sup>

11. Finally, he perhaps hints at a slight lack of faith in his own abilities, when he records his eventual appointment as “teacher”<sup>20</sup> and promotion from instruction of the “Sexta” to “Quinta”.<sup>21</sup> This seemingly inconsequential detail apparently held some significance for Johann Christoph (22), which may point to a lack of confidence in some of his abilities, perhaps founded early in youth, with study of the organ being prescribed as an alternative to academic pursuits.

That Bach contributed financially to his brother’s household is recorded: “During this time he contributed to the household expenses a not inconsiderable amount as a singer”.<sup>22</sup> This is a fascinating detail considering the amount of the remuneration being granted to a vocalist between the ages of nine and fourteen. It would require a substantial amount of vocal work to amass this “not inconsiderable amount”,<sup>23</sup> and achieving all of this whilst (at the age of fourteen), being an average of 3.7 years ahead of his classmates in the “First Class” of the Ohrdruf Lyceum.<sup>24</sup> This detail allows us to establish the degree of self-disciplined tenacity, personal stamina and mental agility and organisation, which Bach possessed throughout his adolescent years.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Günther Kraft, in: *Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen* (1950). See: Geiringer (1954), pp. 119-127.

<sup>23</sup> *NBR* (1999), pp. 34-36; Wolff (2000), p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

In contrast to his four other brothers also educated in Ohrdruf, it is worth noting that Bach made his transition to a higher-grade class aged eight, a much younger age than the others. He continued his progress, superseding the achievements and advancements of all of his other siblings in due course. This allows us to determine that his literacy – written and numeric – was sufficiently well formed to enable transition to advanced classes at his younger age.<sup>25</sup>

A considerable part of the Eisenach curriculum, from age 8, was the foundation of religious thought, philosophy and aesthetics. Also, in a rather forward-thinking way, the curriculum encouraged students to quantify the spiritual world as parallel and equal with science. Fundamentally, this progressive outlook encouraged the young to realise “the importance of contact with objects in the environment, with real things, which in many respects seems to embrace tenets of Spinozan values”.<sup>26</sup> It would not be too much to suggest that his musical creations throughout his life, both liturgical and secular, were founded body and soul on the acceptance and celebration of God’s unfaltering position as creator. Bach would, in all likelihood, have taken from these values a sense of the flawlessness of his environment, as typified in the natural world around him. If the influence of this message permeated Bach’s thinking from a young age, it is not difficult to envisage the extent to which this foreshadowed his abilities in his adolescent years; we may, therefore, now discern these parts of his life as having been fully realised both at Ohrdruf and Lüneburg, which included both accelerated academic and musical progression. Recognising the strength of these early fundamentals of thought and logic in a boy aged eight to ten years of

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 42-51.

age, makes it easier to understand his subsequent achievements in adolescent years.

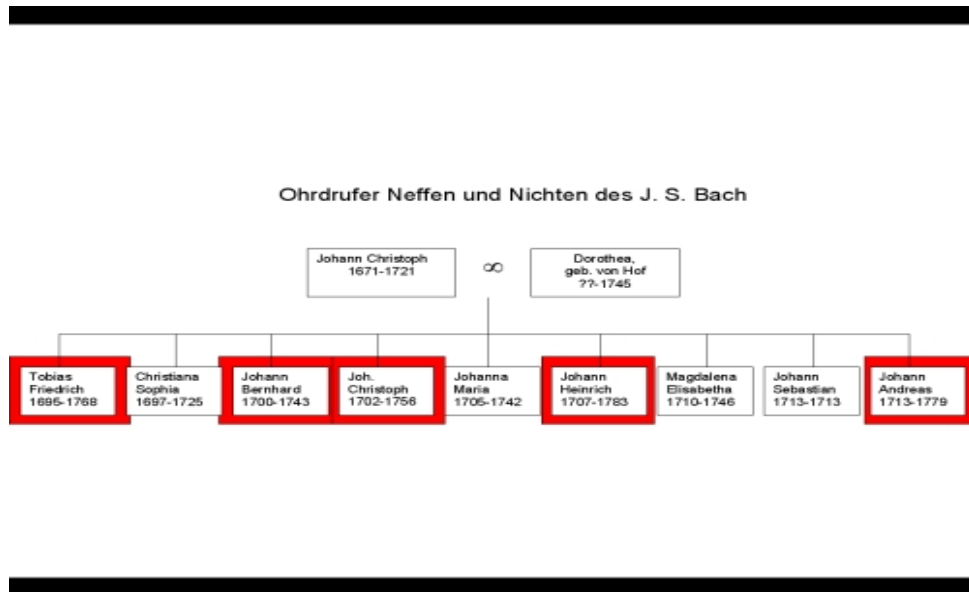


Table 2.2: Chart of Ohrdruf-based Nephews and Nieces of J.S. Bach;  
<http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/sixcms/media.php/25/Neffen.9360.jpg>.

During the course of the five year period Bach spent in the Ohrdruf household, his elder brother's family grew steadily. At the time, Bach and Johann Jakob <sup>(23)</sup> (albeit in his case, for 1 year only) were joined by three young nephews and nieces, Tobias Friedrich, Christiana Sophia, and latterly, Johann Bernhard <sup>(41)</sup>. That the household must have been a hive of bustling activity cannot be in doubt, but we are left to wonder where Bach sought solace and peace to collect his thoughts, conduct his studies, and develop his musical thinking.



Plate 2.6: St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf;  
source: [www.musicologie.org/Biographies/bach\\_js.html](http://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/bach_js.html).

On this point, Bach, through his elder brother's position as organist, had access to either or both of the two organs situated in St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf. By the time of Bach's arrival in the town, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> had been organist of this church for five years from 1690, having previously been appointed to the principal minster church in Arnstadt. By all accounts, the organist's post at St. Michael's, which incorporated positions at some satellite institutions, was both a reputable and busy one for its incumbent. At the disposal of the organist in the larger church were two instruments, both with pedal-boards. Remuneration for this role was not inconsiderable, particularly given the regional nature of the church, but, nonetheless, was less than might have been commanded at Gotha.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 40-51.

The Organs of  
St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf  
Specification of the:  
*Hauptorgel* – Main Organ

<i>Oberwerk</i>	<i>Rückpositiv</i>	<i>Pedal</i>
<i>Principal 8'</i>	<i>Principal 4'</i>	<i>Principal 16'</i>
<i>Quintadena 16'</i>	<i>Stillgedakt 8'</i>	<i>Subbass 16'</i>
<i>Grob. Gedakt 8'</i>	<i>Flöte 2'</i>	<i>Oktav 8'</i>
<i>Oktave 4'</i>	<i>Nassat 3'</i>	<i>Mixtur 3f. 4'</i>
<i>Quinta 3'</i>	<i>Sesquialtera 2f.</i>	<i>Fagott 16'</i>
<i>Klein Oktave 2'</i>	<i>Oktave 1'</i>	<i>Corneto 2'</i>
<i>Mixtur 4f. 2'</i>		
<i>Cymbel 2f. 1'</i>		
<i>Trompeta 8'</i>		

Table 2.3: The Main Organ of St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf.<sup>28</sup>

The principal instrument had been erected in 1675, and expanded to two manuals, *Oberwerk* and *Rückpositiv*, and with a substantial pedal division.<sup>29</sup> Between 1695 and 1700, precisely the period of Bach's Ohrdruf residence,<sup>30</sup> this instrument was considered compromised by a number of technical imperfections. Johann Christoph (22) himself is recorded as having reported that "almost nothing good could be played, particularly on the *Rückpositiv*".<sup>31</sup> The mention of the presence of a *Rückpositiv* on the St. Michael's instrument is hugely significant, regardless of its state of repair.

The 1984 discovery of the *Neumeister Chorales* has far-reaching implications for this study, in that, it contributes to our enhanced understanding of Bach's earliest

<sup>28</sup> Werner David, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Orgeln* (Berlin, 1951), p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that this was a fairly rare feature in organs of this locality at this time.

<sup>30</sup> *NBR* (1999), pp. 34-36.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

works in relation to the instruments which he had at his disposal in youth to age twenty, and during the period of his earliest compositional activities.<sup>32</sup>

The collection of organ chorales directly connects Bach to his earliest productivity in Ohrdruf, and as such provides us with a benchmark for some of his initial creativity.<sup>33</sup> As discussed earlier in Part 2 of this study, it provides factual evidence that Bach's initial formative musical influences were Pachelbel, Johann Christoph<sup>(13)</sup>, Johann Michael<sup>(14)</sup> and Johann Bernhard<sup>(18)</sup>, their pieces forming a significant part of this important collection. Bach's workings within are described by Williams as "... very early, earlier than almost anything else, teenage music. If this is not all the work of the young Bach, we had better find out who it is, for hats off, gentlemen [...] we have something startling here".<sup>34</sup> These details had all but been ignored prior to this discovery, and now the documentary evidence verifies the professional influences in the earliest part of Bach's musical life, prior to his associations with Böhm, Reinken, and his famed visit to hear Buxtehude. Within Bach's chorale writing contained in this collection are "flashes of that 'wildness' that, fifty years ago, Hermann Keller identified as a trait of the young Bach".<sup>35</sup>

It is now less problematic to consider in later sections how, for example, variations ten and eleven of BWV 768 are quite likely the product of a youth of outstanding ability, and not chronologically disparate as has been frequently assumed.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Russell Stinson, 'Some Thoughts on Bach's Neumeister Chorales', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 11, No. 4, Autumn (1993), pp. 455-477.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Williams, 'The Neumeister Collection of Chorale Preludes from the Bach Circle Organ Chorales from the Neumeister Collection by Johann Sebastian Bach', *Early Music*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Feb. (1987), pp. 93-96. Oxford: Oxford University Press Stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3137647>> [Accessed: 15 January 2009].

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Williams (1987), pp. 93-96.

<sup>36</sup> Jones (2008), pp. 31-38; Stinson (1993), pp. 455-477.

Of related significance are two works of particular interest due to specific markings upon their respective manuscripts: BWV 1096, *Christ, der du bist Tag und Licht* and BWV 742, *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*. In both, specific reference is made to the precise use of two distinct manuals - a *Rückpositiv*, and an *Oberwerk* - thus contrasting registrations on the instrument are explicitly implied.<sup>37</sup> Where might Bach have found such instruments for which to give such specific performance directions? It is known that there were few in the immediate locale of his youth. At Arnstadt, where it is presumed that many of his earliest works were conceived, we know that the organ of Bach's era certainly did not possess a *Rückpositiv*.<sup>38</sup> However, between 1695 and 1703, it is equally certain that Bach knew of, and must have accessed, no less than two equipped instruments, namely at St. Michael's Ohrdruf, and subsequently the large three-manual organ, including a *Rückpositiv*, at St. Michael's Lüneburg.<sup>39</sup> Considering the significance of these specific registration details present in the *Neumeister* collection, the same is observed in the chorale partitas BWV 766, 767, 770. The summation of all multi-manual requirements and early creativities is to be found in BWV 768, *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*.

In contrast to the much larger instrument at St. Michael's Ohrdruf, a smaller sixteenth-century instrument was also present in the church, and contained at least five manual-stops, including a short-octave sixteen-foot stop, and an unspecified number of pedal stops.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> MS LM 4708: *The Neumeister Collection of Chorale Preludes from the Bach Circle*, Facsimile with Introduction by Christoph Wolff (Yale, CT: Yale University Press, New Haven, 1986)

<sup>40</sup> David (1951), p. 79.

<sup>39</sup> Gustav Fock, *Arp Schnitger und seine Schule: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Orgelbaues im Nord- und Ost-seeküstengebiet* (Kassel, 1974). See also: Pape, Uwe 'Historische Orgeln und Prospekte in Bremen, Hamburg und der Lüneburger Heide', *Acta Organologica*, 4 (1969-70), pp. 119-145.

<sup>40</sup> David (1951), p. 79.

The Organs of St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf Specification of the Small Organ
<i>Pedal</i> Unknown disposition of stops
<i>Manual</i>
<i>Principal 8'</i>
<i>Grob. Gedakt 16'</i>
(* C-c", short-octave without C#, D#, F#, G#)
<i>Klein Gedakt 4'</i>
<i>Flöte 2'</i>
<i>Cymbel</i>

Table 2.4: The Small Organ of St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf <sup>41</sup>

Bach's engagement with the organ in Eisenach remains unclear. Whilst the organs at St. Nicholas's and St. Anne's were new in Bach's youth, the largest of the three, at St. George's, was by all accounts considered as having a poor reputation.<sup>42</sup> Beyond any one-to-one instruction having been received from his elderly uncle, Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, we have little indication if the youngster may have played, not during the service, at any of these three venues, during his time in Ohrdruf.

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 30

However, during Bach's time in Ohrdruf, a number of factors make the level of his commitment to all aspects of the pipe organ, and its design and technical specification, a certainty. We may consider that Bach was constrained to sit with Dorothea [wife of Johann Christoph (22)] and the young family, or regularly was bound to participate in a choral capacity at services on behalf of the Lyceum, it would seem reasonable to assume, given his interest, that, on occasion, he joined his older brother at the consoles of the St. Michael's Church organs. Whether he was permitted to play himself, or not, on such occasions, can be only conjecture, but he undoubtedly experienced the musical and liturgical performances, certainly at the larger St. Michael's, and presumably also at the hospital-chapel, *Siechhofskirche*, and at the Ehrenstein Castle Chapel.<sup>43</sup> A young student who had gained access during this period to compositional materials - now best considered in the form of resources contained in the ABB and MM - would have been determined to put his theoretical knowledge, acquired from the meticulous process of copying, into the exhilaration of practical delivery, at least out of his brother's earshot, for a time.<sup>44</sup>

Considering the manuscript materials Bach accessed at this time,<sup>45</sup> we know that he would have had at his disposal chorale or hymn-based elaborations for organ by a significant number of Protestant and Catholic musicians from throughout Europe. This remarkable collection of material from north, south and central Germany, as well as Italy and France, was a unique amalgamation of materials for a nine-to-

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

<sup>45</sup> Namely, the lost, "moonlight" manuscript; also a contemporary verbatim tablature-based notebook in the hand of a Pachelbel-pupil, Johann Valentin Eckelt; the ABB and MM; the most recently discovered *Weimar Organ Tablature*. Wollny (2008), pp. 67-74.

fourteen-year-old to gain regular access to,<sup>46</sup> and would have been utilised for self-instruction at the organ, including materials by Johann Pachelbel, Johann Jacob Froberger, Johann Caspar Kerll, Johann Krieger, Guillaume Gabriel Nivers, Christian Friedrich Witt, Georg Böhm, Dietrich Buxtehude, Johann Adam Reinken, Johann Kuhnau, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer, Nicolas-Antoine Lebègue, Jean-Baptiste Lully, Marin Marais, Tomaso Albinoni, Agostino Stefani.

It has been observed that these materials "... provide resounding testimony that by 1705, at about age twenty, his works already reflect an unusual degree of experience and sophistication, raising the question about what preceded them".<sup>47</sup> An ordered process of learning must have taken place in Bach's mid-adolescent years in Ohrdruf enabling him to develop his advanced compositional skills. As such, a number of factors would have complemented his work ethic, and self-disciplined industry:

- i. Bach could not have produced his early keyboard-based compositions without having first examined and analysed the forms and structures available to him in the numerous manuscript collections stated above – all "Exempla Classica".<sup>48</sup>
- ii. These would have been written out both in the older tablature style, as well as the longer-form of contemporary notational styles which

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<sup>46</sup> "Now we all know that one of the hallmarks of juvenilia is a young composer's dependence on external models. He or she tends to rely heavily on the works of predecessors and contemporaries in the process of forging his or her own compositional style and technique. However, once that mature style has been formed, development thereafter tends to be more self-referential and correspondingly less dependent on outside influence." Jones (2008), pp. 173-178.

<sup>47</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 42-43; Melville (1939), pp. 11-12. California: University of California Press on behalf of the American Musicological Society, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/829409>> [Accessed: 19 December 2008].

<sup>48</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 300.

superseded tablature, albeit with soprano clef in place of treble at this stage.<sup>49</sup>

- iii. That Bach wrote comfortably in both notational styles is seen on a number of scores, as with this example from the *Orgelbüchlein*:



Ex. 2.16: Chorale: *Wir Christenleut* (BWV 612) from *Orgelbuchlein*. Bach's employs early keyboard tablature at the base in order to utilise the available space on the manuscript; [www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/larips/errata.html](http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/larips/errata.html).<sup>50</sup>

It is likely that a well-motivated student would take opportunities to perform all that he had discerned in these collections. Bach's rapid development as an organist

<sup>49</sup> Jones (2008), pp. 173-178.

<sup>50</sup> Additional discussion of Bach's keyboard tablature is in: R.L. Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works*, volume 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972). See especially pp. 6-7 for a table of his symbols, plus the sketch transcriptions from BWV 2, 26, 27, 30a, 39, 51, 57, 65, 72, 81, 82, 88, 91, 110, 116, 133, 134, 135, 138, 144, 151, 169, 170, 174, 180, 198, 201, 205, 206, 243a, and 1053. In all of these instances, Bach sketched ideas in keyboard tablature, before preparing his final versions in score; not merely the more familiar examples for organ/keyboard music (*Orgelbuchlein*, et al.). He was still using tablature for himself, at least as late as 1730 in the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro for lute or keyboard, BWV 998 (from 1735 or later), the last part of the Allegro is written that way. Source: [www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/larips/errata.html](http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/larips/errata.html) [Accessed: 1 October 2008].

could not have been achieved without regular exploration at the organ of the diverse array of compositional materials available to him prior to committing his own music to manuscript. Without recourse to this process, Bach could not have consolidated his performance skills and acquired mastery of the techniques required by these varied early styles of keyboard writing. By doing so, Bach was laying the early foundations for his later renown as a master-performer on the pipe organ. Given his early good fortune in Ohrdruf in accessing the collected manuscripts available to him, and also having the opportunity to practise and perform pieces contained in them, Bach became a well-skilled musician in adolescence. Whilst overt acknowledgement of this is not provided in the Obituary, it is most likely that Bach took the opportunity to acquire knowledge and receive instruction from others during his Ohrdruf-years, with evidence that he studied Pachelbel's style as transmuted through the knowledge of his older brother.<sup>51</sup>

Bach recognised the development of his abilities in youth, but recorded that it was not unique to him alone: "...asked how he contrived to master the art to such a high degree, he generally answered: 'I was obliged to be industrious; whoever is equally industrious will succeed equally well'. He seemed not to lay any stress on his greater natural talents".<sup>52</sup> The Obituary reaffirms this in the much-chronicled tale of his earliest years, but also makes clear distinction between the two processes required to attain the German aesthetic soubriquet of "Geist" or "Genie".<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 173-178. See also: Schulze (1985), pp. 55-81.

<sup>52</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 459.

<sup>53</sup> Wolff (2001), pp. 474-481.

“The love of our little Johann Sebastian for music was uncommonly great even at this tender age.”

“In a short time he had fully mastered all the pieces his brother had voluntarily given him to learn.”

“... the zeal to improve himself.”

“But did not this very passion to improve himself in music and the very industry applied to the aforesaid book perhaps by coincidence provide the first basis for the cause of his own death?”<sup>54</sup>

In summation: “Talent [...] must be coupled with hard work and study, in the same way as *ingenium* must be complemented by *studium*.”<sup>55</sup> Bach was determined throughout his life to ensure that, as he saw it, his God-gifted “passion” was indivisible from his “industry”. Above all, however, it was the nature of the Ohrdruf environment which ultimately became Bach’s proving ground. Many factors in this vital part of his musical upbringing converged, which made the acquisition of his skills possible: “The musical experiences that shaped [Bach] through his formative years are almost unparalleled in their quality, variety and extent”.<sup>56</sup> What should not be forgotten is the premeditated degree to which Bach attempted to obscure the detail surrounding his time spent in Ohrdruf from historical posterity, all for the purposes of ensuring contemporary perceptions of self-realised genius. The completion of Bach’s musical apprenticeship in Ohrdruf had taken five years, concluding on March 15 1700, just short of his fifteenth birthday, and ultimately,

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<sup>54</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 459.

<sup>55</sup> Wolff (2001), pp. 474-481.

<sup>56</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 42-51.

owing to financial constraints. Regardless, he had discovered his autonomy in the world. At this time, Bach began the not inconsiderable journey on foot to Lüneburg, where his musical abilities continued to be forged.



Plate 2.7: Die Stadtkirche (St. Michael) von Ohrdruf lag nicht weit vom Schloss der Hohenlohe;  
<http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/sixcms/media.php/25/Ohrdruf2.9364.jpg>.

## Part Three

### 1700-1707: Lüneburg, Hamburg, Arnstadt and Lübeck; the Early Maturation of Bach's Keyboard Technique

“As early as the last century, in fact from the middle of the same, a few famous men – some of whom themselves visited Italy or France and profited thereby, while some took the works and the taste of distinguished foreigners as models – began to strive for an improvement of musical taste. The organists and clavier players - among the latter especially Froberger and after him Pachelbel, and among the former, Reinken, Buxtehude, Bruhns, and some others – were almost the first to contrive the most tasteful compositions of their period for their instruments. But particularly the art of organ playing, which had to a great extent been learned from the Netherlanders, was already at this time in a high state of advancement, thanks to the above mentioned, and some other able men. Finally, the admirable Johann Sebastian Bach brought it to its greatest perfection in recent times. We can only hope that now, after his death, owing to the small number of those who still devote sufficient industry to it, it will not again fall into decline or even decay.”

On Bach’s eminence in the development of organ playing.

Johann Joachim Quantz (1752)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 358.

## Overview

Here, I will:

1. Assess Bach's motivation to travel to Lüneburg and his subsequent enrolment at the Michaelisschule. The formal and informal nature of his schooling whilst there is assessed, as well as the personal connections which he forged.
2. Examine the organs and choral and instrumental resources available to Bach in Lüneburg, and describe the impact they may have had on his early keyboard idioms.
3. Explore Bach's working relationship with Georg Böhm, and draw conclusions about the extent of a teacher-student connection.
4. Assess the discovery by Peter Wollny and Michael Maul of the *Weimar Organ Tablature*. In particular, the suggestion that the manuscripts may be examples of Bach's earliest writing is deliberated upon, and conclusions are drawn about the extent of Bach's access to Georg Böhm's personal library, as well as his personal supply of watermarked manuscript paper.
5. Analyse the history and development of the organ of the Johanniskirche-Lüneburg. This is related to the development of Böhm's organ partitas, allowing a fresh standpoint to be reached regarding Bach's own youthful writing of the major chorale partita sets.

## Lüneburg

Bach's three years spent in Lüneburg, and his activities whilst there, between May 1700 and January 1703, were among his most formative. Ironically, generations of writers have established this as undisputable, yet have failed to reinforce their hypotheses with any significant analysis of the final stages of his formal education between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Bach's relocation to Lüneburg, far removed from the relative security of Thuringia, in itself seems quite a perplexing move. It raises the first of a whole succession of questions which must encircle Bach's thirty-two months spent here. Firstly, why leave at all? Given the dynastic conservatism of the wider Bach-family, which by and large tended to remain within the province of Thuringia, Bach's decision to make his journey on foot demonstrates a break from traditional norms. It has been established that the reasons surrounding Bach's relocation were principally financial constraints placed upon his elder brother and caregiver, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>.<sup>2</sup> But it remains unclear why Bach chose to eschew the security of his home territory, where, through his extended connections, he would surely have been entitled to some sort of post or apprenticeship should he have desired it. We may conclude that by making the not "inconsiderable journey"<sup>3</sup> to Lüneburg, Bach was taking a decisive step towards independence. He was in essence taking the pathway towards self-establishment. In so doing, the chance to relocate to Lüneburg, which opportunity became known to him through Elias Herda, the Ohrdruf cantor, was duly taken.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the decision which Bach made to enrol as a chorister in the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg allowed musical and

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<sup>2</sup> The Lüneburg School records also recall Bach "ob defectum hospitiorum Luneburgum conceßit". ["... left for Lüneburg in the absence of free board."] Wollny (2008), pp. 67-74.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 62-63.

academic paths to progress simultaneously. Given the young Bach's academic attainment, it would have been unusual if he had not taken this step whereby he could complete his formal scholastic activities in an institution of good repute.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, the addition of the specific musical role offered by this important institution allowed him to maintain the practical, vocational side of his musical abilities, which by this stage, were probably well-honed. Additionally, there was a further opportunity which Lüneburg provided to this young man, the close proximity of the town to important regional cultural centres such as Hamburg. To a young mind already immersed in the art and mastery of the pipe-organ, as well as the behind-the-scenes aspects of its mechanics and construction, this major metropolitan centre would have provided him with potential access to leading figures in both organ performance and design: "The fabulous large instruments in Hamburg and other north German Hanseatic cities were unmatched anywhere and would have been a major draw for any ambitious young organist."<sup>6</sup> Taking into account the combined significance of these three factors, it is relatively easy to see why Bach, just short of his fifteenth birthday, made the decision to reach beyond the potential restrictions and confines of his home territory, as noted in the Obituary.<sup>7</sup>

Between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, not only was he surrounded by the day-to-day industry of the Michaelisschule and its domestic concerns, he also managed visits to other musical areas of the town, either as part of a performance group, or through his own desire to continue his self-directed learning. Such institutions visited may have included the Lüneburg churches of St. John, St. Nicholas, St. Mary and St. Lamberti. He also ventured considerably farther afield, and we presume he did this

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<sup>5</sup> Blume & Newcomb (1968), pp. 1-30.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> *Dok III* (1972), No. 666.

on foot, at various stages visiting Hamburg, Lübeck, Sangerhausen, Weimar, Celle and also Arnstadt. Considering the regular musical activity in Lüneburg into which Bach wholeheartedly threw himself, we should not be surprised that he consciously determined that it was here that he would finally consolidate his knowledge, firmly establishing himself as a professional in his field. All of these steps were vital preparation for his subsequent life of musical industry, as it was, “soli deo Gloria”.<sup>8</sup>



Plate 3.1: Interior (Eastward), St. Michael's Church, Lüneburg – Hauptorgel and Rückpositiv on extreme left; Painting by Joachim Burmester (c. 1700); Museum für das Fürstentum Lüneburg.

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<sup>8</sup> Spitta, in his monumental study of Bach's life, specifically commissioned through Professor Junghans a search of Bach-related records in the archives of the St. Michael's convent, which sheds much light on aspects of his work whilst there, principally through class records and payment receipts. See: Spitta (1951), London: Novello & Co.

## Individual Connections and the Nature of his Schooling

Between March 15 1700 and the spring of 1702, Bach's attendance at the Lüneburg Michaelisschule marked the conclusion of his formal education, and as increasing detail of his time there continues to emerge, our knowledge becomes clearer. It is recorded that the school was well-disposed towards young experienced singers of Thuringian heritage, as it was generally perceived that they had received effective fundamental musical training in this principality. This would appear to relate to a close connection between the Lüneburg School and Elias Herda, himself a graduate of the school who subsequently went on to a position as an Ohrdruf-based cantor.<sup>9</sup> In Bach's case, as with his older travelling companion, Georg Erdmann, his own musical aptitude prior to his arrival in Lüneburg must have been assumed, and indeed the extent of its foundations has been established in earlier chapters.<sup>10</sup>

Through preserved records at the Michaelisschule, we can establish that Bach took up his scholar's position in the *Prima* class, following a rigorous grounding which included religious instruction, Latin, Greek, rhetoric and logic. Tutorials covered geography, history, Greek literature, New Testament, genealogy, heraldry, German poetry, mathematics and physics. Largely this was at the hands of the school's rector, Johannes Büsche, who employed a commanding array of scholarly texts. He was assisted in his teaching by the seemingly equally-learned con-rector of the school, Eberhard Joachim Einfeld, and the College Cantor, August Braun.<sup>11</sup> It would seem that North German organists of the early eighteenth century had a propensity

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<sup>9</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 53-54.

<sup>10</sup> Erdmann was at least three years senior in age to Bach at the point at which both set out on foot from Ohrdruf to Lüneburg, and we must therefore accept that he assumed the role of guardian, or at least attended to the younger boy's well-being and safe passage during the considerable journey of some two-hundred miles.

<sup>11</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 57.

to perform bourrées and other French songs, and we might therefore wonder whether instruction in the French language formed any part of the College curriculum.<sup>12</sup> It would appear not, although Bach acquired, at the very least, an elementary working knowledge of the language.<sup>13</sup> Although it was not taught to the Mettenchor<sup>14</sup> scholars in Lüneburg, knowledge of the language was, however, acquired by an altogether different means.

Whilst the Michaelisschule educated commoners from the city, as well as the fifteen boarding choral scholars drawn mainly from outlying regions, there also existed a parallel academy, the Ritter-Academie, established in 1656, specifically to educate young noblemen.<sup>15</sup> For the fifteen to twenty young aristocratic members of this institution, the curriculum was slightly different to that of the Michaelisschule. Though some academic parallels existed, the principal function of the Academie was to “shape the civil, military, and social obligations of the aristocracy.”<sup>16</sup> Therefore, whilst academic rigour is evident by instruction in theology, classical languages, ethics, politics and history, music, to name but a few, the likely future roles in international affairs of many of its alumni were reflected in other types of instruction. These were concerned mostly with field arts such as equestrian sports, fencing and even tutoring in courtly dancing techniques, as well as study of the ‘living language’ French, where many of the former accomplishments were highly likely to be exercised. Whereas students of the Michaelisschule were unlikely to consort with the socially distinct members of the Ritter-Academie, this did not apply to the boarders of the Michaelisschule, namely the fifteen or so choral scholars of the Mettenchor. For a

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. pp. 57-58.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> The school’s Matins Choir, in which Bach served as a chorister.

<sup>15</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 57.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

number of reasons, principally because of the close proximity of dormitories, as well as combined choral services, where choristers of the Mettenchor sang alongside their opposite numbers from the Ritter-Academie, contact would have been frequent. Quite what the noble members of the Ritter-Academie gained from this social intercourse with the regional boys of the Mettenchor is unclear. For Bach, however, there would have been frequent exposure to differing social sensibilities, but perhaps more importantly, introduction to the regular use of the French language.<sup>17</sup>

The musical figure with whom Bach had virtually daily contact at the Michaelisschule, was the Cantor, August Braun. He was responsible for the instruction of the choristers, and took responsibility for the delivery of the liturgical choral music at services, which included the offices of Matins and Vespers.

The Michaelisschule was especially noted for its unusually large choral library, equalled only by the similar collection held at the Thomaskirche-Leipzig; its collection in excess of one thousand items included numerous settings of both vernacular and Latin texts.<sup>18</sup> If Bach had been able to browse this collection, presumably at the behest of Cantor Braun, he is unlikely to have gained much from the experience, as many of these works were spread across part-books rather than fully realised scores. However, as a chorister, Bach would have participated regularly in performances of material drawn from this imposing compilation, and so would have

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<sup>17</sup> The 1721 dedication of the six Brandenburg Concertos to the Margrave of Brandenburg is accompanied by a fairly extensive citation in French, and written in Bach's hand. His use of the language in this and on the title dedicatory page is both precise and well written. Given the matter of protocol at stake, he may have sought some formal assistance with the grammar employed. *NBR* (1999), p. 92.

<sup>18</sup> Max Seiffert, 'Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Luneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 9. Jahrg., H. 4., Jul. - Sep. (1908), pp. 593-621. Franz Steiner Verlag. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/929526>> [Accessed: 19 April 2009].

been able to discern useful aspects of the material.<sup>19</sup> During his three years at the school, ostensibly employed as a chorister, it is noted in the Obituary that Bach's voice changed:<sup>20</sup>

“In Lüneburg, our Bach, because of his uncommonly fine soprano voice, was well received. Sometime thereafter, as he was singing in the choir, and without his knowledge or will, there was once heard, with the soprano tones that he had to execute, the lower octave of the same. He kept this quite new species of voice for eight days, during which he could neither speak nor sing except in octaves. Thereupon he lost his soprano tones and with them his fine voice.”<sup>21</sup>

This matter-of-fact account of male adolescence provides a useful indication as to Bach's effectiveness as a musician at the Michaelisschule. The Obituary does not record precisely when Bach's voice changed register but, despite the loss of his “uncommonly fine soprano voice”,<sup>22</sup> he did, however, continue as a vocalist in the Mettenchor, now as a bass.<sup>23</sup>

Bach the instrumentalist, discussed earlier in relation to the progress which he would have made in his Ohrdruf period (1695-1700), would have been more than proficient by the time of his arrival at the Michaelisschule. Particularly as an organist, his advancement at Lüneburg would have been part of a natural progression,

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> The school records from May 1-29, 1700 list the specific remuneration paid to members of the Matins Choir, which includes Bach. *NBR* (1999), p. 37.

<sup>21</sup> *NBR* (1999), pp. 299-300.

<sup>22</sup> This subjective statement from the Obituary should be treated cautiously as more of a reflective hagiographic statement. Its factual veracity cannot be tested here. See: *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>23</sup> The reasons for the transmutation of his voice were perhaps most likely because of natural physiological change as might occur in most boys, although further studies may attempt to unearth the method of his vocal training. It is tempting to speculate if Braun's techniques of vocal training caused this sudden and unrelated breakdown.

consolidating all that he had so far achieved.<sup>24</sup> The Obituary records the point at which Bach considered he had attained sufficient skills in this regard. It notes that upon his arrival at Arnstadt (1703), some three years after beginning his schooling in Lüneburg, “Here he really showed the fruits of his application to the art of organ playing and to composition, which he had learned chiefly by the observation of the works of the most famous and proficient composers of his day by the fruits of his own reflection upon them.”<sup>25</sup> I believe this statement to be the final part of a three-stage process whereby Bach effectively signed off his mastery of all aspects of the organ, its design, construction, operation and above all, composition and performance. The first stage is recorded in the following statement from the Ohrdruf period (1695-1700), again noted in the Obituary:

“Johann Sebastian was not yet ten years old when he found himself bereft of his parents by death. He betook himself to Ohrdruf, where his eldest brother, Johann Christoph, was Organist, and under this brother’s guidance he laid the foundations for his playing of the clavier. The love of our little Johann Sebastian for music was uncommonly great even at this tender age. In a short time he had fully mastered all the pieces his brother had voluntarily given him to learn. But his brother possessed a book of clavier pieces by the most famous masters of the day – Froberger, Kerll, Pachelbel – and this, despite all his pleading and for who knows what reason, was denied him.”<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Gustav Fock, *Der junge Bach in Lüneburg, 1700-1702* (Hamburg, 1950).

<sup>25</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666; *NBR* (1999), p. 300.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

From this statement, the following points are considered:<sup>27</sup>

1. The foundation of Bach's keyboard abilities continued just prior to ten years of age, having been moved to Ohrdruf, and into the care of another relative-organist. It had already been established that Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, in some manner, began this process with the young Bach.
2. It is noted that he quickly gained mastery of pieces he had been given to learn; were they therefore somehow inferior to works which he was subsequently discover in the Ohrdruf household?<sup>28</sup>
3. As for the works of the "most famous masters of the day",<sup>29</sup> through "innocent deceit",<sup>30</sup> he mastered these also, completing the foundation stages of his personal training by the year 1700.

The second and most decisive phase when Bach acquired mastery of all aspects of the pipe-organ occurred at Lüneburg, as well as his travels beyond this centre during this period, a process taking just three years from the time of his arrival in the year 1700, to the time of his departure in 1703. This period requires closer scrutiny.

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<sup>27</sup> Given the extent that the obituarists amended aspects of the notice, particularly surrounding statements proposing Bach as a self-taught keyboardist i.e. "His Teacher Böhm" crossed-out and replaced with "The Lüneburg Organist Georg Böhm". Clearly pre-meditated care was taken over such statements for whatever reason. *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>28</sup> Namely the Neumeister-Collection, the MM and the ABB.

<sup>29</sup> Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667); Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1693); Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706). Forkel in his notable Bach biography further extends this list of "masters": "The most celebrated composers for the clavier in those days were Froberger, Fischer, John Casp. Kerl (sic), Pachelbel, Buxtehude, Bruhns, Böhm, etc."; See: Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bach's Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802. facs. ed., Frankfurt, 1950; English trans. London, 1820).

<sup>30</sup> All of which were clearly named, but which, the Obituary leads us to believe that they had been "withheld" from him in Ohrdruf. *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

## Available Instrumental Resources at the Michaelisschule-Lüneburg

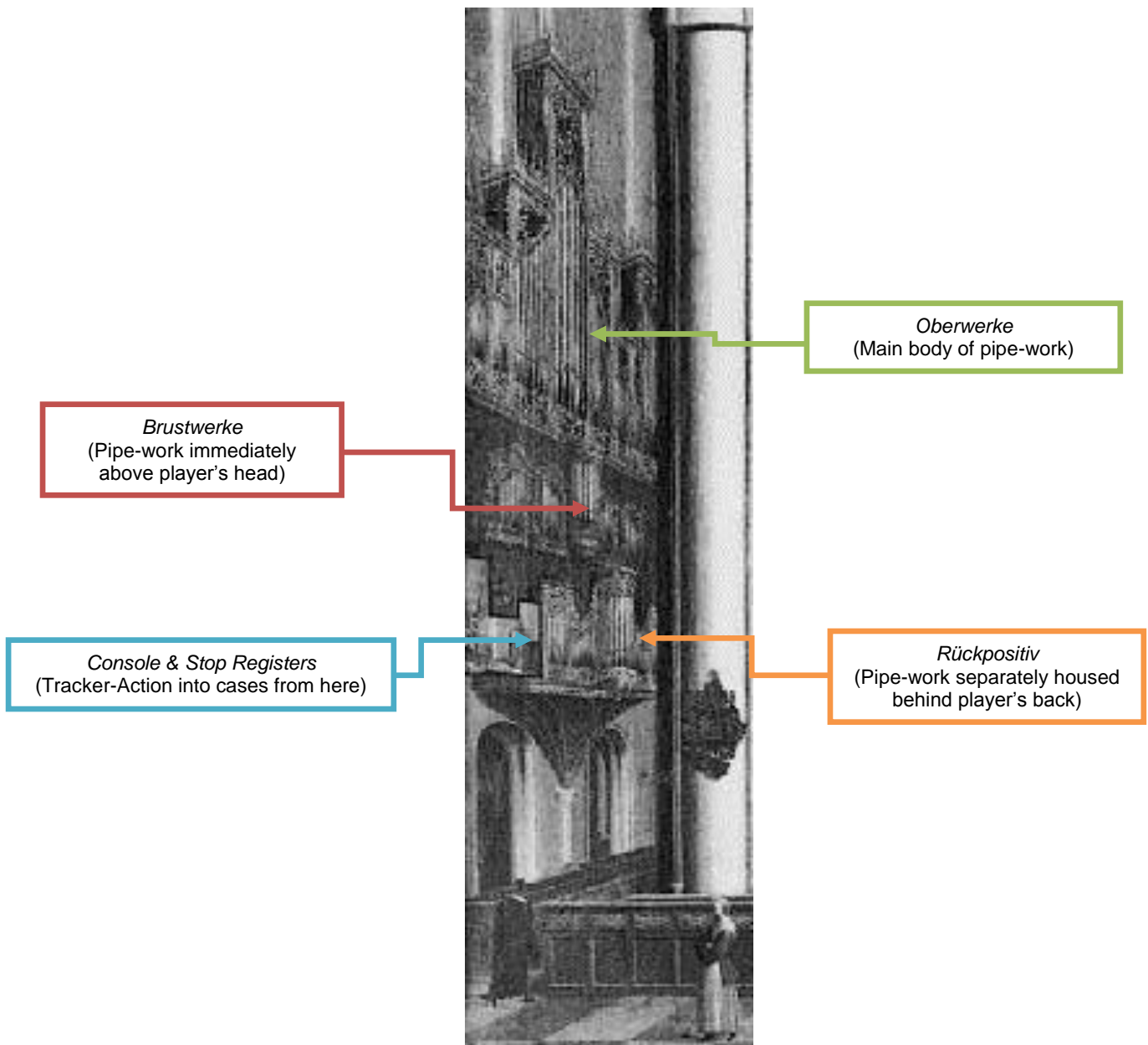


Plate 3.2: Interior (Eastward), St. Michael's, Lüneburg – close detail of the Hauptorgel and Rückpositiv;  
Painting by Joachim Burmester (c. 1700); Museum für das Fürstentum Lüneburg.

At the Michaelisschule and Michaeliskirche, Bach had access to numerous musical instruments, and as part of his music scholar duties was called upon to play them. All of these experiences should be put in the context of a statement by Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818), who observed that: “Bach’s inclination to play on the clavier and organ was as ardent at this time as in his more early years and impelled him to try to do, to see, and to hear everything which, according to the ideas he then entertained, could contribute to his improvement.”<sup>31</sup> After the loss of his “uncommonly fine soprano voice”,<sup>32</sup> Forkel notes that Bach “did not immediately acquire another good voice in its stead”.<sup>33</sup> Not only did he most assist as a string player in the larger vocal-instrumental works,<sup>34</sup> his keyboard skills would equally have been brought to the fore. This was for the purpose of accompanying the vocal ensembles, assisting in aspects of service playing, or deputising at services for the principal organist of the Michaeliskirche, Friedrich Christoph Morhardt.<sup>35</sup> There is comparatively little detail available on the actual instruments owned or possessed by the Michaelisschule and the Michaeliskirche. Only three principal sources provide any significant insight into these, summarised here as follows:<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bach’s Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802. facs. ed., Frankfurt, 1950; English trans. London, 1820).

<sup>32</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 299.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Fock (1950), pp. 61-99.

<sup>35</sup> Wolff seems certain that, given Bach’s already proven acumen demonstrated by his “exceptional talents as an instrumentalist, especially as an organist ...; these were doubtless employed in many performances.” Wolff (2000), p. 58.

<sup>36</sup> Gustav Fock, *Arp Schnitger und seine Schule: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Orgelbaues im Nord- und Ost-seeküstengebiet* (Kassel, 1974). See also: Martin Petzoldt, *Bachstätten aufsuchen* (Leipzig, 1992), pp. 1-87. Wolff (2000), p. 58.

1. At least one harpsichord.<sup>37</sup>
2. A regal (reed organ).
3. A *positiv* organ (four registers, 1662; enlarged by one stop in 1701).<sup>38</sup>
4. A *Hauptorgel* of three-manuals (*Oberwerke, Rückpositiv, Brustwerke*) and pedals, of thirty-two speaking stops,<sup>39</sup> rebuilt and extended between 1705 and 1708 to forty-five speaking registers.<sup>40</sup>

Despite the evident disrepair of the main instrument in the Michaeliskirche, we may reasonably infer the extent to which it would have served to stimulate Bach:<sup>41</sup>

1. He would have regularly heard Friedrich Christoph Morhardt, the principal organist, performing at services in the church. From this, Bach would have formulated his own opinion of Morhardt's abilities, and his use of the available disposition of this instrument. We can gain a contemporary perspective on Morhardt's capabilities from a statement made upon the death of his father, Peter Morhardt (d. 1685), who had served as the Michaeliskirche organist from 1662-1685. Friedrich, his eldest son, succeeded him, but accompanied by the observation that it was: "... until

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<sup>37</sup> Sources do not indicate if this was a pedal-equipped version, although Wolff has determined that this was highly likely, required for practice purposes away from the organ, given that a bellows operator would need to be engaged at considerable expense to the musician practicing if it was conducted at the organ. See: Wolff (2000), p. 58.

<sup>38</sup> Fock (1950), pp. 80-82.

<sup>39</sup> By 1700, the instrument was considered in a poor state of disrepair. The organ builder Matthias Dropa (b.? 1646-1650, d. 1732) recorded c. 1704-1705, that only twenty-five speaking stops were, at this time, playable. A new instrument was commissioned in 1705-1708, built by Dropa. See: Fock, (1974), pp. 1-81.

<sup>40</sup> Pape, Uwe 'Historische Orgeln und Prospekte in Bremen, Hamburg und der Lüneburger Heide', *Acta Organologica*, 4 (1969-70), pp. 119-145.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

another able organist can again be appointed.”<sup>42</sup>

2. The poor state of the instrument meant that there was frequent need to for repair.<sup>43</sup> The Obituary notes that Bach: “... not only understood the art of playing the organ, of combining the various stops of that instrument in the most skilful manner, and of displaying each stop according to its character in the greatest perfection, but he also knew the construction of organs from one end to the other.”<sup>44</sup> Here at Lüneburg there would have been plentiful opportunity for this curious and technically-minded individual to explore the internal mechanics of such a large instrument with a view to developing this aspect of his art, or even the need for the organist to make temporary repairs from time to time.
3. At this time, the Michaeliskirche *Hauptorgel* would have been one of the largest instruments of its type (regionally) which Bach would have thus far experienced, and he would have utilised it for both practice as well as deputised playing.<sup>45</sup> If we take Dropa’s observation that twenty-five of its thirty-five speaking stops were available, then this remains a significant proportion of the overall registers spread over the three keyboard and pedal divisions.
4. Furthermore, the presence of a *Rückpositiv* at this time remained a fairly rare

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<sup>42</sup> Petzoldt (1992), pp. 1-87.

<sup>43</sup> The Michaelisschule had possessed only two instruments between 1474 and 1705.

<sup>44</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 306.

<sup>45</sup> For the purposes of bellows operation for practice, how likely is it that Bach would have been able to employ the forces of his fellow students in this regard, and that this may have operated on a quid-pro-quo basis? If this was not the case, then it is not at all unreasonable to assume that failing the above, the official bellows operator(s) would have been employed for their fee. This would certainly be a reasonable use of the stipend provided to the scholarship recipient for the fulfilment of their role in the Mettenchor.

feature in organs, and its implications when considered against multiple-keyboard-use performance indications on manuscripts of chorale variations by Reinken, Böhm and Bach is significant, and is discussed later in this section.

At the Michaelisschule, significant opportunities existed for Bach to develop many facets of his overall musicianship and technical competencies with instruments, such as the pipe-organ. The young man did not, however, restrict his curiosities to the precincts of the school alone, and his interaction with musical figures at other establishments in the town, as well as farther afield, also requires close examination.

# The Main Organ of the Michaeliskirche-Lüneburg

Builder and Date Unknown

RÜCKPOSITIV	OBERWERK / PEDALWERK	BRUSTWERK
Principal 8'	* / + Principal 16'	Principal 2'
Quintadena 8'	# Hollflete 16'	* Waldflete 2'
Röhrflete 8'	# Octav 8'	Sexquialtera 2 fach
Gedact 8'	Octav 4'	Scharff 3-4 fach
Ocatve 4'	Gemshorn 2'	Regal 8'
Nasat (2 <sup>2/3</sup> ) 3'	* Nachthorn 2'	
Gemsshorn 2'	Rauschpfeif 2 fach	* May have sounded at 4' pitch
Ciflet (1 <sup>1/3</sup> ) 1 <sup>1/2</sup> ,	* Mixtur 4 fach	
Mixtur 4-5 fach	* Tromet 8'	
Regal 8'	* Cornet 4'	
Schallmei 4'		
	+ This stop was indicated for use with <i>Pedaliter</i>	
	* Stops indicated form pedal section also. It is uncertain if this was a separate or shared group of stops	
	# Stops are in Bass register only	

Table 3.1: The Main Organ of the Michaeliskirche-Lüneburg.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Fredric Harmon, *The Registration of J.S. Bach's Organ Works: A Study of German Organ-Building and Registration Practices of the Late Baroque Era* (Princo, Culemborg, Netherlands, 1981), pp. 1-372.

## ***“His Teacher Böhm; The Lüneburg Organist Georg Böhm”: A Fresh Standpoint on the Bach-Böhm Creative Relationship and the Organ of the Johanniskirche Lüneburg***

“Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, replying in 1775 to a questionnaire submitted to him by Johann Nicolaus Forkel, the first Bach biographer, adds supplementary information by stating that his father became “a pure and strong fugue writer in his youth . . . through his own study and reflection alone.”<sup>47</sup> Whether this actually reflects Sebastian Bach's own view is hard to tell, but it is obvious that in regard to the development of fugal technique there were no viable models Bach could have turned to. More likely the son's interpretation rather than the father's account seems to have played a role in answering a specific question put to Emanuel Bach by Forkel about influential masters in Sebastian's early years. Here he lists “the Lüneburg organist [Georg] Böhm,” but originally he had written “his teacher Böhm.” The words “his teacher” are crossed out<sup>48</sup>, apparently for the simple reason that, in line with the new aesthetic concept of genius now in vogue in German philosophy, the Bach son wanted to stress the autodidactic nature of his father's upbringing. As Carl Philipp Emanuel knew well, a genius is not supposed to have teachers; a genius teaches himself.”<sup>49</sup>

In previous sections, it has been established that Bach had already crafted well-honed skills in organ playing, principally acquired through a methodical, structured, self-prescribed and self-disciplined approach. Bach's rapid growth as a musician would not, however, have remained unnoticed in the small provincial town of Lüneburg, and it is here that his well-developed talents as an organist would have been usefully employed by the various town organists:

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<sup>47</sup> *NBR* (1999), pp. 398-399.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* p. 395; Source: *Bach-Urkunden* (ed. Max Schneider, Leipzig, 1917).

<sup>49</sup> Wolff (2001), pp. 474-481.

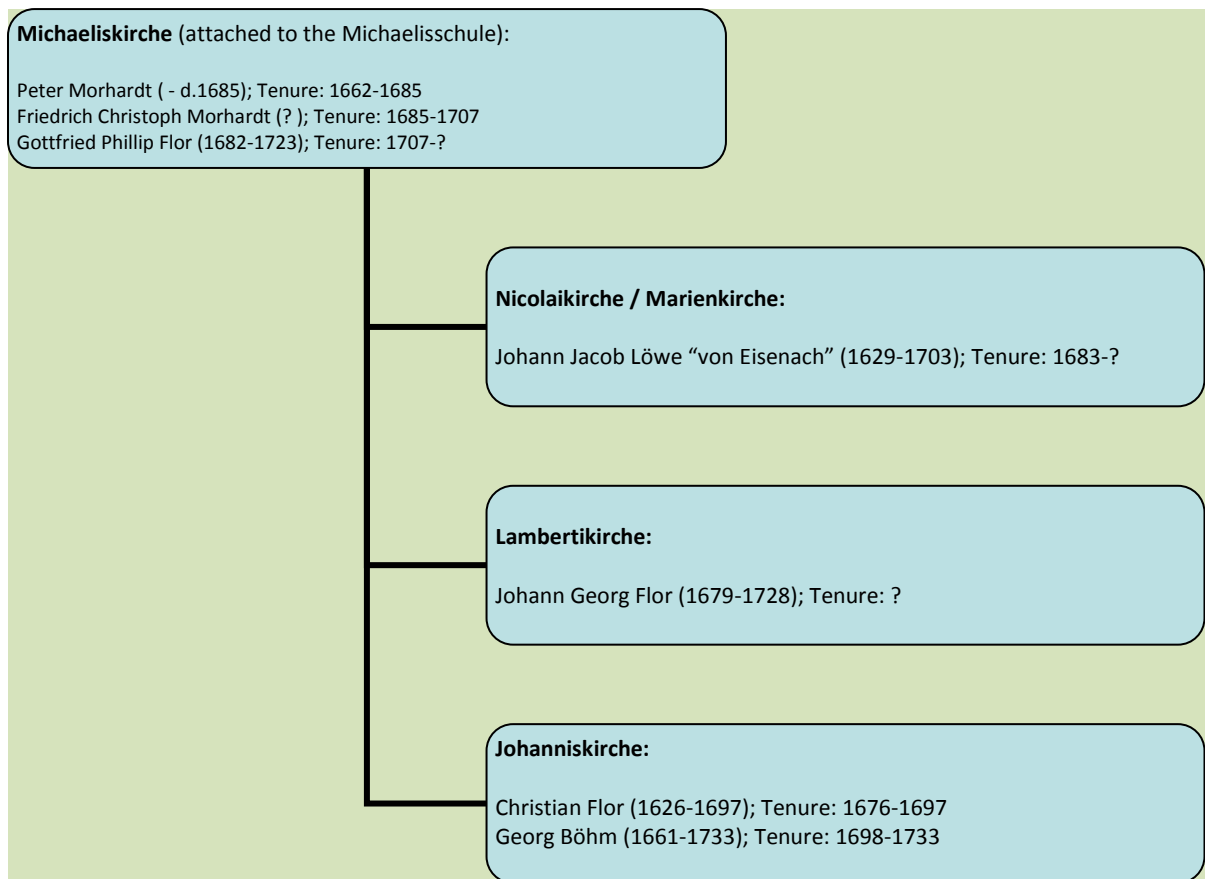


Table 3.2: Lüneburg Town Organists during Bach’s Michaelisschule Period; 1700-c.1702.<sup>50</sup>

The most significant collegial relationship which Bach formed in Lüneburg was with the organist of the Johanniskirche, Georg Böhm (1661-1733). In 1700, at the time of Bach’s arrival in Lüneburg, Böhm was thirty-nine years of age, and he may well have been approaching the maturity of his playing abilities. The organists of the other town churches, whilst considered distinguished, were all elderly.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 53-60.

<sup>51</sup> Löwe, organist of the Nicolaikirche, whilst described as, “distinguished but elderly”, died in post in 1703. The same may be observed of the Lambertikirche’s organist, Johann Georg Flor, and Friedrich Christoph Morhardt, who remained in post at the Michaeliskirche until 1707, was described as a “nonentity”. See: Wolff, Christoph, et al. ‘Bach’, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*: <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/40023pg10>> [Accessed: 10 May 2009]. See also: Petzoldt (1992), p. 95.

Although Böhm is not named in the Obituary as having a direct influence on Bach,<sup>52</sup> as we have contrary evidence can be found in a letter to Forkel from Carl Philipp Emanuel <sup>(46)</sup>, in January 1775:

“Besides Froberger, Kerl, and Pachhelbel (sic), he heard and studied the works of Frescobaldi, the Baden Capellmeister Fischer, [Nicolaus Adam] Strunck, some old and good Frenchmen, Buxtehude, Reincken, Bruhns, and [~~crossed-out: his teacher Böhm~~] the Lüneburg organist Böhm.”<sup>53</sup>

Many commentators have discussed Carl Philipp Emanuel’s <sup>(46)</sup> crossing-out of the word “teacher” in reference to Georg Böhm, but most agree that the deletion should be seen as more than merely a slip of the pen: “[CPE <sup>(46)</sup>] can hardly have conjured the word out of thin air, and it might perhaps hint that Böhm occupied some kind of informal supervisory role. In any case, it is clear from Bach’s early music how much he must have learnt from Böhm, as well as from other North-German composers he encountered around the same time, in particular Reinken, Buxtehude, and Bruhns.”<sup>54</sup>

On the notion of a Böhm’s informal supervisory role, research over the past two years has identified this as a highly probable, for a number of reasons. Bach and Böhm already had something in common prior to Bach’s arrival in Lüneburg. As Walther pointed out in 1732, both men were Thuringian by birth. Furthermore, Böhm is connected to Johann Christoph Graff whom, it has been suggested, he instructed in composition subsequent to Graff’s organ instruction, which is believed to have

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<sup>52</sup> Böhm is not referred to by name at all in the Obituary. His name is omitted from the list of organ composers considered to have influenced Bach in earlier years [“... Bruhns, Reinken, Buxtehude, and several good French organists as models.”]. *NBR* (1999), p. 300.

<sup>53</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 803.

<sup>54</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

taken place with Pachelbel at precisely the same time as he was instructing Johann Christoph (22).<sup>55</sup>

Whilst no clear formal link between Böhm and the Michaelisschule has been identified, this does not rule out one existing. Spitta, through his investigation of the Michaelisschule archives, noted that “Böhm seems to have been on friendly relations with the choir of [the Michaelisschule], since we learn that, at the beginning of the year 1705, the prefect of that choir went to him with certain members of the [Johanniskirche] choir, and had with [Böhm] much reasoning concerning music.”<sup>56</sup> It may well have been Bach himself who facilitated these good relations between Böhm and the musicians of the Michaelisschule, as personal contact between the two had been made as early as 1703, when Bach served as prefect of the Mettenchor at this time. Given the nature of his close family contacts and his usual curiosity, it is conceivable that Bach deliberately sought out Böhm, if not initially to form a personal bond, then on account of a desire to witness his organ playing.

Georg Böhm was an educated man, having been schooled at the Goldbach-Lateinschule (1675), the Gymnasium in Götha (1678), and the Jena Universität (1684),<sup>57</sup> and he possessed a fairly extensive library including musical manuscripts of which we now know Bach availed himself during this time:<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Schulze (1985), pp. 55-81.

<sup>56</sup> A document of February 13, 1705, revealed through the archival search by Junghans. See: Spitta (1951), pp. 194-195.

<sup>57</sup> Jean-Claude Zehnder, ‘Georg Böhm und Johann Sebastian Bach: Zur Chronologie der Bachschen Stilentwicklung’, *Bach-Jahrbuch, Neue Bachgesellschaft*. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin (1988), pp. 79-82.

<sup>58</sup> Wollny (2008), pp. 67-74.

“Social and personal ties are tenuous. For example, Bach’s eldest brother and guardian in Ohrdruf from 1695 to 1700, Johann Christoph Bach, was the brother-in-law of another townsman, Johann Bernhard Vonhoff, who had attended the Gymnasium at Gotha with Böhm. However, as Walter Emery has pointed out, the fact that Bach named Böhm as the northern agent for the sale of his keyboard Partitas nos. two and three implies that they had established a friendship, more likely in Lüneburg than later.”<sup>59</sup>

In fact, a direct link between Bach and Böhm has been solidly established as occurring in the first year of his tenure in Lüneburg, through an autograph entry which Bach made on his manuscript of the Reinken partita *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*. Discovered at the Anna Amalia Library in Weimar in May 2005, by Dr Michael Maul and Dr Peter Wollny, the hitherto unknown Reinken manuscript was within four fascicles containing five organ compositions, notated in early keyboard-tablature scoring. They are cited there as follows.<sup>60</sup>

**Fascicle I: Johann Adam Reincken, ‘An Wasserflüssen Babylon’**

‘J. N. J. | An Waßer Flüßen | Babylon. | Auff 2 Clavier. | et pedal. | Joh. Adam Reincke’. colophon, p. 8: ‘Il Fine | â Dom. Georg: Böhme | descriptum ao. 1700 | Lunaburgi:’; four folios

**Fascicle II: Dietrich Buxtehude, ‘Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein’**

‘Nun freüt eüch | lieben | Christen gmein. | auff 2 Clavier | Diet. Buxtehude’. (fragment). one folio (heavily damaged in bottom margin, fragment of a formerly larger manuscript presumably consisting of at least four folios).

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<sup>59</sup> Hugh J. McLean, *Böhm, Georg*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*: <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/03412>> [Accessed: 29 April 2009].

<sup>60</sup> Wollny (2008), p.68.

**Fascicle III: Johann Pachelbel, ‘An Wasserflüssen Babylon’**

‘An Waßer Flüssen Babylon | Signor: Johann Pachelbel | organist in Noribergæ’; two folios.

**Fascicle IV: Johann Pachelbel, ‘Kyrie Gott Vater and Fuga’**

‘Kyrie Gott | Vater in Ewig- | keit | J. Pachelbel’; ‘Fuga | Joh. Pachelbel’; two folios.

Table 3.3: Summary of Shelf number Fol. 49/11, Fascicles I-IV, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar.<sup>61</sup>

An inscription on the Reinken manuscript, determined to be in the hand of Bach, provides the most compelling evidence of this early link with Böhm. Bach records the following:

“... à Dom.[us] Georg: Böhme descriptum ao. 1700 Lunaburgi.”

“... written [out] by Master Georg Böhm in [the year] 1700 [at] Lüneburg”.<sup>62</sup>

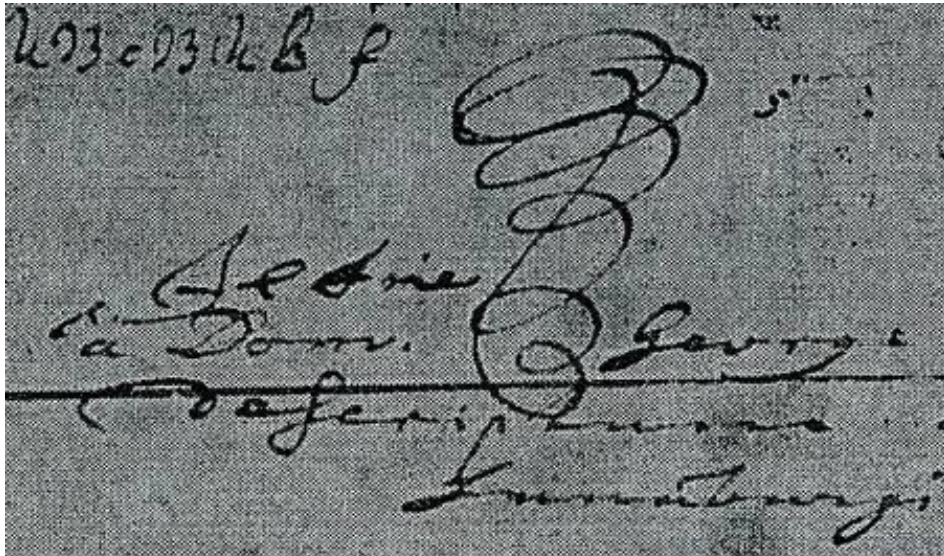


Plate 3.3: Fol. 49/11, Fascicle I, Weimar Organ Tablature, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

Wollny and Maul determined that this note implies autobiographical substance of a teacher-pupil relationship having existed between Bach and Böhm. Wollny suggests that the above statement might reasonably be interpreted as: written from a copy belonging to Georg Böhm, which at the least, serves to imply that the young Bach was in direct contact with Böhm in Lüneburg, and in all likelihood borrowed works from his musical collection.<sup>64</sup>

Wollny clarifies the position by demonstrating that the watermark found on the Reinken manuscript matches those on paper brought by Böhm from Hamburg, for the purpose of payment-received receipts, at least between 1698 and 1700. This is a highly significant discovery furthering our understanding of the relationship which existed between Bach and Böhm in Lüneburg, and its implications are defined by Wollny in the following statement:

“When Böhm moved from Hamburg to Lüneburg in 1698, he evidently brought with him a large supply of paper which he used up no later than 1702. In all likelihood, Johann Sebastian Bach availed himself of this same stock of paper when he prepared his Reinken MS. In other words, the interpretation of the concluding annotation, that Bach only occasionally contacted Böhm to borrow works from his library and to copy them out at St. Michael’s School, is not borne out in the paper analysis. Rather, we may be fairly certain not only that he had access to Böhm’s musical library, but that Böhm supplied him with paper. It thus seems logical to suppose that the copying work, which must have taken several days, took place at Böhm’s home and not at St. Michael’s.”<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

The deletion in the Obituary of the line, “His teacher Böhm”, to read “the Lüneburg organist Böhm”,<sup>66</sup> was seemingly a deliberate manipulation to perpetuate the image of Bach as self-taught. Given the probable existence of a master-pupil relationship, it is necessary to explore the instrument which Bach would have experienced at the Johanniskirche, and the provenance and chronology of the keyboard repertoire which we now understand was available to him during this Lüneburg period between 1700 to c. 1702.

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<sup>66</sup> Most likely crossed through and re-annotated by Carl Philipp Emanuel (46). *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

## The Main Organ of the Johanniskirche Lüneburg

“... the organs Bach played on regularly throughout his life were mediocre or judged by him to be somehow inferior to his ideal. As a boy in Ohrdruf, he practiced on a small instrument of only four manual stops and a Sub-Bass. But even in his formative years Bach had first-hand knowledge of fine instruments. While in Lüneburg he would have heard organist Georg Böhm (1661-1733) at the *Johanniskirche* and perhaps Vincent Lübeck in Hamburg, a short distance from Lüneburg, as well as the famous J. A. Reincken (1623-1722), organist of the *Catharinenkirche* in Hamburg from 1663.” Bach would later describe this last instrument as "excellent in every way, [...] the 32' Principal was the best he had ever heard, and he never tired of praising the 16' reeds.”<sup>67</sup>

This commentary on the organs which Bach experienced in his formative years is bleak. If indeed all the instruments which the young Bach played between his first year at the organ through to his early twenties were dismal, it is remarkable that he attained such prowess during this time.

McIntyre's 1998 analysis of Bach's earliest years as an organist is slightly superficial, making limited assumptions about the organs on which Bach may or may not have learnt, and dismissing most early instruments on the grounds of technical deficiency.<sup>68</sup> The present study demonstrates that whilst some of the organs which Bach experienced during his youth are recorded as having specific mechanical deficiencies, it would be inappropriate to generalise that: this was uniformly the case with each instrument, and that: Bach was restricted to so few organs between the ages of ten and twenty.

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<sup>67</sup> Dean B. McIntyre, *Baroque and Classical Style in Selected Organ Works of the Bachschule* (Texas: PhD Thesis, Texas Tech University, December, 1998), pp. 20-43.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

With regard to Lüneburg, whilst we are not able to ascertain with any degree of certainty the functional state and condition of the instruments at the Nicolaikirche, Marienkirche and Lambertikirche, which he either heard or played at some stage, we can determine the extent of the various deficiencies of the organs of the Michaelisschule and Johanniskirche.<sup>69</sup>

The pipe-organ found at the Johanniskirche is particularly fascinating. This historic instrument, which between 1952 and 1953 was carefully restored to its former Baroque status after its 1715 enlargement by Dropa, to this day retains an important link to Bach and his formative years as an organist.<sup>70</sup> Originally built in the sixteenth century, it is likely that Bach would have experienced this instrument both before and after its 1715 modifications [See: Tables 3.4/3.5].<sup>71</sup>

During his initial years in Lüneburg, Bach's experiences of the Johanniskirche organ must have been somewhat disappointing. With a stop disposition numbering twenty-four registers across three manuals, and a small pedal division, the organ, like that of the Michaelisschule, also included a *Rückpositiv* division.

We know that Bach experienced a number of pipe-organs during his time spent in Ohrdruf, at least one of which, at the Michaeliskirche, possessed a *Rückpositiv* division. In Lüneburg too, it was serendipitous that he should have experienced two such-equipped instruments, given their relative rarity at this time. The implications

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<sup>69</sup> See: pp. 92-94 of this study.

<sup>70</sup> John Brombaugh, *Organ Restoration Requires Documentation* (Cincinnati, OH: University of Cincinnati Magazine, Published by University Relations, June 2007).

<sup>71</sup> Even after Bach left Lüneburg, it is clear that he maintained good relations with Böhm for many years, eventually utilizing him as an agent for the second and third keyboard partitas. That this necessitated further visits to Lüneburg may be presumed up to the time of Böhm's death in 1733. See: Wolff, Christoph, et al. 'Bach', *Grove Music Online*; *Oxford Music Online*: <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/40023pg10>> [Accessed: 10 May 2009].

which this has for Bach's earliest compositions may not be immediately apparent. However, his early experiences of organs possessing these collections of pipe-work immediately behind the players back, often utilised to present clearly the *cantus firmi* or inter-manual passages is significant. It strongly suggests that his compositions containing specific instructions to utilise a *Rückpositiv* were written prior to his Arnstadt period, which commenced in August 1703.<sup>72</sup> Regardless of the physical state of the instruments at both the Michaeliskirche and the Johanniskirche, the details of which cannot be precisely determined, both organs would have provided Bach with the opportunity to explore the late seventeenth century repertoire still favoured by North German organists. This included coloratura chorales, and successive variations. It may be concluded that:

1. Böhm and Reinken's keyboard music, in the coloratura chorale style favoured at this time, served as the model for Bach's inspiration in Lüneburg. For example, Böhm's *Partite diverse Sopra l'Aria: Jesu du bist allzu schöne*, contained in the MM.<sup>73</sup>
2. The Lüneburg instruments, with which Bach had the closest affinity, possessed the specific and appropriate resources for him to make sense of the music available to him, and the opportunity to learn from their example.
3. It was also a period, since Ohrdruf, when Bach had at his disposal organs equipped with *Rückpositiv* divisions especially suitable for realising the

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<sup>72</sup> Wolff (1997), pp. 45-52.

<sup>73</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

specific effects demanded in some of the early manuscripts.<sup>74</sup>

4. In his Arnstadt period (1703-1707), the time when it has hitherto been believed Bach produced his earliest organ compositions, the organ of the Neuekirche was not so equipped.<sup>75</sup>
5. As a result of the availability of appropriate organ resources, such as *Rückpositiv*, Bach's compositions drawn from the late seventeenth century, were created during the time of his Lüneburg tenure. The conclusion which can be reached is that the development of Bach's chorale partitas (BWV 766, 767, 768, 770, 771) took place during this period, and therefore prior to his arrival at Arnstadt, where his compositional mind moved to other creative pastures.

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<sup>74</sup> Chiefly, but not exclusively, these include the Weimarer-Tablaturbuch, the MM and the ABB, the Neumeister Collection.

<sup>75</sup> The next occasion when Bach was in a position where the pipe-organ at his disposal possessed such a division, albeit very briefly, was at the Blasiuskirche in Mühlhausen (1707-1708). *NBR* (1999), p. 52.

## Hauptorgel, Lüneburg, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Johannis

Neubau (III/26) Hendrik Niehoff and Jasper Johansen, Herzogenbusch, 1551-1553

Rebuilt, Dirick Hoyer, Hamburg, 1577

Rebuilt Matthias Dropa, Lüneburg, 1715 (Pedal-Tower additions)

Restored Rudolf v. Beckerath, Hamburg, 1952-53

\*Registers known to have been available during Bach's Lüneburg Period

HAUPTWERK (II)			RÜCKPOSITIV (I)			OBERWERK (III)			PEDALWERK		
Prinzipal	16'	1634	Prinzipal	8'	1953	Prinzipal	8'	1634	Prinzipal	16'	1577
Quintadena	16'	1715	Gedackt	8'	1953	Rohrflöte	8'	1551	Untersatz	16'	1577
Oktave	8'	1850	Quintadena	8'	1634	Oktav	4'	1715	Oktave	8'	1715
Gedackt	8'	1715	Oktave	4'	1634	Blockflöte	4'	1953	Gedackt	8'	1577
Oktave	4'	1715	Rohrflöte	4'	1634	Nasat	2 <sup>2/3'</sup>	1551	Oktave	4'	1715
Nachthorn	4'	1953	Waldflöte	2'	1634	Gemshorn	2'	1551	Nachthorn	2'	1953
Quinte	2 <sup>2/3'</sup>	1715	Sesquialtera 2 fach	2 <sup>2/3'</sup>	1715	Oktav	1'	1953	Bauernflöte	1'	1953
Oktav	2'	1715	Sifflöte	1 <sup>1/3'</sup>	1953	Tertian 2 fach	1 <sup>3/5'</sup>	1953	Rauschpfeife	2 <sup>2/3'</sup>	1953
Bauernflöte	2'	1953	Scharff 5-7 fach	1'	1953	Mixtur 4-6 fach	2'	1953	Mixtur 6-8 fach	2'	1953
Mixtur 6-8 fach	1 <sup>1/3'</sup>	1953	Dulzian	16'	1953	Zimbel 3 fach	1/6'	1953	Posaune	32'	1715
Scharff 4-6 fach	2 <sup>2/3'</sup>	1953	Bärpfeife	8'	1953	Trompete	8'	1953	Posaune	16'	1715
Trompete	16'	1715?	Tremulant			Dulzian	8'	1715	Trompete	8'	1715
Trompete	8'	1715?				Tremulant			Trompete	4'	1715
Schalmei	4'	1953							Cornett	2'	1953

Table 3.4: Stop Disposition, Hauptorgel, Lüneburg, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Johannis.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Uwe Pape, 'Historische Orgeln und Prospekte in Bremen, Hamburg und der Lüneburger Heide', *Acta Organologica*, 4 (1969-70), pp. 119-145.

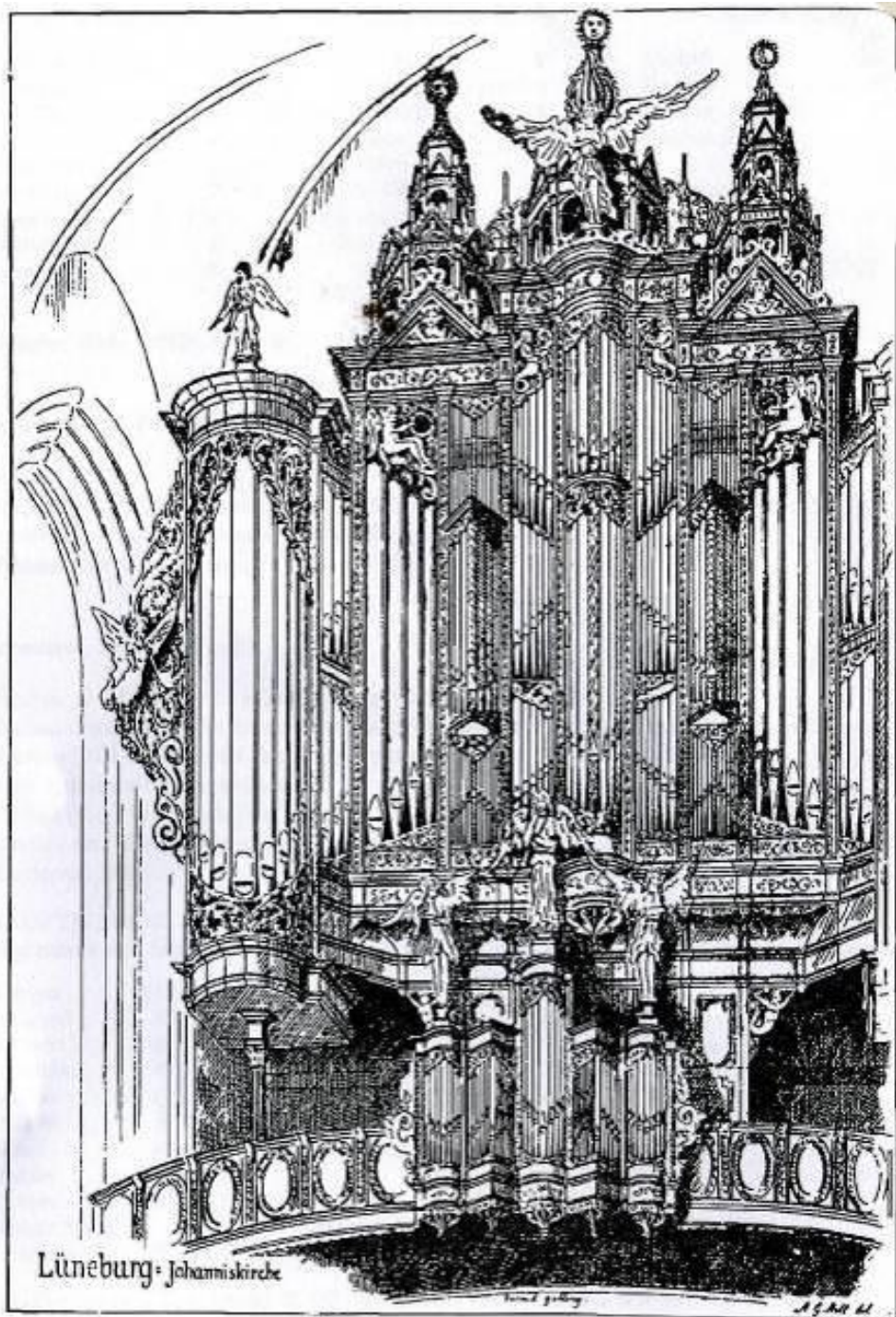


Plate 3.4: Façade, Hauptorgel, Lüneburg, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Johannis.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

# Hauptorgel, Johanniskirche Lüneburg

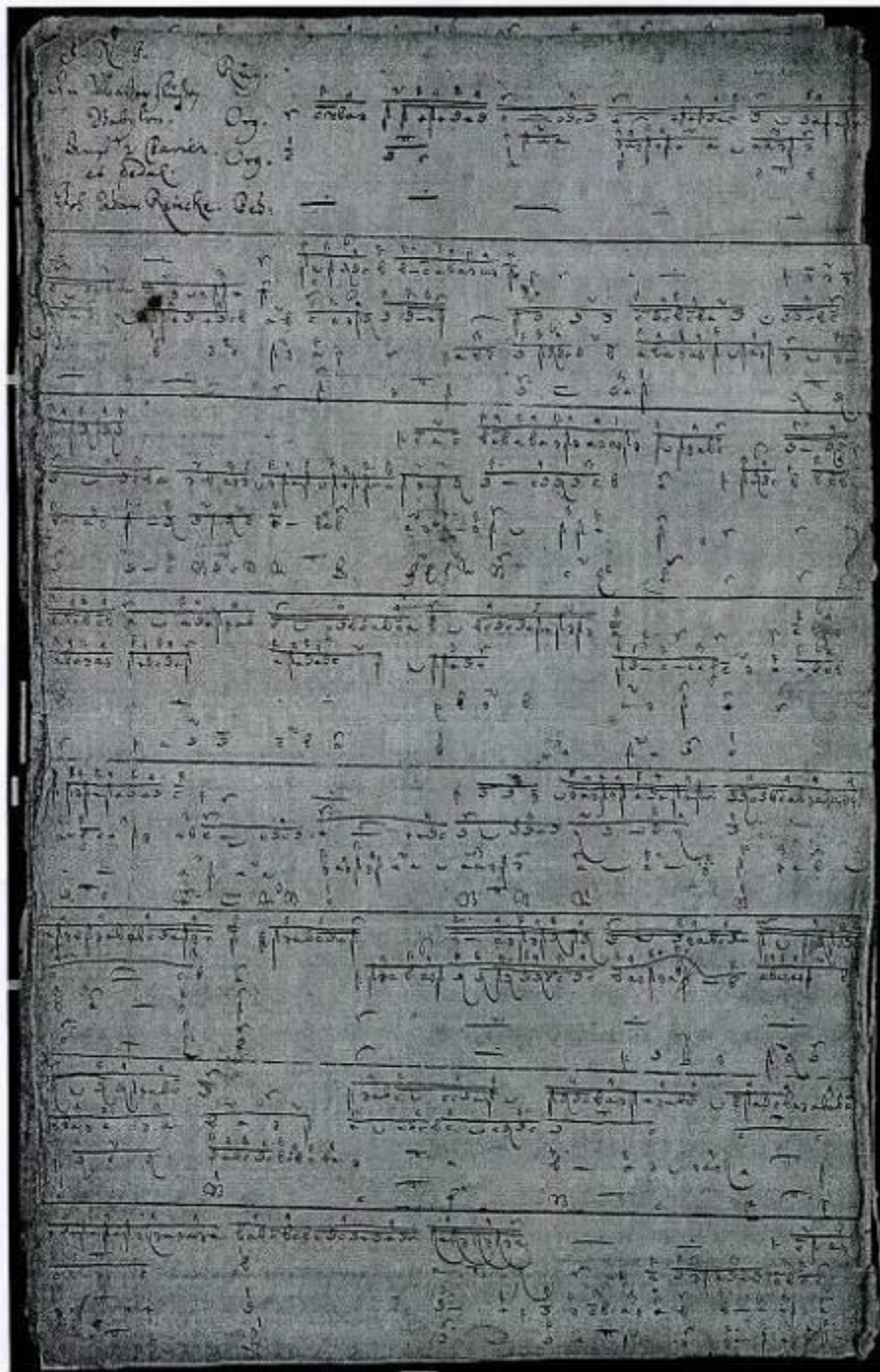
## Original Specification prior to Subsequent Rebuilds

Builder: Jaspas Johannsen, c. 1550<sup>78</sup>

WERK	RÜCKPOSITIV	OBERWERK	PEDAL
Principal 16'	Principal 8'	Principal 8'	* Untersatz 16'
Octave 8' & 4'	Quintaden 8'	Hohlflöte 8'	
Mixtur	Octave 4'	Octave 4'	* Up to F only; Pedal permanently coupled to <i>Werck</i> (see note +)
Scharff	Hohlflöte 4'	Nasat 3'	
+ Nachthorn 2'	Sieflöte 1'	Superocavte 2'	
+ Trommette 8'	Mixtur	Gemsshorn 2'	
+ Cornette 8'	Scharff	Cimbel	
Schallmei 4'	Sesquialtera	Trommete 8'	
+ Stops rising only to c'; playable by both LH and Pedal	Baarpfeiffe 8'		
	Regal 8'		
	Schalmey 4'		

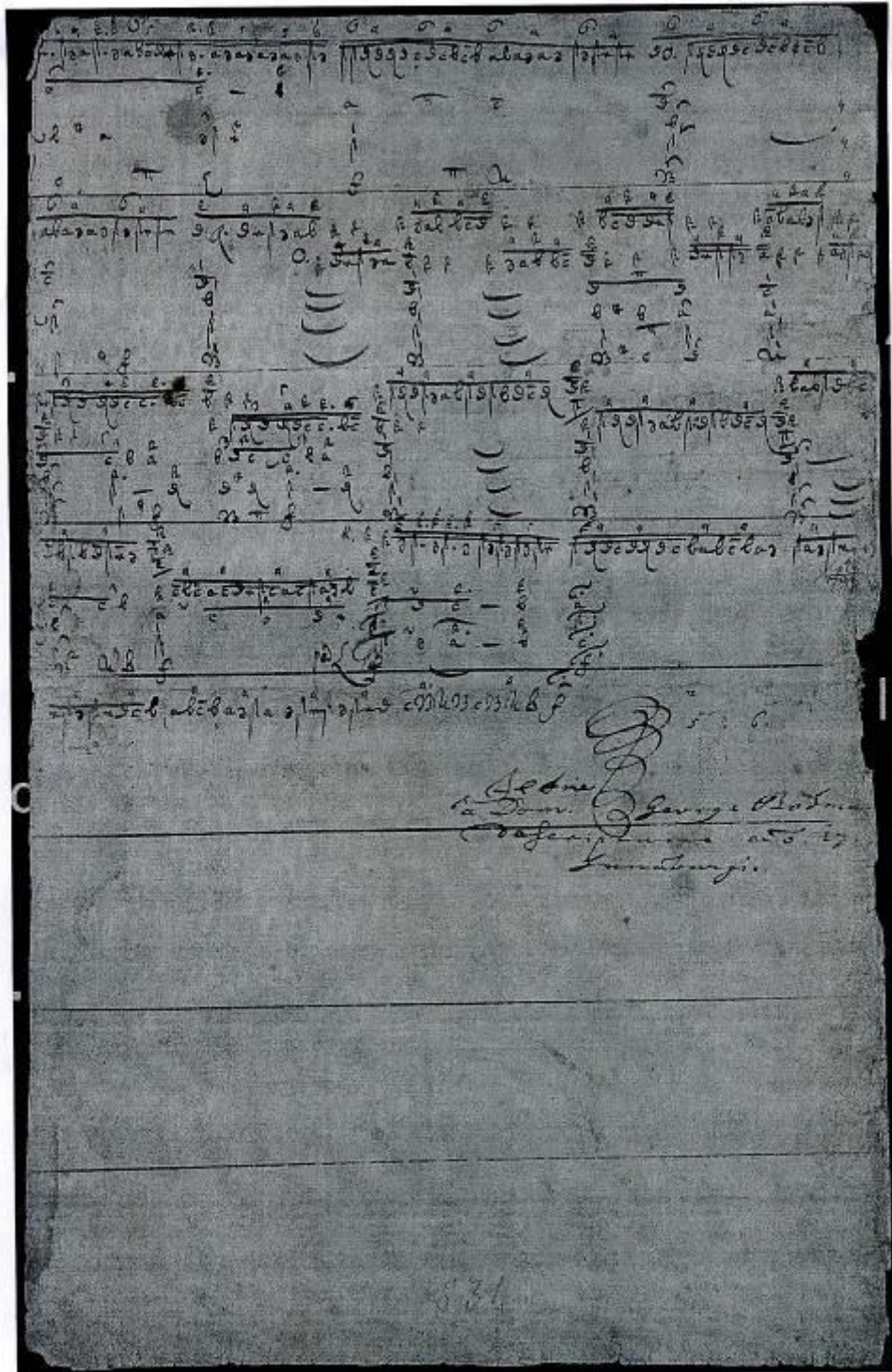
Table 3.5: Stop Disposition, Hauptorgel, Lüneburg, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Johannis.

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Fredric Harmon, *The Registration of J.S. Bach's Organ Works: A Study of German Organ-Building and Registration Practices of the Late Baroque Era* (Princo, Culemborg, Netherlands. 1981), pp. 1-372. Further sources: Peter Williams, *The European Organ, 1450-1850* (London: Batsford Ltd. London, 1966), pp. 1-334.



Ex. 3.1: Fol. 49/11, Fascicles I, Weimar Organ Tablature, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar;  
Page 1 of Chorale Prelude: *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* by J.A. Reinken; Bach MS.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Wollny (2008), p. 72.



Ex. 3.2: Fol. 49/11, Fascicles I, Weimar Organ Tablature, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar;  
Page 8 of Chorale Prelude: *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* by J.A. Reinken; Bach MS.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

## Johann Adam Reinken, the Katharinenkirche Hamburg, and the Monumental Variations



Plate 3.5: Johann Adam Reinken (1623-1722).<sup>1</sup>

“The oft asked question as to whether Böhm enjoyed the teaching of Reinken (the most extraordinarily famous organist of his day) is more often answered rather negatively.

In 1693, Böhm was after all thirty-two years old, and no doubt himself in a position to process the northern-style [North German style of Reinken], and integrate it into his mid-German keyboard style.

However, the importance of Reinken to Böhm can hardly be underestimated, for it was his reputation as an organist and teacher which was above all emphasised, rather than as co-founder of the Hamburg opera.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Source: <[www.let.rug.nl/.../diversen/bach/lueneburg.html](http://www.let.rug.nl/.../diversen/bach/lueneburg.html)> [Accessed: 12 May 2009].

<sup>2</sup> “Die oft gestellte Frage, ob Böhm Unterricht bei Reinken (der zu den beyden damahls extraordinair berühmten Organisten zahlte) genossen habe, muß eher negativ beantwortet werden. 1693 war Böhm immerhin 32 Jahre alt und zweifellos selber in der Lage, Anregungen des nordischen Stils zu verarbeiten und in seinen bisher mitteldeutsch orientierten Clavierstil zu integrieren. Dennoch wird man die Bedeutung Reinkens für Böhm kaum unterschätzen wollen, war er doch seinem Ansehen als Organist und Lehrer ist vor allem hervorzuheben, daß er Mitinitiator der Hamburger Opera war.” Jean-Claude Zehnder, ‘Georg Böhm und Johann Sebastian Bach: Zur Chronologie der Bachschen Stilentwicklung’, *BJ* (1988), p. 76.

## Overview

1. Here the reasons for the journey of some kilometers to Hamburg to meet Reinken are considered, as well as what Bach took from the experience.
2. Reinken's prolific career and rise to fame as an organist is explored, and as Bach was known to be ambitious to learn as much as possible about his art, parallels between the two men are discussed.
3. The famous and innovative organ of the Hamburg-Katharinenkirche is surveyed. This example may have remained in Bach's memory for many years, perhaps influencing his schemes for the rebuilding of organs in Mühlhausen and Weimar.
4. Reinken's keyboard music is considered and especially specific examples in terms of parallels with Bach's own early keyboard writing.

Johann Adam Reinken, seventy-eight at the time of Bach's pilgrimage to him, was an organist and musician worthy of the repute bestowed upon him by contemporary musicians. Whilst Bach was a well-travelled individual by the age of sixteen, the notion of his extensive visits being made on foot<sup>3</sup> to hear the notable figures of the day should be seen as extraordinary, even for the most ambitious young musical apprentice. Perhaps on Böhm's recommendation, given his own master-pupil relationship with the Hamburg organist, Bach certainly made at least two visits to the major Hanseatic city to hear the elderly Reinken. How he came to be held in high esteem seems to have been not simply down to longevity alone.

Reinken himself had studied in Hamburg for at least three years from 1654 with Heinrich Scheidemann (1595-1663), the celebrated organist of the Katharinenkirche. After briefly fulfilling an organist's position in Bergkerk, Reinken returned to Hamburg becoming his former teacher's assistant at the Katharinenkirche in 1658. Upon Scheidemann's death from the plague in 1663, Reinken succeeded his former master, becoming the main organist of the church and, for a while, its church clerk. He served as organist from 1663 until 1722, an astonishing period of fifty-nine years, dying in post a very rich man at the age of ninety-nine years. This may in part have contributed to his enduring fame.<sup>4</sup> Reinken's reputation probably reached Bach's notice at Lüneburg, not only through recollection of having copied his chorale prelude on "*An Wasserflüssen Babylon*",<sup>5</sup> but also through descriptions of him recounted by Böhm. Both Böhm and Bach would have held Reinken in high regard for the following qualities:

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<sup>3</sup> *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>4</sup> Ulf Grapenthin, *Reincken, Johann Adam*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/23126>> [Accessed: 12 May 2009].

<sup>5</sup> Wollny (2008), pp. 67-74.

1. He was an enterprising individual, who despite serving virtually his entire life as an organist, considered by some a lowly position,<sup>6</sup> became very affluent as a result of his career. In part, this seems to have been due to his persuasiveness and the high regard in which he was held by those more senior than him. For example, in 1663, Reinken had been appointed to a dual role at the Katharinenkirche as both organist and church clerk. In 1666 however, he relinquished the duties of church clerk, deeming it not to be part of his “chosen profession”.<sup>7</sup> Instead of taking an automatic reduction in salary, he in fact secured a remarkably healthy increase to one thousand, four hundred and forty-four marks, noted as very attractive remuneration indeed.<sup>8</sup>
  
2. Whereas many of the region’s historic pipe organs were considered to have been in poor states of repair,<sup>9</sup> in 1671, Reinken personally supervised a significant three-year restoration and enlargement of the Katharinenkirche instrument, which would have been at considerable cost to the church. The pedal-towers contained no less than two 32’ stop registers, a *Gross-Posaune* reed-stop, as well as a *Principal Bass* made of “the best English pewter”.<sup>10</sup> [See Table 3.7]
  
3. It was later noted by the Bach-pupil, Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720-1774), that Reinken took personal steps to maintain this magnificent instrument to

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<sup>6</sup> Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). pp. 46-56, pp. 67-73.

<sup>7</sup> Ulf Grapenthin, *Reincken, Johann Adam*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/23126>> [Accessed: 12 May 2009].

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Fock (1950), pp. 101-115. See also: Fock (1974), pp. 1-37.

<sup>10</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 38.

the best of his abilities:<sup>11</sup> “In the organ of the [Katharinenkirche] in Hamburg, there are altogether sixteen reed stops. The noble Kappelmeister Herr. J.S. Bach in Leipzig, who once played on this organ for two hours, deemed it a splendid work for all types of pieces and could not praise enough the beauty and variety of sound of these reeds. One should note also that the late and famous organist of this church, Hr. Johann Adam Reinken, kept them himself faithfully in the best of tune. In the large organs in France there are also a great many reed stops.”<sup>12</sup>

4. In 1678, Reinken co-founded and managed the earliest years of the Hamburg Opera, which despite causing some division of opinion with church authorities, became a significant cultural asset to the city.<sup>13</sup>
5. Reinken gained a considerable reputation as an expert in organ design, construction and maintenance, and his knowledge of the pipe-organ from the late seventeenth century to early eighteenth century had a similar authority to that of the Danish organist, Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707). This may in part explain the 1674 painting in oil by the artist Johannes Voorhout, which

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<sup>11</sup> Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Nekrolog [J.S. Bachs]*; in L. Mizler: *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek*, iv (Leipzig, 1754), written with C.P.E. Bach. See: E. Eugene Helm and Darrell Berg, *Agricola, Johann Friedrich*, *Grove Music Online*; *Oxford Music Online*.  
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/00312>> [Accessed: 7 Jan. 2010].

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Fredric Harmon, *The Registration of J.S. Bach's Organ Works: A Study of German Organ-Building and Registration Practices of the Late Baroque Era* (Princo, Culemborg, Netherlands, 1981).

<sup>13</sup> Whether Bach ever attended the opera on his visits to Hamburg is considered unlikely, as it has been argued that in his youth he did not exhibit any overt interest in this medium. Certainly given the almost tunnel-visioned focus of his study of the organ and liturgical music of the latter part of the seventeenth century, any such visit to the Hamburg opera could not be discerned in any of his earliest work. More likely would be his experience with the stylistic traits of French dance music, which he would have acquired at the Celle Court. See: Wolff (2000), pp. 64-66.

includes the images of both men.<sup>14</sup>



Image believed to be that of Johann Adam Reinken (1622-1723)

Image believed to be that of Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707)

Plate 3.6: Inscription on MS held in the image by Buxtehude:

*In hon[orem]: Dit. Buxtehude et Joh: Adam Reink. fraters;* oil painting by Jan Voorhout (c. 1674).

In the light of these qualities and attributes, it is obvious why Bach took the trouble to make considerable and not inexpensive visits to Reinken in Hamburg.<sup>15</sup> It was most likely that Bach lodged in Hamburg with his cousin, Johann Ernst <sup>(34)</sup>, Ernst having spent at least a year in this city from 1701, subsequent to his graduation from the Ohrdruf Lyceum.<sup>16</sup> The Obituary notice records Bach's initial connection with Reinken very succinctly: "From Lüneburg he journeyed now and again to Hamburg, to hear the then famous Organist of St. Catherine's, Johann Adam Reinken."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ulf Grapenthin, *Reincken, Johann Adam*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/23126>> [Accessed: 12 May 2009].

<sup>15</sup> From anecdote: "Bach and the herrings", by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (Berlin, 1786); See: *NBR* (1999), no. 397, p. 409.

<sup>16</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 64-66.

<sup>17</sup> See: *NBR* (1999), no. 306, p. 300.

Despite the brevity of this statement, from it one may surmise that on account of this and successive visits to the nearly eighty-year-old Reinken, some sort of enduring rapport between the two men must have been established, as with Böhm in Lüneburg. It is highly probable that Bach would have wanted this to be the case, given the considerable authority and reputation which both Reinken, as well as Buxtehude, commanded at this time:

“Reinken and Buxtehude, in particular, were versatile musicians of great professional expertise – at once virtuoso organists and erudite, technically accomplished composers. Bach could hardly fail to observe that, unlike his Thuringian relatives – who earned their living simply as humble servants of town, church, or court – these two North-German masters commanded considerable status and independence as artistic personalities in their own right.”<sup>18</sup>

Notwithstanding the successes of the wider Bach-family, it is worth remembering that virtually all of the family members were in the service of town, church or court. None could necessarily be referred to as artists of considerable status in their own right.<sup>19</sup> Bach’s determination to travel to the culturally vibrant heart of Hamburg in order to acquaint himself with an authority figure such as Reinken was a further step in his resolve to represent himself as the highest achieving member of the entire Bach clan. It was clearly his desire not simply to be successful at a relatively isolated and provincial level, but to associate himself intentionally with the most notable figures in this sphere of music in North Germany. This was first with Reinken and then probably through Reinken he first Buxtehude. Then Bach subsequently planned

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<sup>18</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>19</sup> “It would be a matter of astonishment that such excellent men should be so little known outside their native land if one did not remember that these honest Thuringians were so well satisfied with their native land and with their station in life that they did not even wander far to seek their fortune.” *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

his important pilgrimage to hear him in Lübeck, a visit which took place over a period of two months commencing in November 1705.<sup>20</sup> With this, we are closer to understanding that by the conclusion of the famous Lübeck pilgrimage in 1705, Bach had succeeded in completing his self-prescribed goal of "...learning something or other about his art."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Kerala J. Snyder. *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (Rochester, NYS: University of Rochester Press. 2007), pp.36-136.

<sup>21</sup> *NBR* (1999), pp. 297-303.

## Reinken's Music for Keyboard Instruments – A Summary

There are two schools of thought which attempt to explain why Reinken should have left so few works. Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) reflected that it was Reinken's predilection for both wine and women which has left us with little of his musical output. Whilst Reinken certainly enjoyed both a long and prosperous life, there is little evidence to suggest that these activities occupied much of his extra-curricular time to the detriment of his compositional productivity.

In 1948, Klein suggested that Reinken had in fact produced considerably more works than we have at our disposal, but had given instructions that upon his death, all were to be destroyed. As he cites no sources, this anecdotal evidence must also be treated with caution, particularly in the light of the material which apparently survived this alleged destruction.

Reinken did commit some of his musical thoughts to manuscript, and obviously his extant keyboard manuscripts provide a particularly useful insight into some of the last vestiges of the North German/Flemish model of writing, with some of these keyboard pieces by Reinken contained in the Andreas Bach Book (ABB) and the Möller Manuscript (MM). The various reasons put forward as to why Reinken should have left so few works need not concern us.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> J. Klein, *The First Four Centuries of Music for the Organ from Dunstable to Bach, 1370-1749* (New York, 1948), pp. 241-447; G. B. Sharp, *Jan Adam Reincken, 1623-1722*, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 114, No. 1570, Dec. (1973), pp. 1272-1275.

The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book:  
Inventory of Keyboard Works by Johann Adam Reincken

MM Work number as listed	Folio	Heading on MS	Titles and other relevant details recorded
6	15v	Svitte. Ex. G [natural] del Signore Joh: Adam Reincke.  Allemande.  Courande.  Sarabande.  Gigue.	Suite in G Major  Johann Adam Reincken (1623-1722)
15	29	Svite ec. C. [natural]. Di Joh. Ad. Reincke.  Allemand.  Courante  Sarabanda  Gig.	Suite in C Major  J. A. Reincken
20	39v	[no heading]  Allemanda G. Böhm.  Courante  Sarabanda  Gig	Suite in D Minor  (by J. A. Reincken?)

ABB	Folio	Heading on MS	Titles and other relevant details recorded
14	42 (p93)	Ballet Ex E. gr. Del Sig. Jean Adam Reincke.  [11 variations]	Variation set in E minor Johann Adam Reincken  (1623-1722)
15	45 (p99)	Toccata di Sig J. A. Reincke.	Toccata in G Major  J. A. Reincken
46	96v (p204)	Partita diverse sopra l'Aria: Schweiget mir von Weiber nehmen etc, altrimenti chiamata La Meÿerin del Sigr. J. A.	Variation set in G Major  J. A. Reincken

Table 3.6 Keyboard Works of Johann Adam Reinken,  
as recorded in the MM and ABB.<sup>23</sup>

It has been observed that the surviving keyboard pieces by Reinken “suggests a composer of great ability, thoroughly deserving his reputation both during and after his life-time.”<sup>24</sup> Of these are three works which probably held particular relevance for Bach and the creation of his own early keyboard compositions. These include the large-scale chorale preludes on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* and *Was kann uns kommen*, and the *Partita Diverse sopra l’Aria Schweiget mir von Weiber nehmen, altrimenti chiamata La Meyerin*, Reinken’s own homage to the *Partita Auff die Maÿerin*, by Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-1667).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Williams, *Review: The Keyboard Music of Jan Adam Reinken*, *Music & Letters*, Vol. 56, No. 1, Jan. (1975), pp. 111-112.

<sup>25</sup> See: Christoph Wolff, *Johann Adam Reinken and Johann Sebastian Bach: On the Context of Bach's Early Works*; In: *J. S. Bach as Organist: His Instruments, Music, and Performance Practices* (ed. George Stauffer and Ernest May, Bloomington, 1986), pp. 57-80.

It may be argued that the greatest significance which Reinken's keyboard music held for Bach is the insight it gives us into pragmatic changes which may have affected the style of Bach's own early keyboard music after Ohrdruf and Lüneburg. There are numerous parallels between the above mentioned Reinken works, and Bach's own early pieces, many of which are in variation form, but employ not only sacred texts, but in some instances secular texts also. It has been suggested that Bach's *Aria variata alla maniera Italiana* BWV 989 mirrors Reinken's *Partita Diverse sopra l'Aria Schweiget mir von Weiber nehmen*. Jones has dated the composition of BWV 989 as having been between 1708 and 1713.<sup>26</sup> Noting that it is a secular composition in variation form, does it therefore provide evidence that, by this time, Bach's compositional interests had moved away from writing chorale-based variations, and instead had become more inclined towards the secular type instead?<sup>27</sup> As for the undoubtedly early sacred variation works, namely the five chorale-based sets BWV 766-771, as well as the presumed earliest chorale prelude BWV 739 *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, strong parallels exist in each with the

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<sup>26</sup> Jones in his 2007 work identifies the earliest scribe for BWV 989 as between 1708 and 1713. See: Jones (2007), pp. 93-96. Furthermore, it has also been observed that by this time, Bach may also have been aware of the Pachelbel's *Hexachordum Apollinis* containing six variation sets. See also: Elaine Sisman, *Variations*, *Grove Music Online*; *Oxford Music Online*. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/29050pg7>> [Accessed: 7 Jan 2010].

<sup>27</sup> The first opportunity which Bach may have had to meet Reinken was in 1701, at age 16. It is also recorded that subsequent visits occurred between 1701 and 1705, when in November 1705 Bach instead journeyed to visit Buxtehude. As strong compositional parallels exist between Reinken's variations on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, and Bach's chorale variations BWV 766-771 and the chorale fantasia BWV 739, *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, it seems sensible to deduce that, on the early visits from Lüneburg, Bach's compositional interests would have rested upon the composition of Lutheran-chorale-based variations, and gaining first-hand familiarity with Reinken's own examples would logically follow his early copying of the Reinken tablature in Ohrdruf. Jones's suggestion that the secular variations BWV 989 (with their close stylistic similarity to Reinken's *Partita Diverse sopra l'Aria Schweiget mir von Weiber nehmen*) should be dated to a much later visit to Reinken, between 1708-1713. This may well indicate that, by this stage, Bach's interest in composing chorale variations had ceased during the time of his earliest visits to Reinken, at least by 1705, no more than two years after Bach had left Lüneburg, for his first tenured position as organist in Arnstadt. See: *NBR* (1999), no. 397, p. 409.

Reinken works, specifically the extensive nature of his chorale prelude on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*.<sup>28</sup>

The following observations have been made about similarities which exist between Bach and Reinken variations: “Bach’s variations, like those of Reinken and Pachelbel, not only preserve the harmonic framework of the theme but to a considerable extent retain its melodic outline too [...] Bach’s variations, however, are marked by numerous subtleties of structure that raise them above the common run of variation sets of the time.”<sup>29</sup> This assessment, whilst making relevant observations, points to a lack of originality in the variation-form pieces by Reinken, Pachelbel, and Böhm too. However, beyond the creativity and structural clarity to be found in Reinken’s *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (see exs. 3.3-3.7 below), other influences emanating from his works may be found in Böhm’s variation sets and verse-chorales, namely the partitas *Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig* and *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*, and the chorale prelude *Christ, der du bist Tag und Licht*.

These works taught Bach much when writing his secular partitas, and provided many significant stylistic fingerprints for him to include in each as they developed. The framework of variation examples which Bach took from his study of the examples of Reinken and Bohm, successfully melded together the musical influences provided by both men, including Middle and Northern German styles.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> It was upon this chorale that Bach in later life famously improvised for Reinken. This is probably not a coincidence, particularly if Bach in youth had copied the piece, holding it up as an extraordinary example of preluding. See: *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

<sup>29</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>30</sup> Recent assertions which suggest a considerably later construction for BWV 768 require redress, and these are addressed within the diverse commentaries on this composition in Part 5. There, the following position is significantly re-examined: “The free-voiced, largely five-part texture of the opening chorale harmonization in each case, [BWV 766, 767, 770] has close parallels in Böhm.”;



Ex. 3.3: BWV 768a Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Chorale Statement (Four-part harmony with passing quavers), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P802, Department of Music, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.



Ex. 3.4: BWV 768 Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*, Chorale Statement (four-part harmony with passing quavers); F-C Ms. 1086 (1), France Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine.

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“...only *Sei Gegrüßet* (BWV 768/768a) opens with the purely four-part harmonization, amply stocked with passing-notes, that we now view as quintessentially Bachian – one of the many factors that point to its later date.” See: Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.



Ex. 3.5: BWV 768a Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*, Fragment of Variatio One;  
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P802, Department of Music, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Ex. 3.6: BWV 768 Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*; Conclusion of Partita One (two-part Bicinium)  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1), France Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine.

It is a misguided assumption that the four-part texture with passing-notes, present in the opening thematic statement of the chorale *Sei Gegrüsset*, dates its composition sometime after BWV 766, 767, 770 and 771. Unquestionably, the opening statement of BWV 768's theme is presented somewhat differently than in the other four models (see exs. 4.8, 4.20, 4.37, 4.44 in Part 4), but it is very similar in nature to the four-part textures, complete with numerous passing notes and occasionally unusual semiquaver internal passing notes, found in the following two examples: the opening statement of Reinken's large-scale *Partita diverse sopra L'Aria Schweigt mir von Weiber nehmen altrimente chiamata La Mayerin* (1708-1713),<sup>31</sup> and the earlier *Eberliniana Variations* by either Johann Christoph (13) or potentially, Johann Christoph (22).<sup>32</sup>



Ex. 3.7 Partita 1 – Opening statement of principal theme, from *Partita diverse sopra L'Aria Schweigt mir von Weiber nehmen altrimente chiamata La Mayerin*; Johann Adam Reinken (1643-1722).

<sup>31</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>32</sup> See discussion on the provenance and chronology of the *Eberliniana Variations* in Part 2 of this study, where musical examples of this composition may be found. See: pp. 32-44.



Ex. 3.8: Variation 15 (Concluding four-part harmonised statement of theme with quaver passing notes); *Aria Eberliniana pro Dormente Camillo Variata*; Presumed c.1690, Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, now with fresh research pointing towards the authorship of Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>; Neue Bachgesellschaft, 1992.

Variatio 15

121

123<sup>II</sup>

126

Ex. 3.9: Variation 15 (Concluding four-part harmonised statement of theme with quaver passing notes); *Aria Eberliniana pro Dormente Camillo Variata*, ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

A useful early instance where the majority of the chorale texture is four-part, with occasional examples of five-part and six-part textures consistent with the opening chorale statements of BWV 766 and 767, may be found in Böhm's verse-chorale *Gelobet Seist du, Jesu Christ*:



Ex. 3.10: Opening statement of principal theme, from chorale-verse:  
*Gelobet Seist du, Jesu Christ*, Georg Böhm (1661-1733).

Jones's assertion, that demisemiquaver divisions found in the soprano part of the *Bicinium* (variation one) in *Sei Gegrüsset*, sets it apart from the other chorale partitas (BWV 766, 767, 770, 771), is not sufficiently explained as to justify his claim for the later compositional provenance of BWV 768 (see ex. 3.11).<sup>33</sup> Additionally, when the *Bicinium* from BWV 768 is laid against Böhm's verse one from his chorale partita *Vater unser in Himmelreich* (see ex. 3.12), the shared complexity in the two examples of melodic decoration is easily discernible. The stylistic parity between them, therefore, does not necessarily make it characteristic of a later maturity of style, or a late-Bachian trait:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> He suggests that this detail provides evidence that BWV 768 was written later in Bach's life, thus chronologically setting it apart from the period of composition of the partitas, BWV 766, 767, 770, 771. Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>34</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of divergent commentaries on BWV 768, see: Part 5, pp. 276-295.



Ex. 3.11: BWV 768a Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Fragment of variatio 1, *eloquent line expansions, which are rich in the demisemiquaver divisions.*<sup>35</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P802, Department of Music, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Lukturbesitz



Ex. 3.12: Versus One, Choral Partita *Vater unser in Himmelreich* – Georg Böhm (1661-1733).

<sup>35</sup> Jones (2007), p. 94.

## The Organ of the Katharinenkirche Hamburg

Hauptorgel, Hamburg, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Katharine

*Newly Built (III/46) Hans Stellwagen 1543*

*Rebuilt and enlarged at Reinken's request 1670 (addition of two pedal towers)*

HAUPTWERK	RÜCKPOSITIV	OBERWERK	BRUSTWERK	PEDALWERK
Principal 16'	Principal 8'	Prinzipal 8'	Principal 8'	Principal-Bass 32'
Quintadena 16'	Gedackt 8'	Rohrflöte 8'	Octava 4'	Principal 16'
Bordun 16'	Quintadena 8'	Flöte 4'	Scharff 7 fach	Octava 8'
Gedackt 8'	Octava 4'	Gemshorn 4'	Quintadena 4'	Gedackt 8'
Octava 8'	Block-flöte 4'	Nasat 3'	Wald-Pfeiffe 2'	Octava 4'
Spitz-Flöte 8'	Höhl-flöte 4'	Scharff 6 fach	Dulcian 16'	Nachthorn 4'
Quer-Flöte 8'	Quint-Flöte 1 <sup>1/2</sup> '	Wald-Flöte 2'	Regal 8'	Rausch-Pfeiffe 2 fach
Octava 4'	Sifflet 1'	Trompeta 8'		Cymbel 3 fach
Octava 2'	Sesquialtera 2 fach	Zincke 8'		Mixtur 5 fach
Rausch-Pfeiffe 2 fach	Regal 8'	Trompeta 4'		Gross-Posaune 32'
Mixtura 10 fach	Baar-Pfeiffe 8'			Krumhorn 8'
Trompeta 16'	Schallmey 4'			Trompeta 8'
				Schallmey 4'
				Dulcian 16'
				Principal 16'
				Cornett-Bass 2'
Tremulant	Tremulant	4' Cymbel-Sterne	Tympani Vogelgesang	OW/HW; RP/HW; HW/P

Table 3.7: Disposition of Reinken's Organ at the Katharinenkirche-Hamburg.

The effect which the monumental pipe organ of the Katharinenkirche had on the sixteen-year-old Bach is well documented.<sup>36</sup> Not only was it considered a very beautiful instrument, having widespread fame in northern Germany, it was also a very large machine with an array of well-crafted pipework, and of significant mechanical complexity. Having encountered less well-disposed instruments in Ohrdruf, and the Michaeliskirche and Johanniskirche in Lüneburg, Bach's experiences in Hamburg must have been something of a revelation to him: "... without question, Bach's theoretical and practical standards for organs were shaped decisively by Reinken's instrument."<sup>37</sup> The interpretative possibilities presented by this unusually large instrument of four manuals and a significant pedal division would have been considerable, and would have done full justice to prevailing styles of organ music from virtually any sphere of influence.

Such detail would not have been lost on Bach, who would by this stage have been able to benchmark his experiences of the Hamburg instrument, and Reinken's use of it, against the wide range of performers the young musician had already heard. By the time Bach made his visit of homage to Hamburg, it can be argued that he would already have heard many significant examples of organ performing skill, drawn not only from within his extended family, but also the varied abilities of others, for example at the numerous Lüneburg places of worship. With these experiences borne in mind, we can conclude that the Hamburg occurrence, as perhaps with Buxtehude at Lübeck sometime later, allowed Bach to formulate in his mind what was the pinnacle of his chosen art at the time, setting up his own model for the future.

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<sup>36</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 38.

<sup>37</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 63-65.

We are fortunate to know not only that Bach heard the aged Reinken perform upon this instrument, but also by way of reflection what Bach took from this experience. Johann Friedrich Agricola, Bach's pupil, later passed on the most well-recorded of these important anecdotes:

1. "In many old organs in Germany, e.g. in St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg, in others, and even in many new, splendid organs of France, the reeds are present in fairly large numbers [...] In the organ of St. Catherine's in Hamburg there are sixteen reeds. The late Capellmeister, Mr. J. S. Bach in Leipzig, who once made himself heard for two full hours on this instrument, which he called excellent in all its parts, could not praise the beauty and variety of tone of these reeds highly enough. It is known, too, that the famous former Organist of this Church, Mr. Johann Adam Reinken, always kept them in the best tune."<sup>38</sup>
2. "The late Capellmeister Bach in Leipzig gave assurance that the thirty-two-foot Principal, and the [thirty-two-foot] pedal Trombone in the organ of St. Catherine's in Hamburg spoke evenly and quite audibly right down to the lowest C. But he also used to say that this Principal was the only one as good as that, of such size, that he had heard."<sup>39</sup>

Bach's observations about the Hamburg organ, as reported by Agricola, are very specific in nature, but point to the degree of seriousness with which Bach is known to have considered the technical aspects of pipe-organ design.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> From notes quoting J.S. Bach in Adlung's *Musica mechanica organoedi*, by Johann Friedrich Agricola (1768); *NBR* (1999), pp. 364-365.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> As we shall see, the fruits of the experience of the St. Catherine's organ can best be shown in Bach's first opportunity to have charge of a similarly extensive instrument, at least more to his liking in terms of size, possibility and overall disposition, which was not at Arnstadt, but Mühlhausen, when he served for a brief period as organist of the Blasiuskirche between 1707 and 1708. Whilst Bach remained in this post for only one year until February 21 1708, he had written to the church

Firstly, in 1708 Bach would have been twenty-two, and at the very start of his second liturgical organist's post. The manner of his expensive and forthright claims on behalf of this instrument could have been interpreted by the authorities in a negative light. As it was, they were not, and we must take from this that respect for his acumen in this field was already becoming established. His earlier opportunity to experience the Hamburg instrument and the specifics of its size and makeup could, at the time of his Mühlhausen request, have been an example in mind for Bach. The fact that all of Bach's suggestions were enacted, either demonstrates that the authorities were very well persuaded by their youthful organist's technical acumen, or that capitulation and inevitable expense was a better course of action open to them than inciting the 'alternative behaviour', of which Bach at Arnstadt had already proven he was quite capable.<sup>41</sup> To understand Bach's fluency with the technical description of organ design between the time of his visit to Hamburg around 1701, to the submission of his report to the Mühlhausen authorities in 1708, his suggested improvements should be seen in full:

"Actum, February 21, 1708: Dom. Consul Senior Dr. Meckbach:

The new organist, Mr. Bach, had observed various defects in the organ of the Church of St. Blasius and had submitted in writing a project for remedying them and perfecting the instrument. He read [see below] and asked:

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authorities outlining in considerable detail not only his perception of the defects affecting this instrument, but also an extensive (doubtless expensive, and perhaps somewhat extravagant) list of changes which he wished to see effected. With the production of this remarkable list of requests at this time, two points are significant.

<sup>41</sup> Sara Botwinick. *'From Ohrdruf to Mulhausen: A subversive reading of J. S. Bach's relationship to authority'* (*BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*, vol. XXXV, No. 2, 2004).

1. Whether the work should be carried out as projected.
2. That Commissarii be appointed to make the agreement.
3. Someone having offered to purchase the small organ in the choir loft, whether the committee should be charged to come to terms with the interested party.

Conclusum:

ad. 1. Affirmatur.

ad. 2. Denominati Mr. Bellstedt, Mr. Reiss, Mr. Sebastian Vockerodt, with instructions to come to as close an agreement as possible, and, if need be, to give the organ builder the small organ in lieu of [an additional payment of] 50 thlr., if he should not agree to complete the entire organ for 200 thlr.<sup>42</sup>

“Project for New Repairs to the Organ; Disposition of the renovation of the organ of St. Blasius’s:

1. The lack of wind must be made up by the addition of three good new bellows to take care of the Oberwerck, the Rückpositiv, and the new Brustwerck.<sup>43</sup>
2. The four old bellows now present, must be adapted, with stronger wind pressure, to the new 32-foot Sub-Bass, and the other bass stops.
3. The old wind chests must all be taken out and freshly supplied with such wind conduction that one stop alone and also all the stops together can be used without alteration of the pressure, which has never been possible in the past and yet is very necessary.

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<sup>42</sup> St. Blasius Church, Mühlhausen; excerpt from the proceedings of the parish meeting, 21 February, 1708; *NBR* (1999), pp. 54-55.

<sup>43</sup> The inclusion of the mechanisms required for three additional bellows to power this instrument sufficiently does not, at first glance, allude to the manpower additionally required to power this enhanced instrument. Presumably, the mechanism would have been foot-pedalled *Bälgetreter*, operated by *Calcanten* – those specifically charged with the role of supplying the man-power to operate the additional organ bellow system when called upon to do so; See: Walter Salmen, *Calcanten und Orgelzieherinnen; Geschichte eines “niedereren” Dienstes* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, 2007).

4. Then follows the 32-foot Sub-Bass or so called Untersatz of wood, which gives the whole organ the most solid foundation [“die beste Gravität”]. This stop must now have its own windchest.<sup>44</sup>
5. The Trombone Bass must be supplied with new larger pipes [“corpora”], and the mouthpieces must be quite differently arranged so that this can produce a much more solid tone [“eine viel bessere Gravität”].<sup>45</sup>
6. The new chimes [Glockenspiel] desired by the parishioners to be added to the Pedal, consisting of twenty-six bells of 4-foot tone; which bells the parishioners will acquire at their own expense, and the organ builder will then install them.
7. As regards the Upper Manual [Oberwerck], instead of the Trumpet (which will be taken out), a Fagotto of 16-foot tone will be installed, which is useful for all kinds of new ideas [inventiones] and sounds very fine [delicat] in concerted music [in die Music].
8. Further, in place of the Gemshorn (which is likewise to be taken out) there is to be a Viola di Gamba 8 foot, which will concord admirably with the 4-foot Salicional [sic] already included in the Rückpositiv. Item, instead of the 3-foot Quinta (which is also to be taken out).
9. ... a 3-foot Nasat could be installed. The other stops now included in the Upper Manual can remain, as also the entire Rückpositiv, although all of these must be tuned again anyway in the course of the repairs.
10. Now, as far as the most important matter is concerned, the new little Brüstpositiv, the following stops could be included in it.

In front, three Diapasons [Principalia], namely:

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<sup>44</sup> Such precise instructions in relation to not only the inclusion of a 32-foot stop in this instrument, but also the material of its construction [an unspecified wood-type], as well as the construction of a unique wind chest to service it alone, must have been as a direct influence of Bach’s experiences of the Hamburg organ’s two 32-foot registers. Not only did the Katharinenkirche organ possess a 32-foot reed stop, a relative rarity for the period, but also at Reinken’s own cost, two pedal-towers with a Principal 32’, made of the best English pewter. *NBR* (1999), p. 38.

<sup>45</sup> This type of work, even on contemporary organ re-constructions, remains one of the single-most expensive individual tasks, and would have been no less so at the time of Bach’s request to the Parish Authorities of the Blasiuskirche.

- i. Quinta 3' [of good 14 ounce tin].
  - ii. Octava 3' [of good 14 ounce tin].
  - iii. Schalemoy [= schalmei, Chalumeau] 8' [of good 14 ounce tin].
  - iv. Mixture, three ranks.
  - v. Tertia, with which by drawing a few other stops, one can produce a fine and complete Sesquialtera.
  - vi. Fleute douce 4'; and finally a:
  - vii. Stillgedackt 8', which accords perfectly with concerted music and, made of good wood, should sound much better than a metal Gedackt.
11. Between the manuals of this Brüstpositiv and the Oberwerck there must be a coupler. And finally, in addition to a complete tuning of the whole organ, and the tremulant must be regulated so that it flutters at the proper rate [mensur].<sup>46</sup>

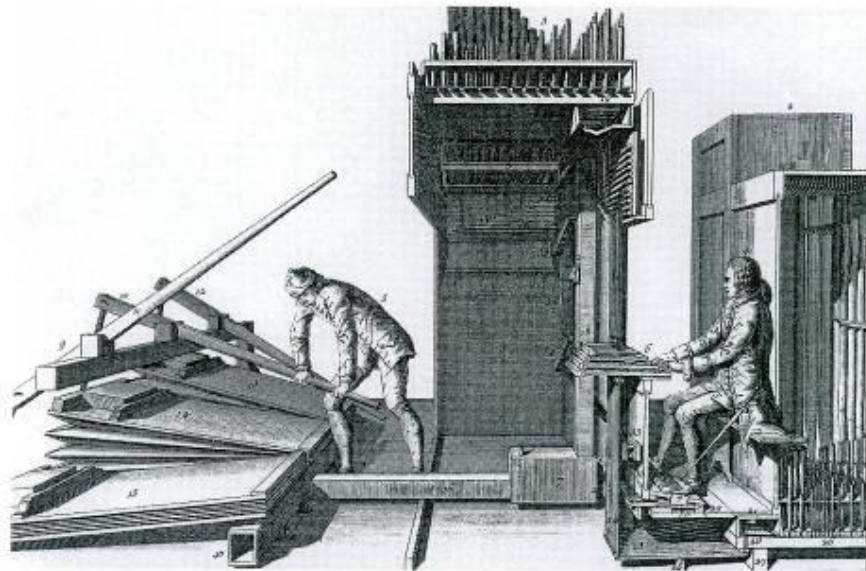
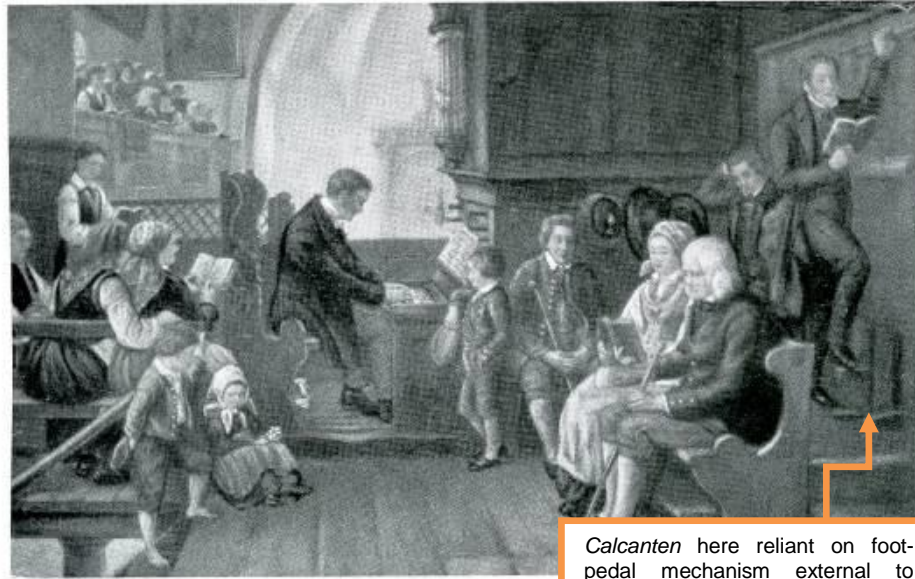


Plate 3.7: Organist and Calcanten, from: *L'Art du Facteur D'Orgues*,  
Dom Bedos de Celle, Paris 1766.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *NBR* (1999), pp. 55-56.

<sup>47</sup> Source: <http://saintlouisenhelle.org/patrimoine/les-orgues-de-chambly/>. [Accessed: 12 May 2009]



*Calcanten* here reliant on foot-pedal mechanism external to casework – Pastor also perhaps?

Plate 3.8: *Sunday in a Swedish Church*, c.1860. Bengt Nordenburg.<sup>48</sup>



Plate 3.9: Katholischen-Stadtkirche-St. Alexander, Rastatt.  
Reconstruction of the wind system of the Stieffell-Orgel, Photographic image, 2007.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Salmen (2007), Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Hauptorgel, Mühlhausen, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Blasius

*Original instrument constructed 1687-91; Builder unknown*

*Reconstructed and enlarged at Bach's request between 1708-1709*

*Builder: Johann Friedrich Wender of Mühlhausen*

Compass: C, D-d''' (Pedal-board compass: to d')

Oberwerk (OW)	Rückpositiv (RP)	Brustpositiv (BP)	Pedal (P)
Principal 8'	Gedackt 8'	Principia 2'	Untersatz 32'
Oktave 4'	Salicional 4'	Mixtur 3f.	Principia 16'
Oktave 4'	Spitzflöte 2'	Schallmey 8'	Subbass 16'
Cymbel 2f.	Sesquialtera 2f.	Quinte 1 <sup>1/2</sup> '	Oktave 8'
Mixtur 4f.	Principal 4'	Terz 1 <sup>3/5</sup> '	Oktave 4'
Violdigamba 8'	Quintatön 8'	Flöte 4'	Mixtur 4f.
Gedackt 4'	Quintflöte 1 <sup>1/2</sup> '	Stillgedackt 8'	Posaune 16'
Quinte 3'	Oktave 2'	Cymbelstern	Trompete 8'
Fagott 16' (C-c)	Cymbel 3f.	Pauke	Cornetbass 2'
Quintatöt 16'	Tremulant	[Glockenspiel stop, to be donated by members of the parish, was planned for, but never forged or constructed]	Rohrflötenbass 1'
Sesquialtera 2f.	OW/RP		
Tremulant			
BP/OW			
RP/OW			

Table 3.8: Disposition of the Organ at the Blasiuskirche-Mühlhausen, 1708-1709;

Planned and constructed to Bach's precise specification.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> NBR (1999), p. 54. See also: Ulf Grapenthin, *Reincken, Johann Adam*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/23126>> [Accessed: 12 May 2009].

In assessing Bach's musical development between 1685 and 1705, three factors in particular stand out. What is revealed time and again is his good fortune or design in gaining access to copies of the finest keyboard music available at the time, in particular, the tablature MSS of Böhm and Reinken, and by 1705 if not earlier, the music of Buxtehude. Their compositions far exceeded in scope and quality some of the more unassuming pieces from his provincial environs in Thuringia.<sup>51</sup> His subsequent admittance and acceptance into the circle of all three of these famous names in keyboard music, seemingly in quick succession to each other, is also nothing short of astonishing for someone so young. Completing the circle was Bach's early access, through these aforementioned composer-performers, to some of the largest and best constructed organs anywhere in central and northern Germany at the time.

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<sup>51</sup> The ABB and the MM, the Weimarer-Tablaturbuch, the Neumeister Collection, et al.

## Bach at Arnstadt (1703-07), and Implications Surrounding the Earliest Organ Manuscripts

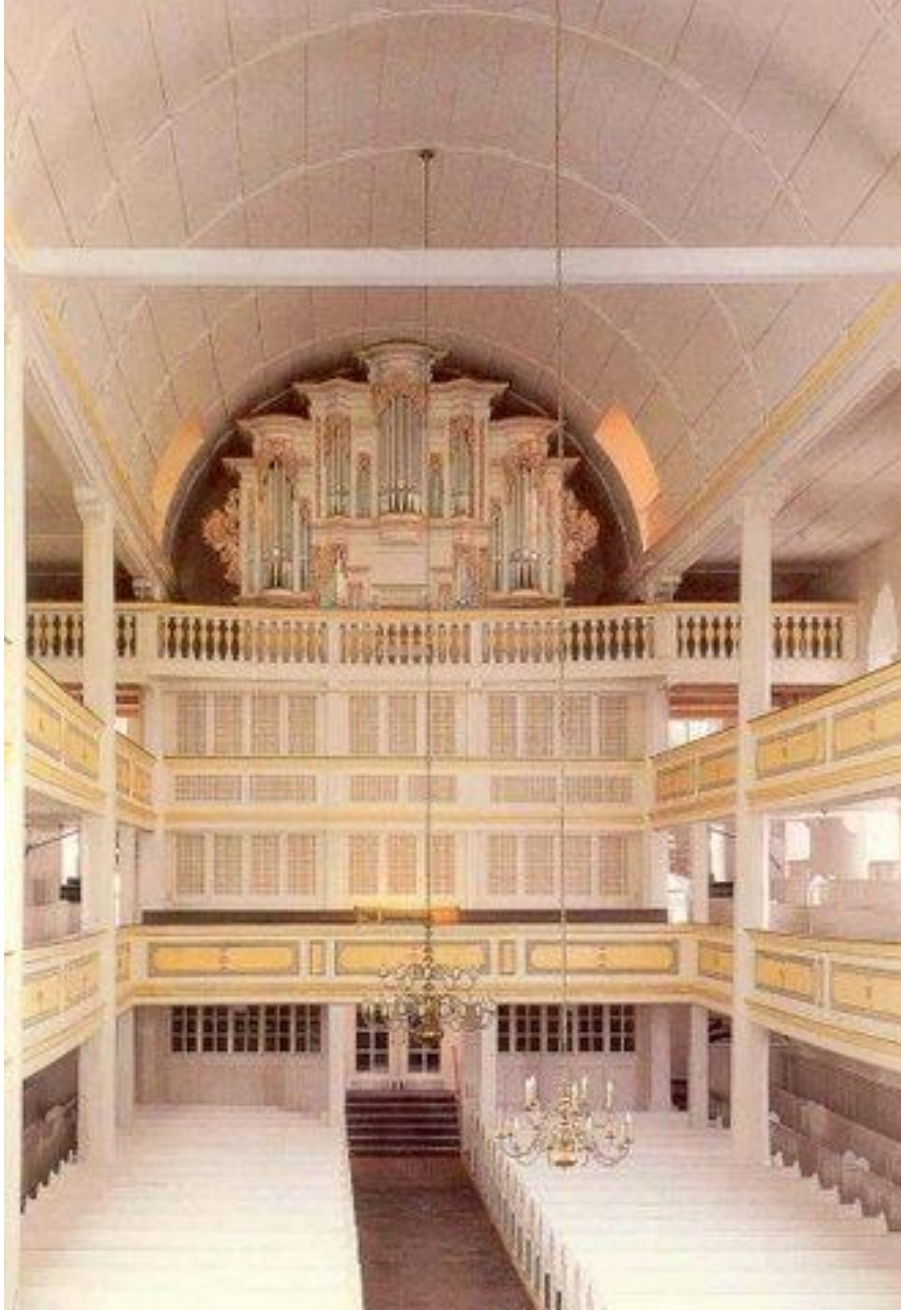


Plate 3.10: Interior, Neuekirche-Arnstadt.



Plate 3.11: Organ Console, Wender-Orgel, 1703, Neuekirche-Arnstadt.

Pedal		Brustwerk		Oberwerk	
Sub Baß	16	Still gedackt	8	Principal	8
Principal Baß	8	Principal	4	Viol di Gamba	8
Posaunen Baß	16	Nachthorn	4	Gemshorn	8
Cornet Baß	2	Spitz flöte	4	Quinta dena	8
		Quinte	3	Grob gedackt	8
Ow - Pedal		Sesquialtera doppelt	II	Quinta	6
		Mixtur 3 fach		Octava	4
				Mixtur 4 fach	
				Cymbel doppelt	II
				Trompet	8
		Tremulant			
		Cymbalstern (C)		Bw - Ow	
		Cymbalstern (G)			

Table 3.12: Stop Disposition, Orgel, Neuekirche, Arnstadt (Wender, 1703).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Wenke, *Der Junge Bach in Arnstadt*. (Arnstadt, 1993). Walter Emery in his 1972 *Musical Times* article, *The Bach Organ at Arnstadt*, refers to the 1928 viewing of the decommissioned Wender-console by Charles Sanford Terry, in which he describes the stop-registers as: *exceedingly dirty and ill-tended, and some of their lettering almost undecipherable*. After a subsequent examination in 1957, Karl Müller stated that although they [the stop-registers] were thumbed and dirty, most of them could be read with certainty. The stops [twenty-eight in total] are numbered, and are arranged in four columns, two on each side of the music desk. Wender's 1993 assessment of the stop-register quantity and number differs significantly from Müller's transcription of the stop-inscriptions in his 1957 study. See: Walter Emery, *The Bach Organ at Arnstadt*, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 113, No. 1557 Nov. (1972) pp. 1119-1121. Stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/956122>> [Accessed: 12 Jan. 2010]. See also: *Arnstadter Bachbuch* (ed. Karl Müller and Fritz Wiegand, 2nd edn., Arnstadt, 1957), p. 82 (the contract) and pp. 89-91.

## Overview

Part 3.3 deals with Bach's first appointment post-schooling, between age eighteen and twenty-two, as an organist employed at Arnstadt. There is a review of Werckmeister's *Orgel-Probe* upon Bach's approach to liturgical music. At Arnstadt, Bach was expected to work to a very strict and specific rubric, as to his performing and conduct. To what extent did he fulfil the professional and personal expectations of his role?

There is assessment of Bach's journey to creative maturity in the third decade of his life, and in particular, of his well-documented challenges to authority. How do some of these character traits contribute to our wider understanding of his youthful musical abilities?

There is analysis of Bach's musical creativity whilst at Arnstadt. This includes scrutiny of the reception of his organ playing, as well as consideration of the early partita sources, considering to what extent their composition was completed at Arnstadt, or, as is more likely, prior to this appointment.

Bach concluded his formal school studies at the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg in the spring of 1702. There remains conjecture as to his precise movements at this time, certainly prior to the point that he was appointed organist of Arnstadt's Neuekirche around August 1703. He would have been aware of the meticulous and formal nature of the process for appointing organists in Germany around this time. This included a rigorous trial set for potential appointees, where church authorities often went to some lengths in outlining the nature of their organist's duties. These were quite onerous to the point where it is not difficult to understand how Bach so famously crossed such strictures from time to time during the course of his career.<sup>2</sup> A notable pre-eighteenth-century source dictating the nature of a German liturgical organist's duties appears in Andreas Werckmeister's tome, the *Orgel-Probe* of 1686.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Sara Botwinick, *From Ohrdruf to Mulhausen: A subversive reading of JS Bach's relationship to authority*, *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*, vol. XXXV, No. 2 (2004).

<sup>3</sup> Through his life-long efforts to formalise approaches to the examination of rebuilt or new organs, and the modernisation of all aspects of their design and function, Werckmeister almost single-handedly gave fresh impetus to more contemporary approaches to the construction of pipe organs in the early Baroque era, an influence which lasted long into the eighteenth century. Aside from his mathematical theorems on rationalising tuning systems for the instrument, his *Orgel-Probe* and numerous other treatises (see Table 3.10) provide significant insight into the notional function of the Lutheran liturgical organist in the latter part of seventeenth century Germany.

Andreas Werckmeister (1645-1706) *Orgel-Probe, oder Kurtze Beschreibung, wie und welcher Gestalt man die Orgel-Wercke von den Orgelmachern annehmen, probiren, untersuchen und den Kirchen liefern könne und solle* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1681, 2/1698/R as *Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgel-Probe*, 5/1783; Eng. trans., 1976).

See also: George, J. Buelow, *Werckmeister, Andreas*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/30123>> [Accessed: 23 Sep. 2009]

Andreas Werckmeister (1645-1706) - Table of Theoretical Works
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orgel-Probe, oder Kurtze Beschreibung, wie und welcher Gestalt man die Orgel-Wercke von den Orgelmachern annehmen, probiren, untersuchen und den Kirchen liefern könne und solle (<i>Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1681, 2/1698/R as Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgel-Probe, 5/1783; Eng. trans., 1976</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Musicae mathematicae Hodegus curiosus, oder Richtiger musicalischer Weg-Weiser (<i>Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1686, 2/1687/R</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Musicalische Temperatur, oder Deutlicher und warer mathematischer Unterricht, wie man durch Anweisung des Monochordi ein Clavier, sonderlich die Orgel-Wercke, Positive, Regale, Spinetten und dergleichen wol temperirt stimmen könne (<i>Frankfurt and Leipzig, ?1686–7[lost], 2/1691/R</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Der edlen Music-Kunst Würde, Gebrauch und Missbrauch, so wohl aus der heiligen Schrift als auch aus etlich alten und Neubewährten reinen Kirchen-Lehrern (<i>Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1691</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hypomnemata musica, oder Musicalisches Memorial, welches bestehet in kurtzer Erinnerung dessen, so bisshero unter guten Freunden discours-weise, insonderheit von der Composition und Temperatur möchte vorgangen seyn (<i>Quedlinburg, 1697/R</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nucleus musicus (<i>MS, ?1697</i>), lost</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Die nothwendigsten Anmerckungen und Regeln, wie der Bassus continuus oder General-Bass wol könne tractiret werden (<i>Aschersleben, 1698/R, 2/1715</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cribrum musicum, oder Musicalisches Sieb (<i>Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1700/R, 2/1783</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Musicalisches Send-Schreiben (<i>Quedlinburg and Aschersleben, 1700</i>) [<i>trans., with commentary, of A. Steffani: Quanta certezza habbia da suoi principii la musica (Amsterdam, 1695)</i>]</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Harmonologia musica, oder Kurtze Anleitung zur musicalischen Composition (<i>Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1702/R</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organum Gruningense redivivum, oder Kurtze Beschreibung des in der Grüningischen Schlos-Kirchen berühmten Orgel-Wercks (<i>Quedlinburg and Aschersleben, 1705</i>); ed. P. Smets (<i>Mainz, 1932</i>)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse, oder Ungemeine Vorstellungen, wie die Musica einen hohen und göttlichen Ursprung habe (<i>Quedlinburg, 1707/R</i>)</li> </ul>

Table 3.10: Andreas Werckmeister: List of Theoretical Treatises published during his lifetime.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Bach can be considered as having been in communion with many of the philosophies of the earlier German musical theorist. For example, the *Orgel-Probe* declares that organists should understand clearly the mechanisms of their instruments, and the manner of their tuning, specifically addressing issues where instruments are affected by meteorological changes. Equally precise, from a musical perspective, is the insistence that organists be able to improvise and to transpose music at sight, as well as read “Generalbass”, and “play not merely [...] bourrées and other French songs”.<sup>5</sup> Werckmeister alludes to the necessity for written contracts between church authorities and their musicians, an insightful statement given the many cases of employment relationship breakdowns occurring from time to time even in sacred and ecclesiastical circles. He actually defines potential contractual issues in his treatise (see Table 3.10), *Harmonologia Musica*, in which he determines that churches should ensure their organist be competent to:<sup>6</sup>

1. Improvise a fugue on any given subject.
2. Vary a chorale, that is to harmonise it in differing ways, with notable embellishment according to the nature and meaning of the text.<sup>7</sup>
3. Transpose a chorale into every key.
4. Read both figured bass [“Generalbass”?] and Organ Tablature.

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<sup>5</sup> The *Orgel-Probe* went into a 5<sup>th</sup> edition in 1783, which denotes it as having been a very significant document for any aspiring church organist, and similarly, church authorities, given that it sought to precisely define the role of organist, and expectations of him/her, during the course of regular duties. Werckmeister (1681 & 1698R: 5<sup>th</sup> ed. 1783, Eng. trans., 1976). Williams (1984), p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> J.G. Ziegler states in 1746 that J.S. Bach’s instruction to him on the performance of chorale-playing was: “dass ich die Lieder nicht nur so oben him, sondern nach dem Affect der Wortte spiele.” [... that I should play the hymns not indifferently, but according to the Affekt of the words.] *Dok II* (1969), p. 423. Williams (1984), p. 123.

5. Understand how to treat [his] instrument.

6. Satisfy an assessor practised in composition that [he] has musicianship.<sup>8</sup>

Bach found that application of these prescriptions to varied from place to place, appointment to appointment, occasionally offering more lenient, but sometimes considerably more dogmatic, as was certainly the case at Arnstadt.<sup>9</sup> At the time of his first formal church appointment in Arnstadt, on 9 August 1703, Bach received an extensive letter of appointment from the Court Consistory of Arnstadt, which today would be akin to a formal contract of employment. The lengthy, and at times colourful, prose contained in this document serves to blur some of the very unusual, but exact, strictures which were imposed upon the nineteen-year-old organist as he began his Arnstadt tenure.

Notable details include:<sup>10</sup>

- That he [Bach] keep himself faithful, pleasant and attentive.
- The he show himself to be industrious and trustworthy.<sup>11</sup>
- Not to meddle in other business or affairs.
- To present punctually at the organ on Sundays, and other days.
- To play the [organ] properly, take care of it, and maintain it with all industry.

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<sup>8</sup> Williams (1984), p. 123.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> *Dok II* (1969), p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> The issue of contractual 'trustworthiness' was famously called into question at Arnstadt upon the admission of the *strange maiden* to the organ gallery during a service. However, the clause whereby the organist was instructed that "no one [should be] admitted to the organs during service without special permission" was not an uncommon stricture in many churches at the time. Hence Bach's woes at Arnstadt were probably less to do with any suggested impropriety from having admitted a female to the organ loft, but more with so precisely breaking the terms of allowing anyone proximity to the gallery and instrument during the course of a service. See: *Dok II* (1969), pp. 51-52.

- To report unreliability in the organ or the necessity for repair, but not to instruct any individual to carry out repairs which might compromise the good condition of the instrument without first seeking the permission of the Superintendent.
- Conduct [his] life in the fear of God, sobriety, and good nature.
- Preserve [himself] from bad society and hindrance.

Aside from the numerous character attributes required to fulfil this churchly role, it is significant to note the requirement of the organist to “at all times” take good care of the organ. This suggests an expectation that the organist appointed have skills to both diagnose and rectify problems arising with the instrument. Therefore, the Arnstadt Consistory and related authorities, as a matter of routine procedure in most churches, would have determined that Bach was in possession of these necessary skills and attributes in advance of his appointment. It would appear from records that they had at least two occasions on which to determine that Bach would become their preferred appointee for the Neuekirche position.

Perhaps as an indication of his already rising reputation, or perhaps even because of the perceived prestige of his initial but short-lived position at the Saxe-Weimar Court, the Arnstadt authorities called Bach to examine the new two-manual and pedal instrument at the Neuekirche, built by Wender in 1703.<sup>12</sup> Whilst the report of Bach’s encounter with the new Arnstadt organ does not survive beyond a brief report of the fee and arrangements made for him in lieu of the time which he spent there in

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<sup>12</sup> Prior to his 1703 appointment at Arnstadt, Bach, upon departure from Luneburg, initially served in some informal capacity in the court capelle in Weimar, as well as undertaking an organ test in Sangerhausen which proved unsuccessful.

July 1703, the confirmation of his appointment as the recipient of the newly created organist's post at the Neuekirche shortly after, must be testament to his abilities as a "finished musician".<sup>13</sup>

Wolff has observed that the appointment at Arnstadt of the eighteen-year-old, over competition of older and more seasoned keyboard professionals, provides further insight into his advanced facility to the extent that his virtuosic capacity "possibly [exceeded that of] senior masters like Reinken, Buxtehude, Pachelbel and Böhm".<sup>14</sup> Today it is difficult to determine the nature of this "virtuosic capacity" today. While Bach "would certainly not have equalled [Reinken, Buxtehude, et al.] in compositional polish, he tried to measure up to or even outdo the models they established."<sup>15</sup>

Such observations are fundamental to the aim of this study. Bach's already profound mastery of the keyboard styles of his "senior masters",<sup>16</sup> and his early demonstration of "virtuosity" at Arnstadt, lend strong affirmation to my belief that the five chorale-partitas were completed during, or even prior to, Bach's tenure there: "We can conclude that Bach's level of accomplishment around 1702-3 must be considered much higher than the dearth of autograph sources prior to 1714 has led us to believe".<sup>17</sup> There have already been fresh discoveries and corroboration of numerous sources earlier than the 1714 benchmark source.<sup>18</sup> As these important new finds have emerged, so they have begun to provide justification to the assertions and arguments presented in this study. Newly available evidence of pre-

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<sup>13</sup> Wolff (2000), pp. 60-66.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Reinken, Buxtehude, Böhm et al. Others as specifically listed in the Obituary.

<sup>17</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> MS LM 4708: Neumeister Collection; Weimarer-Tablaturbuch.

1714 sources points to the extent of Bach's previously unrecorded youthful abilities as a composer and organist, as outlined in this investigation.

### Bach's Productivity at Arnstadt

"There are among Bach's works a few Chorale Partitas. An expert in such matters at once detects that they are early attempts. It has been supposed that they were composed in Arnstadt. I have not the smallest doubt that they were written at Lüneburg, or at least under the direct influence of Böhm. We can but wonder at the astonishing power of assimilation which deals with the contradictory forms originating in his own mind, and in that of others, with as much facility as if they were all spontaneous. Such a phenomenon in a man whose individuality afterwards stood forth in the strongest conceivable contrast to his time, rising before us as if hewn out of rock, could only be possible during extreme youth. Still, it affords us a standard for estimating the way in which Bach trained himself, and absorbed into himself everything of value that he met on his way. This mode of energy can be traced in his life, at least up to the middle of his twentieth year."<sup>19</sup>

By the time Bach first trialled in public the Wender organ of Arnstadt's Neuekirche, he must have possessed an outstanding ability at the instrument to have created such an immediately favourable impression. He would likely have performed an extensive programme of written music, as well as extemporisations. It has been noted that whilst the Neuekirche organ was well-resourced, it also had some unusual peculiarities. The pedal-board was some twenty-five keys, although lacking the bottom C<sup>#</sup>.<sup>20</sup> It is conceivable that some if not all of the chorale partitas may have

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<sup>19</sup> Spitta (1951), pp. 200-255.

<sup>20</sup> Emery (1972), pp. 1119-1121.

formed part of Bach's programme for his Arnstadt demonstration.<sup>21</sup> For example, an examination of all five compositions (BWV 766, 767, 768, 770, 771) reveals that in each, none is reliant on the presence of the bottom-C<sup>#</sup> pedal note.<sup>22</sup> The Wender organ also possessed keyboards with a compass extending over four octaves up to c''', and without short-octave keyboards in the bass i.e. possessing chromatic keys between C and A, which was not commonplace at the time. When these details are further applied to the partitas, the top note utilised in each is c''', not extending above. Where c<sup>#'''</sup> is required, it is subsumed at c<sup>#''</sup> pitch.<sup>23</sup> Again, all five pieces could have been performed at Arnstadt with little hindrance to the performer - in fact, this instrument possessed many specific characteristics, some unusual for the period, which would have particularly endeared it to the composer for the presentation of each of these partitas.

We must also consider (as further supporting the idea that all five chorale partitas were performed), that as the Arnstadt instrument was new, and perhaps owing to the foresight exercised by its designer, Johann Friedrich Wender, the organ was tuned to Werckmeister's new *Wohltemperirt* tuning system. The performance of works in keys such as C minor, and particularly F minor, was now wholly feasible without discomfort to performer and listeners alike. It would have been both notable and dramatic, perhaps a further indication as to why Bach's performance on July 13 1703 was so tremendously well-received.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, Bach began his tenure as organist of the Neuekirche in extremely favourable circumstances. It is noted that

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Part 5 of this study provides a fuller discussion on the implications of this detail. See: pp. 302-321.

<sup>23</sup> See: Hans Klotz, *Bach's Orgeln und seine Orgelmusik, Die Musikforschung*, III, (1950), pp. 189-203. Walter Emery, *The Compass of Bach's Organs as Evidence of the Date of his Works, The Organ*, XXXII (1952), pp. 92-100.

<sup>24</sup> "...they thought themselves bound to special efforts on behalf of the young artist of eighteen; he had made a deep impression on the people." Spitta (1951), pp. 222-223.

comparative to his age and the financial circumstances of this parish, he was well-remunerated in his role.

Bach served for a period of nearly four years. Throughout this period, his circumstances were ideal in allowing him time and space to quickly advance his keyboard facility, and write compositions appropriate for his own performing. If indeed the chorale partitas were not fully formed at the time of his much-feted arrival in Arnstadt, they must have been complete, and presumably aired, in the context of the Neuekirche's broadly favourable service-format by the time he departed in May 1707: "... he had at his disposal a brand-new organ, the perfect training equipment for refining his technical keyboard skills and for formulating his own musical ideas, testing them both in the privacy of his practice hours at the church and in front of a large audience [circa one thousand five hundred people attending worship per regular Sunday at the Neuekirche] during the divine services."<sup>25</sup>

It has become widely accepted that at Arnstadt, Bach was a productive individual. His earliest compositions and his performing achievements prior to Arnstadt are likely to have been underestimated.<sup>26</sup> Through examination of early Arnstadt-period manuscripts, such as the chorale prelude BWV 739 *Wie schön Leuchtet der Morgenstern*, it becomes clearer that Bach during this period was focused on the production of organ music, which included numerous organ chorales under many guises, but doubtless based upon the model of his already composed chorale partitas.

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<sup>25</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 92.

<sup>26</sup> Wolff feels certain that ever since Spitta's important biographical rendering of Bach's life, this degree of underestimation has by and large continued. Ibid.

## The Journey to Lübeck (1705-1706), Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707), and the Probable Impact on Bach's Earliest Organ Compositions



Plate 3.11: Dietrich Buxtehude, in rare contemporary portrait  
<http://www.muslib-sl.info/Images/DietrichBuxtehude.jpg>.



Plate 3.12: Signature, Dietrich Buxtehude.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Buxtehude\\_Signature.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Buxtehude_Signature.jpg).

“His destination again lay northwards, being in fact Lübeck, the residence of Buxtehude. Pachelbel indeed was living still nearer to him, but in the south at Nuremberg; and he was sixteen years younger and so much more vigorous than Buxtehude. But Bach, probably and very rightly, took the view that he could no longer acquire anything in Nuremberg that had not long formed part of the common stock in Thuringia, and become to him part of his very being, while the art of the Lübeck master offered new and peculiar aspects, and had as yet gained small acceptance in Central Germany.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Spitta (1951), pp. 256-257.

## Overview

Here, I will:

1. Consider why Bach journeyed on foot to hear the elderly Buxtehude in Lübeck.
2. Evaluate the scope of Buxtehude's organ music, the *Stylus Phantasticus*, and its probable impact on Bach.
3. Study the organs of Lübeck which Buxtehude would have known, and which were visited by Bach. An exploration of manual and pedal compass scope in the music of Buxtehude is considered.
4. Reflect upon Buxtehude's influence on the earliest organ music of Bach

Throughout his youth, Bach made concerted efforts to hear the most notable figures of the day perform on the organ. By the time Bach reached age twenty, he had, by virtue of tenacity or good fortune, heard the organ playing of Georg Böhm and Johann Adam Reinken, and that of his own progenitors, chiefly Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> and Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>. As far as the completion of his self-prescribed learning was concerned, in his twentieth year, Bach decided, perhaps encouraged by Reinken, that he would travel to hear the famed North-German master, Dietrich Buxtehude, who from 1668 until his death in-post in 1707, won fame as the organist of Lübeck's Marienkirche.<sup>2</sup>

The Obituary notes that "While he was in Arnstadt, he was once moved by the particularly strong desire to hear as many good organists as he could, so he undertook a journey, on foot, to Lübeck, in order to listen to the famous Organist of St. Mary's Church there, Diedrich Buxtehude. He tarried there, not without profit, for almost a quarter of a year, and then returned to Arnstadt."<sup>3</sup> Buxtehude was born in 1637, so a man aged 68 to 69 greeted Bach in the winter of 1705-1706. He was to die a year later. Spitta seemed somewhat bemused as to why Bach chose to travel some 200 kilometres to the north of Arnstadt to hear this elderly man, two-hundred kilometres north of Arnstadt, when he could have joined the company of the more vigorous Pachelbel so much nearer in Nuremberg.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Buxtehude's advancing age was well known to Bach, and this opportunity may have occurred to him as being perhaps his last chance to connect with the prominent organist before his

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Kennedy, ed. *Dietrich, Buxtehude, The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev. *Oxford Music Online*.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1669>> [Accessed: 14 Jan. 2010].

<sup>3</sup> *NBR* (1999), p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> Spitta (1951), pp. 256-257.

death.

Bach's first introduction in-person to Buxtehude may well have been at the home of Reinken, during Bach's earlier visits to him in Hamburg. With Reinken as an influential intermediary, these meetings may well have resulted in Bach securing an invitation to visit Buxtehude in Lübeck on some future occasion. Certainly Reinken had in his possession a number of pieces in Buxtehude's hand, and given what we know already about Bach's determination to absorb as many works of the keyboard masters in his youth, credence should be given to the idea of the northward-visit first being set in his mind at an early stage.<sup>5</sup> What all of this seems to point to, however, is that the significance of Reinken's influence over Bach's earliest creative development and the connections which he must inevitably have forged for him has been hitherto overlooked.<sup>6</sup>

"November 1705 – February 1706: Actum: February 21, 1706

The Organist in the New Church, Bach, is interrogated as to where he has lately been for so long and from whom he obtained leave to go. [Bach, the defendant]: He has been to Lübeck in order to comprehend one thing or another about his art, but had asked leave beforehand from the Superintendent. Dominus Superintendent [The Reverend Superintendent]: He had asked for only four weeks, but had stayed about four times as long. Ille: Hoped that the organ playing had been so taken care of by the one he had engaged for the purpose that no complaint could be entered on that account."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Bach's first introduction to the music of Buxtehude occurred as early as 1698/9 via his encounter with Fascicle II, at the home of his elder brother, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> in Ohrdruf. Fasc. II of the Weimar Organ Tablature is a copy in early tablature, in Bach's scribal hand, of the Buxtehude Chorale, *Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein*. See: Wollny (2008), pp. 67-74.

<sup>6</sup> The Obituary refers to Reinken by name on no less than three occasions, certainly a significant number given the pains that the obituarists went to in order to present Bach's musical formation as largely having been on his own merits and efforts and largely self-taught. *NBR* (1999), pp. 295-307.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

The Arnstadt Consistory report provides evidence of Bach's momentous journey, to "comprehend one thing or other about his art."<sup>8</sup> Again we see a self-motivated determination in the twenty-year-old musician to take quite dramatic steps to further his knowledge. In this instance, what is immediately apparent, but not often reported, is the attitude Bach must have had to his first organ post. At the least, it shows that he was already enthused primarily by a love of his art, which transcended any fears he may have had for authority, or for safe-guarding a reputation as dedicated and loyal to his superiors, as might most junior employees in the early stages of their careers. Bach's inability to see the offence caused in his prolonged absence, founding his defence on having installed a suitable deputy to cover the period, identifies a degree of naivety on his part. Especially, it seems quite unusual for a church organist in a relatively new post to take a considerable period of absence at one of the busiest and most significant periods in the church calendar.

It has been observed by many commentators that the timing of the winter visit to Lübeck would have been planned to coincide with one of the major musical events of the season in Northern Germany, the Marienkirche's *Abendmusiken* – a series of dramatic sacred performances of large-scale oratorios composed by Buxtehude himself. Whilst the significance of the major performances on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> December, so famously presented to a vast audience in the thousands, cannot be overlooked as the likely stimulus for the visit, what else may Bach have gained from a period of some three months or so in Lübeck?<sup>9</sup> The focal point of Bach's objective must have lain in his desire to develop his performing and compositional abilities.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 96.

Given the length of Bach's stay in Lübeck, he not only discovered the understanding of his art that he craved, but might also have admired the role model which the sixty-nine year old Buxtehude was able to supply. Whilst a fascination with the cantata works might have been of evident appeal for Bach then beginning a lifelong association with cantatas and concerted music, Buxtehude's famed mastery of the organ, and the stylistic features of his compositions, may very likely have been of equal if not of greater appeal to Bach at this time. It is widely accepted that his *Passacaglia* BWV 582 bears many close parallels with Buxtehude's own *Passacaglia* in D minor BuxWV 161, as well as being considered a comparatively early work.<sup>10</sup> Bach's thematic structure and harmonic treatment of the *Passacaglia* variations remain remarkably similar to the Buxtehude model. Further similarities abound, and cover chorale preludes, preludes, toccatas and fugues, as well as miscellaneous pieces.<sup>11</sup> In terms of the structural, stylistic and personal traits which Bach would have noted during his time with Buxtehude, the following have been observed as significant features:<sup>12</sup>

1. The model of Buxtehude's professional stature and standing for an organist.
2. The dramatic *stylus phantasticus* approach to the large-scale organ works.
3. A developed pedal technique.
4. A careful method of distribution for the major organ works.

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<sup>10</sup> Bach may well have been familiar with this work as far back as his sojourn in Ohrdruf, the work being present among several others contained in the *ABB*. Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

<sup>11</sup> The *Fuga alla Gigue* BWV 577, is remarkably similar in nature and shape to Buxtehude's own model in C major BuxWV 174 (extant source found in the *ABB*; for sources see above) – although the presumably later Bach-model is significantly more reliant on the use of a full pedal compass throughout. Williams urges caution however, particularly with the subjects of these two pieces, given that there are many similar Jig-based subjects in this *genre*, by figures such as Böhm, Zachow, Lübeck, Pachelbel etc. Williams (2003), pp. 176-178.

<sup>12</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 97.

At Lübeck, Bach would likely have presented some of his recently composed keyboard pieces, and may have in all likelihood wanted to demonstrate his own talent for organ playing. It has therefore been suggested that a number of items of Bach's expanding repertoire may have been appropriate to such visits when they presented themselves.<sup>13</sup> These may have included some of Bach's compositions in the MM and ABB,<sup>14</sup> as well as the liturgically and stylistically suitable chorale-fantasia *Wie Schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* BWV 739. Furthermore, Wolff has made mention of the Prelude and Fugue in E major / C major BWV 566, considered by him to "mostly anticipate or coincide with the Lübeck visit rather than post-date it."<sup>15</sup> However, on closer inspection, it is apparent that BWV 566 would have presented many problems to Bach, had he have chosen to perform the piece at Lübeck's Marienkirche. The likely original key of this piece has yet to be ascertained, given its transmutation through various manuscripts<sup>16</sup> in both C major as well as E major.<sup>17</sup> The hypothesis which has proposed E major as the tonic key, and which suggests that this was one of the works which Bach chose to demonstrate in Lübeck, can be disproven for the following reasons. Throughout Buxtehude's time as organist of the Marienkirche, both the main three-manual instrument (see Table 3.11), and the smaller *Totentanz* organ (see Table 3.12), had short-octave manuals as well as pedal-boards, whereby the bottom octaves of each was missing a significant number of the chromatic degrees of the scale, namely C<sup>#</sup>, D<sup>#</sup>, F<sup>#</sup> and G<sup>#</sup>. Three of these

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<sup>13</sup> We could presume that his youthful exuberance at least would lead to a desire to demonstrate his acumen, as for example with his 1722 almost half-hour extempore rendition on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, in the presence of the nearly 100 year-old Reinken, leaving the Hamburg master to observe on this occasion that: "I thought that this art was dead, but I see that in you it still lives." *NBR* (1999), p. 302.

<sup>14</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

<sup>15</sup> Wolff (2000), p. 97.

<sup>16</sup> An AMS has not been discerned.

<sup>17</sup> Williams (2003), pp. 159-162.

chromatic notes – D<sup>#</sup>, F<sup>#</sup>, G<sup>#</sup> - were instated to both the manuals and pedals in the larger organ in 1733, long after Buxtehude's death in 1707, and in the small *Totentanz* instrument as late as 1760.<sup>18</sup> What is apparent is that, not only would it have been highly problematic for Buxtehude to have performed some of his own richly chromatic organ pieces on an instrument such as this, but also Bach himself would have experienced similar issues, in particular with the pedal-part of BWV 566 in E major, had the piece been performed on either organ of the Lübeck-Marienkirche:

Ex. 3.13: J.S. Bach: Toccata in E major BWV 566 pre-1705? bb. 16-19.

Arrows indicating pedal notes that could not have been performed at the Lübeck-Marienkirche pre-1733.

<sup>18</sup> Kerala J. Snyder, *Buxtehude's Organs: Helsingør, Helsingborg, Lübeck. 2: The Lübeck Organs, The Musical Times*, Vol. 126, No. 1709, Jul. (1985), pp. 427-434.  
Stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/964372>> [Accessed: 19 January 2010].



Ex. 3.14: J.S. Bach: Toccata in E major BWV 566 pre-1705? bb. 20-22.

Arrows indicating pedal notes that could not have been performed at the Lübeck-Marienkirche pre-1733.



Ex. 3.15: J.S. Bach: Fugue in E major BWV 566 pre-1705? bb. 73-75.

Arrows indicating pedal notes that could not have been performed at the Lübeck-Marienkirche pre-1733.

The transposition to C major would also have proven to be somewhat problematic at Lübeck, in particular through the prevalence of G<sup>#</sup> at numerous points. A slight anomaly here is in the presence of the bottom F<sup>#</sup> and G<sup>#</sup> notes available on the organs of two smaller Lübeck organs at the Pieterkirche and Jakobikirche.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Snyder (1985), pp. 427-434.

It is curious that minor Lübeck churches should have possessed greater performing scope than that of the town's Ratskirche, but it seems inconceivable that either Buxtehude or Bach would have decamped to alternative venues simply for the performance of pieces in problematic keys. This would seem particularly true with Buxtehude, whose prowess at the organ appears in all literature as symbiotically connected with the Marienkirche. The performance of organ music in problematic keys towards the end of the seventeenth century varied from church to church as to how unpleasant they might have sounded, dependent on prevailing tuning systems. In the case of Lübeck's Marienkirche, it has been observed that, subsequent to the publication of Werckmeister's *Orgel Probe*, the Marienkirche organs underwent a significant amount of re-tuning.<sup>20</sup> If it was indeed the case that by 1704 the Marienkirche instruments were well-tempered in line with Werckmeister's system, then this would have been a venue at which large-scale music in complex keys could be both tolerably, as well as dramatically, performed. This may well support a further hypothesis that Buxtehude's preludes and toccatas in keys such as F<sup>#</sup> minor, would fit only into the last four years of his life.

In terms of Bach's four chorale partitas, and the potential for their appearance as part of this Lübeck visit, it is interesting to note that Buxtehude himself set only one of the four chorale melodies used by Bach in his variation sets to a chorale prelude, namely, *Christ, der du bist der helle Tag*. Albeit, Buxtehude's setting of this melody comes under the title, *Befiehl dem Engel, daß er komm*, BuxWV 10.<sup>21</sup> Stylistically, they seem quite incongruous for such a visit, already appearing somewhat dated and more appropriate to Böhm's Lüneburg style when compared to the large-scale *Stylus*

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 427-434.

<sup>21</sup> Kerala J. Snyder. *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (Rochester, NYS: University of Rochester Press. 2007), p. 495.

*Phantasticus* models of Buxtehude.

Whilst it may never be proven to what extent Bach and the Danish master exchanged ideas on organ music and performance, the period of three months which Bach spent in Lübeck was a significant period of time. The Bach-Buxtehude creative relationship is as crucial to our understanding of his desire to improve himself in one way or another, as was his creative associations with Böhm, Reinken, Pachelbel by proxy through his brother Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, as well as his own close progenitors. Fortunately, evidence of Bach's ever earlier association with the music of these influences, whilst as yet untested forensically, continues to emerge, and whilst the full details of these relationships are yet to be fully exposed, what we now have appears to point to strong creative and mutually inspirational partnerships wherever Bach engaged with mentors.

## The Organs of the Lübeck-Marienkirche Which Bach Would Have Known



Fig. 3.12: Lübeck-Ratskirche: Marienkirche.



Fig. 3.13: Lübeck-Marienkirche: Main Organ from 1516-18, renovated by Friedrich Stellwagen 1637-1641.



Fig. 3.14: Lübeck- Marienkirche: *Totentanz* (Dance of Death) Organ.  
From 1475-1477, renovated by Friedrich Stellwagen 1653-1655.

## Disposition of the Main Organ, Lübeck-Marienkirche

Werck	Rückpositiv
Principal 16 (facade) Quintadena 16 Octava 8 Spitz-Flöte 8 Octava 4 Hohlflöte 4 Nasat 3 Rauschpfeiffe IV Scharff IV Mixtura XV Trommete 16 Trommete 8 Zincke 8	Principal 8 (facade) Bordun 16 Blockflöte 8 Sesquialtera II Hohl-Flöte 8 Quintadena 8 Octava 4 Spiel-Flöte 2 Mixtura V Dulcian 16 Baarpfeiffe 8 Trichter-Regal 8 Vox humana 8 (1704) Scharff IV-V
Brust	Pedal
Principal 8 Gedact 8 Octava 4 Hohlflöte 4 Sesquialtera II (1704) Feld-Pfeiffe 2 Gemshorn 2 Sifflet 11/2 Mixtura VIII Cimbel III Krumhorn 8 Regal 8	Principal 32 (facade) Sub-Bass 16 Octava 8 Bauerflöte 2 Mixtura VI Groß-Posaun 24 Posaune 16 Trommete 8 Principal 16 (facade) Gedact 8 Octava 4 Nachthorn 2 Dulcian 16 Krumhorn 8 Cornet 2

Table 3.11: Lübeck- Marienkirche: Main Organ from 1516-18, renovated by Friedrich Stellwagen 1637-1641.  
 Stop List according to Johann Mattheson, after a visit to Lübeck in 1703.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Snyder (1985), pp. 427-434.

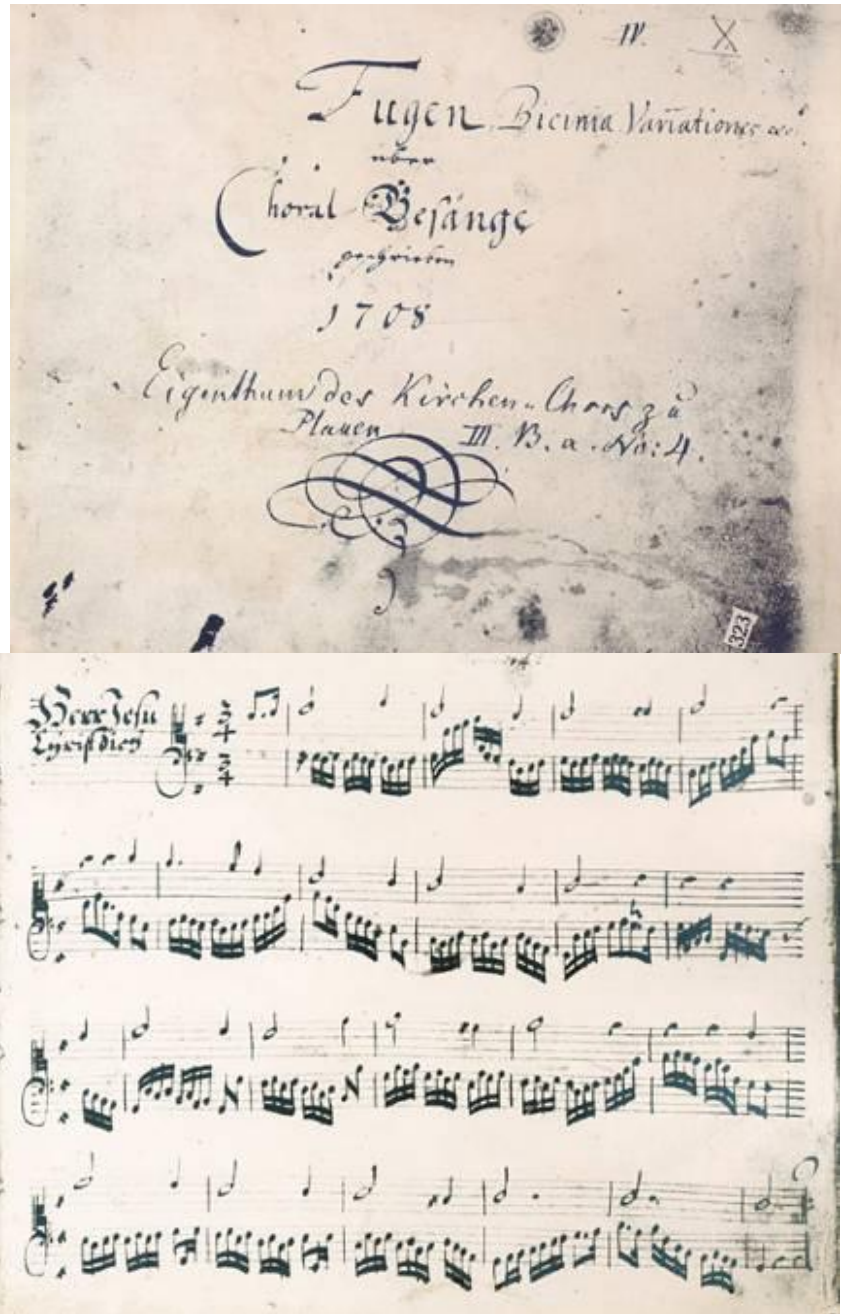
## Disposition of the *Totentanz* Organ, Lübeck-Marienkirche

Disposition according to Theodor Vogt c.1845	Disposition according to Gustav Fock c.1937
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Hauptwerk</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Quintaton 16 Principal 8 Spitzflöte 8 Octav 4 Nasat 3; now Flöte 4 Mixture VIII; now IV- V Rauschquinte II Trompete 8</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Rückpositiv</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Principal 8 Hohlflöte 8 Quintaton 8 Octav 4 Hohlflöte 4 Zifflöte 2 Scharf VI-VIII; now IV Sexquialter II Dulcian 16 Trichter Regal 8</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Brustwerk</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gedeckt 8 Flöte 4 (gedeckt) Octav 2; removed Scharf III-IV removed Regal 8; replaced with Trompete 8 Oboe 8; removed Cimbel II; replaced by Cornett III Schweller (added 1760; removed 1846) Trompete 8; removed (to BW) Oboe d'amour; removed</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Pedal</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Principal 16 Quinte 102/3 Octav 8 Gedeckt 8 Octav 4 Octav 2 Mixture IV- V; now III Posaune 16 Dulcian 8; removed Trompete 8 Krummhorn 8; removed (C-g to BW Trompete 8) Schalmey 4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[Ped. Compass: C,D,E,F,G – d<sup>1</sup>]</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Hauptwerk</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Quintade 16 Principal 8 (facade) Spitzflöte 8 Oktave 4 Nasat 2 2/3 Mixture VI-X Rauschpfeife II Trompete 8</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Rückpositiv</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Principal 8 facade Rohrflöte 8 Quintaton 8 Oktave 4 Rohrflöte 4 Sifflöte 1 1/3 Scharf VI- VIII Sesquialter II Dulcian 16 Trichterregal 8</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Brustwerk</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gedact 8 Quintade 4 Hohlflöte 2 Quintflöte 1 1/2 Zimbel IV Krummhorn 8 Schalmei 4</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Pedal</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Principal 16 (facade) Subbass 16 (G-d<sup>1</sup>) Oktave 8 Gedackt 8 Oktave 4 Quintade 4 Oktave 2 Nachthorn 1 Mixture IV Zimbel II Posaune 16 Dulcian 16 Trompete 8 Schalmei 4 Kornett 2</p>

Table 3.12: Lübeck- Marienkirche: *Totentanz* Organ from 1475-1477, renovated by Friedrich Stellwagen 1653-1655; Rebuilt by Theodor Vogt 1760-1761; Restored Karl Kemper 1937. Organ destroyed during WW II.

## Part Four

### J.S. Bach and the Keyboard Variation: A Summary



Ex. 4.1: Plauener-Orgelbuch 1708, Fol. 1 r: Title Page;  
Plauener-Orgelbuch, Fol. 2 r: Choralsatz *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*.  
[http://www.sim.spk-berlin.de/bildergalerie\\_photokopiensammlung\\_693.html](http://www.sim.spk-berlin.de/bildergalerie_photokopiensammlung_693.html).

## Overview

Here, I will:

1. Provide an overview of the Lutheran choral partita form.
2. Explain the place of the Lutheran chorale in worship, as well as the structure of the services favoured in Lutheran worship and the music prescribed.
3. Consider the expectations placed upon the Lutheran organist in the time of Bach, and the role undertaken in church and community.
4. Provide an analysis of texts and music associated with the chorale partitas: BWV 766, 767, 768, 770, 771.
5. Explore the relationships that exist between Bach's music written in variation form and the work of others.

The liturgical variation is one of the earliest forms of music with which Bach fused a creative musical connection in his youth. This type of musical composition was particularly popular among organists and keyboardists in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and there were multitudinous sets available to the developing musician, in Bach's case, at least from his time spent in Ohrdruf, if not before.<sup>1</sup> The "moonlight"<sup>2</sup> copies would have taught him valuable lessons in structure, the available dance forms, varied harmonic and rhythmic settings of music often restricted to one key alone; and we know too that he had an extended period of time to study and copy these sets before confiscation – enough to absorb the relevant details.

Lengthy variation settings of individual Lutheran chorales would also have reinforced the young musician's knowledge of the melodies – a valuable resource, essential for use by a church organist as material for improvised preludes, and eventually his own cantata settings. As memorised knowledge of the Gregorian chants remains essential to organists of Roman Catholicism, so the numerous Lutheran chorale melodies were the foundation stones of most music by the Protestant organist of Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Schweitzer and Spitta discussed aspects of this chronology specifically in relation to the *Chorale Partitas*, and deduced early timelines. In particular, Forkel states that: "Bach began already when he was at Arnstadt (1703-1707) to compose such pieces, with variations, under the title Partite diverse". J.N. Forkel, *Über J. S. Bach's Leben, Kunst, Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802) Reprinted in *NBR* (1999), p. 471. See also: Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>2</sup> The nighttime occasions where Bach copied manuscripts by candlelight whilst lodging at the home of his brother, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> in Ohrdruf.

## The Place of Lutheran Organ Chorales in Church Worship

Lutheran church services could be very long affairs, made such not simply by word alone. Music played an integral and formal part of the main Sunday morning event, and the organist's role at these was significant and lengthy. There were several set-points along the way in each service where the organist would be expected to play, either through the performance of written-out music, or most likely by 'preludising' on Lutheran melodies in various musical forms and structures. The most important musical moments in the service are:

- i. An initial organ voluntary, likely on a Lutheran melody, appropriate to the day.
- ii. Preluding on the melody of the *Kyrie*, followed by a vocal performance.
- iii. Preluding on the chorale set as a congregational hymn.
- iv. Preluding on the theme of the cantata set for the service – e.g. *Sinfonia*.
- v. Harmonised setting by the organist of the congregational-sung *Credo*.
- vi. An organ prelude post-sermon; a harmonisation of several verses of a hymn.
- vii. Preluding on the second part of the cantata set for the day.
- viii. Alternate preluding of organ versets / interludium (variations) between sung chorale-verses until the point of the end of communion.
- ix. A concluding organ voluntary – possibly chorale-based, and associated thematically with the set religious themes for the day in question.<sup>5</sup>

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Williams (1972), p. 825.

Contemporary sources referring to the Lutheran organists' 'art' refer to no less than seventeen methods or techniques by which the chorale themes could be extemporised upon, or set to music.

These varied techniques were to fulfil three functions:

- i. To *prepare* the congregation for the key to be used.
- ii. To *inform* the congregation of the 'tune' to be used.
- iii. To *delight* them *through fluent ideas* [*durch wohlfliessende Gedanken*].<sup>7</sup>

Bach, even in his youth, was an extremely inventive extemporiser of material related to Lutheran chorales, even if the result was not always to everyone's liturgical or spiritual tastes.<sup>8</sup> In fact, although today we view his inventiveness as being without parallel, it can be seen that many of his liturgical flights of fancy could well have been confusing, even a hindrance, to simple and effective worship in a parochial small-town Lutheran church of the time. Placing to one side the Goldberg theme and variations, and the organ Passacaglia that do not rely on liturgical themes, Bach wrote sets of variations to Lutheran chorale melodies. What their intended function was remains somewhat unclear to this day, but a multi-faceted use for them needs to be considered:

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<sup>7</sup> According to Adlung: *Anleitung zur Musikalischen Gelabrtheit (1783 edn.)*. Source: Peter Williams, *Bach Organ Music* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), p. 825.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the Arnstadt episode in Bach's youth, whereby he was reprimanded by church authorities for making: "many curious variations in the chorale, and through harmonising the hymns by mingling many strange tones in it". See: *NBR* (1999), pp. 40-48.

“What purpose Chorale Variations have is uncertain, but presumably they could have been used at home [BWV 767], in church (voluntaries, especially for Communion?), as interludes between congregational verses, as models for independent chorale-preludes, or as exercises in different genres or composing by note-patterns. The common plan – a playing over of the hymn, then a bicinium, then figural variations, various dance-types, a final plenum chorale – suggests some of these uses more than others.”<sup>9</sup>

This assessment is an accurate representation of the generally accepted structural model of the Chorale Partita. There is a degree of consistency between Bach’s Lutheran chorale-variations, but so too is there compelling evidence of disparity in the types and style of variations used. This seems to point to their multi-faceted use and function, and perhaps even at intervals, they might even have been included in music during worship.

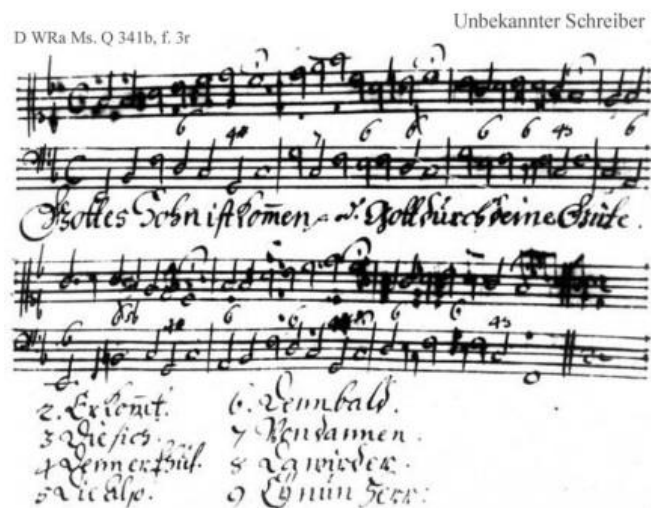
With BWV 768, it may be seen that the sequence of variations could quite sensibly fit within a liturgical framework which introduces the hymn, goes on to explore variations in a particular order and in groups, culminating in those that musically and texturally seem to be more applicable for the point of Communion.<sup>10</sup> The five-part textured drama of variation 11 might conceivably serve as the concluding voluntary to what would undoubtedly have been a long, penitential, and thematically heavily prescribed service.

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<sup>9</sup> Williams, (1972), p. 825.

<sup>10</sup> This is a very significant point, and has been the cause of considerable discussion and argument, and as such, will be more fully explored later in this part of this study, as well as in Part 5. See: pp. 287-295,

Given the appearance of one set of variations on the *Sei gegrüsset* chorale by a composer other than Bach,<sup>11</sup> the numerous copies of Bach's own variations on the same melody appear to indicate consistency among Thuringian church-musicians in composing liturgically suitable pieces based on similar themes, and perhaps intended for performance on the organ in the context of church-based worship. Noting apparent similarities which exist among the partitas of Buttstett, Böhm, Walther, with those of Bach, it may be seen that some of the sets seem to sit outside of the models being discussed here [see ex. 4.2]. For example, closer examination of the sets BWV 767, *O Gott, du frommer Gott*, and more significantly BWV 766, *Christ, der du bist der helle Tag* [see ex. 4.3], seem strongly to point to a different period of writing to BWV 768, and perhaps also for non-liturgical use.



Ex. 4.2: *Gottes Sohn ist kommen* – Tablature in the hand of an Unidentified Scribe – Weimarer-Tablaturbuch.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In the hand of Johann Heinrich Buttstett (1666-1727), and contained in the 1708 Plauener-Orgelbuch.

<sup>12</sup> D WRa MS Q341b: Weimarer-Tablaturbuch (Nuremberg 1704), Weimar, Herzogin-Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek,

<[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00003611](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003611)> [Accessed: 7 June 2012].



Ex. 4.3: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Variation 7 (D-DS Mus. ms. 73).

If each of the chorale partitas analysed here is indeed the compositional activity of the young Bach, then it is clear that his creative abilities became well-honed during the course of their writing. There are distinct stylistic and creative differences between each of the five sets that point to linear progression – an ageing process – between them. Alternatively, there are also incidences of structural and thematic conformity that pervade each work in turn. What we may see is that the array of creativity displayed in each, and the process of constructing chorale-based variations would have been achieved through the disciplined application of teaching and learning.

## BWV 766: Chorale Partita sopra: *Christ, der du bist der helle Tag*

[MS cited: D DS Mus. ms. 73 – Grossherzoglich-Hessische-Hofbibliothek-Darmstadt]



Ex. 4.4: Melody: *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Anonymous, circa. 1568.

**Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag**  
Erasmus Alber (c. 1500-1553)

Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag  
vor du die Nacht nicht Bleiben mag,  
Du leuchtest uns vom Vatter her  
und bist des Lichtes Prediger

**Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag**  
Erasmus Alber (c. 1500-1553)

Lord, Christ, Thou art the Heavenly Light  
Who dost disperse the shades of night,  
All radiant, Thou, the Father's son  
Dost spread thy brightness of His throne

Bach's Partita on the text *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* seems at first sight to be an early work, and yet is linked in style and mannerisms to BWV 767, and even potentially BWV 770.<sup>13</sup> Many assumptions about BWV 766 have been made. Spitta felt strongly that both pieces in all likelihood predate Arnstadt (1703-1707), therefore, were written at Lüneburg, because: "Without knowing a note of Böhm's writing, we might from these variations, become acquainted with his chorale style, if Bach's bright light did not sparkle now and then through the mask, and if a certain heaviness were not perceptible in its bearing".<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Thematic and structural links between these works will be discussed with BWV 770, from p. 204.

<sup>14</sup> Spitta (1951), pp. 194-195.

The manuscript currently held in Darmstadt would appear to originate from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, although the scribe has not, as yet, been identified beyond all doubt.<sup>15</sup> It is thought to have been transcribed by Johann Christoph Graupner (1683-1760), born in Kirchberg, Saxony, who then undertook early training in harpsichord and organ in Reichenbach, and in Leipzig at the Thomasschule. Most notably, between 1706 and 1709,<sup>16</sup> Graupner relocated to Hamburg, where he held prestigious court appointments before moving finally to Darmstadt. It is probable that Graupner's first introduction to one of Bach's partitas, perhaps BWV 766, may well have taken place in Hamburg.

There are two reasons to support this. Firstly, this was about the only period in Graupner's career where he focused on keyboard music – principally for the harpsichord – and where he may well have been collecting scores before work took him in other musical directions. This period crosses-over with that of Bach's visit to Hamburg, to visit the famed organist Reinken at the Catharinenkirche. Secondly, if we view BWV 766 and 767 as stylistically early works written at Lüneburg under Böhm's influence, or at least in close affinity with his style, then this example of his early work may well have travelled with the student Bach to Hamburg at the time of his initial visit to Reinken. Given Graupner's own interest in keyboard works in a similar idiom, it is plausible that he may, either through Reinken or another Hamburg-based source, have gained access for copying purposes to Bach's already completed partitas, BWV 766

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<sup>15</sup> Darmstadt: D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Grossherzoglich-Hessische-Hofbibliothek-Darmstadt.

<sup>16</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

and 767, and perhaps also BWV 770.<sup>17</sup>



Ex. 4.5: Copy of: BWV 906/1: *Fantasia* [and *Fugue* in C minor] (fugue fragmentary); Scribe: J.C. Graupner (c. 1720-39, possibly earlier);  
D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets - und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.



Ex. 4.6: Copy of Chorale-Partita BWV 766 - *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Partita 3: *Satan's Wiles*;  
Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09).<sup>18</sup>

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek -  
Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

<sup>17</sup> Graupner is also attributed as a copyist for at least two of Buttstetts's keyboard partitas, no. 6 in A major; no. 7 in F major. His copying may be discerned in D DS Mus. Ms. 468/01, Universitäts und Landesbibliothek-Darmstadt. Graupner's connection with the keyboard music of Buttstett is interesting, given that Buttstett's sacred partita settings, specifically *Sei gegrüßet, Jesu Gutig*, had been available to Bach, to view or copy, in Ohrdruf, contained in the early manuscript: D WRa MS Q341b: Weimarer-Tabulaturbuch (Nuremburg 1704), Weimar, Herzogin-Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek.

<sup>18</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

The Darmstadt manuscript sees seven variations laid out in two-stave systems, using the antiquated soprano clef<sup>19</sup> and the customary bass clef. As Williams has noted, the melody and text, prayer-verses for safe passage in times of adversity, originated together in 1568 [see ex. 4.7 below, being Bach's setting of the chorale in G minor]. In Bach's partita, the melody varies somewhat from the original. Not only is the key of F minor somewhat unusual,<sup>20</sup> the melody, embellished rhythmically to a certain degree, includes the unusual presence of linkages between statements of the chorale line [see ex. 4.8 below].<sup>21</sup>

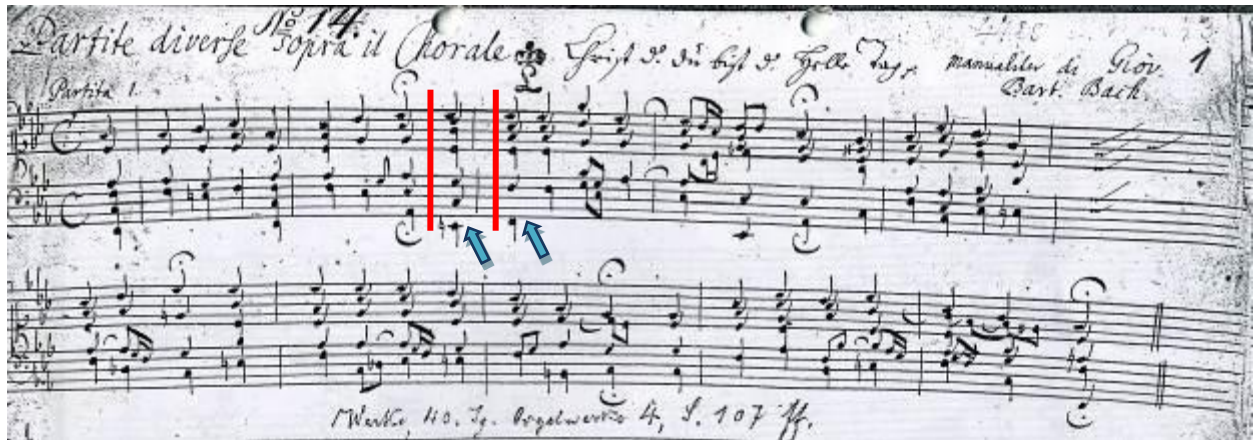
Ex. 4.7: Chorale Harmonisation: *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Johann Sebastian Bach.

Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851-1900) Band 39, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1892). Plate B.W. XXXIX.

<sup>19</sup> Evidence of transcription no later than the first quarter of the eighteenth century, if not considerably earlier.

<sup>20</sup> Prior to the re-tuning of organs to the well-tempered system of tuning, this key would have been somewhat unpleasant to listen to due to the preponderance of wolf-notes, yet, if Bach took this piece initially to Hamburg, then no such problem would have presented itself on the St. Catherine's organ, having already been re-tuned to Werkmeister's principles.

<sup>21</sup> Williams (1972), p. 825.



Ex. 4.8: The seven-part chord between the red lines indicates unusually wide compass and density of harmony.

Title Page and Chorale Harmonisation, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*

Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

Bach's harmonisation of the initial partita is unusually dense. Indeed the piece is unique in Bach's oeuvre in terms of the texture ranging from 4 to 7-part chords [see ex. 4.8].<sup>22</sup> Organ would not appear to be the intended (or most comfortable) instrument for performance, which makes it more likely intended for pedal-harpsichord (pedal-flugel?). Williams views partita 7 only as requiring a pedal-equipped instrument to render the *cantus firmus* melody (*con pedale se piace*), and takes this as an indicator that the pedal-part was added later. This ignores the possibility that as early as Lüneburg, Bach had access to a pedal-equipped harpsichord, as listed in the Michaelisschule inventory of assets, or indeed that the work in entirety was initially conceived for pedal-equipped keyboard. There is certainly no firm evidence to indicate that the work was revisited at a later stage in order to add a pedal-part to the final variation.

<sup>22</sup> One is reminded of the description of Johann Christoph's <sup>(13)</sup> writing style: "... in no less than five-parts"; might Bach's texture be in some way intended as a tribute to his uncle? *Dok III* (1972), no. 666.

It would seem unlikely that Bach would return to an *altmodisch* work to enhance it – what after all would be the purpose for doing so? The unusually dense texture of partita one lends itself equally well to performance with bass line performed on pedal-board, and there is nothing to suggest that it is from a different period from partitas 2 to 6. Furthermore, the following example of the *cantus-firmus* model for partita 5 demonstrates the potential comfort of its texture for performance on organ with pedals, or pedal-harpsichord [see ex. 4.9].<sup>23</sup>

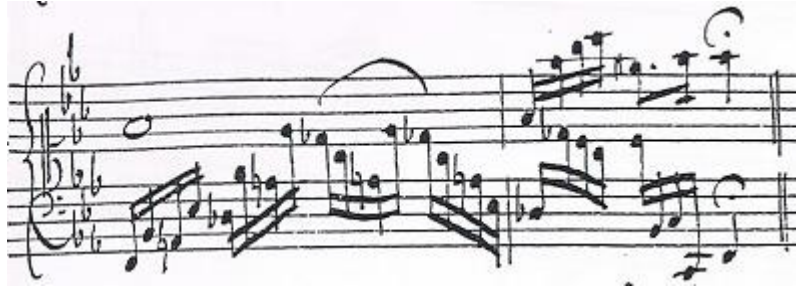
Ex. 4.9: Reproduction of Chorale-Partita BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Partita 5: *Sure, 'tis Thy heart's most precious Blood, Has won our souls Thy brotherhood, And so indeed the Father meant, Ere to our world Thyself He sent.*

Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

<sup>23</sup> Williams (1980), pp. 499-502.

There is no doubt that the inventiveness in BWV 766, in certain places, makes it a technically challenging work to perform on the organ. It contains a resourcefulness of chromatic melodic treatment, as seen in example 4.10 below:<sup>24</sup>



Ex. 4.10: Final 2-bars, Partita 2, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*Nor be by Satan's wiles opprest.* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

Beyond the chromaticism of the *Bicinium* conclusion, partita three continues to explore the available expanse of the keyboard, with extended ascending and descending motifs, which rise to the highest compass of the keyboard, c''' [see ex. 4.11]:



Ex. 4.11: bb. 3-6, Partita 3, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*

*E'en though our weary eye-lids fall, O keep our hearts true to Thy call;* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

<sup>24</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

Williams dismisses the notion that Bach engaged in any degree of direct word painting in any of BWV 766's seven partitas. However, the presence of serpent-Satan's "wiles", which may well account for the broad and unusual presence of semiquaver extensions to lines after the conclusion of the chorale melody in *Bicinia* partita two, as well as the depth of the seven-part harmony in the opening partita<sup>25</sup>, would appear logically to point to word painting.<sup>26</sup> Aspects of partita 3 certainly pose unanswered questions as to the extent of its inventiveness. Bach appears to go to some lengths to vary the material that would cover four picturesque lines of stanza three of the text. The third strophe, in the example below, is noticeable for its non-idiomatic texture in the right hand, which would appear to be motivically related to the text, accompanied by a technically challenging descent for the left hand, to the limits of the bass compass, stylistically quite un-organ like [see ex. 4.12; red lines denote sections of non-idiomatic textures]:



Ex. 4.12: bb. 9-10, Partita 3, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*

*Above us stretch Thy sheltering hand*; Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek, Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

The scope of the pictorialism that Bach deploys across his partita movements is as expressive as it is creative. In partita 4, the text concerns itself with themes of descent

<sup>25</sup> See ex. 4.8.

<sup>26</sup> See ex. 4.9; Partita 5: "Sure, 'tis Thy heart's most precious Blood, Has won our souls Thy brotherhood, And so indeed the Father meant, Ere to our world Thyself He sent."

(*rectus*) and oppression at the hands of “Satan’s cunning” being overcome through ascent (*inversus*) guided by Christ overcoming the power of the Devil’s persuasion, preventing man being “dragged to the ground” [see ex. 4.13]:<sup>27</sup>



Ex. 4.13: bb. 6-10; 12-16, Partita 4, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*

*Gains Satan’s cunning help afford, May he whose fell hosts camp around, Ne’er drag us with him to the ground;*

Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek, Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

Partita 6, the penultimate movement of BWV 766, is the only dance-based movement in the work, set in 12/8 time. Again, motivically, descent is the order of the day, in an acrostic pattern, based on triplet figures. Here the text returns to some very vivid imagery, reflected in the four concise sections of this sixth variant of the melody, in particular the heavily chromaticised conclusion: “... rest from Satan’s lures” [see ex. 4.14]:

<sup>27</sup> This *perpetuum mobile* movement, traditional as the fourth variant in the variations by Pachelbel and Böhm, here is technically challenging and significantly more complex than the model for Variata 4 of BWV 768, there in simple two-part texture only.

“O set Thine angels round our bed,  
And may our thoughts to Thee be led;  
That guarded so, north, east, south, west,  
From Satan’s lures we find sure rest”.<sup>28</sup>



Ex. 4.14: bb. 15-16, Partita 6, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
From *Satan’s lures we find sure rest*. Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek -  
Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

Erasmus Alber’s text is often stark, referring to human kind fending off foes disrupting slumber, “Satan’s wiles”, and the cunning of the devil. In many respects, the unambiguous messages of each verse of the text is treated far more dramatically in Bach’s setting than at any stage in BWV 768, which has been scrutinised with much wider scholarly speculation about inherent text-music relations [see ex. 4.15; extension of *Bicinium* left-hand potentially indicative of Satan’s activities in Alber’s text]:

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<sup>28</sup> Verse 6; “Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag”. Erasmus Alber (c. 1500-1553).

Ex. 4.15: Final Statement, Partita 2, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*O dearest Lord, e'er guard our sleep, From foes' assault our slumbers keep, And let us find in Thee our rest, Nor be by Satan's*  
*wiles opprest.* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
 D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek -  
 Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

The final partita movement, with the chorale “Cantus Firmus con pedale se piace”, follows two distinct textural themes, stanza one accentuating tightly grouped voices between soprano, alto and tenor, perhaps emphasising the theme of slumber after a journey of adversity. The second texture contrasts with the initial idea considerably. Here the concluding lines concern themselves with the theme of “angels in flight”, and a doxology to the Trinity: “While wakeful angels watch do keep; O God Eternal, Three in One, For ever may Thy praises run” [see ex. 4.16].

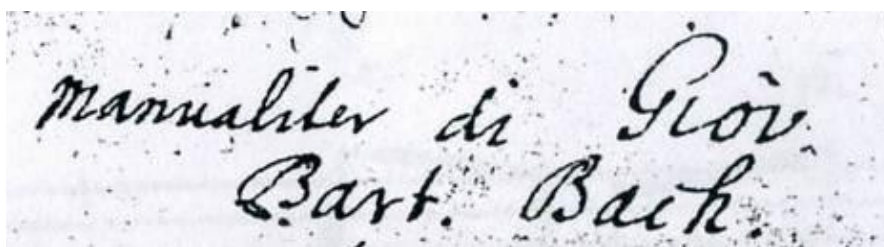


Ex. 4.16: bb. 10-21, Partita 7, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*

Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

If BWV 766 is from Bach's youth in Lüneburg, as I strongly suspect, then the work is another indicator of his already well-advanced understanding of traditional forms and structures associated with variations in this customarily early style. More importantly, it serves as a crucial insight into his understanding of melodic and polyphonic manipulation. Hitherto this has usually been assigned to Bach's later years, but whom can now be seen as solid and compelling evidence of his advanced musical maturity in youth and through adolescence.<sup>29</sup>



Ex. 4.17: Title Attribution, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*: variation 7:

*Manualiter di Giov. Bart. / Bast. Bach*: Scribe c. 1706-09: Johann Christoph Graupner (1683-1760)

D-DS Mus. ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung.

<sup>29</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

## BWV 767: Chorale Partita sopra: *O Gott, du frommer Gott*

[MS cited: D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz]



Ex. 4.18: Melody: *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Anonymous, circa. 1630-46

**O Gott, du frommer Gott**  
Johann Heerman (1585-1647)

O Gott, du frommer Gott,  
Du Brunquell guter Gaben,  
Ohn' den nichts ist, was ist,  
Von dem wir alles haben:  
Gesunden Leib gib mir,  
Und daß in solchem Leib  
Ein' unverletzte Seel'  
Und rein Gewißen bleib'.

**O Gott, du frommer Gott**  
Johann Heerman (1585-1647)

Oh God, you righteous god,  
you source of good gifts,  
without whom nothing exists that does exist,  
from whom we have everything :  
give me a healthy body,  
and grant that in such a body  
there may remain an inviolate soul  
and a pure conscience.

**O Gott, du frommer Gott**

Piano accompaniment for 'O Gott, du frommer Gott'. The score is written for piano and consists of three systems of music. Each system has a treble and bass staff. The music is in G major, 4/4 time, and features a simple, homophonic accompaniment that supports the melody.

Ex. 4.19: Chorale Harmonisation: *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp & Bach, C.P.E.;  
(Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X.

The source for BWV 767 is D-B Mus. ms. P 802. This manuscript contains two other copies of Bach's chorale partitas,<sup>30</sup> chiefly BWV 770, the copy presumed, but not confirmed, as being in the hand of Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748), and the incomplete BWV 768a (Chorale-Theme, Vars. 1, 2, 4 + 10), presumed, but once again unconfirmed, as a copy in the hand of Johann Tobias Krebs (1690-1762).<sup>31</sup> As Williams has noted, this hymn, which became associated with the church-calendar period of Trinity, as did BWV 766, concerns itself with requests for safe-passage, even for protection at the time of death.<sup>32</sup> The composition, both in terms of structure and style, as well as in the literary themes explored, has much in common with BWV 766. Thus, the compositional influences of Böhm in Lüneburg, or Buxtehude in Lübeck are relevant here also. Jones feels sure that the copy, presumed to have been written by J.T. Krebs, was at least available by 1710, if not thereafter. Nevertheless, Williams speculates that if a student-copy was indeed made later, then the original was available some time before, again pre-1710 being both probable and realistic assertions.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> There is a partial copy of BWV 768 which includes the Chorale and Variations 1, 2, 4, 10. Its origin ascertained as being between the years 1700-1719, the scribes therein identified as Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), Johann Tobias Krebs (1690–1762) and Johann Ludwig Krebs (1713–1780).

<sup>31</sup> Analysis of scribes, and scribal identification in these manuscripts appears in Part 5.1, from p. 331.

<sup>32</sup> Williams (1980), pp. 499-508.

<sup>33</sup> Potentially this may have been as early as 1700. See: Jones (2007), pp. 93-96. See also: Williams (1980), pp. 499-508.



Ex. 4.20: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Initial Chorale-Harmonisation.

There are structural and theological links present in all three partitas [BWV 766, 767, 770] that in my opinion indicate the close proximity of times of writing. BWV 770 demonstrates an almost parallel uniformity to the *Aria Eberliniana* variations of Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, discussed earlier.<sup>34</sup> Following this work, it is reasonable to observe the progress of development in Bach's youthful writing, BWV 767 developing his knowledge of structural conformity, albeit over a blander theme, finishing up with the more unrestrained writing found in BWV 766.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See: Part 2 of this study, pp. 32-44. Authenticity of the *Eberliniana Variations* may rest with either Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup> or Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>. Melamed (1999), pp. 345-465.

<sup>35</sup> It is widely assumed that Bach did not find variation-writing an entirely satisfying experience: "Bach found writing variations a 'thankless task' because of their reiterated harmony. Perhaps [Carl Phillip] Emanuel <sup>(46)</sup> or [Wilhelm] Freidemann <sup>(45)</sup> said so, or Forkel assumed it from the rarity of variation sets in the Bach oeuvre, by comparison with Handel's or Mozart's". Williams (2004), p. 5. As such, it would appear that Bach undertook it either for the necessity of learning (e.g. the chorale partitas); as a form for the setting of miscellaneous chorale melodies (e.g. BWV 627 – *Orgelbuchlein*; BWV 656 & 667 – Leipzig Chorales); for a commission or peer-evaluated exercise (e.g. BWV 988 - Goldberg Variations; BWV 769 - *Canonic Variations: Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her*); as the summation of a particular technique (e.g. BWV 582 - *Passacaglia* for organ); or when exploring a foreign musical idiom, youthful, unfinished, or largely inconsequential style of composition (BWV 989 - *Aria Variata alla maniera Italiana*).

BWV 766 would chronologically appear to be the final stage of composition of the three sets of variations,<sup>36</sup> with the presence of the opening chorale-harmonisation extending to seven-part chords and suggesting a pedal-part, through to the inexplicable melodic extensions. This includes inversions of material in the early variations, such as the *Bicinia*, finishing with the bass/pedal (*con pedale se piace*) *cantus firmus* in the final partita movement, and seems to be the compositional summation of all three partitas.

The opening harmonisation of BWV 767, variation 1, is tautly homophonic, with chords ranging from four-parts to six-parts in the key of C minor.<sup>37</sup> The melodic theme has a structural rigidity, which rather 'locks-in' the construction of each successive partita [subsequent variations which follow it] – A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>1</sup>, B, A<sup>2</sup>. With eight variations subsequent to the opening theme, the composition is of developmental interest given the inventiveness and part-interplay that Bach is able to construct from the initial melody. This requires a degree of resourcefulness on Bach's behalf to make established models such as the *Bicinia* (Partita 2) work effectively [see ex. 4.21]:

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<sup>36</sup> Successively BWV 770, BWV 767, and then BWV 766. See discussion from p. 204.




<sup>37</sup> But never stretching to a seven-part chord, as found in the closely associated BWV 766.

Partita II. (a 2 Clav.)

x x y y<sup>1</sup> z z

Ex. 4.21: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – O Gott, du frommer Gott – Partita 2: *Bicinia*.

### Legend:

-  Directly related to the sequential chorale melody
-  Adapted from the initial melody: #, b, ♯
-  Derived or Foreign Material / Inconsequential or Decorative

The *Bicinium* of BWV 767 is very similar in structure to that in BWV 768, and certainly seems a closely-related progenitor to the more fluid and refined version which we see in the latter of these two partitas. The treatment of the chorale-theme in BWV 767 is more fragmentary in the soprano voice [see ex. 4.22]; suffice it to say that it is perhaps merely ‘young’ and experimental, whereas BWV 768 is a summation of the form in Bach’s hand [see ex. 4.23]:

The image shows three systems of musical notation for a piano piece. The first system has a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Dynamics include *piano* and *forte*. The second system continues the piece with similar dynamics. The third system shows a more complex texture with multiple voices in both staves. Green arrows are drawn below the first two systems, pointing to the right, indicating the direction of the musical flow or phrasing.

Ex. 4.22: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Partita 2: *Bicinia* [conclusion].

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a piano piece. The first system has a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Dynamics include *forte* and *tr* (trill). The second system continues the piece with similar dynamics. A red arrow is drawn above the first system, pointing to the right, indicating the direction of the musical flow or phrasing.

Ex. 4.23: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Partita 2: *Bicinia* [conclusion].

In essence, the structure and ordering of variations 2 to 7 in BWV 767 is very uniform, and closely corresponds to the traditional structures as employed in the similar compositions of Böhm, Buxtehude, and other early North German models. After the *Bicinium* movement two, variants 3 to 6, as would be expected, explore idioms in common time. Variant 7 is the only movement in 3/4 or 6/8 dance time, utilising the descent of two triplet figures per bar throughout. Variants 8 and 9 stand apart in this work, and are quite unusual as part of Bach's output, in part due to the extent of

complexity and length of the writing.

Variation 3 is a simple variation exploring *inversus* and *rectus* motives, principally in the two outer parts, with occasional use of free material. A binary structured movement, the chorale is only perceptible in small motivic fragments throughout, but strays from the strict melody of the C minor themed-material. Unlike BWV 766, it is considerably more difficult to perceive a text-music relationship at many stages of this work, not least in this movement. However, Schweitzer felt strongly that the last three variations at least bore some relation to the final three verses of Johann Heerman's metaphysical text [see ex. 4.24; arrows denote statement of the chorale melody]:

The image displays a musical score for Partita III, BWV 767, in C minor. The score is written for piano and features two systems of music. The first system is labeled 'Partita III.' and the second system is labeled '1.'. Red arrows point to specific notes in the treble and bass staves, indicating the statement of the chorale melody. The music is in a binary structure and is characterized by its complexity and length.

Ex. 4.24: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Partita 3: *Rectus/Inversus* [Sect A].

Variation 4 [see ex. 4.25], similarly follows convention, being a *perpetuum mobile* duomovement, most closely associated in style with the corresponding movement in BWV 768 [see ex. 4.26].

As both follow in sequence, adhering to the conventions of the partita genre, then certainly in the case of BWV 768, the Carpentras,<sup>38</sup> two Leipzig<sup>39</sup> and later Brussels<sup>40</sup> manuscripts conform to this ordering, further evidence that the ordering of their earlier movements seems likely to be correct. Conversely, this indicates that the ordering in D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802<sup>41</sup> and the Kaliningrad<sup>42</sup> copy are somehow out of synchronicity with the ordering of the other copies:



Ex. 4.25: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Partita 4: *perpetuum mobile*.

<sup>38</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France.

<sup>39</sup> D-LEm III 8.17; D-LEm Ms. 7, Faszikel 23: MB Leipzig - Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig - MB Leipzig.

<sup>40</sup> B-Bc 12102 MSM: Bruxelles, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque.

<sup>41</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>42</sup> Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839: Königsberg, Universitätsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka.



Ex. 4.26: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Partita 3: *perpetuum mobile*;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France.

Var. III.

A modern printed musical score for the third variation of the Chorale-Partita BWV 768. It is labeled "Var. III." and is written for piano. The score consists of five systems, each with a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The music is highly rhythmic and complex, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The notation is clear and includes various ornaments and dynamics.

Ex. 4.27: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: Var. 3 - *perpetuum mobile* [modern ver.].

The ascending and descending scalar figures that appear as the outer voices accompanying the melody in variation 5, BWV 767 are again remarkably similar to variation 4, BWV 768 [see exs. 4.28/4.29]. The treatment of the chorale melody is virtually identical in both, being continuous rather than fragmented as in some of the earlier variations. However, this variation in BWV 767 is given a more chromatic treatment, whereas in BWV 768, this remains in keeping with the majority of the work. In terms of the overall texture the two variations appear so similar, that clearly this was a tried and tested model for this variant among Bach's partitas [see exs. 4.28/4.29; red & blue denote rise & fall; yellow – chorale]:

Ex. 4.28: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 5, bb. 1-5.

Ex. 4.29: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: Variation 4, bb. 1-5.

The above examples demonstrate a uniformity of musical architecture among the order of movements that seems to override the need for the composer to engage in an ordered setting of pictorial verse-texts. It is noticeable that similar parity exists between variation 6 of both BWV 767 and BWV 768. This places the *basse et dessus* movement, variation 5 of BWV 768, stylistically to one side, as it has no immediate mirror in any of the other partitas. As such, the two partitas now become parallel briefly at this point of variation 6 in BWV 767 and similarly in variation 6 in BWV 768 [see exs. 4.30, 4.31/4.32 and 4.33]:



Ex. 4.30: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 6, bb. 1-2.



Ex. 4.31: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: Variation 6, bb. 1-3.



Ex. 4.32: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 6, bb. 6-8.



Ex. 4.33: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: Variation 6, bb. 7-9.

Between these examples, two differences are at once perceptible. The former examples are in simple time, the latter in 12/8 dance-metre, and yet the textural structures are remarkably similar. BWV 767 is certainly inventive, with the syncopation of the bass ostinato figures, but overall, it is variation 6 of BWV 768 that is far more developed, a sophisticated harmonic movement. *O Gott, du frommer Gott* only has one compound-time movement (variation 7), but by the time of the composition of BWV 768, the composer had recourse to expand upon the number of compound variants, as for example, a variation in 12/8 time being followed by the trio variation in 24/16 time.

The final partita movement of BWV 767 is unique among Bach's partitas and variations; it has no real parallel. As with variation 5 of BWV 768, is this partita movement deliberately mimicking the French style? If so, then this may have emerged from his study of the "moonlight" manuscripts, which are recorded as containing

contemporary French keyboard dance-based music.<sup>43</sup> The texture of the work is undoubtedly intended for two keyboards,<sup>44</sup> but although implied in the music, it cannot be confirmed if the dynamic markings displayed on some manuscript copies are the work of later copyists.<sup>45</sup> Autograph examples of manual changes are present on a number of Bach works, but dynamic attributions are rare and likely to be spurious.<sup>46</sup> The conclusion to BWV 767 [see exs. 4.34/4.35], takes the form of a doxology. In this regard the variation may indeed represent the Holy Trinity, having three clear stylistic sections, as well as dividing the French *dialogue* motives into groups of four quavers, then eight quaver groups, finally twelve quavers:



Ex. 4.34: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 9 [final], bb. 1-6.

<sup>43</sup> See: The MM and the ABB; list of contents for these MSS on pp. 121-122 of this study.

<sup>44</sup> In the same way as the texture of variation 10, BWV 768, implies the use of three separate keyboards. See Part 5, specifically Tables 5.7 and 5.8, and subsequent commentary.

<sup>45</sup> Williams (1980), pp. 499-508.

<sup>46</sup> See: BWV 538.



Ex. 4.35: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 9 [final], bb. 12-17.

There is insufficient data available to confirm as fact the hypothesis that suggests that BWV 767, either directly or subliminally, follows the eight verses of Johann Heerman’s text.<sup>47</sup> Granted it contains an array of youthful musical inventiveness, but no further evidence allowing us to discern that text-music relationships incontrovertibly exist.<sup>48</sup> If the final movement, partita 9, BWV 767, were to have been written in Bach’s youth, perhaps as early as 1700,<sup>49</sup> then its inventiveness might be aligned to Bach’s other early Fantasia-mannered movements, such as BWV 720 and 739 [see ex. 4.36].<sup>50</sup> All of these pieces may well be connected to one early period of Bach’s composition of

<sup>47</sup> Williams (1980), pp. 499-508.

<sup>48</sup> Dahlhaus (1983), pp. 33- 43.

<sup>49</sup> c.f. pp. 181-188.

<sup>50</sup>BWV 720: Chorale-Fantasia *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*; BWV 739: Chorale-Fantasia *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*. Introduction to the music of Buxtehude may have occurred as early as 1698/9, at the home of his elder brother, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> in Ohrdruf. Fasc. II of the Weimar Organ Tablature is a copy in early tablature, in Bach’s scribal hand, of the Buxtehude Chorale, *Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein*. See: Wollny (2008), pp. 67-74.

keyboard music in that they display his experimentation with aspects of the North German *stylus phantasticus* of Buxtehude, fused with aspects of the mid-German partita style of Böhm.<sup>51</sup>



Ex. 4.36: BWV 739: Chorale-Fantasia: *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* [a 2 clav. Ped.]: Page 5.

D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 488: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>51</sup> Partita: *Wer nur der lieben Gott* – Georg Böhm (1661-1733). Williams (1980); Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

## BWV 770: Chorale Partita sopra: *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?*

[MS cited: D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz]

The image displays a musical score for the chorale 'Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?' in G major, BWV 770. It consists of two systems of music. The first system shows the original chorale melody in the treble clef and its harmonic accompaniment in the bass clef. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The title 'Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen' is written above the first staff of the first system.

Ex. 4.37: Chorale Harmonisation: *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp & Bach, C.P.E.; (Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X.

### **Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?**

Johann Flitner (1618-1678) Melody c. 1653

Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?  
Ach, was soll ich fangen an  
Mein Gewissen klagt mich an  
es beginnet aufzuwachen.  
Dies ist meine Zuversicht,  
meinen Jesum laß ich nicht.

### **Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?**

Johann Flitner (1618-1678) Melody c. 1653

Wretched Sinner, woe to me!  
What shall e'er become of me?  
Pangs of conscience me torment,  
My poor soul to its bitter end.  
This I know, for while I live  
Jesus will I never leave.

BWV 770 is striking in that it appears to be, Bach's first 'work-through' of the variation idiom,<sup>52</sup> which in the first eight variations at least is very cleanly achieved. In contrast, the maturity of the writing demonstrated across all eleven movements of BWV 768 appears, tantalisingly, to be a summation of Bach's learning of the early variation style. Stylistically, this work stands apart somewhat from BWV 766 and 768, given that the fingerprint of Georg Böhm is evident throughout. The species of variations used follows

<sup>52</sup> In that it might be the first of three partitas composed in quick succession, including BWV 766 and BWV 767.

a sequence that is different from those employed in the other partitas, and on that basis appears to confirm an earlier provenance, possibly Bach's initial experimentation with the genre, on harpsichord, during the period of his studies in Lüneburg from 1700. In general terms, the formula which became standard for the idiom would invariably include: an opening harmonisation of the melody;<sup>53</sup> *bicinium* movement as the first variation, exploring a decorative, motivic soprano line, over a repetitive motivic figure in the continuo bass;<sup>54</sup> a sequence of figural interpretations of the chorale-melody, with frequent part interplay, inversion etc; dance-form-based variations, exploring compound metre times signatures;<sup>55</sup> a larger fantasia / quasi-improvisatory movement, as the final

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<sup>53</sup> BWV 770, 767 and 766 explore a thicker texture of between five to seven voices in the harmony. BWV 768a and 768 remain strictly in four-parts with more generous use of passing notes. The difference between the two however should not necessarily be seen as a firm indicator of different periods of composition. There may be stylistic and textural interpretations that lend themselves to the thicker interpretations in BWV 770, 767, 766, but may equally be reflected in the lesser exuberance of the text that relates to the very conservative harmonisation of BWV 768. There are examples of both mannerisms in other early Bach works, from the Neumeister Chorales [BWV 1102; 1114], as well as BWV 718, 720 and the Chorale-Fantasia: *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* BWV 739 – c. 1705, if not earlier. Similar stylistic derivations may also be seen in the keyboard output of Georg Böhm, as well as to some extent in the oeuvre of Buxtehude – as such, these are safe indicators of their wider influence over Bach's works in this idiom. See: Jean-Claude Zehnder, 'Georg Böhm und Johann Sebastian Bach: Zur Chronologie der Bachschen Stilentwicklung', *Bach-Jahrbuch, Neue Bachgesellschaft*. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin (1988).

<sup>54</sup> This is not present in BWV 770.

<sup>55</sup> Also, the appearance of unusual time-signatures, as with 24/16 in BWV 768. Some have seen significance in the use and interpretation of these in early Bach works. See: Ulrich Meyer, 'J.S. Bachs Variationenzyklus Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig (BWV 768)', *Die Musikforschung*, 26, no. 4 (Oct-Dec 1973): 474-81 ISSN: 0027-4801; See also: Heinz. F. Lohmann 'Ergänzende Bemerkungen zu Johann Sebastian Bach's Variationenzyklus "Sei gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig" BWV 768 von Ulrich Meyer', *Die Musikforschung*, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (1946- ); Landesinstitut für Musikforschung in Kiel.; Institut für Musikforschung Berlin. XXVII (2), (1974) pp. 216-217. See also: Albert Clement, 'Alsdann Ich Gantz

or penultimate variation; a concluding larger harmonisation or *cantus-firmus* movement. BWV 770 does not however correspond precisely to this sequence of movements. Whilst there are no less than ten variations on the Lenten verse of the chorale-melody, their appearance is more *pastiche*, than through-worked, and is in contrast to similar pieces by others [see exs. 4.38-4.40]:



Ex. 4.38: Extract from Partita *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig*;  
Partita 1 – Georg Böhm (1661-1730) [modern reproduction].

Ex. 4.39: Extract from Partita *Werder munter, mein Gemüte*;  
Partita 3 - c. 1683 – Johann Pachelbel [modern reproduction].

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Freudig Sterbe... – zu J. S. Bach's Deutung des 24/16 Taktes', *Theologische Bachforschung Heute*, Berlin (2001).



Ex. 4.40: Extract from BWV 770 - Partita *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?*;  
Partita 1 – Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) [modern reproduction].

Williams has summarised the influences that he perceives in the pastiche variations of BWV 770. Here I provide an analytical commentary on these viewpoints, with my own assessment derived from examination of the piece:<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Williams (2003), pp. 524-526. Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

BWV 770: Variation Number	Short Description:	Source-Styletic Links:	Reasoning:	Commentary Review:
I	Chorale-Harmonisation in four to six voices, with harpsichord figurations (up-ward spread chords) – unusual for Bach: Ex. 4.40	<i>Aria-Variata alla maniera Italiana</i> (Harpsichord) BWV 989	Unusual harpsichord harmonisation of an unusual chorale-melody. Thematically short, but with complex harpsichord 'mannerisms' - <i>affected</i>	The mannerisms of this chorale harmonization do not easily seem to fit any of the other models which Bach uses. Its closest stylistic rival is perhaps the opening to BWV 767, with a similar harpsichord-styled opening, with homophonic textures from five to seven parts. Either this is very early Bach, or its sources and provenance, may need active redress – is this Bach?
II	Two-part variation, with a simply decorated soprano line over a more formulaic constant-bass in simple style – short variant: Ex.4.41	Bass figuration found in works of Corelli; Variata 4 - <i>Aria-Variata alla maniera Italiana</i> (Harpsichord) BWV 989: Ex. 4.42:	Exploring a similar early soprano-figuration of the melody, but guided by the strict but simple patterns of the walking-bass. Not an attempt at <i>Bicinium</i> , which becomes standardised for Partita II	If this is an example of the early work of Bach, then it must be presumed that it is chronologically very early- perhaps an exercise in copying early stylistic mannerisms, rather than an attempt to create a summation of a compositional structure by advancing it in any way. A simple variant, lacking in interest of development as seen in numerous other examples.
III	Soprano solo variant – decorative in semiquaver extended lines. Simple homophonic continuo accompaniment: most likely mimicking a solo instrumental movement	Solo Instrumental line (violin; oboe; etc) with homophonic continuo accompaniment – organ/hpschd/ violone bass	An early model of a Cantata aria with a solo instrumental line. A simple Italianate instrumental solo – i.e. a violin line with discreet continuo support – Corelli/Vivaldi	Solo instrumental variant i.e. violin. Short motif a, a <sup>1</sup> , Longer statement b, a, a <sup>1</sup> . Similar in second section of the binary movement. Simple figuration, but restricted by the basic functional nature of the melody of this chorale.
IV	Harpsichord variation. Spread chordal figuration across five parts, with theme in the soprano	Harpsichord variant style as seen in Sweelinck, more chiefly Froberger	More advanced pastiche of a Froberger-based variation, utilised later in other partitas i.e. BWV 768, Var. II	Figuratively similar to a standard style of Harpsichord-harmonizations seen in the music of Froberger. Bach himself certainly worked with and adapted this model, it being seen in later partita variations. An early variation among a set in standard time
V	Harpsichord variation. <i>Perpetuum Mobile</i> in bass voice	Harpsichord variant style as seen chiefly in Froberger, later Pachelbel	Block chord (five-part) representation of the melody over a constant bass figuration	<i>Pastiche</i> example of many early variants exploring a <i>perpetuum mobile</i> bass voice flowing beneath a simple chordal-harmonization of the melody. Refined model seen in Var. III of BWV 768

VI	Crossed-string violin <i>toccata</i> , similar stylistic adaptation in later Violin Partitas	Numerous violin solos, with rapid string-crossing figurations, again with simple <i>continuo</i> accompaniment; BWV 541: <i>Prelude</i> ; BWV 916; BWV 1106	Simple bass accompaniment in continuo style, except where crossed-string violin figuration extends into the low viola register (figuratively)	An unmistakable model of <i>pastiche</i> with a well-copied violin figuration. The right hand plays the role of the continuous string solo voice above a very simple <i>continuo</i> accompaniment a 3. Later developed in Weimar organ Prelude BWV 541, or the violin partitas and chaconne. Similar chronology to Neumeister set also?
VII	First dance movement; <i>Gigue</i> idiom movement in 12/8 time	Numerous models standard in partitas of Böhm, Buxtehude, etc. Standard form from compound time movements in many partita sets	Fragmentary dance, mainly with descending triplet figures – <i>alternatim</i> between treble and bass voice. Figurative.	Standard style of early dance form in 12/8 time; model very well known in later partita movements of Böhm, Buxtehude and even Pachelbel. Possibly the variants on the <i>Aria Eberliniana</i> theme also. Extended later on i.e. BWV 768 12/8 to 24/16 movements
VIII	Motivic figuration movement	Dietrich Buxtehude (c. 1637-39 – 1707) and/or Johann Adam Reinken (1643-1722)	<i>Rectus / Inversus</i> figures of demisemiquaver motives, later extending to free arpeggios exchanged between treble and bass, over a simple bass octave punctuation	Pre-cursor to free <i>Fantasia</i> movement seen in Var. VII of BWV 768. Later similarities to some movements in <i>Goldberg Variations</i> BWV 988: Ex. 4.68
IX	Free adagio <i>aria</i> -based movement – penultimate movement (?) Antecedent and consequent phraseology, with terraced dynamics	Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722); BWV 963; BWV 563; certain French influences – Jean Baptiste Lully (1665-1743); Nicolas Lèbègue (1631-1702)	<i>Cosmopolitan influences</i> – French mannerisms transmuted through earlier German mimics/copyists.	Aesthetic similarities with some French <i>Livre D’Orgue</i> movements – Dandrieu or Lèbègue. Bach, by the stage of writing BWV 770 would have viewed French keyboard models through the “Moonlight” transcription the MSS, now collected as the <i>Andreas-Bach-Buch</i> or the <i>Möllersche-Handschrift</i> – perhaps also the <i>Weimarer-Tablaturbuch</i>
X	<i>Convolute</i> movement, with multiple permutations – Free <i>fantasia</i> movement. Free phraseology, again based on French influences.	BWV 742; BWV 1092; BWV 1102; BWV 1114; BWV 1115; BWV 720; BWV 739; BWV 572	Tri-partite movement, with three distinct sections. Pre-Vivaldian violin idioms; Corellian influences later extended in movements of Handel <i>Concerti Grossi</i> .	Free expansion of phrases, intermittently based upon the overall chorale melody. Considerably more complex, advanced and extended than any other movement from BWV 770 set. Perhaps unusually placed, but may also relate to a different chronological period given its advanced development of the themes across three sections.

Table 4.1: Commentary Review on BWV 770.

**Partita II**

Ex.4.41: Extract from BWV 770: Partita *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?*  
Partita 2 [modern reproduction].

**Var. IV. (Allegro.)**

Ex. 4.42: Extract from BWV 989 – Partita: *Aria variata alla maniera Italiana*: Var. 4, Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910);  
Ed. Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 36. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890. Plate B.W. XXXVI.

**BWV 771: Chorale Partita sopra:  
Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'**

[MSS cited: D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1143: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz;

PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035 (frueher Z. 35): Kraków, Poland, Biblioteka Jagiellonska]



Fig. 4.43: Melody: Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr'

Plainsong *Gloria*, adapted Nikolaus Decius (1485-1546), c. 1525-1539

**Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr'**  
Nikolaus Decius, c. 1525-1539

Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'  
Und Dank für seine Gnade,  
Darum daß nun und nimmermehr  
Uns rühren kann kein Schade.  
Ein Wohlgefall'n Gott an uns hat,  
Nun ist groß' Fried' ohn' Unterlaß,  
All' Fehd' hat nun ein Ende.

**Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr'**  
Nikolaus Decius, c. 1525-1539

To God on high all glory be,  
And thanks, that he is so gracious,  
That hence to all eternity  
No evil shall oppress us:  
His word declares good-will to men,  
On earth is peace restored again  
Through Jesus Christ our Saviour.



Ex. 4.44: Chorale Harmonisation: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* – ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp & Bach, C.P.E.;

(Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X.

The extensive variations based on the text of the Gloria, *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr'*, has caused more than a degree of confusion as to matters of authenticity and attribution. Of all the chorale partitas, this work, although not as sophisticated as BWV 768 in many respects, still outweighs all sets in terms of the number of variations, seventeen in all. Two questions remain inconclusively unanswered: firstly, were all of the variations in the piece the work of one person? This seems unlikely, as discussed below. Secondly, therefore, is there any compelling evidence to suggest that Bach had a connection with this variation set at all? This point can only be answered with a) a stylistic comparison between variations and b) some further progress towards scribal identification of the principal manuscript source.

The principal manuscript source for this piece, presumed from the beginning of the eighteenth century, appears to be D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1143.<sup>57</sup> The scribal source and dates of the complete manuscript remain unidentified. However, it would appear that variations three and eight first appeared in another source from c. 1692,<sup>58</sup> contained

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<sup>57</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1143, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Critical review: Peters IV/11 S. 206. Score, single manuscript: 6 leaves, 34 x 20, 5cm; Provenance: ? - F. W. Rust - Familienbesitz Rust - W. Rust - Ph. Spitta - Freiherr von Schuetz, Berlin - F. von Schütz - BB (jetzt Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz) (1926).

<sup>58</sup> PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035 (frueher Z 35): Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakau, Poland. Two scribes: Pachelbel, Johann (1653–1706) (f. 1-11r); Eckelt, Johann Valentin (1673–1732) (f. 11v-89v. BWV 771 and Clavier-/Orgelwerke von J. Pachelbel, J. C. Froberger, Bach, J. Krieger und J. Ph. Krieger, A. N. Vetter, J. V. Eckelt, Ph. H. Erlebach, A. Hasse?, C. F. Witt. NBA Commentary: IV/11, S. 207; IV/10, S. 181. Variations 3 and 8 attributed to Andreas Nicolaus Vetter (1666-1734).

within the first section of a keyboard tablature by Johann Valentin Eckelt.<sup>59</sup> Scribal identification having determined Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) as the writer, he would have been responsible for the copying of these two variations, by at least the age of thirty-nine, Bach himself being seven years of age at this time.

An attribution, found on D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1143, cites Andreas Nicolaus Vetter (1666-1734) as the source of variations 3 and 8. If we surmise that Vetter was the composer of these two variations, in isolation, or otherwise with the remaining variations in BWV 771, then juxtaposition against the chorale variation style of his teacher Pachelbel is a useful starting point. On this basis, there are certainly structural and linear similarities present between the first of Pachelbel's two miscellaneous settings of the *Allein Gott* text, and that of the Vetter-attributed setting of the third Variatio of partita BWV 771. The following examples [see exs. 4.45-4.47] point to incidences of these, as follows:

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<sup>59</sup> Ewald V. Nolte et al, 'Pachelbel', *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*  
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/50932pg1>> [Accessed 26 Dec., 2010].

Ex. 4.45: Chorale Harmonisation: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* [bars 1-10] – Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706).

Variatio III.

Ex. 4.46: Extract from: BWV 771 - Partita *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'*, Variatio III [bars 1-11];  
Andreas Nicolaus Vetter (1666-1734) / Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) [modern reproduction].

Ex. 4.47: Chorale Harmonisation: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* [bars 26-35] – Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706).

The scribes for PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035, dated circa 1692, are Johann Pachelbel (f. 1-11r) and Johann Valentin Eckelt (f. 11v-89v).<sup>60</sup> This raises some interesting questions. It would seem that the attribution of the remaining fifteen variations of BWV 771 to Vetter, as opposed to Bach, has been made solely based on his initialled-attachment *J.N.V.*, to the variations 3 and 8 contained in the composite score<sup>61</sup> in the scribal hands of Pachelbel and Eckelt. Indeed Vetter had been an Erfurt pupil of Pachelbel, and analysis of the BWV 771 variations confirms that the stylistic parallels with Pachelbel are inherent throughout. The composition of seventeen variations in partita style does differ in many stylistic and organisational respects from the other four partitas, some of which have come down to us in Bach's hand with a greater degree of certainty: BWV 770,<sup>62</sup> 767, 766, 768. If Bach was the author of some part or all of BWV 771, then it is either a very early work, or merely an early exercise in copying Vetter's work, as part of the process of learning, or to understand something or other about his art.<sup>63</sup>

A closer focus on Vetter's background reveals a potential connection which may have allowed Vetter's variations, if they are that, to come down to the young Bach in some form or other. Vetter studied with Pachelbel in Erfurt, and indeed succeeded his teacher as organist of the Predigerkirche in 1690, upon Pachelbel's relocation to Stuttgart

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<sup>60</sup> PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035: Kraków, Biblioteka-Jagiellonska; <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00000721](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000721)> [Accessed 9 October 2011].

<sup>61</sup> PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035: Kraków, Biblioteka-Jagiellonska.

<sup>62</sup> Caution should be exercised in the case of BWV 770, which has also inspired issues of attributional debate.

<sup>63</sup> If it served as a very early example of copying, then conceivably this may have occurred when Bach was very young, perhaps even at or before age 10?

around this time.<sup>64</sup> Vetter however remained in the post for one year only, succeeded at this time by Johann Heinrich Buttstett (1666-1727).<sup>65</sup> Here, a tangible connection with Bach and Vetter's work may now be more apparent than thought previously. It is well known that as part of Bach's "moonlight" copies of numerous manuscript sources,<sup>66</sup> the hand of Buttstett is present, discerned in his own pieces, but also present as the copyist of others. This in itself provided a pathway for Vetter's work to reach Bach at the time he lodged in Ohrdruf.

In many respects, this timeframe would seem the most likely, as stylistically the supposed-Vetter variations are early in style, and closely aligned with the earlier model of Pachelbel. If Bach paid more than a passing interest to this style, then we must presume that this took place in his earliest formative years, most likely in Ohrdruf, when he had access to his brother's collected manuscripts. Only two of the sources for BWV 771 are in early copies,<sup>67</sup> that is to say, from the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The copy in Pachelbel and Eckelt's hand,<sup>68</sup> which eventually passed down to the Bach-

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<sup>64</sup>Hugh J. McLean, 'Vetter, (Andreas) Nicolaus', *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>> [Accessed 2007-06-08].

<sup>65</sup>George J. Buelow, 'Johann Heinrich Buttstedt', *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>> [Accessed 2007-06-08].

<sup>66</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66.

<sup>67</sup> B-Bc 15142 MSM, Faszikel 2, Brussels, Conservatoire Royale de Bruxelles; On the title: "Abschriften / 1864"; US-NH LM 4843 [MA21 Y11 B12], New Haven, CT, Yale University, The Library of the School of Music; about 1800: ? - J. C. H. Rinck - L. Mason (1852) - New Haven, CT, Yale University, Music Library (1873).

<sup>68</sup> PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035: Kraków, Biblioteka-Jagiellonska.

pupil, Ernst-Ludwig Gerber (1746-1819);<sup>69</sup> the other early source is in the hand of an unknown scribe, presumed from c. 1700-1719, is a single manuscript of six leaves, containing variations 3 and 8 on *Allein Gott in der Hoeh (sic) sei Ehr.*<sup>70</sup> Given the earlier time-line whereupon Vetter's work may have come down to or been bequeathed to Buttstett at Erfurt, this would put the provenance of the two early copies of Vetter's theme and variations around 1690, if not earlier.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, there is now evidence that points to Bach's youthful access to Vetter's composition as early as his period in Ohrdruf, between 1695 and 1700. However, there is insufficient evidence to repudiate the hypothesis suggesting that Bach himself wrote the remaining variations of BWV 771. The credibility of BWV 771 as a Bach work will probably forever remain in question.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Othmar Wessely, 'Gerber, Ernst Ludwig', *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/10908>> [Accessed: 31 Dec., 2010].

<sup>70</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1143, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>71</sup> The dating of PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40035: Kraków, Poland, Biblioteka-Jagiellonska, is uncertain, but we may presume here from the analysis of the evidence in this study that it was produced by Pachelbel and Eckelt prior to 1700.

<sup>72</sup> It is interesting that it has retained its BWV number under the *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis* identification catalogue, as possibly being by Bach, even though the modern attribution seems with some foundation to point to Andreas Nicolaus Vetter (1666-1734).

**BWV 768: Chorale Variatio sopra:  
Sei/Sey Gegrüsset, Jesu gütig & O Jesu, du Edle Gabe**

[MSS cited: France Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, F-C Ms. 1086 (1);  
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz;  
D-LEm III 8.17 - Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig]



Ex. 4.48: Melody: Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig  
Attributed to Gottfried Vopelius (1645-1715), c. 1682

**Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig**  
Christian Keymann (1607-1662), c. 1662

Sei begrüßet, Jesu, gütig  
über alle Maß sanftmütig,  
ach! wie bist du so zerschmissen  
und dein ganzer Leib zerrissen?  
Lass mich deine Liebe erben  
und darinnen selig sterben.

**Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig**  
Christian Keymann (1607-1662), c. 1662

Jesu, Saviour, heed my greeting,  
Kind and gentle is Thy being:  
Long the torture Thou hast suffered,  
Deep the insults to Thee offered.  
Let me all Thy love inherit  
And meet death in Thy sure merit.



Ex. 4.49: BWV 499, from the *Schemelli Gesangbuch* (No. 293), Leipzig, 1736; NBA No. 22.

BWV 768 is notable as the single longest composition for organ penned by Bach. It includes a chorale theme and eleven successive variations. There exists some commentary suggesting that an additional text may also be associated with the work, as one of the available collections that include manuscripts of this work refer to a communion text, imploring God for a grateful death, *O Jesu du edle Gabe*.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, with several copies of BWV 768 in existence, it remains difficult to point to a definitive version and order that the variations should take in performance. Indeed, did Bach ever intend one? BWV 768 poses certain structural questions when drawing conclusions about probable text-music relationships. Many commentators seem unable to agree or demonstrate whether any relationships are present in the work: “Schweitzer himself saw that BWV 768, because the number and order of variations differ in the sources, would not serve as an example of the relation between text and an organ setting”.<sup>74</sup> There is a sufficient degree of uncertainty surrounding aspects of the work to warrant further and fresh research: “Such implications may or may not be justified in the light of further research”.<sup>75</sup> Study of these early works brings us a step closer to a fuller exploration of Bach’s reasons for combining Lutheran chorales with the compositional variation form.

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<sup>73</sup> This point is examined in greater detail later in this thesis. See: Clement (1998), pp. 330-343; Ulrich Meyer, ‘J.S. Bach’s Variationenzyklus “Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig” (BWV 768)’, (*Die Musikforschung*, Kassel: Barenreiter-Verlag XXVI/4) (1973), pp. 474-81; Williams (2003), pp. 506-507.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

There are numerous, fragmentary copies of this work, making it perhaps the most disseminated of all the Bach partitas. As yet, an autograph copy has not been identified. There are, however, at least two other copies in existence,<sup>76</sup> which may well determine a more precise provenance for the complete work, potentially between the years 1700 to 1705. Many of the copies originated later in the eighteenth century and onwards, but certainly three sources at least point more specifically to an origin no later than the first part of the eighteenth century, making them the most important sources for analysis here.

The copies of BWV 768 stand apart from the other partitas in terms of the number of contemporary copyists for the work, including Johann Gottfried Walther, Johann Tobias Krebs, and Johann Gottfried Preller, and others, as yet to be identified. It is clear, therefore, that for some reason, BWV 768 was considered a work of some significance among the Bach circle, and already regarded as a peak, not only of Bach's work in that particular form, but of the form itself.

*Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*, put alongside the corpus of other Bach chorales, was a hymn rarely used for music setting.<sup>77</sup> It is melancholic and introverted. Both the two text-versions (either five or seven verses) are an imploration for guidance through suffering and eventual death, and bear close parallel with the themes of the crucifixion story.

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<sup>76</sup> France Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, F-C Ms. 1086 (1); D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. An analysis of the scribes and sources for these copies is covered more fully in Part 5 of this study, from p. 297.

<sup>77</sup> Bach used it once for this set of variations, and its only other appearance, beside a hymn harmonisation, is as a suggested setting for a chorale prelude in the *Orgelbuchlein*, appearing as a title alone without music.

BWV 410 and BWV 499 are both chorale harmonisations of *Sei Gegrüsset*, the first directly attributable to Bach, the second an unattributed harmonisation from the *Schemelli Gesangbuch*.<sup>78</sup> The initial chorale harmonisation that Bach employs in BWV 768, and it appears in all versions and copies, is significantly less complex than that called for in BWV 410. It is restricted to four-parts only, and is quite distinct from the harmonisations of the other three partitas, which range from five to seven parts. Whereas Bach's chorale harmonisation [BWV 410] has quite a crowded part-interplay [see ex. 4.50], particularly in the alto and tenor voices, by contrast, the version employed to open BWV 768 is almost deliberately simplified [see ex. 4.51]. If we are to infer anything from this, it may concern a textual relationship between either of the versions for the hymn, and music in this partita composition, which has been the subject of academic discourse.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *Schemelli Gesangbuch* (No. 293) (Leipzig, 1736) NBA No. 22.

<sup>79</sup> See: Albert Clement, 'O Jesu du edle Gabe: Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Musik in den Choralpartiten und der Kanonischen Veränderungen von Johann Sebastian Bach' (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1989), pp. 96-282. See also: Meyer (1973), pp. 474-81. See also: Pieter Dirksen. 'J.S. Bach und die Tradition der Choralpartita', *Bach und die deutsche Tradition des Komponierens, Wirklichkeit und Ideologie. Festschrift Martin Geck zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinmar Emans & Wolfram Steinbeck, Dortmund Bachforschungen, Bd. 9; Witten: Klangfarben-Verlag (2009) pp. 39-48.



Ex. 4.50: Chorale Harmonisation: *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp & Bach, C.P.E.;  
 (Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X.



Ex. 4.51: BWV 768 – Chorale Partita + 4 Variata: *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Initial Chorale Harmonisation.  
 D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

There appears to be a dichotomy between the melody and text associated with *Sei Gegrüßet*, and its relationship with another, the communion text for the *Jesu* lied by Johann Böttiger, *O Jesu du Edle Gabe*.<sup>80</sup> Arguably, there are at least two pointers linking the two texts, both associated with Vopelius's melody. Evidence of Bach directly connecting the two under one plan may be found in the *Orgelbuchlein*, where the two titles are allied side by side above a ruled one-page manuscript, but incomplete with no visible notation other than a retrograde mirror of another imprint [see ex. 4.52]:



Ex. 4.52: Ruled AMS page and title attributions: *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* od. [oder] *O Jesu du Edle Gabe*;  
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

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<sup>80</sup> Williams (2003), pp. 506-512.

There exists one further association with the text.<sup>81</sup> This is Walther's *handexemplar* of BWV 768, which appears under the title *Choral modo min. G: O Jesu du edle Gabe*, an MS currently unavailable, but formerly held at the Koenigsberg-Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya Biblioteka, Ukraine.

None of the known copies of BWV 768 has yet been identified as an AMS.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, many of the sources have the variations appearing in different orders. This has caused a great deal of speculative scholarship as to the rightful source.<sup>83</sup> The Kaliningrad copy is unique in that it lists the variations in the following order: 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8. This order, in a later copy, pre-1748, in Walther's hand,<sup>84</sup> appears to follow J.T. Krebs' incomplete copy, which contains variations 1, 2, 4, 10, circa. 1700-1719.<sup>85</sup> Clement's 1989 study utilises this ordering for a text-music-based argument centred around the *O Jesu du edle Gabe* text as rightful.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Head-title: "*Choral modo min. G 'O Jesu du Edle gabe' di J.S. Bach*" [var. 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8]. RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839. Koenigsberg, Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka. Various scribes, including J.G. Walther. MS lost. Film: Stadtbibliothek Winterthur, Archiv des Musikkollegiums Ms. Rp. 32/3-6, 7, 9-11, 15-18. See: Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

<sup>82</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1) was previously identified as an AMS. This stems from a note in German on the first page, written by J.C.H. Rinck: "N.B. This Choral was written by the author himself (.) Through the organist Kittel, one of the author's students, this Choral was handed over to me. I give this manuscript to Mr. Laurens as a token of friendship. Darmstadt, 30th Sept., 1841. Rinck". See Part 5 from p. 296.

<sup>83</sup> Meyer (1973), pp. 474-481; Clement (1989), pp. 96-282; Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

<sup>84</sup> <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00005432](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00005432)> [Accessed: 1 January 2011].

<sup>85</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>86</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

The setting of a Chaconne for organ on *O Jesu, du edle Gabe* / [*Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig!*], in e minor by Walther, also utilises a fragment of the chorale-melody as an ostinato bass, above various keyboard permutations and figures [see ex. 4.53]:

Ex. 4.53: Ciacona sopr'l Canto fermo *O Jesu du Edle Gabe* bb. 1-28;

Max Seiffert (1868-1948) ed. *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* (1892-1962), 1. Folge; 26, 27.

BD Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906. Plate D.d.T. XXVI.XXVI.

**"O Jesu du edle Gabe" - Jesulied**  
Johann Böttiger (1613-1672)

O Jesu du edle Gabe, mich mit deinem Blute  
labe, daran hab ich meine Freude, und stets  
meiner Seelen-Weide, dein Blut mich von  
Sünden wäschet, und der Höllen-Gluth  
auslöschet.

**"O Jesu du edle Gabe" - Jesulied**  
Johann Böttiger (1613-1662)

O Jesus, thou noble gift, wash me with your  
blood, because I have my joy, my soul and  
always pastures; your blood washes me from  
sin, and extinguishes the fires of Hell

Böttiger's *Jesulied* text, concerns the subject of communion, an important facet of Lutheran worship, where the repetitive nuance of text focuses upon meditation, and repeats the refrain across all ten verses of the text: "... your blood washes me from sin, and extinguishes the fires of Hell".<sup>87</sup> There has been much discussion and decision-making among scholars concerning the eleven variata movements of *Sei Gegrüsset*. Recently, attempts have been made to determine beyond all doubt Bach's intended ordering of the variations, which of the two texts should be considered as superseding the other in importance, and whether direct word setting was envisioned by the composer, and as such which verses of either available text associated with the melody best fit the work in terms of programming. Williams, quite concisely, has put the merits of this work in context: "It could be that too much is still being argued from extant sources as to the 'correct' order, and the way it relates to the text, ideas ruled by 'organicism in music'.<sup>88</sup> While some sources do no doubt transmit minor revisions, there is nothing certain to say that [Johann Tobias] Krebs' first four variations were the original or earliest to which others were added gradually (or at once), or to conclude there was then a second version with a new, cyclic order".<sup>89</sup>

Of the large corpus of copies, it is clear that only a small number can be considered as contemporary to Bach's earliest years, and to provide an insight into the early construction of this work, either as fragments or as a whole. Extensive studies have attempted to assign an overarching structure to BWV 768, as follows:

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<sup>87</sup> Johann Böttiger (1613-1662).

<sup>88</sup> A philosophical orientation that asserts that reality is best understood as an organic whole.

<sup>89</sup> Williams (2003), p. 506.

- i. The textual relevance of text A, or text B, or whether utilising a combination of both is hermeneutically acceptable, as has been suggested by Clement.<sup>90</sup>
- ii. Cyclical relevance corresponding to traditional models of the partita, based on Bach's other versions or the work of others.
- iii. Cyclical structural unity based on parts employed in the successive variations.
- iv. A structure based on non-pedal movements, followed by those including a pedal line.<sup>91</sup>

In order to attempt to discern a structural conformity in BWV 768, it is first necessary to determine which are the legitimate early copies. With these identified, analysis will consider disparity that exists among the ordering of the variations. The manuscripts listed here are not, at this stage, in an implied chronological order:

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<sup>90</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

<sup>91</sup> There is inherent risk in making this assumption, as it may be that pedal is implied in variation 6, and perhaps even in variation 2, which, if this were to be the case, would negate this type of structural distinction.

MS Call Number	Location	Period of Origin	Ordering of Variations	Principal Scribal Source
F-C Ms. 1086 (1)	Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Ville de Carpentras, France	c. 1700-1705	768/Chorale, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8, 10, *3  [*alternate version]	Lohber/Sohber; <sup>92</sup> Further identified in: <i>Plauener-Orgelbuch</i> (Foto: D B Fot. Bue 129); <i>Weimarer Tablaturbuch</i> (D war Ms. Q 341b); D-LEm Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [BWV 966 – Sonata in C major (after Johann Adam Reincken's <i>Hortus Musicus</i> , Nos. 11-15)]
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz	c. 1710-1714/19	768/Chorale and Variations 1, 2, 4, 10	Johann Tobias Krebs (1690-1762)
D-LEm III 8.17	Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig	c. eighteenth century	768/Chorale, 1-5, 7, 6, 9-12	Unknown; other source examples in: D-LEm III. 8.7 and D-LEm III. 8. 10
D-LEm Ms. 7, Faszikel 23	Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig	c. eighteenth century	768/Chorale, 1-6,10,7,9 (bb. 1-6 only), 8,12,11 (missing b. 62)	Johann Gottlieb Preller (1727-1786); watermark provenance between 1714-1760
Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold Rf alpha 6, Faszikel 13	Köenigsberg, Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka; current location unknown	2 <sup>nd</sup> half eighteenth century (c. 1760-1789)	Chorale, 1, 2, 4,10, 3, 5, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8	Scribe – Johann Gottfried Walther: MS described as “ <i>rich in errors</i> ”: [Naumann (BG 40, S. XXXVIIIff)]

Table 4.2: Principal Scribal Sources for BWV 768.

<sup>92</sup> Discussed in depth in Part 5, from p. 339. This may be an incomplete attribution, which relates to one “Johann A. Lohrbeer”. The scribe for Carpentras, never formally identified, is present also in the *Plauener-Orgelbuch* of 1708 (MS destroyed; Foto: D-B Fot. Bue 129), the *Weimarer Tablaturbuch* (D-WRa Ms. Q 341b) and in D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [BWV 966:]. The Bach Digital collection refers to “two unknown scribes”, refuted by this study.

This grouping together of the five chief sources for BWV 768 reveals that two of the manuscript sources stand apart in terms of their chronological significance to the piece's early development: F-C Ms. 1086 (1)<sup>93</sup> and D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802. The remaining sources were produced somewhat later than these two earlier models, albeit all within the eighteenth century. Naumann's assessment of the currently lost RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold Rf alpha 6, Faszikel 13,<sup>94</sup> characterising the copy as being "fairly error-rich",<sup>95</sup> would seem sufficient grounds to negate the need for assessment of it here.

Clement's attempts to define a text-musical relationship that would tie BWV 768 primarily to *O Jesu du edle Gabe*.<sup>96</sup> As such, he determines that the lost RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839,<sup>97</sup> and its uncommon ordering of the variations, directly points to an inherent text-musical relationship between the ten verses of Böttiger's hymn, to the variation order listed in the unavailable manuscript: 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8 – the opening chorale-harmonisation discounted, being an introduction only. Whether this was Walther's deliberate intention or not, Clement's certainty in his conclusion appears fragile, given that his hermeneutic interpretation between text-stanzas and musical

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<sup>93</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705; D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; MS c. 1710-1714/19.

<sup>94</sup> Koenigsberg-Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka; current location now unknown.

<sup>95</sup> Ernst Naumann, (BG 40, S. XXXVIIIff).

<sup>96</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

<sup>97</sup> MS formerly known under call number: Kö Mus. Ms. 15839: Köenigsberg-Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka; current location now unknown.

rhetoric would seem somewhat naïvely constructed.<sup>98</sup> I summarise here, as closely as is faithful to Clement's findings, his speculative position on the precise verse relationships of *O Jesu du Edle Gabe*, and the outer two chorale-harmonisations of BWV 768, and the ten variata within.<sup>99</sup>

#### Transliteration from the Dutch and German Summary Sources:

- i. **Chorale:** The melody of the chorale on which the variations are based is presented in four-part Harmony.
- ii. **Variation 1:** *Bicinium* - Set against an independent [ostinato] theme in the left hand, [the melody in the] right is a very detailed and richly decorated [rendering of] the chorale melody. [This is] central to the joy of receiving the "edle Gabe": Christ's blood.
- iii. **Variation 2:** This [Variation] deals with the remission of sins.
- iv. **Variation 3:** The blood of Christ brings peace and grace; the wrath of God has been silenced.
- v. **Variation 4:** Christ's blood is a comfort in fear and sadness.
- vi. **Variation 5:** [The] wiles of the Devil: In the winding and fierce motives in the left-hand we hear [the vices of Satan].
- vii. **Variation 6 [7]:** [The] threat of hellfire is heard. [Realism] portrayed in the two upper voices, and the flames erratically [move about in fast sequences]. The bass sound [*the cantus firmus*] of the chorale melody.
- viii. **Variation 7 [6]:** [Metre] at a rocking 12 / 8 measure (traditional for pastoral music): reference to Jesus as the "Good Shepherd", and paradise as a place of peace – [the] text here is focused upon death. A big contrast with Variation 6 [7].

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<sup>98</sup> Hermeneutics: the study of interpretation theory, and can be either the art of interpretation, or the theory and practice of interpretation.

<sup>99</sup> Clement re-assigns variation 11 as a concluding 5-part chorale harmonisation to the overall partita.

- ix. **Variation 8:** [After] the death, we enter into new life. The spin of the [semi-quavers] in 24/16 [metre] is like tingling - a way to show that after death, the process of new life begins. The motives tumble over each other gracefully
- x. **Variation 9:** [Speaks] of the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Last Judgement. Surrounded by two [flowing manual figurations], now in 3/4 metre, the chorale melody [is featured as a *cantus firmus* voice in the tenor range of the pedal]
- xi. **Variation 10:** Tells of how the soul is escorted to heaven by angels dressed in white. This is the longest and most sublime variety [of decorated chorales]. Like the previous variation in 3/4, [here the same] rhythm is related to the *Sarabande*, a form of stately dance. [As such, this] variation [may be known as] a "himmlische Sarabande". [We witness the entry to Heaven] as it were [if] travelling angels take the souls to [their] destination. In the long notes sound[s the] visionary chorale melody over the music of the sarabande [in the left hand].
- xii. **Choral:** On completion, now in a great five-part *organo pleno*, a glorious setting of the chorale melody [as the outer framework of the set].

The tenuous and speculative nature of the assigning of musical-textural links seems to avoid the reality that the function of the later chorale variation was to explore the convention of particular genres in isolation to each. This makes it unlikely that a verifiable chronological-ordering or text-musical sequence can be properly determined, or indeed is of any tangible scholarly use.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> See: Williams (2003), pp. 506-512.

## Analysis of Movements: BWV 768<sup>101</sup>



Ex. 4.54: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Initial Chorale Harmonization;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Choral.

A printed musical score for the chorale "Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig". The score is in G minor and 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of music. The first system is labeled "Choral." and shows the vocal line in the treble clef and the initial piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The second and third systems continue the piano accompaniment. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

Ex. 4.55: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Initial Chorale Harmonization;  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

<sup>101</sup> Reference to the variations in this section follows the order as outlined in the NBA setting of BWV 768.

chorale harmonisation [I]:

The opening chorale harmonisation of BWV 768 is the most confident of all the introductions to the Bach partitas. If one considers the close of the work being signified in the declamatory and thickly contrapuntal five-part harmonisation – a very dense movement – then it almost seems deliberate that this initial harmonisation should be signified through simplicity and clarity. The chorale melody in the soprano is unadorned, and largely unaltered. Any hint of complexity is in the intervallic conflict and resolution between the closely matched alto and tenor voices, certainly where most of the interest is to be found. The bass is a gracefully moving ‘cello voice, which requires careful articulation of the repeated pedal notes often found at the end of line phrases 1 and 3, and covers a fairly extensive compass of the pedal-board, D-c<sup>1</sup>, seemingly more suited to *legato* performance on organ as opposed to harpsichord.<sup>102</sup>

Variation 1 – *Bicinium*:

The first variation proper begins with a convention extending from Böhm’s influence, and which might have been introduced to Bach through his recorded interaction with Georg Böhm, through his access to the composer’s library, as well as at the Johanniskirche-Lüneburg. The *Bicinia* form is akin to a soprano aria, perhaps as occurs as the second movement of some of the cantatas. The free voice in the soprano, among Bach’s examples, is most adorned in BWV 768, and the extension of the flowing semiquaver lines, a constituent whole of several Böhman techniques in *ritornello*

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<sup>102</sup> Although the presence of a Pedal-Flügel at the Lüneburg-Michaelisschule might also have been appropriate for performance. See: Part 3, p. 92.

construction, is Bach at his most fluent [see ex. 4.56].<sup>103</sup>



Ex. 4.56: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 1: *Bicinium*;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

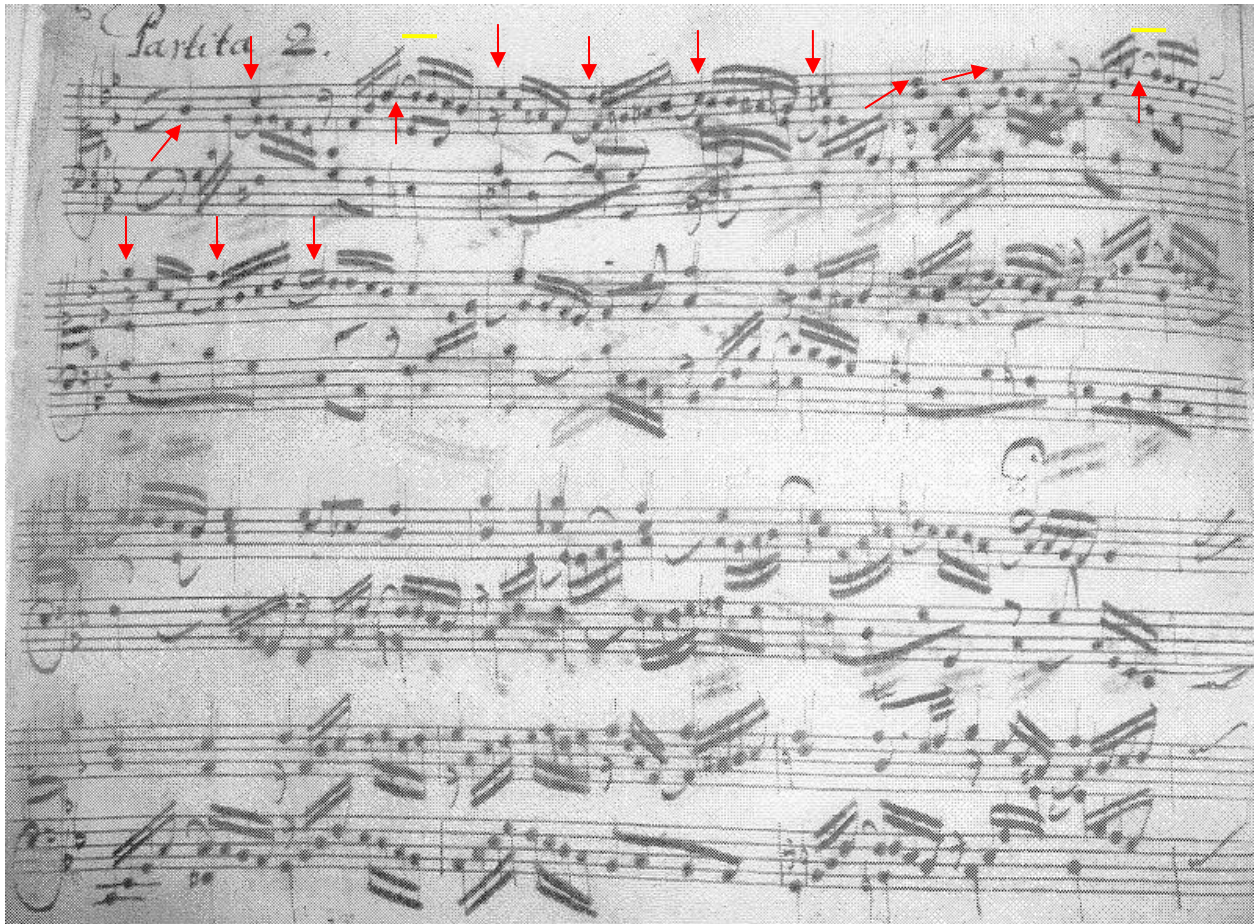
#### Variation 2:

The second variation explores the chorale in three parts, occasionally using a fourth voice as free material to add to the overall harmony, but of no additional function. Principally, the chorale melody is treated unbroken in crotchet motion either above or below a continuous second part [alto voice] that weaves perpetually around the chorale-

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<sup>103</sup> Jean-Claude Zehnder saw this as an indicator that BWV 768 is the later of the partita sets, although acknowledges that Lüneburg, for several reasons, seems the likely point of origin. See: Jones (2007), pp. 96-97.

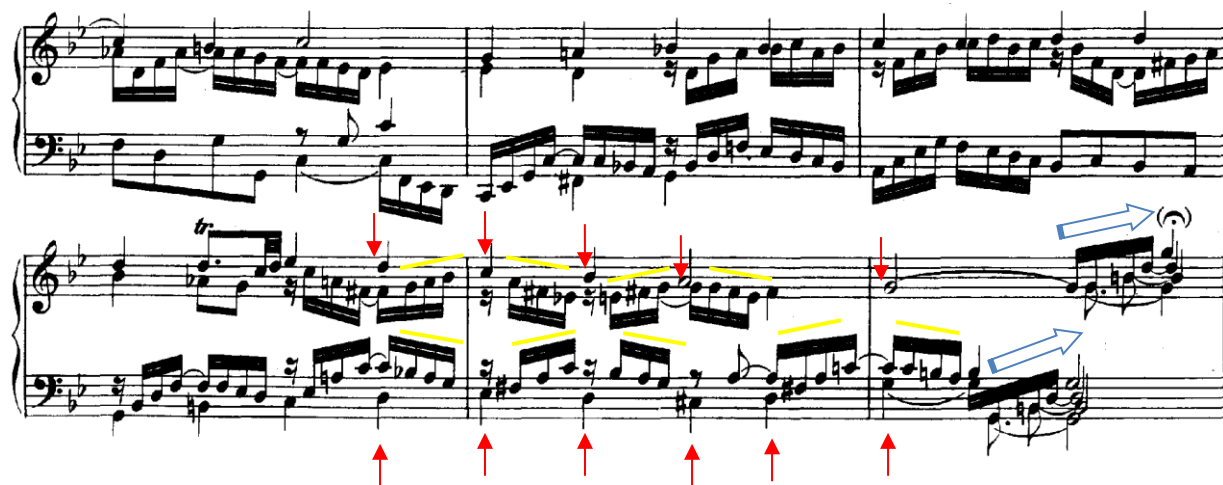
voice. Bach goes to some length to continue the chorale voice unbroken through the variation, and where the semiquaver line crosses it, the notes are tied to maintain the line [see ex. 4.57; red arrows denote the chorale melody, phrases 1 and 2]:



Ex. 4.57: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 2;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

The bass motive is a mainly quaver-based motor rhythm, which sometimes requires skilful manoeuvring as the left-hand also plays a semiquaver line [tenor voice] mainly in the closing passages of the variation [see ex. 4.58, denoted by red arrows, where the bass voice becomes aligned with the final moments of chorale phrase 6 in the treble].

The later bars of the variation indicate harpsichord-type keyboard figurations, in particular the rolled chord of the final *tierce de Picardie* [denoted by the blue arrows in ex. 4.58]:



Ex. 4.58: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 2 [concluding bars];  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

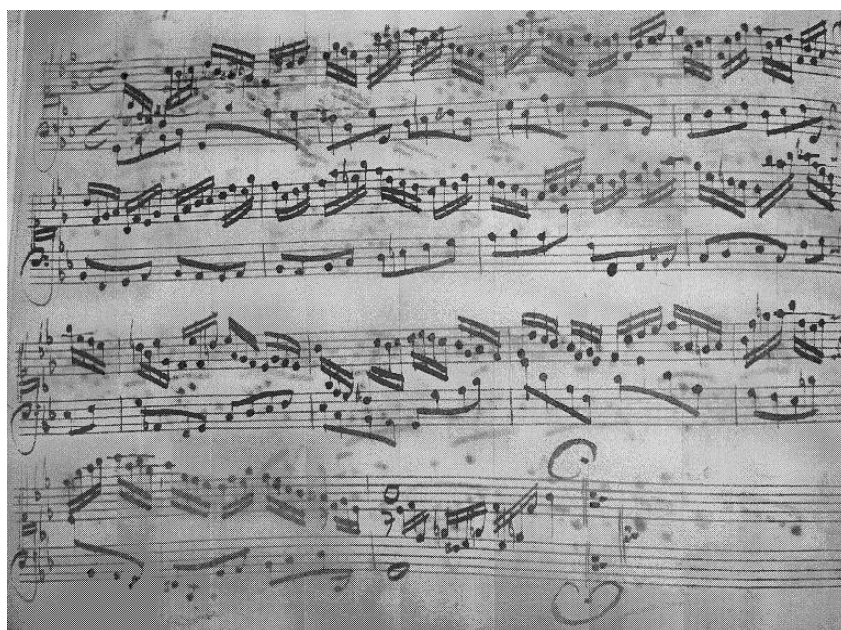


Ex. 4.59: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 2 [concluding bars];  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Variation 3: *perpetuum mobile*:



Ex. 4.60: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 3: *perpetuum mobile* [indicated à 2 Clav.];  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



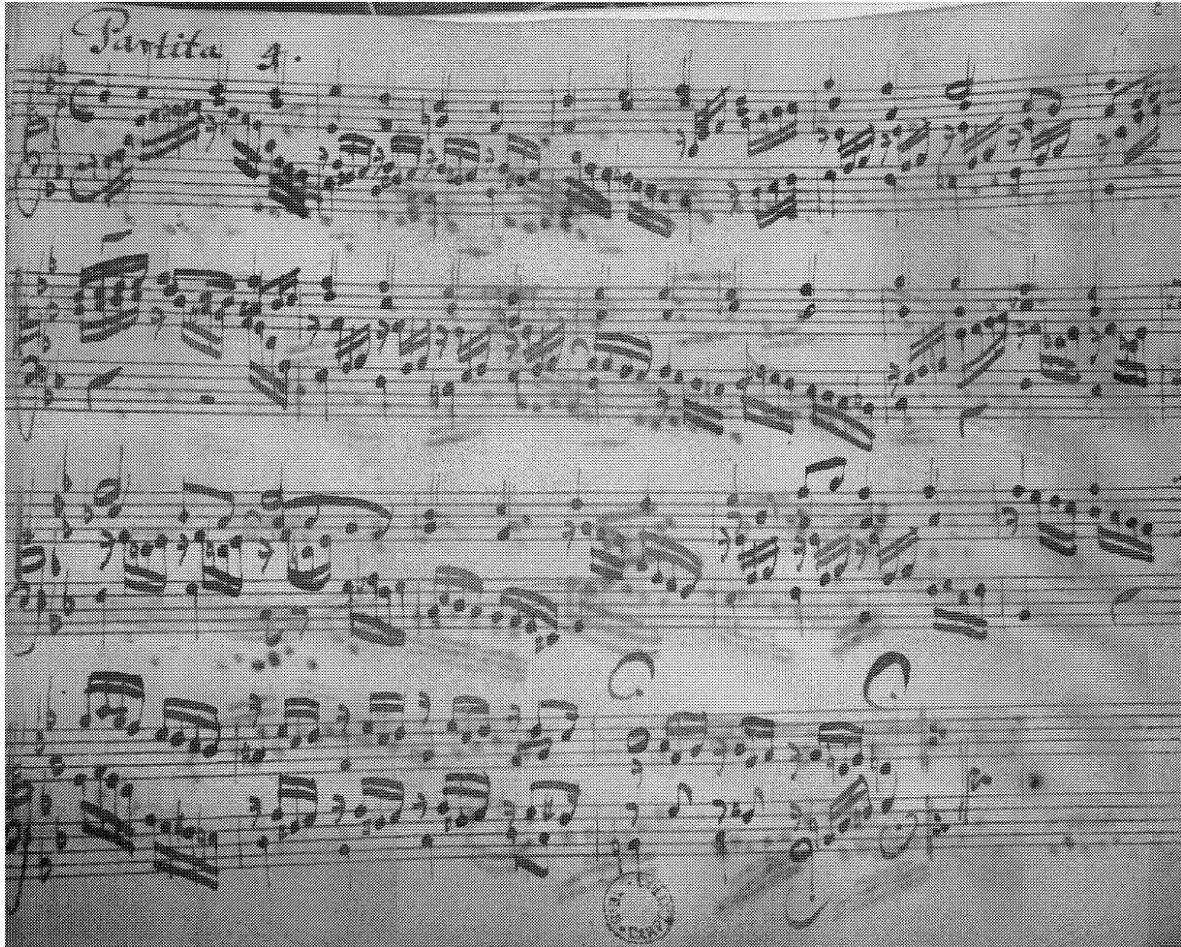
Ex. 4.61: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 3: *perpetuum mobile* [2<sup>nd</sup> copy in MS];  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Two versions of the *perpetuum mobile* of BWV 768 exist in the Carpentras manuscript, although they are distinguished by small alterations to the two-part figurations (see exs. 4.60 and 4.61 above). Quite why this movement in particular should have received some sort of revision is puzzling and likely to remain an unresolved question. This movement is the most concise of the *perpetuum* types among the partita sets. It is crisp and precise, and the chorale line is placed among the continuous semiquaver motion of the right-hand part [see ex. 4.62; red arrows denote chorale melody; green arrows additional material not connected with the chorale melody; yellow lines the phrase-ends]. The Carpentras MS indicates that two keyboards should be utilised here, but other copies do not make this prerequisite clear, or repeat this instruction, and undoubtedly, the movement may be played with ease on one manual alone, as the two parts do not cross at any stage:

The image shows three systems of musical notation for Variation III of BWV 768. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The first system is labeled 'Var. III.' and includes several red arrows pointing to specific notes in the treble staff, indicating the chorale melody. Green arrows point to other notes in the treble staff, indicating additional material. Yellow vertical lines mark the ends of phrases. Blue arrows in the bass staff indicate the flow of the perpetual motion line. The second and third systems continue the piece with similar annotations.

Ex. 4.62: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 3 – *perpetuum mobile*;  
 Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

Variation 4:



Ex. 4.63: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 4:

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

The fourth variation is of relatively simple design yet very effectively composed. The chorale melody is treated faithfully in the soprano voice until the final phrase, with alto-voice re-enforcing the harmony throughout. Much of the figuration is based upon semiquaver scalic passages, either ascending or descending in sequence. The conclusion of each section of the six-line verse sees four-part figures displaying an

acrostic figuration in the inner tenor part, then soprano and tenor voices [see ex. 4.64]:



Ex. 4.64: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 4: bb. 5 & 12;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

The fourth stanza of the text is as follows:

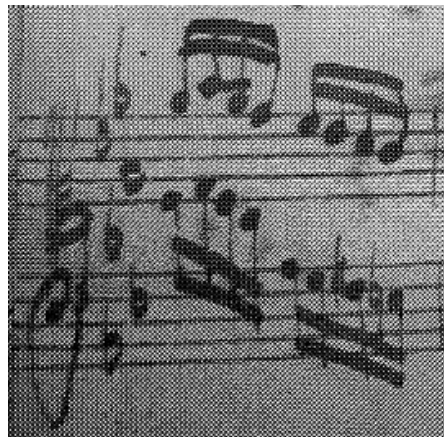
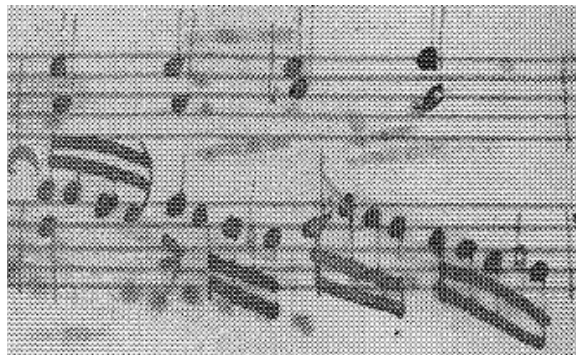
“O Thou fountain ever flowing,  
Gracious comfort e'er bestowing,  
When Death lays his hands upon me  
Help me to be loyal to Thee.  
Let me all Thy love inherit  
And meet death in Thy sure merit”.

***Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig***

Christian Keymann (1607-1662), c. 1663

*Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: Verse 4; lines 1-2:

“... O Thou fountain ever flowing,  
Gracious comfort [cooling] e'er bestowing”.



Ex. 4.65: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 4: bb. 1, 7 & 12<sup>2</sup>;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

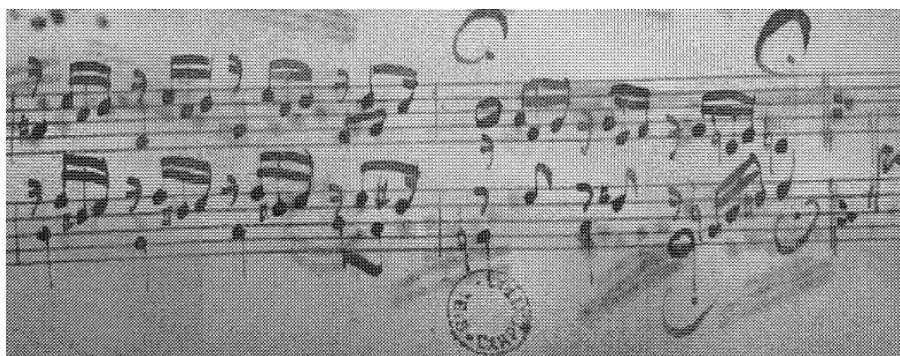
*Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: Verse 4; lines 3-4, 6:

“... When Death lays his hands upon me,  
Help me to be loyal to Thee [...] And meet death in Thy sure  
merit”.

The figuration of the cross, in musical notation, may be witnessed in certain instances among Bach’s sacred music, as a figural representation of Christian death. Figurations, such as these, may be discerned in other earlier works, and they are noted here for observance only:



Ex. 4.66: BWV 599 *Nun Komm der heiden Heiland*, bb. 6-7 – D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 283 (c. 1713-1714);  
AMS: Bach, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Modern Reproduction].



Ex. 4.67: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 4: bb. 13-14;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Whilst it has already been identified that text-music relationships are problematic to confirm in BWV 768, it is tempting to consider the text of the fourth stanza against the deliberate keyboard figurations in the music. Putting the question of *O Jesu, du edle Gabe* to one side, it is useful to note that apart from D-B Mus. ms. P 802<sup>104</sup> and the lost Kaliningrad copy<sup>105</sup> in Walther's hand bearing inscription to *O Jesu, du edle Gabe*, all of the other sources for BWV 768 follow verses one to five in this ordering. As such, there seems to be a sufficient corpus of evidence at least to assume that the first five verses have been handed-down in this order with deliberate intent. Further justification for this might be that, with variations one to four at least, the sequence of the variants appears to follow the traditional simple-time ordering for variants; *bicinium*, followed by two figural variants either side of a *perpetuum mobile* model. Whether this allows us to discern anything between lines of text, and musical word painting is hard to tell, but the previous examples, at least, demonstrate some of the difficulties that face analysts with this area of study of the early partitas [see exs. 4.64-4.67 above].

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<sup>104</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; MS c. 1710-1714/19.

<sup>105</sup> Kö Mus. Ms. 15839: Königsberg-Universitätsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka; current location unknown.

Variation 5:



Ex. 4.68: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 5: bb. 1-10<sup>1</sup>;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Variation 5 of BWV 768 stands unusually apart from all else in the partita sets,<sup>106</sup> inspired by the French style of organ composition of the late seventeenth century. Whilst not entitled a *Basse de Trompette*, this attribution would be the closest applicable style with which to describe the movement [see ex. 4.68]. The model for a movement such as this may have been taken from the ABB, copied by Bach in Ohrdruf between

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<sup>106</sup> Apart from perhaps the French-styled *Fantasia* conclusion, partita 9 of BWV 766.

1695 and 1700. The “moonlight” manuscript is recorded as having contained musical examples of the keyboard works of Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) and Nicolas Lebègue (1631-1702), both of whom provide examples of the genre in their respective collections of organ music, the *Livre D’Orgue*.<sup>107</sup> In this variation, there is no discernable attempt at a relationship between the text of stanza five, merely that this variation instead appears to be a pastiche model of an early European style, which Bach has emulated fairly faithfully.

#### Variation 6:

The final six variations in the BWV 768 set have perplexed Bach scholars as to their rightful order in performance, if an ordered rendering of the partita is to be achieved. Some of this confusion relates to the varied ordering of the final six variants in the available copies. However, adding to this uncertainty is the belief that variation 6 is a manualiter movement only, and as such needs to be retained in a grouping with the initial five variants.

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<sup>107</sup> Hill (1991), pp. 24-66: Christoph Wolff provides an important footnote to this citation, which must be viewed as an essential statement when placing the earliest sources of available manuscript materials and compositional models available for Bach’s personal inspection: “The exact dating of the two manuscripts is problematic, but the Möller Manuscript (MM), at least in part, most likely preceded the Andreas Bach Book (ABB). Schulze 1984a, who at first identified the principal scribe, dates both in the period 1705-13, with late entries by scribes other than Johann Christoph Bach; Hill dates MM c. 1703-7 and ABB c. 1708-13 and beyond. There are, however, neither philological nor codicological reasons that speak against the possibility of assuming slightly earlier dates for the beginning of both manuscripts, especially for ABB.” It should also be noted that, whilst Christoph Bach <sup>(22)</sup> is known to have compiled these two important collections after 1700, this does not negate the detail that Bach had access to a number of these works, if not in their entirety, during his five year period residing in the household of Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup> from 1695 to 1700.

I have little doubt, however, that a pedal-part is implied, and was indeed intended by the composer for this variation, which would allow it to remain in place, and in chronological order with, the other variants. However, a counter-argument would suggest that as this movement is in 12/8 dance time, then it should precede the 24/12 trio movement, and thus be superseded by variation 7 in 2/2 time. Certainly the free-fantasia of variation 7 seems a more appropriate fulcrum overall.<sup>108</sup>

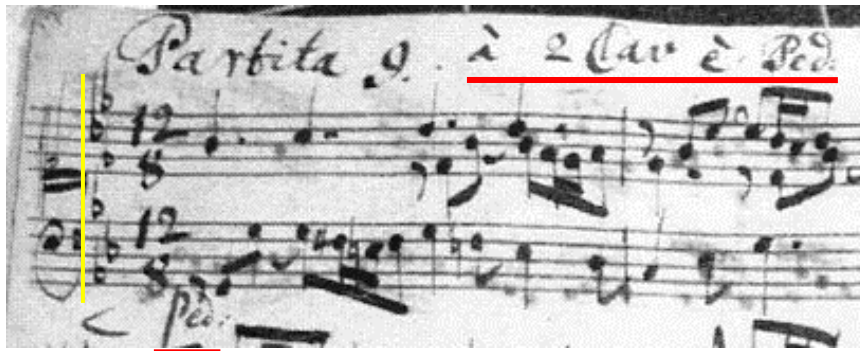


Ex. 4.69: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 6 [indicated à 2 Clav. è Ped.];

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

<sup>108</sup> Note that reference to the variation numbering here is taken from the NBA ordering of published copies of BWV 768. Carpentras adheres to a different ordering – hence Partita 9 in F-C Ms. 1086 (1), appears in NBA as Variation 6, and so forth.

The scribe of Carpentras<sup>109</sup> for variation 6 is quite unequivocal that this movement is not only across two separate manuals, but also that the bass-part in itself is written to indicate performance on pedals [see ex. 4.70]. To reinforce this, although possible, it is challenging to perform aspects of this variation on keyboard(s) alone, in particular where tenor and bass voices become extremely distant in compass, and as such, clarity is achieved *con pedale* [see ex. 4.71; red arrows denote pedal notes]:



Ex. 4.70: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 6 [indicated à 2 Clav. è Ped.];  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

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<sup>109</sup> See: Part 5, pp. 285-295, for further explanation.

Ex. a: Musical notation showing a bass line with a red bracket and a red arrow pointing right, labeled "Ped.".

Ex. b: Musical notation showing a bass line with five red arrows pointing up to specific notes, labeled "Ped.".

Ex. c: Musical notation showing a grand staff with a red arrow under the bass line and five red arrows pointing up to notes, labeled "Ped.".

Ex. 4.71: Examples of Pedal-Part Pre-requisites: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 6: bb. 2, 6, 7-8;  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

### Variation 7:

This movement might well be the centre-point of the architectural structure of this partita in entirety. It is the final variation in the partita appearing in 2/2 time, and as stated above, its *fantasia quasi toccata* layout would function well as the mid-span of the bridge-structure created by the eleven movements of BWV 768.

“A 2 Clav. Con ped.” allows the *cantus firmus* melody of the chorale to be presented quite stridently in the bass-voice throughout, with demisemiquaver motives are shared between left and right hands. Given the general serenity of the variations that have preceded it, this variation is considerably starker in its affect. The motivic references in the manual figurations seem based upon two-part invention writing; concurrent passages between left and right hands of four demisemiquaver groups grouped to tied

quaver figurations, which allow the alternate part to ‘catch up’ [see exs. 4.72 and 4.73]:



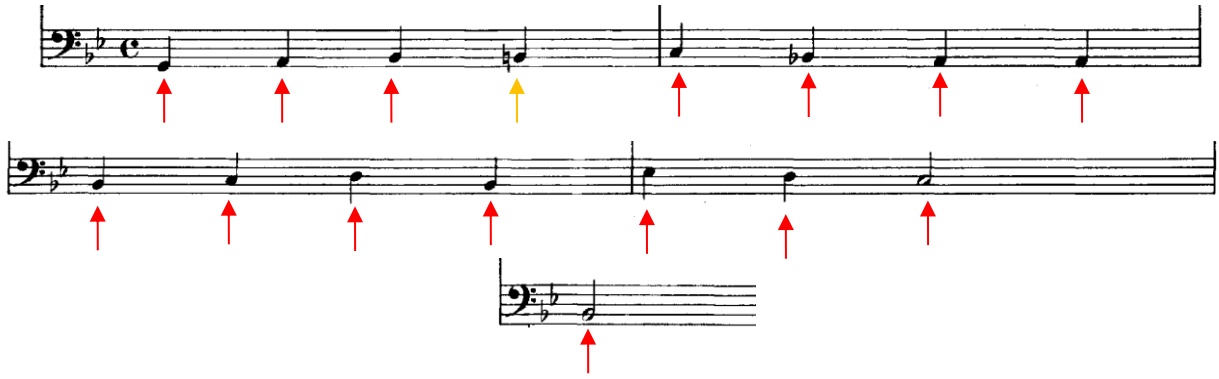
Ex. 4.72: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 7, b. 6 – *Fantasia quasi Toccata* [modern reproduction];  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.



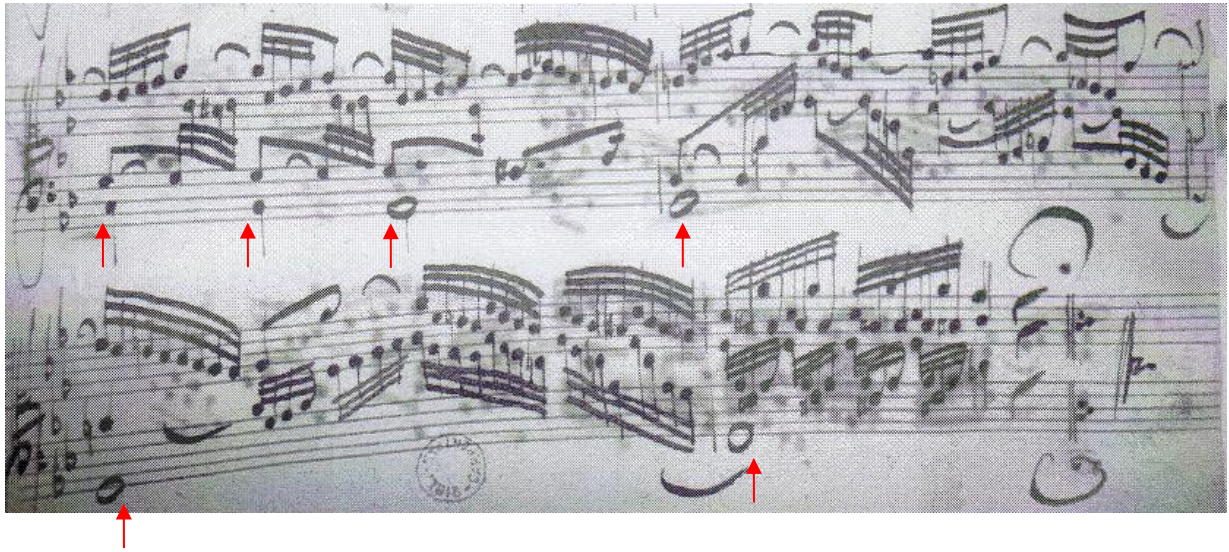
Ex. 4.73: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 7, bb. 15-16 – *Fantasia quasi Toccata* [modern reproduction];  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

The entire variation is sixteen bars long, and is divided into three sections for each of the statements of the chorale melody, with the final three bars framed from concluding manual-based figurations over a continuous tonic-pedal.<sup>110</sup> It is not possible to demonstrate any alignment with these statements and text-music relationships. The *cantus firmus* bass-statement is faithful to the chorale melody, with sparing chromatic enhancement of certain repeated figures, and diminution to shorten the conclusion of coupled phrases, hence four and a half bars exactly for the statements of chorale phrases 1-2, 3-4 [see ex. 4.74, where red arrows denote chorale phrases 1 and 2]:

<sup>110</sup> Chorale phrases 1 & 2: 4 ½ bars; Chorale phrases 3 & 4: 4 ½ bars; Chorale phrases 5 & 6; 4 bars; Concluding manual figurations: 3 bars.



Ex. 4.74: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 7: *cantus firmus*, bb. 1-4<sup>1/2</sup> = Chorale phrases 1 & 2; *Fantasia quasi Toccata*; Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.



Ex. 4.75: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 7, bb. 13-16 (bb. 14-16 manuals figurations over held tonic-pedal); F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

## Variation 8:

Following the 12/8 time signature of variation 6, this variation features a rare instance of the 24/16 metre found in only three works of Bach's entire output.<sup>111</sup> Its use seems no more significant than to indicate the distinct patterns discerned between variations 6 and 8, and it is hard to see any significance other than this being the most suitable for this layout of the trio.<sup>112</sup>

This precursor to some of the later *trio supers*<sup>113</sup> is a finely crafted example. The first two notes of each phrase of the chorale melody are contained within the linear semiquaver movement that passes from right to left hand concurrently without a break; the remainder of the phrase is then stated in punctuated dotted-crotchet figures [see ex. 4.77; denoted by red arrows]. The pedal part, apart from its final, lengthy held pedal-G, takes the form of a *quasi-pizzicato* 'cello bass voice that directs the directional harmony beneath the perpetual semiquaver motion in the manual parts [see ex. 4.78, red arrows denote chorale phrase passage]. There is nothing in this movement to indicate that two manuals are required, and yet, it may be seen as a summation of the musical devices and patterns that underpin some of the earlier variations among Bach's partitas:

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<sup>111</sup> Numerous papers have sought to provide reason or explanation for Bach's use of the 24/16 metre. Clement (1998), pp. 330-343.

<sup>112</sup> Williams (2003), p. 511.

<sup>113</sup> BWV 664, BWV 655, BWV 682.



Ex. 4.76: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 8, bb. 1-5<sup>1</sup>;  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Ex. 4.77: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 8, bb. 1-4 – *Trio* [modern reproduction];  
 Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

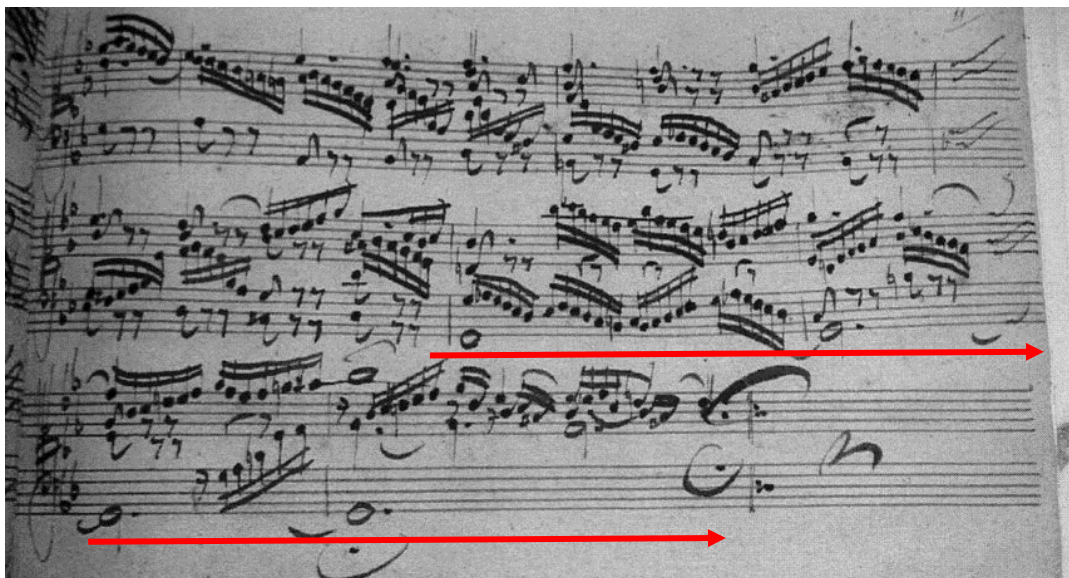
Ex. 4.78: BWV 655 – *trio super Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend* – bb. 1-7 [modern reproduction];  
 Rust, Wilhelm (1822–1892) ed., Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900),  
 Band 25 Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878, Plate B.W.XXV.



Ex. 4.79: BWV 664 – trio super *Allein Gott, in der Höh sei 'ehr* – bb. 1-6 [modern reproduction];

Rust, Wilhelm (1822–1892) ed., Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 25 Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878. Plate B.W. XXV.

The conclusion of this variation is similar to that of variations 6 and 7, where Bach extends the ending of each over a left hand or pedal tonic-pedal. The significance of the extensions seems to be purely figurative, merely an exploration of the different possibilities available to the young composer [see ex. 4.80, red arrow denotes pedal]:



Ex. 4.80: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 8, concluding bars;

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

The stylistic and technical uniformity of Bach's trio movement poses some issues in terms of the dating of the work, for what we have here is a seemingly highly mature creative process at work [see exs. 4.81 and 4.82, red arrows denote extended tonic-pedal in an internal voice, or pedal-part]. As with variations 9 and 10 following, if *Sei Gegrüßet* was indeed complete by the time Bach was at the end of his Lüneburg sojourn, then he would have been one of the most versatile youthful musicians:

Ex. 4.81: BWV 720 – Chorale-Fantasia: *Ein' Feste burg ist unser Gott* c, 1700-1719 [modern reproduction]; Ernst Naumann (1832–1910) ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1893), plate B.W. XL.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for Variation 8 of BWV 768. Each system consists of three staves: a treble clef staff at the top, a bass clef staff at the bottom, and a single-line staff in the middle. The first system shows a complex texture with many notes. A red arrow points to a specific note in the middle staff of the first system. The second system shows the continuation of the piece, ending with a red arrow pointing to the final note in the middle staff.

Ex. 4.82: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 8: conclusion – *Trio* [modern reproduction];  
 Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

### Variation 9:

This partita movement, a *cantus firmus* in pedal [4' pitch], is perhaps the most technically challenging to perform in all of BWV 768. It is also among the most unusual of Bach's movements for organ, most notably because of the extremely high pedal compass. However, although this variation may require two separate keyboards as well as pedal for performance, it is scored in all versions across two-staves only, with the *cantus firmus* line written between the two keyboard staves. Most likely the composer wrote it in this manner to allow performers to divide how to 'realise' the solo chorale line in this variation. Alternatively, if Bach's scoring was intended for himself to interpret, then this form of 'short-hand' scoring would be quite appropriate for him to recall the work with ease. I am, however, strongly of the opinion that two keyboards would have been stipulated for performance, to allow for varying texture in the upper register: i.e. a

16' and 8' tone in the left hand, perhaps mutation stops for the right hand, and a 4' clarin for pedal. Bach makes this stipulation quite clear in works bearing close similarity to variation nine, i.e. BWV 684: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* [Clavierübung III; see ex. 4.84], and BWV 688: *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* [Clavierübung III]. There are of course precedents in earlier keyboard music where solo melody lines intended for pedal are written into the centre of a score, and yet performed on the pedal-board, so the precedent here is not too unusual [see ex. 4.83; red arrows denote pedal statement]:



Ex. 4.83: Fantasia-Ionian [modern reproduction] - Jan-Pieterzoon Sweelinck;

Max Seiffert (1868-1948) *Werken van Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, Vol. 1 Martinus Nijhoff / Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894, 1943. (revised, expanded edition) New York: Dover Publications, 1985 (reprint of 1943 ed.).

Ex. 4.84: BWV 684 – Chorale-Prelude: *Christ, unser Herr, zun Jordan kam* – bb. 7-15 [modern reproduction];  
 Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–1877) Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 3, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1853. Plate B.W. III.

The most significant point about this variation, not recorded in other analytical commentaries for BWV 768, is the unusual appearance of top  $e^{b1}$  [ $d^{\#1}$ ] in the *cantus firmus* pedal-part at bars seven, sixteen and twenty-six [see ex. 4.85; red arrows denote unusually high pedal tessitura]. This is particularly notable. The organs which Bach would have been familiar with at Ohrdruf, Lüneburg and Arnstadt all had pedal-boards standard for the period, extending no higher than  $d'$ .<sup>114</sup> Quite simply, there would have been no purpose for the composer to write a pedal-part requiring these notes, given that he would not by this stage have been aware of the existence of an available compass for performance, and thus would not, in all likelihood, have written it.

<sup>114</sup> See comprehensive descriptions of these organs and technical specifications in Parts 2 and 3 of this study. See: pp. 67-70, 90-95, 104-110, 142-143.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for Variation 9 of BWV 768. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The music is in a minor key with a key signature of two flats. The first system shows a complex texture with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the right hand and a steady bass line. A red arrow points to a specific note in the bass line. The second system continues this texture, with two red arrows pointing to notes in the bass line. The third system concludes the variation, with one red arrow pointing to a note in the bass line.

Ex. 4.85: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 9: bb. 5-8; 13-16; 25-28 – *cantus firmus in tenor* to  $e^{b1}$  [modern reproduction]; Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain.

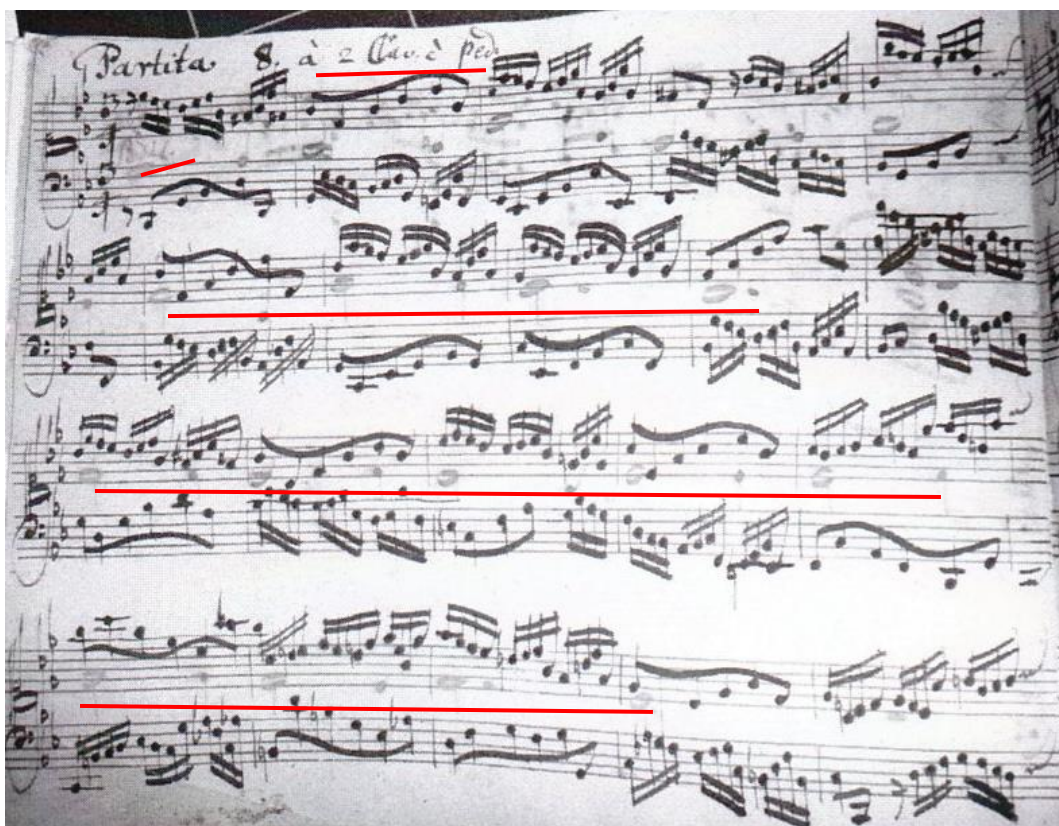
There is only one conceivable way in which the performance of this variation, by the composer or otherwise, would have been possible. Bach, in the early years, only experienced two instruments containing pedal-registers rising above the standard  $d^1$ . One of these was at the Castle-Church of the Weimar Court which extended to  $e^1$ . The only other, and the instrument presumed connected with the Toccata in F, BWV 540,<sup>115</sup> the organ of the Augustusburg-Schlosskirche-St.Trinitatis at Weissenfels. Its pedal-board extended to  $f^1$  and Bach had some connection with this instrument between 1712 and 1713. This gives us strong grounds to believe, that for whatever reason, variation

<sup>115</sup> BWV 540 in certain versions requires the pedal-note  $f^1$  at certain stages. The Weissenfels-Schloss-Kirche organ was the only known instrument with which Bach had a connection prior to 1715 at least.

11 of BWV 768 was altered in some way either for the Weimar organ c. 1712, or more specifically for performance at Weissenfels around 1714. The evidence here appears to demonstrate that, whilst BWV 768 remains an extensive work, alterations to certain parts of the variations may have been disparate, and taken place for different compositional reasons rather than strict adherence to a sequential text, although the variations themselves had been completed in entirety by 1705, if not earlier. This is particularly clear on the manuscript of Carpentras, most notably with the addition of the light ink *cantus firmus* pedal line in variation 9,<sup>116</sup> the unusually large notation therein, and difference in the ink-type, all indicative of a second phase of writing [see ex. 4.86; red lines highlight internal cantus firmus line for pedal]. As Bach's longest organ piece, I believe BWV 768, in entirety, was constructed between the years 1700 and 1705, but submitted to subsequent alterations so that the intended musical direction of the original pedal part could be realised in practical terms where a sufficiently equipped organ became available:

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<sup>116</sup> Partita 8 in Carpentras.



Ex. 4.86: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 9: red lines denote notation applied in second phase of construction;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Variation 10: *coloratura* chorale with *cantus firmus* in soprano: Sarabande

Variation 10 of BWV 768 is one of Bach's most complex renderings of a chorale melody. It is a highly sophisticated work, where each phrase of the chorale melody as a solo is treated twice, an initial statement in *coloratura* soprano voice with a range of ornamentation, followed by a straight *cantus firmus* statement. Each line of the melody is treated successively in this manner. The majority of the manuscript copies state that it is intended "a 2 clav. et ped."

Two manuscripts have different headings for the performance directions: D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 in the hand of Johann Tobias Krebs;<sup>117</sup> (Variations 1, 2, 4, 10 only), and Carpentras,<sup>118</sup> both of which head each *cantus* section with “Choral”.

It can be argued that there are several solutions for the performance of this extensive chorale-prelude. Firstly, one manual could be utilised, but the crossing of parts makes performance uncomfortable, and there can be no contrast in texture, this is most unlikely. The second possibility is that two manuals be utilised, manual one for the left hand material only, and manual two for both the *coloratura* and *cantus*. A third solution might be that manual one is applied to the left hand as well as the *coloratura* parts together, utilising manual two for the *cantus firmus* statements only. Fourthly, and this would no doubt be at the performer’s discretion and need not necessarily be stipulated, the performer may interpret left hand on manual one, *coloratura* on manual two, and *cantus firmus* on a third manual. This would appear to be the best option in performance, given that the three lines benefit most from three separate stop-register combinations, i.e. foundation stops for the left hand, mutations or sesquialtera for the *coloratura*, with a reed-stop 8’ for the *cantus*.<sup>119</sup>

This harmonically sophisticated chorale deals with the motivic material in three distinct ways. Discussing this from the pedal-line upwards, Bach uses the pedal to accentuate a

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<sup>117</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>118</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

<sup>119</sup> However, the direction from the copyist on the score of F-C Ms. 1086 (1) clearly indicates “a 2 Clav”, most likely in line with the fact that two-manual organs were the norm, and three-manual instruments a relative rarity.

recurrent motive based on the first phrase of the melody, which is continually developed throughout [see exs. 4.87-4.90]:



a through-worked architectural movement. The left hand manual part is a significant “orchestral” accompaniment, of multifaceted proportions, in that it constantly weaves around the two treatments of the upper melody [see ex. 4.91]. It is complex to interpret given its constantly weaving nature, but also uses some expansive stretches of the left hand to accommodate all voices of this accompaniment. The only parallels for this textural writing among all of Bach’s oeuvre are found among the eighteen Leipzig Chorales, and a few workings in the *Clavierübung* Part III:



Ex. 4.91: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 52-72 – accompaniments to the melody found in the left hand and pedal parts. Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

The above example of the accompaniment found in variation 10 is one of the most significant in this variation. The complexity of the harmonic development through these passages, as well as the compass and demands in the pedal-part, indicates the

workings of a very technically secure composer, and as such, this is an excellent example of Bach's early compositional abilities. Whether this is musical word painting or not, it is highly sophisticated harmonic manipulation, but aesthetically also, is one of the most tortured and dramatic utterances among all of his music for organ, with only the smallest number of parallels to be found [see ex. 4.92]:

Var. X. (a 2 Clav. e Ped.)

The image displays a modern reproduction of Variation X from J.S. Bach's Organ Mass in B-flat major, BWV 768. It consists of three systems of piano accompaniment and two systems of choral vocal lines. The piano parts are written for two manuals and pedals, with a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of two flats (B-flat major). The first system of piano music shows the right hand with a melodic line and the left hand with a more rhythmic accompaniment. The second system of piano music continues this texture. The first system of choral music is labeled 'Choral. (forte)' and features a vocal line with a melodic contour and a piano accompaniment. The second system of choral music continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The overall style is Baroque, with clear harmonic structure and rhythmic precision.

Choral.  
(forte)

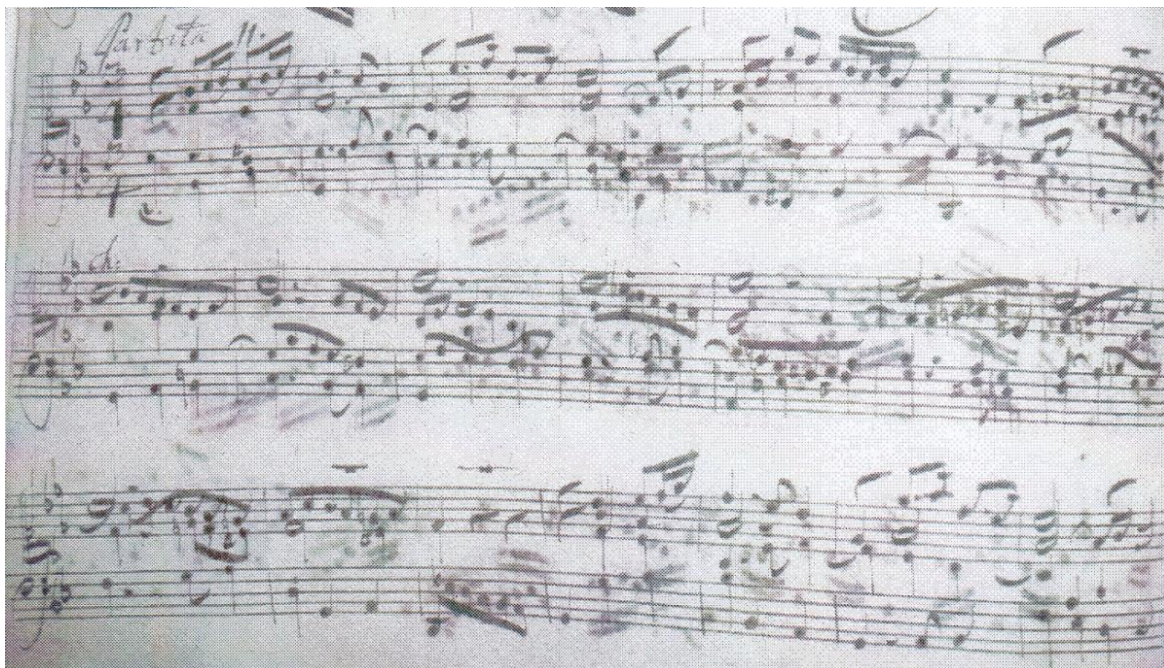
Choral.

Ex. 4.92: BWV 768 – “Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig” – Variation 10: bb. 1-30 [modern reproduction];  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

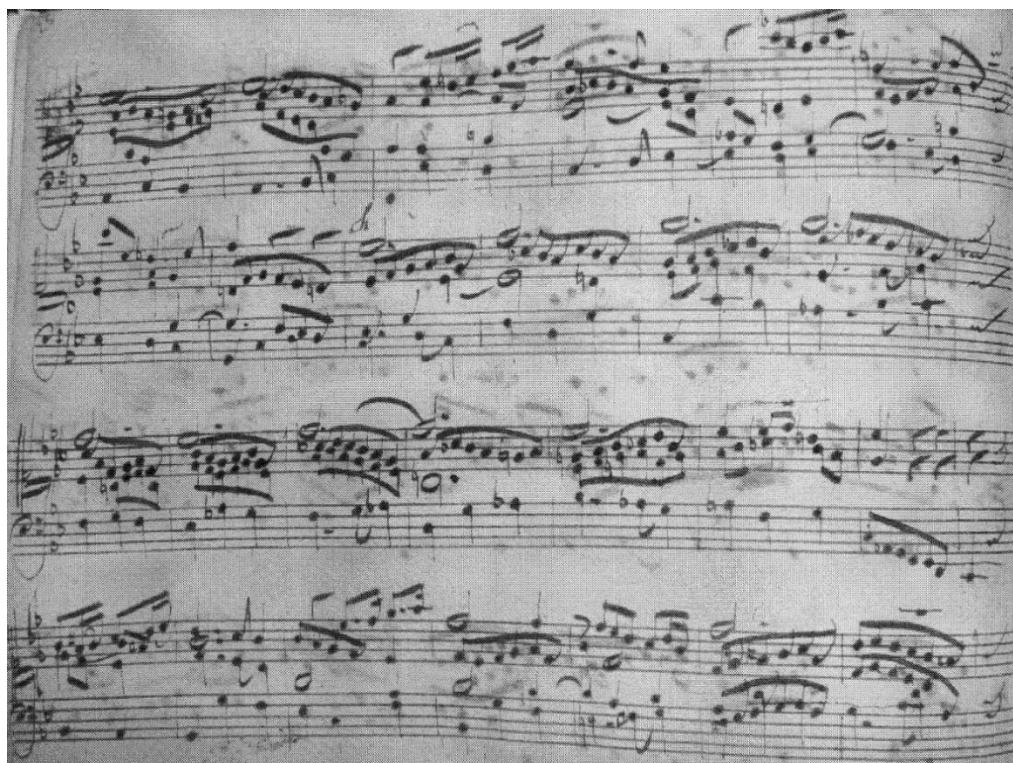
As noted, the soprano part explores the melody of the *Sei Gegrüsset* hymn in two distinct ways. Six bars are utilised for each statement in a decorative *coloratura* style, similar to BWV 622 (*Orgelbuchlein*), BWV 653, BWV 654, BWV 662 (*Eighteen Leipzig chorales*) and BWV 682 (*Clavierübung III*). None of this however means that variation ten of BWV 768 fits into either a late or mature category for Bach's works – there is after all no evidence to support such an assumption. The chorale melody of the *cantus firmus* is deployed across eight to nine bar statements per phrase, more extensive than the decorative line which precede each phrase, indicating that it is the *cantus* voice of the melody, which is of greater significance. From bar seventy-four to the conclusion of the variation, Bach further extends the statement of the chorale with the *cantus* voice stated in two parts, to thicken the texture for the final chorale phrase, a climactic conclusion which is further reinforced with a 4-voice imitation in the accompaniment [see exs. 4.93-4.97]. This is one of the most unusual textures applied by Bach in a chorale prelude.<sup>120</sup> At this point, the work is as expansive as it is flowing, with no less than five voices deployed at one time:

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<sup>120</sup> See also: BWV 653b.



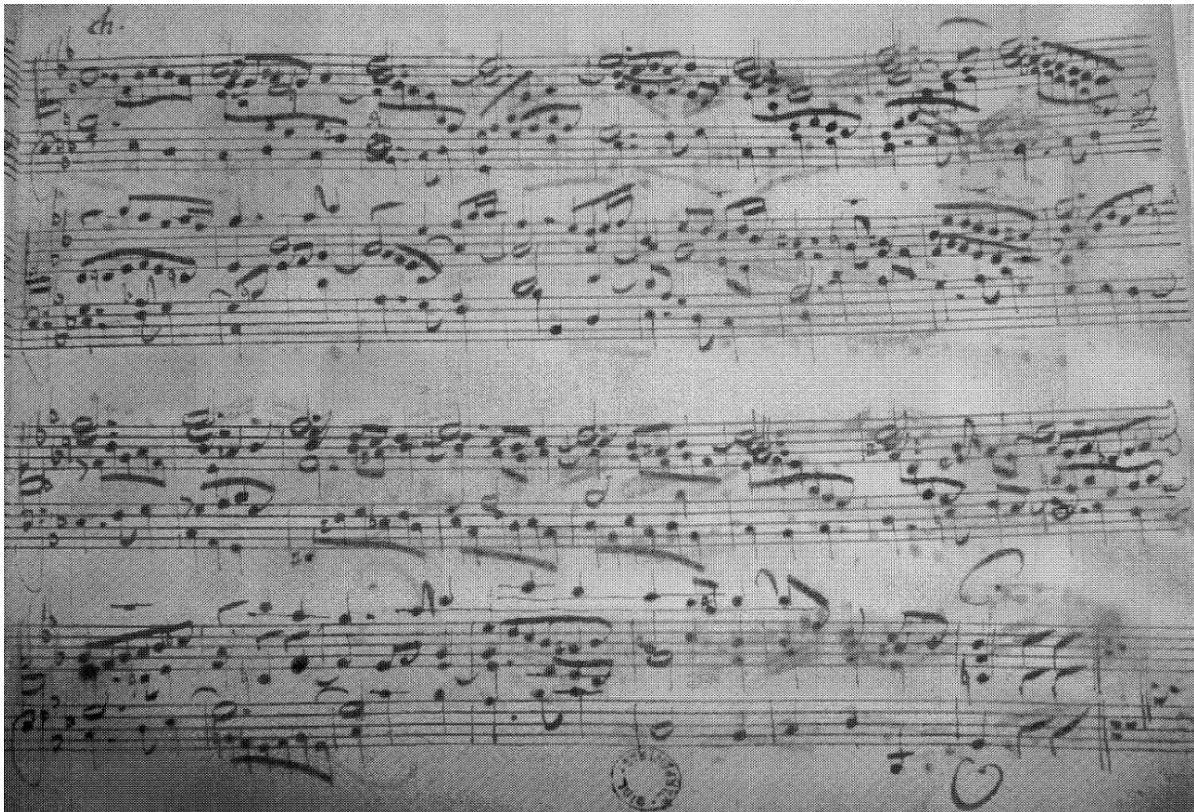
Ex. 4.93: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 10: *coloratura* and *cantus firmus* fragment;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



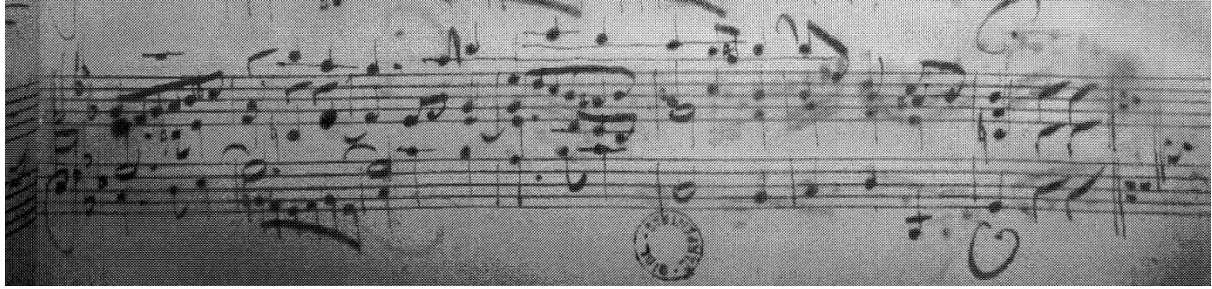
Ex. 4.94: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 10: *coloratura* and *cantus firmus* fragment;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 4.95: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 10: *coloratura* and *cantus firmus* fragment – Five-part texture;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 4.96: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 10: *coloratura* and *cantus firmus* fragments;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



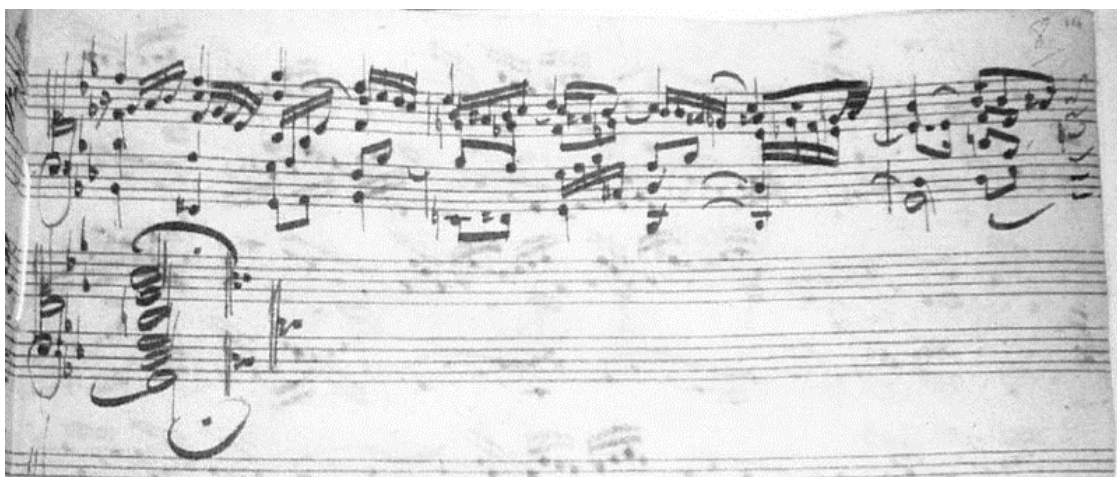
Ex. 4.97: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 10: *coloratura* and *cantus firmus*, bb. 99-105;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

This chorale prelude is one of Bach's most imaginative exercises in chorale setting. Its inclusion in numerous private collections, including those of Preller, Krebs, Walther, as well as in other early sources, testify to the significance in which it was held. Importantly, as we approach a fuller understanding of sources such as Carpentras,<sup>121</sup> including freshly discerned detail surrounding scribes, and ever-earlier chronologies for Bach's youthful output, this single-source manuscript is highly significant in contributing to our knowledge of Bach's early compositional abilities. These issues are discussed fully in Part 5 of this study, which provides an analysis of the scribal sources discerned in the manuscript copies of BWV 768.

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<sup>121</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Variation 11: *chorale a 5*



Ex. 4.98: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* - Variation 11 – [*choral a 5*] complete;  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Variation 11 of *Sei Gegrüsset* [see ex. 4.98 above] is a fitting final statement of the chorale for such an extensive liturgical keyboard work. Among all of Bach's church-based keyboard music, it is one of the most declamatory, in five parts throughout, and in contrast to the introspective nature of the four-part chorale harmonisation that opens the set. Indeed, the grandeur of Bach's conclusion to BWV 768 is similar in nature to the conclusion of the *Aria Eberliniana* variations<sup>122</sup> by Johann Christoph (13)/(22) [?], with complex textures and chromaticism common between them [see ex. 4.99]:<sup>123</sup>



Ex. 4.99: Variation 15, Final: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940).

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<sup>122</sup> Composition dating from 1690.

<sup>123</sup> Melamed (1999), pp. 345-465.

During the course of his lifetime, Bach created hymn accompaniments which to some appeared curious, and which occasionally were considered ill fitting for church congregations.<sup>124</sup> These differed from the conclusion to BWV 768 in that they were often realised as improvised sequences of interludes at the conclusion of each line of hymn verses [see ex. 4.100]. The concluding chorale harmonisation of BWV 768 is through-composed, and does not imply the incorporation of verse interludes. This raises the question as to whether Bach ever intended it to serve as a congregational hymn. Its scope means it is certainly able to fulfil the role of concluding hymn, particularly if some, or indeed all, of BWV 768 had been utilised liturgically at any stage earlier in the same service. The concluding chorale is full-bodied, with the inner parts particularly dense with passing-notes, such as to be texturally complex when performed on the organ manuals [see ex. 4.101]. Whilst there is no real evidence of an implied motivic or text setting, the principal drama of the movement is in the chromatic potential and range explored by the pedal part, although C<sup>#</sup> in the pedal is avoided where it would be well utilised in the penultimate bar. There is not a single incidence of bottom C<sup>#</sup> being called for at any point in *Sei Gegrüsset*, and this most likely indicates that it was not available, as with Buxtehude in Lübeck, on some of the early organs which Bach experienced in his youth.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> See: Part 3, *Bach at Arnstadt*, pp. 142-153.

<sup>125</sup> See: Part 3, *The Journey to Lübeck*, pp. 154-168.

Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend'.

The image displays a four-system musical score for BWV 726, a chorale harmonization of the hymn 'Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend'. The score is written for three staves: a treble clef staff at the top, a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) in the middle, and a bass clef staff at the bottom. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The music features a mix of block chords and moving lines, with some passages marked with a '7' indicating a seven-measure phrase. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

Ex. 4.100: BWV 726 – Chorale-Harmonisation: *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend* [modern reproduction];  
The example demonstrates a style of manual interplay, which traditionally would have been improvised by the organist,  
between successive lines of accompanied congregational hymn verses in Lutheran worship.

Ernst Naumann (1832–1910) Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1893), plate B.W. XL.

Var. XI. (a 5 voci, in Organo pleno.)

The image displays a musical score for Variation XI of BWV 768, titled "Var. XI. (a 5 voci, in Organo pleno.)". The score is written for five voices and organ, in B-flat major and 4/4 time. It consists of five systems, each with three staves. A red arrow points to a C# note in the second system, which is highlighted with a yellow box labeled "C# [?]". A blue arrow points to the right from the box.

Ex. 4.101: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 11: complete – *chorale a 5* [modern reproduction]; Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL.

## Part Five

### BWV 768:

Toward A Modern Understanding of the Scribes and Sources

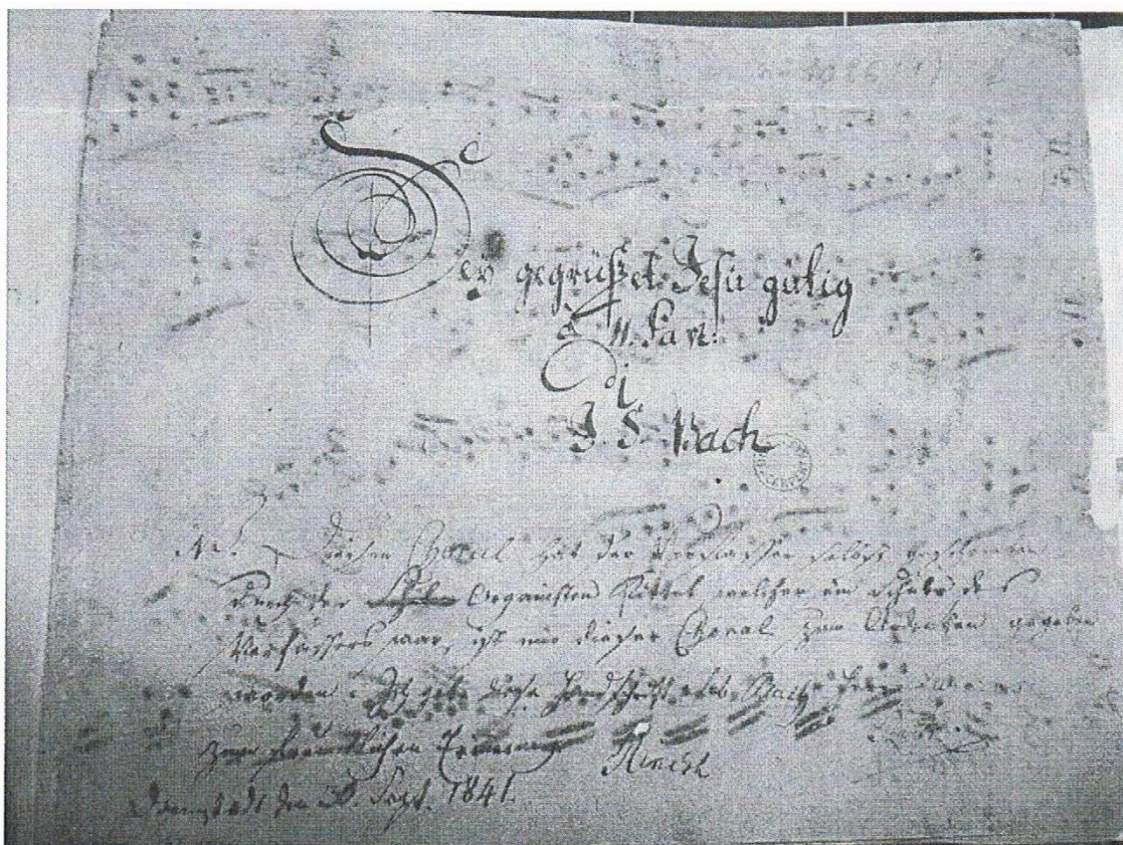


Plate 5.1: BWV 768 Chorale Partita: *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*

Title Page: F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Part 5 covers:

1. An analysis and discussion of the numerous copies of the chorale partita BWV 768.
2. Propositions surrounding the existence of relationships between certain copies of BWV 768, and Bach's other early keyboard manuscripts.
3. An assessment of Albert Clement's assertions about BWV 768, and tests surrounding the veracity of any connection with the *Jesulied* text, *O Jesu, du Edle Gabe*.
4. An evaluation of the implied structural links between variations among the primary sources of BWV 768.
5. An examination of relationships which exist between Bach's music written in variation form, and the work of others.
6. Conclusions as to whether an intended ordering of the variations present in BWV 768 ever existed, and what implications this may have.
7. An assessment of the unknown scribe of F-C Ms. 1086 (1), and Forensic Document Examination of the handwriting.

BWV 768 & BWV 768<sup>a</sup>: Chorale Variatio sopra:  
*Sei/Sey Gegrüsset, Jesu gütig*

Manuscript Sources – BWV 768 & BWV 768a <sup>1</sup>
A-Wn Mus. Hs. 2234 [S. m. 2234]
B-Bc 12102 MSM
D-B Am.B 46/I
D-B Am.B 47
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 284
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 291, Faszikel 1
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 312
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 406
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1118
DK-Kk Gades Samling C 4 <sup>o</sup>
D-LEm III.8.17
D-LEb Ms. 7, Faszikel 23 (Depositum in Bach-Archiv)
F-C Ms. 1086 (1)
GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 55
GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 70, Faszikel 4
Verschollen BWV 768 (1), F. X. Gleichauf
Verschollen BWV 768 (2), Versteigerungskatalog Erfurt 1810
Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839
Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold Rf alpha 6, Faszikel 13

Table 5.1: Complete list of Manuscript Sources for BWV 768.

<sup>1</sup> <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalWork\\_work\\_00000897](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalWork_work_00000897)> [Accessed: 12 October 2010].

There are twenty recorded sources which contain a full or partial copy of BWV 768. The sources tend to fit into three distinct categories: those which may be considered contemporary, that is within the first twenty-five years of the eighteenth century but with unidentified scribes; copies in identified scribal hands from the immediate Bach circle within his own lifetime – pupils and closer contacts of a primary evidential nature; MSS which derive from later secondary evidential copies, post-1750 up to the nineteenth-century, many of which contain un-contemporaneous additions or revisions of the original material, such as excessive ornamentation. For the purpose of this part of the study, only the first two of these categories will be analysed, with particular focus on the contemporaneous early copies which appear in the hand of an unidentified scribe or scribes. It is possible to discount the sources post-1750 as unhelpful to this study, given the extent of their unreliability, and the distance from the initial early sources, and their period additions which detract too much from the material of the initial sources. It is unfortunate that, out of all the sources for BWV 768, none is considered to be an autograph copy in the hand of Bach. For a period of time, F-C Ms. 1086 (1), held at the Musée and Bibliothèque Inguimbertain at Carpentras, Provence, France, was considered to be the AMS source.<sup>2</sup> Whilst this is now discounted, some preferring to view its source as similar to a scribal hand identified in the *Plauener-Orgelbuch* of 1708, there is still much about this copy which is yet to be understood. As such, it is the view of this study that F-C Ms. 1086 (1), for reasons which are explained here, should be considered the most significant of the early sources of the chorale partita BWV 768. The following are MSS of BWV 768 rejected by this study as secondary and/or insecure sources:

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<sup>2</sup> This stems from a note in German on the first page, written by J.C.H. Rinck: "N.B. This Choral was written by the author himself (.) Through the organist Kittel, one of the author's students, this Choral was handed over to me. I give this manuscript to Mr. Laurens as a token of friendship. Darmstadt, 30th Sept., 1841. Rinck". See: Williams (2003), p. 506.

MS Call Number	Description	Discussion
<p><b>A-Wn Mus. Hs. 2234 [S. m. 2234]:</b> Wien, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung</p> <p>Includes: BWV 533/2, 542/2, 545, 578, 654, 768/Var. 2,4,11, 1079/2</p>	<p>Middle of the 19th century ([c.]1840-1859); Composite Collection of Works by: J. S. Bach, M. G. Fischer, J. L. Krebs, F. W. Markull, E. F. Richter, P. Richter, A. G. Ritter.</p> <p>Scribe: Pius Richter (1818 - 1893), a Czech organist, composer and chapel master, born in Warnsdorf (Warnsdorf, Bohemia), died in Vienna.</p>	<p>Collected manuscript in the hand of Pius Richter, bequeathed to Music Division of the National Library of Austria upon the scribe's death.</p> <p>Fragmentary copy of BWV 768 [vars. 2, 4, 11] possibly transmitted through copies from Kittel, Krebs [J. T.?), Riecjardt of Altenburg, and Kellner. Secondary Evidence.</p>
<p><b>D-B Am.B.46/I:</b> Amalienbibliothek-Berlin</p> <p>Includes: BWV 599, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 632, 633, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 768, 653, 661, 660b, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 664</p>	<p>Composite Collection of Works, by JS Bach and JT Krebs. Copy of BWV 768 presumed taken from <b>D B Am. B. 47.</b></p> <p><b>Unknown scribe: catalogued as:</b> Anon. 406, presumed from Kittel-circle of musicians.</p> <p>Unknown date/origin</p>	<p>Point of interest: Incidence of BWV 768 collected together in isolation with chorales of the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> set – does this indicate a chronological link between the two sets?</p>
<p><b>D-B Am.B. 47:</b> Amalienbibliothek-Berlin</p> <p>Includes: BWV 599, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 632, 633, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 768, 653, 661, 660b, 664a</p>	<p>Composite Collection of Works, by JS Bach and JT Krebs.</p> <p><b>Unknown scribe: catalogued as:</b> Anon. 402 – presumed Berlin Copyist after JSB II.</p>	<p>Collected manuscript in unidentified hand – not JSB. Questionable copy of BWV 768.</p> <p>Point of interest: Incidence of BWV 768 collected together in isolation with chorales of the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> set.</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 284:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p> <p>Includes: BWV 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 667, 645, 646, 647, 649, 650, 648, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 611, 612, 609, 608, 615, 610, 613, 614, 616, 617, 618, 619, 622, 620, 624, 621, 623, 625, 626, 627, 629, 628, 630, 633, 632, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 768 (11 Var.)</p>	<p>Composite Collection of Bach works alone.</p> <p>2 Unknown scribes – not listed. 2<sup>nd</sup> scribe responsible for copy of BWV 768. Presumed c. 18<sup>th</sup> century.</p>	<p>Collected manuscript in unidentified hand – not JSB. Full copy of BWV 768 [11 variants].</p> <p>Unusual copy, in that pedal-parts for BWV 768 are indicated in red ink distinctly. Is this an attempt at clarification as to what precisely is intended for pedal in BWV 768, or were they added later?</p> <p>Point of interest: Incidence of BWV 768 collected together in isolation with chorales of the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> set.</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 291, Faszikel 1:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p>	<p>Includes works by: J.C.F. Bach; L. Battiferri; J. Pachelbel; Anon.</p> <p>Presumed second half of the 18<sup>th</sup></p>	<p>Identified scibal source: Johann Christian Westphal – writer, first half of 18<sup>th</sup> century.</p>

<p>Includes: BWV 958, 768 (Chorale only), 690, 758, 588, 532, 48/3</p>	<p>century ([c.]1760-1789).</p>	<p>Too small a fragment of BWV 768 [chorale alone] to render examination viable.</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 312:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p> <p>Includes: BWV 615, 608, 640, 712, 610, 713, Anh. 76, 631a, 602, 609, 377, 616, 657, 599, Anh. 160 (231), 603, 606, 641, 612, 623, 607, 613, 618, 621, 625, 626, 630, 629, 636, 635, 637, 638, 639, 642, Anh. 53, 617, 640, 734, 768, 735, 690, 630</p>	<p>Includes works by: G.P. Telemann: TVWV 1:1066; J. Pachelbel?: <i>Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>.</p> <p>Presumed: c. 1840. Werner, Anton (Vienna-based copyist, dated 1840).</p>	<p>Disparate collection of works. Too late; secondary-evidence.</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 406:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p> <p>Includes: BWV 651, 657, 601, 655, 653, 654, 658, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 667, 656, 620, 624, 599, 600, 602, 603, 605, 604, 606, 611, 607, 612, 609, 608, 615, 0613, 614, 616, 619, 617, 618, 622, 621, 623, 625, 626, 627, 629, 628, 630, 633, 632, 636, 637, 635, 638, 639, 640, 641, 643, 642, 644, 768, 704, 645, 646, 647, 648, 696, 649, 650, 652, 690, 694, 741, 695, 702, 761 / Anh. III 172, 760 / Anh. III 172, 769</p>	<p>Includes other work: G. Böhm: 2 Chorales on <i>Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>.</p> <p>Presumed beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ([ca.]1800-1819): scribe identified as J.J. Güensch [c. 1800] - Goettingen and others; marks on MS: J.N. Forkel (1749-1818).</p>	<p>Point of interest: Incidence of BWV 768 collected together with multiple chorales of the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> set, as well as others.</p> <p>Owner's mark indicates 1802 on the score.</p> <p>Disparate collection of works. Too late; secondary-evidence.</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 1118:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p> <p>BWV 768 alone</p>	<p>Single MS of 14 leaves. Initial copy held by 'unknown', later transferred to F. Hauser.</p> <p>Unknown scribe: presumed beginning of the 19th century ([ca.]1800-1819).</p>	<p>Too late; secondary-evidence. But ordering of the variants may be of interest in a wider speculative study about an intended ordering.</p>
<p><b>DK-Kk Gades Samling BWV 768:</b> København/Kopenhagen, Det. Kongelige Bibliotek</p> <p>BWV 768 alone</p>	<p>Single MS</p> <p>Scribe identified as N. W. Gade.</p> <p>Dated: 1853</p>	<p>Too late; secondary-evidence. Contemporary copy.</p> <p>Middle of the 19th century ([ca.]1840-1859).</p>
<p><b>GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 55:</b> Oxford, Bodleian Library</p> <p>Large scale MS in convolute: 165 leaves: numerous Bach works including cantata fragments, and copies of BWV 766 &amp; BWV 768*</p> <p>Numerous other pieces from close Bach</p>	<p>Scribe and initial owner: Gleichauf, Franz Xaver (1801-1856) – transferred to Mendelssohn family collection at some stage.</p> <p>First half of the 19th century</p>	<p>*Collecting BWV 766 &amp; BWV 768 may be an indicator of a close chronology between the two works i.e. this study has observed that a stylistic chronology for the partitas might follow the order: BWV 770-767-766-768.</p> <p>Too late; secondary-evidence.</p>

School: C.P.E. Bach, Kauffmann, Kirnberger, J.L. Krebs, G. Böhm etc.	([ca.]1820-1839).	Contemporary copy.
<b>GB-Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 70, Faszikel 4:</b> Oxford, Bodleian Library  BWV 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 611, 607, 612, 608, 609, 610, 615, 613, 614, 616, 617, 618, 622, 620, 624, 619, 621, 623, 625, 626, 627, 629, 628, 630, 633, 632, 635, 636, 637-644; <b>768</b>	Scribe identified as: Knuth, Johann Christian Friedrich (1793-1849).  Decorated heading for BWV 768: <i>Eleven Variations on the Chorale Sey gegruesset Jesu gutig.</i>  Dating: c. 1846 (?)	Point of interest: Incidence of BWV 768 collected together with multiple chorales of the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> set. Note the extent to which BWV 768 appears collected with chorales of the Weimar-period set. Does this provide stronger evidential support for the works having been grouped together by this period?  Too late; secondary-evidence. Contemporary copy.
<b>Verschollen BWV 768 (1), F. X. Gleichauf:</b> [From: GB Ob MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 55 - Oxford, Bodleian Library]	See above	See above
<b>Verschollen BWV 768 (2), Versteigerungskatalog Erfurt 1810:</b> last provenance in catalogue, Erfurt c. 1810.  BWV 768 alone	Unknown scribe.  Date unknown. Copy listed Erfurt c. 1810. Now lost.	Copy lost: Insufficient recorded detail.  Ordering of Variants unknown.

Table 5.2: Analysis of Secondary or Insecure Sources for BWV 768.

The following manuscript copies of BWV 768 [see Table 5.3 below] are of interest in terms of ownership, scribal sources, and ordering of variations. However, they cannot be examined further in this study due to their current unavailability and the contradictory nature of information recorded about them before they became inaccessible to researchers:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See earlier assessment of the Kaliningrad-copies of BWV 768 copies in Part 4, pp. 219-231. Clement (1989), pp. 96-282. Meyer (1973), pp 474-81. Dirksen (2009), pp. 39-48.

Manuscript Call Number	Description	Discussion
<p><b>Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold Rf alpha 6, Faszikel 13:</b> Koenigsberg, Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka - ?</p> <p>BWV 768 alone</p>	<p>Unknown scribe from second half of the 18th century ([ca.]1760-1789)</p> <p>Ordering: BWV 768/Chorale, 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8</p> <p>Described critically in: Katalog Gotthold, S. 94 (Bach), Nr. 29/13</p> <p>See also: Naumann, Ernst: BG 40, S. XXXVIIIff.</p>	<p>MS described in descriptive sources as <i>quite error-rich</i>.</p> <p>Copy's current provenance / whereabouts unknown.</p> <p>Only useful from the perspective on intended ordering for BWV 768.</p> <p>Corresponds more closely to J.T. Krebs copy (P 802: incomplete) – the only copies to list early variations as: 1, 2, 4, 10.</p>
<p><b>Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839:</b> Koenigsberg, Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka - ?</p> <p>Collective MSS, 173 leaves: includes: BWV 601, 602, 603, 604, 609, 610, 612, 619, 629, 633, 639, 640, 643, 651a, 657, 658a, 660b, 661a, 662a, 691, 692 / Anh. III 172, 714, 720, 727, 735a, 737, 760 / Anh. III 172, 768 (11 Var.), 1096 / 598 [fragment, 29 bars only]</p>	<p>Scribal hand identified as Walther, Johann Gottfried (1684-1748) with others.</p> <p>Presumed around second half of the eighteenth century ([ca.] 1760-1789).</p> <p>Described in: Joelson-Strohbach: AfMw, 1987/2, S. 91-140; See also: Emans, Nr. 4, Nr. 16, Nr. 24</p> <p>Ordering: 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8</p>	<p>Copy's current provenance / whereabouts unknown. Useful from the perspective on intended ordering for BWV 768. Corresponds more closely to J.T. Krebs copy (P 802: incomplete) – the only copies to list early variations as: 1, 2, 4, 10. Interesting grouping of chorales from the Weimar <i>Orgelbüchlein</i>, especially BWV 601<sup>4</sup></p> <p>Score identified as significant by Albert Clement.<sup>5</sup> Draws links with <i>O Jesu du Edle Gabe</i> text – also set by Walther to the chaconne setting on the same title. Hermeneutically speculative in proposing <i>O Jesu du Edle Gabe</i> as the rightful text for BWV 768, but insecure and slightly abstract evidence provided for the assertions relating to the importance of <b>Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839</b> as a primary evidential source.</p> <p>Therefore, whilst this MS may be of some interest for the study of speculative relationships re: potential text-music relationships in BWV 768, it is not included as part of this study, due to its appearance as an unreliable source.</p>

Table 5.3: Analysis of Set-Aside Sources for BWV 768 [MSS compiled post-1750].

<sup>4</sup> See: Part 4 for discussion on pedal-part relationships between BWV 601, BWV 540 and BWV 768 in particular: pp. 255-259.

<sup>5</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

The following manuscripts of BWV 768 are of significant interest for the purpose of this study. This is due to the primary evidential nature of their origins, and early chronology, as well as containing important scribal sources from the first part of the eighteenth century. They raise considerations about parallels and similarities which exist in the ordering of the variations between the various copies. These appear to be more in keeping with the style of other early Baroque chorale variation sets than those provided in the lost Kaliningrad manuscript copy, and the incomplete D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 copy of BWV 768.<sup>6</sup>

MS Call Number	Description	Discussion
<p><b>B-Bc 12102 MSM:</b> Bruxelles, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque</p> <p>BWV 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 611, 612, 609, 608, 610, 615, 613, 614, 616, 617, 618, 619, 622, 620, 624, 621, 623, 625, 626, 627, 629, 628, 630, 633, 632, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, <b>768</b> [complete]</p> <p>Collective MS; 23 leaves.</p> <p>BWV 768/ Chorale/1, 2, 3, 4 ,5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>	<p>Significant MS from the Kirnberger circle.</p> <p>Initial scribe/owner unidentified – additions and title page provided by Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783) – then owner.</p> <p>Registration statements provided – Kirnberger?</p> <p>BWV 768 – pedal-parts identified in red ink – indicative of a degree of fastidiousness, given the uncertainty about the use of pedal in certain variations of BWV 768 i.e. Var. 6 and 9. See Part 4: pp. 245-247; pp. 255-259.</p> <p>Presumed middle of the 18th century ([ca.] 1740-1759), but may be earlier in the scribal sources not identified as</p>	<p>Kirnberger studied with J.P. Kellner prior to 1738 – may well have gained access to Kellner’s copies of Bach-related MSS.</p> <p>Directly interacted with Bach c. 1739 + in Leipzig, hence further point of direct access. Kirnberger importantly is noted as having been “... dedicated to the highest musical standards [...] even pedantic”<sup>7</sup>.</p> <p>“Kirnberger regarded J.S. Bach as the supreme composer, performer and teacher. He regretted that Bach left no didactic or theoretical works and tried through his own teaching and writing to propagate ‘Bach’s method’. His devotion to this cause is reflected in fourteen years’ intermittent effort to obtain the publication of all Bach’s four-</p>

<sup>6</sup> Meyer (1973), pp. 474-81.

<sup>7</sup> Howard Serwer, *Kirnberger, Johann Philipp*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/15061>> [Accessed: 10 Jan. 2011].

	<p>Kirnberger.</p> <p>Scribes identified: Anon. 402 (= Anon. J. S. Bach II = Berlin copyist) (transcribed music), J. P. Kirnberger (title page, revision, directional markings), unknown scribe.</p>	<p>part chorale settings”<sup>8</sup></p> <p>Interesting grouping of chorales from the Weimar <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> again, especially BWV 601.</p> <p>There are continued incidences of the BWV 768 Variations being grouped specifically with initial chorales of the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> set.</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p> <p>Large MSS in convolute. Includes: BWV <b>770</b> [1-2], 744, 061 / Anh. III 172, 760 / Anh. III 172, 657, <b>720</b>, 520, 521, 523, Anh. 206 / Anh. II 79, 637, 721, 660a, 665a, 666a, 522, 519, 621, 638a, 692a / Anh. III 172, 1085 / 734a, 622, 714, 651a, 727, 722a, 738a, 729a, 732a, 667b, 639, 642, <b>601</b>, 762, Anh. 057 / Anh. III 172, 660b, 662a, 661a, 717, 653b, 653a, 652a, 656a, 655a, <b>767</b>, 654a, 659a, 658a, 663a, <b>768</b>/Chorale/1, 2, 4 &amp; 10</p> <p>Numerous other pieces from immediate Bach circle collected together. 183 leaves (26 gatherings)</p>	<p>Scribe for BWV 770 – Johann Ludwig Krebs (1713-1780);</p> <p>Scribe for BWV 601; BWV 767; BWV 768 – Johann Tobias Krebs (1690-1762).</p> <p>Complete MSS presumed completed between: beginning of the eighteenth century (ca.1700-1719).</p>	<p>One of the most significant early sources of Bach’s organ music, and copies of numerous pieces from significant contacts among the immediate Bach circle, i.e. Böhm, JT Krebs, Kaufmann, Bruhns, Pachelbel, Reinken, Walther.</p> <p>From 1710, Johann Tobias Krebs studied directly with Walther, then Bach in Weimar, travelling from Buttstedt every two-weeks.<sup>9</sup> It must be taken from this that the MSS <b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 801-803</b> could have begun to be transcribed by J.T. Krebs from AMS Bach sources as early as 1710.</p> <p>The implication of this for BWV 767 is significant. It may provide an indicator that his complete copy of BWV 767 was available by this stage. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802: BWV 768; chorale, vars. 1, 2, 4, 10.</p>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Hugh J. McLean, *Krebs, Johann Tobias*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/15499pg1>> [Accessed: 17 Jul. 2010].

<p><b>D-LEm III.8.17:</b> Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig</p> <p>Single MS of 8 leaves.</p> <p>Contains: BWV <b>768</b> / Chorale/1, 2-5, 7, 6, 9-12</p>	<p>Unknown scribe (cf. D-LEm III.8.7 and D-LEm III.8.10).</p> <p>Presumed written at some stage in eighteenth century – most likely pre-1750.</p>	<p>Ordering of Variations listed incorrectly in Clement:<sup>10</sup> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, <b>6, 7</b>, 8, 9, 10, 11.</p> <p>Actual ordering: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, <b>7, 6</b>, 8, 9, 10, 11.</p> <p>Previous studies have determined that it is not necessarily ideal for Var. 7 to precede 6, as this breaks the cycle whereby <i>manualiter</i> variants precede those with pedal-parts.<sup>11</sup></p> <p>This study however notes that according to certain sources i.e. <b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1)</b>, there is good reason to presume Var. 6 as being a pedal-based variant: “a 2 clav. con ped”.<sup>12</sup></p> <p>This ordering is identical to <b>B-Bc 12102 MSM</b>, which for several reasons as outlined here gives credibility to this being the correct order of the variants, not corresponding to implied text-music relationships, but stylistic, in keeping with standard/accepted patterns for chorale-variation sets.</p>
<p><b>D-LEb Ms. 7, Faszikel 23:</b> Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig</p> <p>BWV 768/Chorale/1, 2-5, 9, 7, 8 (without bb. 1-6), 6, 11, 10. (missing b. 62).</p> <p>Single MS of 7 leaves.</p>	<p>Scribe identified as: Preller, Johann Gottlieb (1727-1886).</p> <p>Copy heavy in Preller’s own embellishment additions.</p> <p>MS presumed to be from at least the second half of the eighteenth century. Described in: NBA IV/2, S. 40.</p> <p>Discussed also in: Krause, I., S. 29ff.; Schulze, H.-J., in: BJ 1974, S. 104-22.</p>	<p>Unusual MS due to the addition of significant ornamentation in the characteristic hand of J.G. Preller. The ordering of the Variations after Var. 5 must be treated with caution: 3/4 – 2/2 – 24/16 – 12/8 – 2/2 – 3/4. As listed here, putting the suggestion of other types of relationships aside i.e. text-music etc., there appears to be no model of consistency in this setting – was it fragmentary, or at an interpreter’s deliberate behest i.e. Preller?</p>

<sup>10</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

<sup>11</sup> Meyer (1973), pp. 474-81. See also: Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

<sup>12</sup> See: Part 4 for a full explanation of this, including a realisation of variation 6 with separate pedal part transcribed: pp. 245-248.

<p><b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1):</b> Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras</p> <p>BWV 768/Chorale/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8, 10</p> <p>Single MS of 17 leaves, 17 x 21cm</p> <p>It should be noted that this MS also includes an additional re-working of Variation 3 for reasons which are discussed in subsequent pages.</p>	<p>The critical report identifies two separate layers to the MS. Rinck viewed <b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1)</b> as the AMS.</p> <p>The scribe is as yet unknown. Scribal identification sees one hand as having produced <b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1)</b>, as well a part in three further MSS:</p> <p>Present in the <b>Plauener-Orgelbüch</b> (only als Foto: <b>D-B Fot. Bue 129</b>); Weimarer-Tablaturbuch (<b>D war Ms. Q 341b</b>); <b>D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2</b> [BWV 966].</p> <p>The scribe has been presumed to be <i>Lohber / Sobher</i> [Schulze].</p> <p><b>D-LEb Ms. 8</b> [BWV 966]: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig bears the following three inscriptions on the title page:</p> <p><i>Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur Compost. Di J. S. Bach; Script et Post. J. A. L.; Joh. Adolph Lohr [...].</i><sup>13</sup></p> <p>Dating: 1700 to 1705. This study believes that, based on an assessment of the available evidence, this chronology is largely correct, but should consider that 1, 2, 4, 10 may have been as early as 1700, extending to completion with variants 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 finalised by at least 1705.</p>	<p>The ordering of the variants, whilst different to <b>D-LEm III.8.17</b> again, is plausible where the <i>manualiter</i> vars. 1-5 exist together, but sequence then following 7, 11, 9, <b>6</b>, 8, 10.</p> <p>Variation 6, if considered a pedal-based variant, here appears later in the grouping.</p> <p>The free fantasia Var. 7 appears as the central axis, followed by 5 pedal-based variations: 3/4; 3/4; 12/8; 24/16; 3/4 <i>cantus firmus</i>.</p> <p>This may account for Variation 10 appearing as the final variant, preceded by 3 and 5 returned to <i>the earlier manualiter</i> grouping with 1, 2, 4, thereafter followed by the more sophisticated pedal-intended set, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8.</p> <p>In terms of the ordering of the variations, the scheme of <b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1)</b> after the <i>manualiter</i> variants 1-5 is as follows: 2/2 – 2/2 – 3/4 - 12/8 – 24/16 – 3/4 <i>cantus firmus</i> extended coloratura chorale.</p>
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Table 5.4: Analysis of Principal Sources for BWV 768.

<sup>13</sup> See commentary in Part 5, pp. 309-343.

## Summary of Assessed BWV 768 MSS with Orderings of Variations:

MS Call Number	Variation Ordering in Set
<p><b>B-Bc 12102 MSM:</b> Bruxelles, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque</p>	<p><b>Chorale</b> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p><b>D-B Mus. Ms. Bach P 802:</b> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz</p>	<p><b>Chorale</b> 1, 2, 4, 10</p>
<p><b>D-LEm III.8.17:</b> Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig</p>	<p><b>Chorale</b> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p><b>D-LEb Ms. 7, Faszikel 23:</b> [Formerly: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig] [Current: Deposited in Bach-Archiv]</p>	<p><b>Chorale</b> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 7, 8<sup>14</sup>, 6, 11, 10<sup>15</sup></p>
<p><b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1):</b> Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras</p>	<p><b>Chorale</b> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8, 10, [3]</p>

**External / Peripheral Chorales<sup>16</sup>**

**Manualliter Variations** – Simple Time

**Pedal-Based Variations** – Compound & Triple Time<sup>17</sup>

Table 5.5: Assessment of Variation Orderings for BWV 768.

<sup>14</sup> Without bb. 1-6.

<sup>15</sup> Missing b. 62.

<sup>16</sup> Either variation 10 or 11. Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839: Koenigsberg, Universitaetsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka, which concludes with variation 8, must now be ruled out as a reliable source for analysis.

<sup>17</sup> See earlier notes on variation 6 in Part 4: pp. 245-248.

The table above shows the five manuscript sources listed as being most reliable primary sources for this study. I am able to advance certain perspectives on BWV 768, as yet not covered in entirety in previous commentaries, and to provide an updated examination of these sources.<sup>18</sup> Some of the speculative statements in previous studies have made significant errors in analysis of the sources, and have been confused by certain misreading of the available materials among complete sets of BWV 768, which have led to errors and inaccuracies. This can be addressed through five key points:

- i. Clement’s 1989 thesis is potentially flawed in that it bases much of its analysis on the ordering of the variations from six sources which are identified as primary sources. Unfortunately, this lists the sequence of variants in two of the primary sources in an incorrect order, which means that the conclusions and outcomes reached in the study are compromised based on the misreading of the two primary sources which he explores:

Clement <sup>19</sup> :	D-LEm III.8.17:	Chorale, 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11
	F-C Ms. 1086 (1):	Chorale, 1,2,3,4,5,6,11,9,7,8,10
Grigsby:	D-LEm III.8.17:	Chorale, 1,2,3,4,5,7,6,8,9,10,11
	F-C Ms. 1086 (1):	Chorale, 1,2,3,4,5,7,11,9,6,8,10

Table 5.6: Comparison of Ordering for BWV 768. Clement’s incorrect ordering of the variation order is first provided, highlighted in blue, followed by the correct attribution provided in this study.

- ii. Given that the 1989 study gives so much credence to an assessment of a presumed intended ordering for BWV 768 based on music-text

<sup>18</sup> Meyer (1973), pp. 474-81.

<sup>19</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

relationships, the two incorrect listings of the variant sequences in D-LEM III.8.17 and F-C Ms. 1086 (1) at least serve to provide arguments which cannot be substantiated based on a careful and objective analysis of the available evidence.<sup>20</sup>

- iii. There is also confusion surrounding variation 6, where it is present in complete sets. Commentators tend to regard it as an early, *manualiter* variation. A correct reading of the variation sequences in all of the primary sources, identified in this study, demonstrates variation 6 as having been collected (at some stage) among the pedal variations, correctly always appearing after variation 7, the free fantasia movement with *obbligato* pedal. With confirmation in this study that variation 6 is indeed a pedal based variation, it should no longer cause the degree of confusion which it has previously among scholars, all at pains to explain why a *manualiter* variation should appear later in the BWV 768 set. Simply put, it is not out of place, and this confusion may now cease.<sup>21</sup>
- iv. Clement's determination to pin his hypothesis to Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839,<sup>22</sup> the most unusual sequential ordering of the BWV 768 sets,<sup>23</sup> and seemingly quite contrary to all other evidence, can now be seen as being largely unsustainable.

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<sup>20</sup> Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig; Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras.

<sup>21</sup> This important point will be explained further below. Ulrich Meyer's 1973 account is considered the benchmark study to date giving the most persuasive argument for the intended ordering of BWV 768 variants. However, analysis of new perspectives on possibilities for the sequence, based on the correct orderings as listed in this study, raises one further possibility beyond Meyer's study, which is plausible. See below, from p. 298. Meyer (1973), pp. 474-81.

<sup>22</sup> Königsberg, Universitätsbibliothek / Kaliningrad, Universitetskaya biblioteka.

<sup>23</sup> Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839: Chorale, 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8.

The sequence is: chorale, 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8. Clement sees this as evidence of a musical-rhetorical *Figuerenlehre* argument to link this ordering for BWV 768 to the verses of the text *O Jesu du Edle Gabe*. Through number symbolism, and what is seen as evidence of a text-music relationship existing between the variations and this secondary text for the chorale, Clement's study concludes that *Sei Gegrüßet* becomes the former title of the overall variation set. On the basis of the lost manuscript RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839 ordering, Clement insists *O Jesu du Edle Gabe* become the title of the piece, believing the sequence of Chorale, 1, 2, 4, 10, 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8 to follow the verses of this hymn via text-music linkages. These findings, however, appear to make an extremely tenuous linking of the hermeneutic interpretation of the two available texts, presenting text-music relationships between the variants which cannot entirely be substantiated, or indeed may never have been the intention of composer and the copyists after him, including Walther. Perhaps instead, all that Walther's copy of BWV 768 demonstrates is that it was potentially compiled from at least two sources. The manuscript D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 of J.T. Krebs<sup>24</sup> appears to have been the initial shared resource, most likely prior to 1708, hence: chorale, 1, 2, 4, 10. It is not recorded at which point variations 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8 were added.

- v. In conclusion, this fresh assessment of the available evidence and sources, would now appear to demonstrate that Verschollen RUS-KAu Mus. ms.

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<sup>24</sup> D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Gotthold 15839 was compiled in two stages: i.) chorale, 1, 2, 4, 10<sup>25</sup> followed by ii.) 3, 5, 6, 11, 9, 7, 8; *manualiter* variants first, followed by remaining pedal-based variants, not necessarily in an intended ordering. Considering the possibility of this assessment of RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839 provenance and construction, this would negate any arguments for the existence of inherent text-music relationships, and certainly makes highly unconvincing arguments in favour of sequential links between the Kaliningrad ordering for BWV 768, and a primary intended connection to the *O Jesu du Edle Gabe Jesulied*-text sequence.<sup>26</sup> I believe that there is sufficient argument to dismiss the Kaliningrad manuscript as an unreliable source for BWV 768, and that from this point it be viewed as a source of secondary interest to an analysis of the complete BWV 768 sets. RUS-KAu Mus. ms. Gotthold 15839 is of a construction so different to the other principal sets identified here, that its ordering is questionable to a high degree.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Further evidence that the coloratura / cantus firmus setting for variation ten was written earlier than the remaining variations found in the complete sets. Namely, these are the *manualiter* variants three and five, followed by pedal-based variants 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 based upon structural and rhythmic linkages rather than text music relationships.

<sup>26</sup> Clement (1989), pp. 96-282.

<sup>27</sup> Its period of origin is recorded as the second half of the eighteenth-century (ca. 1760–1789).

This section now turns to explore the *partita* structure implied in the five sources which I have selected here as primary evidential sources. The following table outlines the varied ordering of variations found in each manuscript, implied links therein, and provides an assessment of features of each variation in turn:

MS Call Number	Partita / Variation #	Bars	Time Signature / Rhythmic Model	Other Features
<b>B-Bc 12102 MSM:</b>  Bruxelles, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque	<b>Chorale</b>	<b>14</b>	↓ 2/2	Four-part chorale harmonisation.
	1	37	↑ 2/2	Bicinium: c.f. soprano; ostinato bass; ritornello form.
	2	14	↑ 4/4	Three to Four-part semiquaver motion.
	3	14	↑ 4/4	Two-part <i>perpetuum mobile</i> in semiquavers.
	4	14	↑ 4/4	Three to Four-part: melody in soprano; semiquavers.
	5	15	↓ 4/4	Demisemiquaver; <i>Basse de Trompette</i> fig.
	7	16	↕ 4/4	c.f. in bass; quasi-free-fantasia <i>con pedale</i> .
	6	15	↑ 12/8	Trio <i>con ped.</i> ; triplet-mot.; <i>saltus durisculus</i> ; compound.
	8	16	↑ 24/16	Trio <i>con ped.</i> , prominent voice in soprano; compound.
	9	32	↓ 3/4	<i>cantus-firmus</i> in ped.; two-part manual dialogue; triple-time.
	10	105	↓ 3/4	<i>coloratura and cantus firmus</i> in sop.; triple-time, extended.
11	14	↓ 2/2	Five-part contrapuntal chorale harmonisation.	
<b>D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802:</b>  Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz	<b>Chorale</b>	<b>14</b>	↓ 2/2	Four-part chorale harmonisation.
	1	37	↑ 2/2	Bicinium: c.f. soprano; ostinato bass; ritornello form.
	2	14	↑ 4/4	Three to Four-part semiquaver motion.
	4	14	↓ 4/4	Three to Four-part: melody in soprano; semiquavers.
	10	105	↓ 3/4	<i>coloratura and cantus firmus</i> in sop.; triple-time, extended.

<b>D-LEm III.8.17:</b>  Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig	<b>Chorale</b>	14		Four-part chorale harmonisation.
	1	37		Bicinium: c.f. soprano; ostinato bass; ritornello form.
	2	14		Three to Four-part semiquaver motion.
	3	14		Two-part <i>perpetuum mobile</i> in semiquavers.
	4	14		Three to Four-part: melody in soprano; semiquavers.
	5	15		Demisemiquaver; <i>Basse de Trompette</i> fig.
	7	16		c.f. in bass; quasi-free-fantasia <i>con pedale</i> .
	6	15		Trio <i>con ped.</i> ; triplet-mot.; <i>saltus durisculus</i> ; compound.
	8	16		Trio <i>con ped.</i> , prominent voice in soprano; compound.
	9	32		<i>cantus-firmus</i> in ped.; two-part manual dialogue; triple-time.
	10	105		<i>coloratura</i> & <i>cantus firmus</i> in sop.; triple-time, extended.
11	14		Five-part contrapuntal chorale harmonisation.	
<b>D-LEb Ms. 7,            Faszikel 23:</b>  [Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig]  [Currently deposited in Bach-Archiv]	<b>Chorale</b>	14		Four-part chorale harmonisation.
	1	37		Bicinium: c.f. soprano; ostinato bass; ritornello form.
	2	14		Three to Four-part semiquaver motion.
	3	14		Two-part <i>perpetuum mobile</i> in semiquavers.
	4	14		Three to Four-part: melody in soprano; semiquavers.
	5	15		Demisemiquaver; <i>Basse de Trompette</i> fig.
	9	32		<i>cantus-firmus</i> in ped.; Two-part manual dialogue; triple-time.
	7	16		c.f. in bass; quasi-free-fantasia <i>con pedale</i> .
	8 <sup>28</sup>	16		Trio <i>con ped.</i> , prominent voice in soprano; compound.
	6	15		Trio <i>con ped.</i> ; triplet-mot.; <i>saltus durisculus</i> ; compound.
	11	14		Five-part contrapuntal chorale harmonisation.
10 <sup>29</sup>	105		<i>coloratura</i> & <i>cantus firmus</i> in sop.; triple-time, extended.	

<sup>28</sup> Without bb. 1-6.

<sup>29</sup> Missing b. 62.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1):	Chorale			
		14	↓ 2/2	Four-part chorale harmonisation.
Carpentras,	1	37	↑ 2/2	Bicinium: c.f. soprano; ostinato bass; ritornello form.
Bibliothèque	2	14	4/4	Three to Four-part semiquaver motion.
Inguimbertine et	3	14	4/4	Two-part <i>perpetuum mobile</i> in semiquavers.
Musée de	4	14	4/4	Three to Four-part: melody in soprano; semiquavers.
Carpentras	5	15	↓ 4/4	Demisemiquaver; <i>Basse de Trompette</i> fig.
	7	16	↑ 4/4	c.f. in bass; quasi-free-fantasia <i>con pedale</i> .
	11	14	↓ 2/2	Five-part contrapuntal chorale harmonisation.
	9	32	↑ 3/4	<i>cantus-firmus</i> in ped.; Two-part manual dialogue; triple-time.
	6	15	↓ 12/8	Trio <i>con ped.</i> ; triplet-mot.; <i>saltus durisculus</i> ; compound.
	8	16	24/16	Trio <i>con ped.</i> , prominent voice in soprano; compound.
	10	105	↓ 3/4	<i>coloratura</i> & <i>cantus firmus</i> in sop.; triple-time, extended.

Table 5.7: Implied structural links between variations among primary sources for BWV 768.

MS	Description of incidence of metrical uniformity in BWV 768											
<b>B-Bc 12102 MSM:</b>  Scribe: Anon. 402 (= Anon. J. S. Bach II = Berlin copyist) to Kirnberger; c. pre-1740.	Chorale	1	2	3	4	5	7	6	8	9	10	11
	2/2	2/2	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	12/8	24/16	3/4	3/4	2/2
	→	←					↔	←				→
<b>D-LEm III.8.17:</b>  Unknown scribe (cf. D-LEm III.8.7 and D-LEm III.8.10); Presumed written at some stage in 18 <sup>th</sup> century – most likely pre-1750.	Chorale	1	2	3	4	5	7	6	8	9	10	11
	2/2	2/2	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	12/8	24/16	3/4	3/4	2/2
	→	←					↔	←				→
<b>F-C Ms. 1086 (1):</b>  Scribe identified in: Plauener-Orgelbüch (only als Foto: D-B Fot. Bue 129); Weimarer Tablaturbuch (D war Ms. Q 341b); D-LEm Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [=BWV 966] c. 1700-14.	Chorale	1	2	3	4	5	7	11	9	6	8	10
	2/2	2/2	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	2/2	3/4	12/8	24/16	3/4
	→	←					↔	←				→

Table 5.8: Incidence of metrical uniformity in three closely related sources for BWV 768.

The above table provides a strong argument to support the proposition that a schematic concept exists for BWV 768 based on rhythmic and structural uniformity through a progression of variations in the manner of the early North-German model. Based on this analysis, this study concurs that on the evidence, the models of the MSS B-Bc 12102 MSM and D-LEm III.8.17, identical in layout, would appear to be the most convincing example of the structural model for BWV 768. When the two examples are juxtaposed, it can also be seen that each adheres to the following sequence: chorale, variations 1 to 5, and then in each case, variation 7 as a central axis. Quite why the Neue-Bach-Ausgabe and Peters IV continue to place the pedal-trio variant 6 before it, seems inexplicable, because it has been clearly demonstrated that there is little evidence to support this proposition among the principal manuscript copies of the complete set of these variations. This grouping appears to be based on a proposition that variation 6 was not intended to be played using pedals, and therefore continues to be grouped with the *manualiter* variants 1 to 5. This is simply not the case, and this should be redressed in future editions, whereby variations 1 to 5 remain in sequence as *manualiter*, variation 7 serving as the central axis, followed by compound and triple variants, all with *obbligato* pedal-parts, namely variations: 6, 8, 9, 10. Whilst Carpentras concludes with variation 10 instead of variation 11, there is nothing to suggest that this would be at all unsatisfactory. Variation 10 is able to form an acceptable outer-framework along with the initial chorale harmonisation, relocating variation 11 to the position of central axis along with variation 7 which precedes it. I believe it highly significant in the Carpentras manuscript that variation 10 (called Partita 11 in the MS), is preceded by variation 4, and followed by variation 3. This detail has never been recorded or addressed in other commentaries. It is my belief that the relocated appearance of variations 4-10-3 at the conclusion of the

manuscript was a deliberate decision on the part of the copyist. This relocation allowed the inclusion of the extra variations. As the last line of variation 2 immediately precedes variation 4 in its second supplementary appearance, this supports my argument that vars. 1, 2, 4, 10, 3 appeared first, and whoever copied F-C Ms. 1086 (1) had access to these previously available variations first, and subsequently added the newer variations into the middle body of the overall copy. Having said this, the balance of proportions would ideally favour the model in the two manuscripts B-Bc 12102 MSM and D-LEm III.8.17, whereby variation 10 is a successful penultimate variation after the compound and triple variants, and prior to variation 11, again with its own links to the initial chorale, and a very fitting conclusion to a piece of significant musical architecture.

## An Assessment of the Unknown Scribe of:

MS: F-C Ms. 1086 (1)

Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras,  
Provence, France

### Overview

This part covers:

Examination and analysis of the sources and MSS relating to MS: F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, Provence, France.

Assessment and conclusions relating to the unknown scribal hand(s) present on the MS: F-C Ms. 1086 (1).

The Application of Comparative Document Analysis Techniques to: F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [= BWV 768]; D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966]; D-B Fot. Bue 129 [= Plauener-Orgelbuch of 1708]; D war Ms. Q 341b: [Weimarer-Tablaturbuch].

Tabular analysis of allograph and notational figures found in the MS documents: F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [= BWV 768]; D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966]; D-B Fot. Bue 129 [= Plauener-Orgelbuch of 1708]; D war Ms. Q 341b: [Weimarer-Tablaturbuch].

Part 5 ends with conclusions drawn subsequent to the examination of the questioned documents.

To date, there has been no full and thorough examination of the complete manuscript copy of BWV 768, currently held at Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France. Whilst it is referred to in a number of combined studies of the BWV 768 sets, it has never been properly examined as a stand-alone copy. This is particularly interesting, as there are still many things about it which are curious, and as yet, have not been investigated thoroughly in scholarly circles.<sup>1</sup>

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras is a complete copy of the chorale and eleven variations of the *Chorale Variatio* BWV 768: *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*. The manuscript contains a chorale harmonisation and eleven variations [entitled Partitas] in the following scheme: chorale / vars. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 9, 6, 8, [2], [4], 10, [3]. It is a single score of seventeen leaves. The dimensions of the leaves are 17 x 21 cm. The most recent dating indicates the first quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Based upon the belief of Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770-1846), that he was in possession of the autograph manuscript of BWV 768, it held this attribution for some considerable time.<sup>3</sup> Rinck's association with the work is most likely to have been as a result of his professional connection with the organist, Johann Christian Kittel (1732-1809).<sup>4</sup> Kittel himself had studied for

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<sup>1</sup> See commentaries: F. Eibner, in *OeMZ* 7 (1952), pp. 150-55; F. W. Donat, "C. H. Rinck (...)", Heidelberg: PhD Diss. (1933), pp. 1-66. NBA Critical Report: IV/1, S. 200ff.

<sup>2</sup> H.-H. Löhlein in KB IV/1, S. 203 & KB IV/1 S. 200ff.

<sup>3</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1): translation of note in German on the title page, written by J.C.H. Rinck: "N.B. This Choral was written by the author himself (.) Through the organist Kittel, one of the author's students, this Choral was handed over to me. I give this manuscript to Mr. Laurens as a token of friendship. Darmstadt, 30th Sept., 1841. Rinck". It appears that it declassification as an AMS was as a result of Heller's study of the source [NBA KB V/11, p. 159f.], but the type of analysis test(s) conducted, and the manner of their application, remains unclear.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Kittel, Johann Christian*, *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online*.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/15081>> [Accessed: 13 Jan. 2011].

a period of two years with Bach in Leipzig, between 1748 and 1750, and was considered perhaps Bach's favourite student: "Kittel's guiding doctrine, as expressed in his influential textbook '*Der angehende praktische Organist*' (1801–8), was 'grounded in the principles of Bach' and had as its aim 'to awaken, maintain and heighten feelings of devotion in the hearts of his hearers by means of music'."<sup>5</sup> Given that Kittel was one of the last sources to be in Bach's immediate contact, and the degree to which he was considered a fastidious disciple of Bach's method of the chorale setting, it therefore seems probable that it was during the period 1748-1750 that Kittel inherited this complete copy of BWV 768 set. It is likely that the complete manuscript had been available many years earlier.<sup>6</sup> This is not to say that this copy is not an autograph, but may in all likelihood be a copy from an earlier period of the composer's life, and potentially in the hand of an early copyist – perhaps another student of Bach from a youthful period, or somebody different altogether.<sup>7</sup> Its transfer to Rinck would likely have been at Erfurt where Rinck studied organ with Kittel between 1786 and 1789. Once among Rinck's possessions, the manuscript would then have travelled with him to Giesen from 1790, and finally to Darmstadt in 1805, where it remained among his personal property up to the point of Rinck's death in 1846. Shortly before Rinck's death, the manuscript was transferred to J.J.B. Laurens on September 30 1841.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, the continued transmission of the copy to other temporary guardians is recorded to the present, and it undertook further journeys

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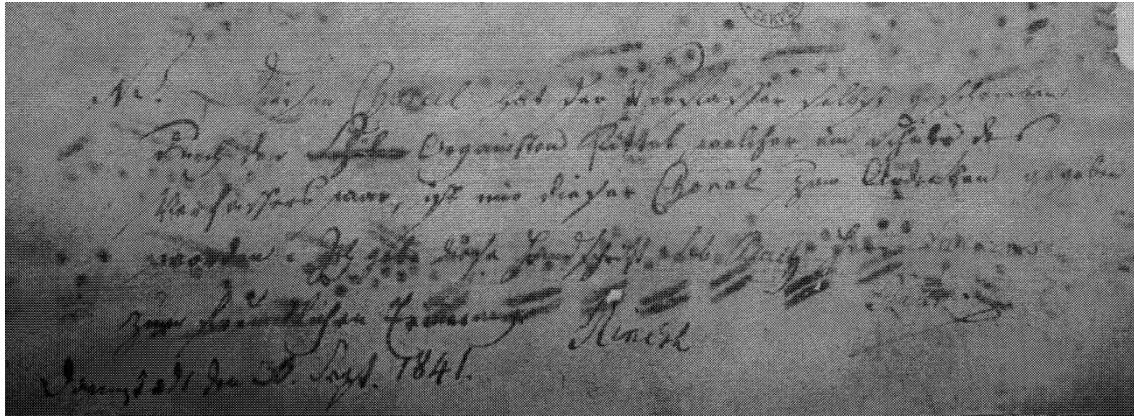
<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See from p. 309 of this study for further explication.

<sup>7</sup> The proposition that this copy may be an AMS must remain until it has been evidentially tested through the application of modern FDE techniques, and from the outset, should be based on a null hypothesis, until such time as the outcome of data examinations becomes available.

<sup>8</sup> The document bears Rinck's inscription of the work on the first leaf of the document, indicating that the set was the gift of the organist Kittel, and indicating it as "Handschrift Seb. Bach, being transferred with friendly reflection [?] to Herrn Laurens. 30 September 1841".

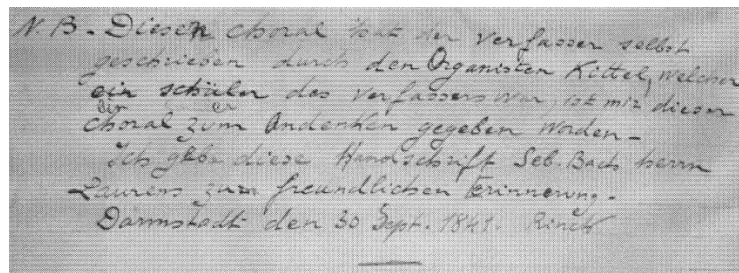
from the time of its origins, through to its eventual custodian, the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, Provence, France, where it was bequeathed in 1878, and remains to this day.



Ex. 5.2: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Rinck autograph inscription to J.J.B. Laurens.

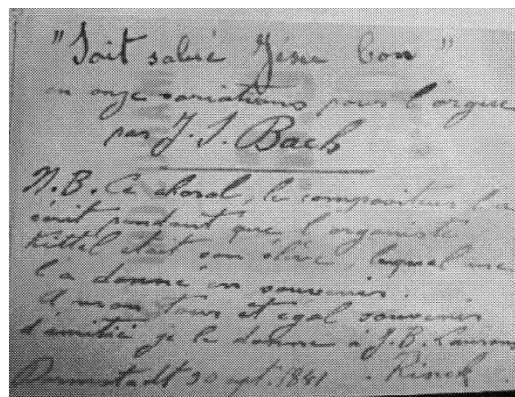
[Leaf 1, fol. 1a: Actual attribution in Rinck's own hand: 30 September 1841]

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 5.3: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Copy in German of Rinck's inscription to J.J.B. Laurens;

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 5.4: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Translation into French c. 1878,

Rinck to J.J.B. Laurens, 30 September 1841;

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Whilst charting this lineage is interesting, it begs the question as to why Rinck, and others following him, were so convinced that the manuscript was Bach's own *Handschrift* for BWV 768, where the scribal hand within, whilst highly characterful, appears stylistically unlike what have been presumed to be early autograph sources.

The work of the *Bach Quellenkatalog - Quellen zum Werk Johann Sebastian Bach* attempted to identify the scribal hand present on the title-page and subsequent leaves of: F-C Ms. 1086 (1).<sup>9</sup> This expository work began at the turn of the twentieth century, with Hans-Joachim Schultz's first attribution of an unknown scribe to the piece, in his view, either Lohber or Sohber.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of Schultz's research, this unknown scribe was subsequently linked to the following three sets of other Bach-based music:

- i. The Plauener-Orgelbuch of 1708 (source destroyed c. 1945), now only available as Photographic record: D-PL III. B.a. No. 4; only as photo: D-B Fot. Bue 129 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.<sup>11</sup>
- ii. Weimarer-Tablaturbuch (D war Ms. Q 341b).<sup>12</sup>
- iii. D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966: *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*]: source presents indiscernible "Lohber oder Sohber" attribution.

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<sup>9</sup> <<http://www.bach-digital.de/content/below/bachsource.xml>> [Accessed: 10 October 2010].

<sup>10</sup> Williams (2003), p. 382.

<sup>11</sup> The source is significant, as it indicates *Lohber oder Sohber* as an early scribal source among Bach works, which is likely to assist in confirming the Carpentras copy of BWV 768 at least, having been completed c. 1705, most likely begun earlier.

<sup>12</sup> D WRa MS Q341b: Weimarer-Tablaturbuch (Nuremberg, 1704), Weimar, Herzogin-Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek;  
<[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00003611](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003611)> [Accessed: 7 June 2012].

What is most significant about these three sources is that they are all early, written at least within the first decade of the eighteenth century. Therefore, on the balance of probabilities from this evidence, it seems likely that the copying work of *Lohber oder Sohber* of the F-C Ms. 1086 (1) copy of BWV 768 would correspond to the same period – the only period during which Bach directly concerned himself with the copying and writing of the chorale-partita model. Curiously, the critical commentary indicates its belief that there are two separate layers to the F-C Ms. 1086 (1), firstly an older set of workings which corresponds to variations 1, 2, 4, 10; a second working period covering chorale, variations 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.<sup>13</sup>

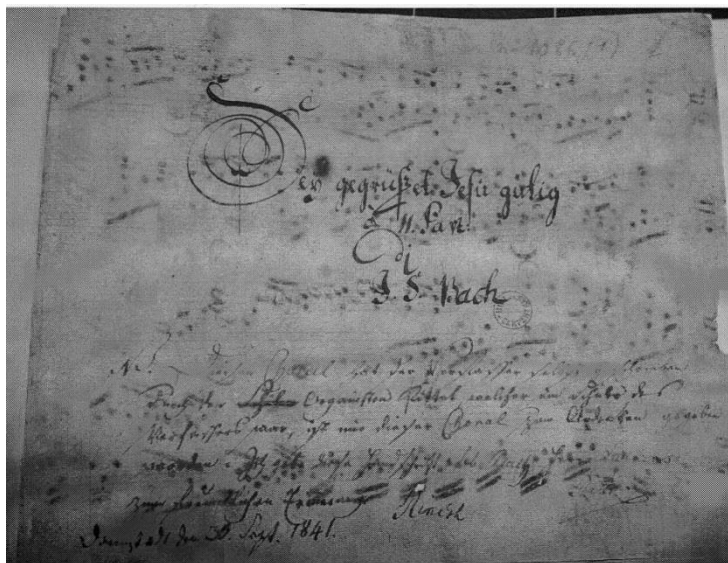
Following the detailed examination of this source in this study, it seems that there is no discernible evidence to justify such claims as a verifiable fact. I therefore consider later in this section of the study whether or not two different scribal hands are present in F-C Ms. 1086 (1).<sup>14</sup> Subsequent to this proposition, and after close inspection of the MS, I find that the conjectured two-phases of writing to be an unsubstantiated hypothesis.

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<sup>13</sup> As with the P 802 MS: See: D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>14</sup> See from p. 321.

- i. Folio 1a,<sup>15</sup> forms the title-cover, and contains Rinck's attribution to the "author".<sup>16</sup> [see ex. 5.5].



Ex. 5.5: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 1, fol. 1a;

Title-attribution and Rinck's inscription.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

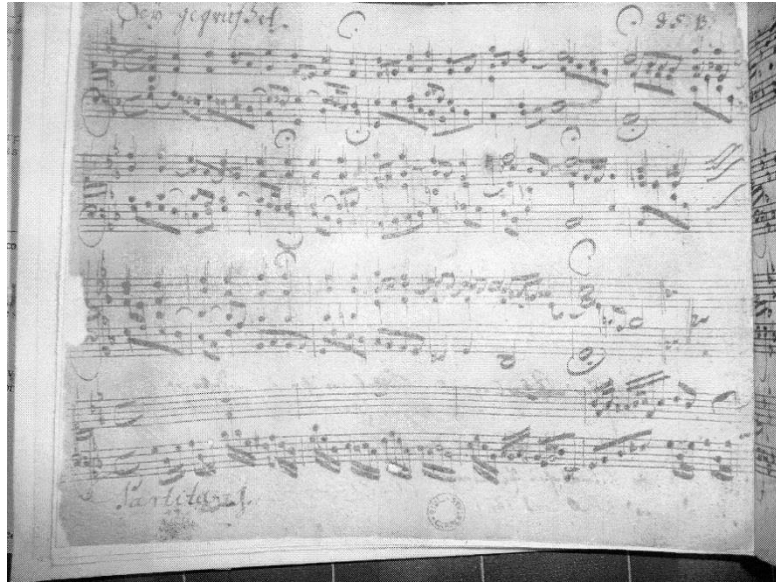
- ii. The initial chorale harmonisation [headed by title-attribution: *Sei Gegrüsset*] is contained on the same leaf, fol. 1b [reverse of title page]<sup>17</sup>, as is the first four bars of Partita 1 [Bicinium]. This is indicative of through-writing at the same period, and not across two distinct chronological phases of writing, as has been claimed. The remainder of Partita 1 is present on the successive fol. 2a, facing fol. 1b, then fol. 2b [r] and fol. 3a. Again there is no discernible distinction between the handwriting of the chorale harmonisation, and that of Partita 1.

<sup>15</sup> Leaf denotes sheet of paper 17 x 21 cm, with ink-writing on both sides, unless otherwise indicated in the examples. Folio, denotes one side of a leaf, hereafter, fol. 1a/b etc.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 227 for further notes on this title dedication in Rinck's hand.

<sup>17</sup> Reverse of title fol.; hereafter [r].

- iii. The fols. 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, contain the initial chorale and Partita 1 *Bicinium*, and no evidence is discernible of two distinct periods of writing having taken place, as is asserted in the NBA critical commentary. [see exs. 5.6-5.9]:



Ex. 5.6: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 1, fol. 1b [r];  
chorale harmonisation; Partita 1, bb. 1-4<sup>1</sup>.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

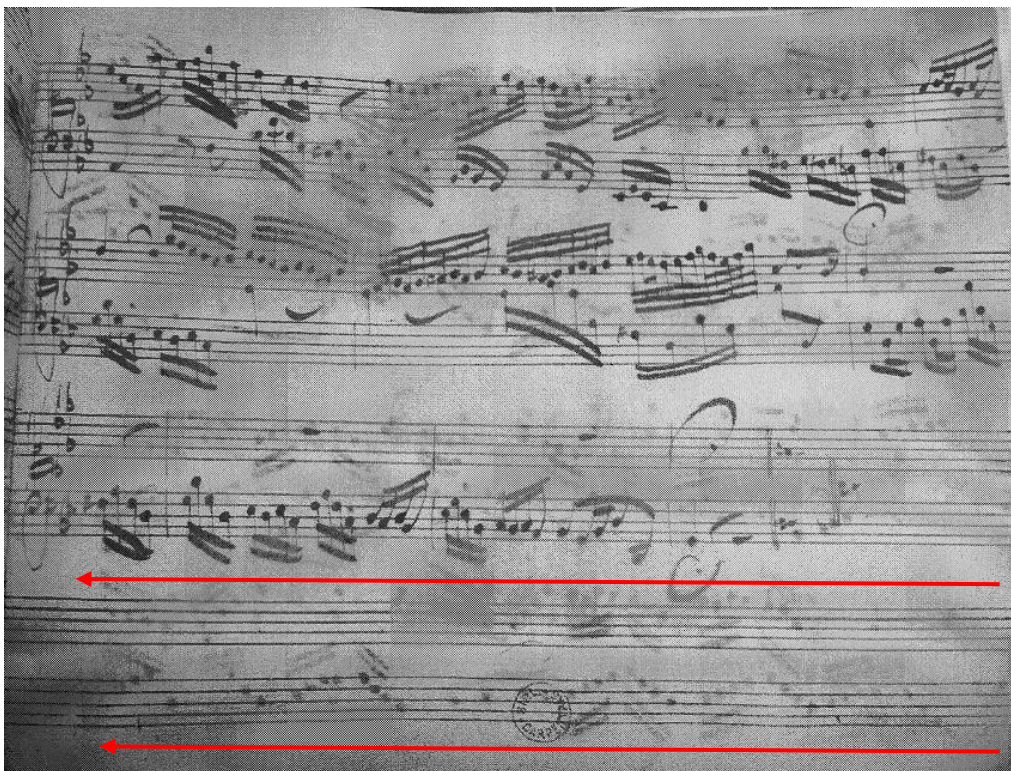


Ex. 5.7: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 2, fol. 2a;  
Partita 1, bb. 4<sup>2</sup>-14<sup>1</sup>; ink bleed from fol. 2b [r] visible between white lines.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

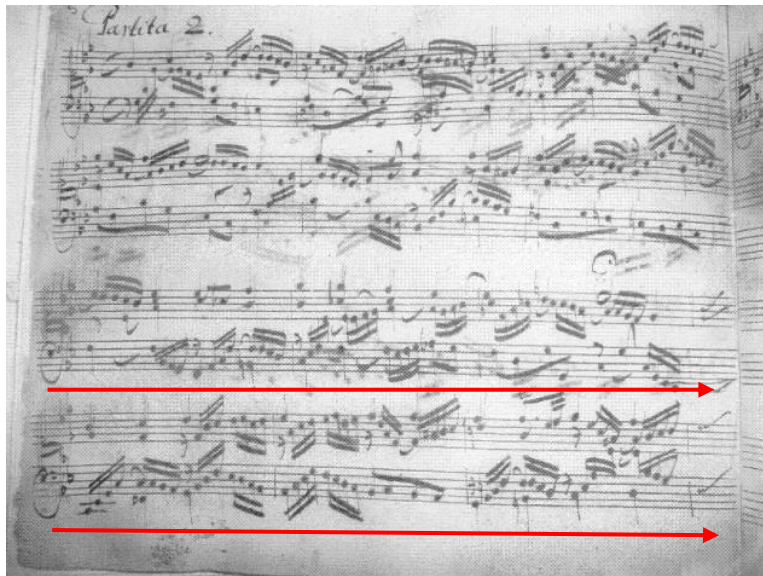


Ex. 5.8: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 2, fol. 2b [r];  
Partita 1, bb. 14<sup>2</sup>-28; notation responsible for ink bleed visible on fol. 2a, denoted between lines.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

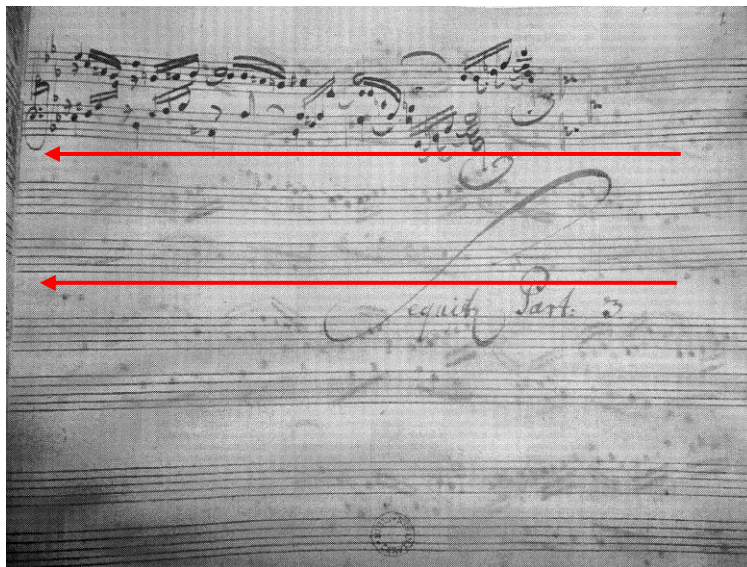


Ex. 5.9: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 3, fol. 3a;  
Partita 1, bb. 29-37; visible notation from ink bleed from fol. 3b [r], denoted between red lines.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

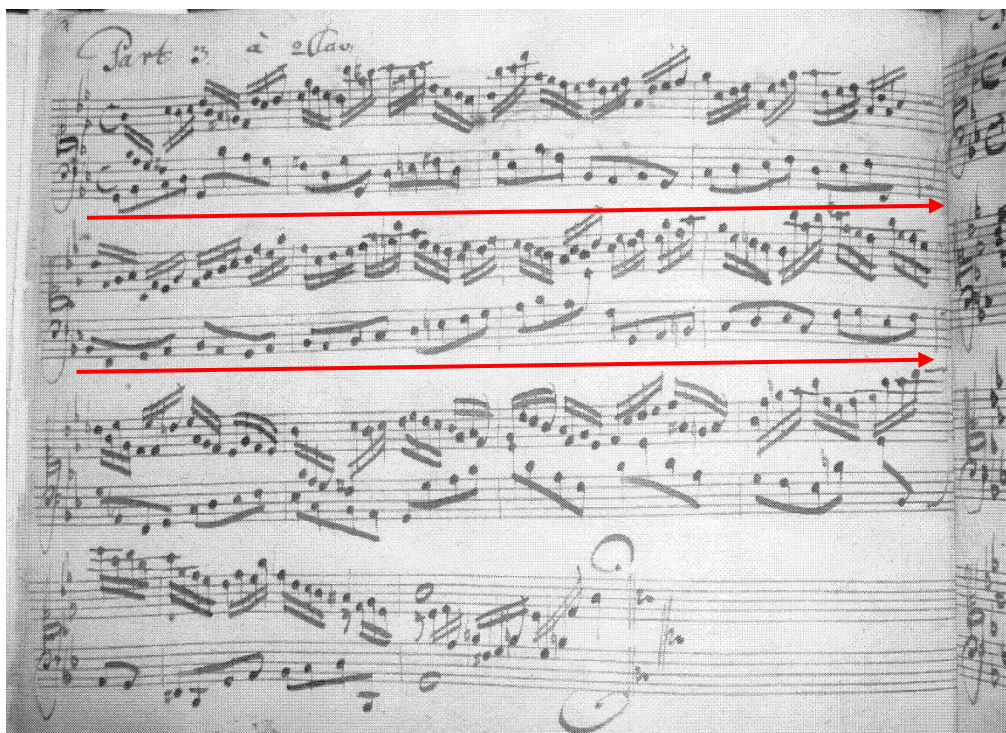
- iv. Partita 2, across 1 leaf [fol. 3b [r] and 4a], indicates at the base: “Sequit. Part. 3”, the scribal hand for Partita 2 and Partita 3 is identical, and therefore unlikely to date from two distinct periods of working as has been suggested. [see exs. 5.10-5.12]:



Ex. 5.10: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*. leaf 3, fol. 3b [r]; Partita 2, bb. 1-12; notation responsible for ink bleed visible on fol. 3a, denoted between red lines.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 5.11: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*. leaf 4, fol. 4a; Partita 2, bb. 13-14; visible notation from ink bleed from fol. 4b [r], denoted between red lines.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



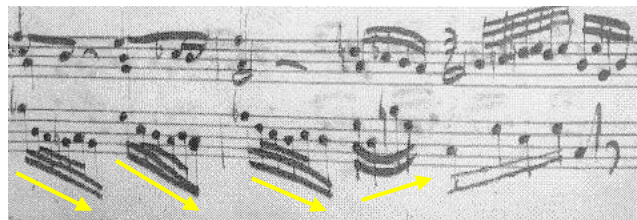
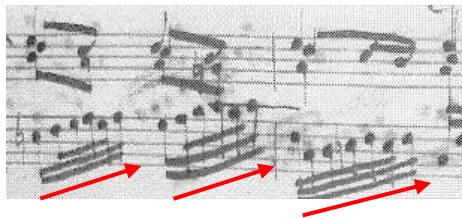
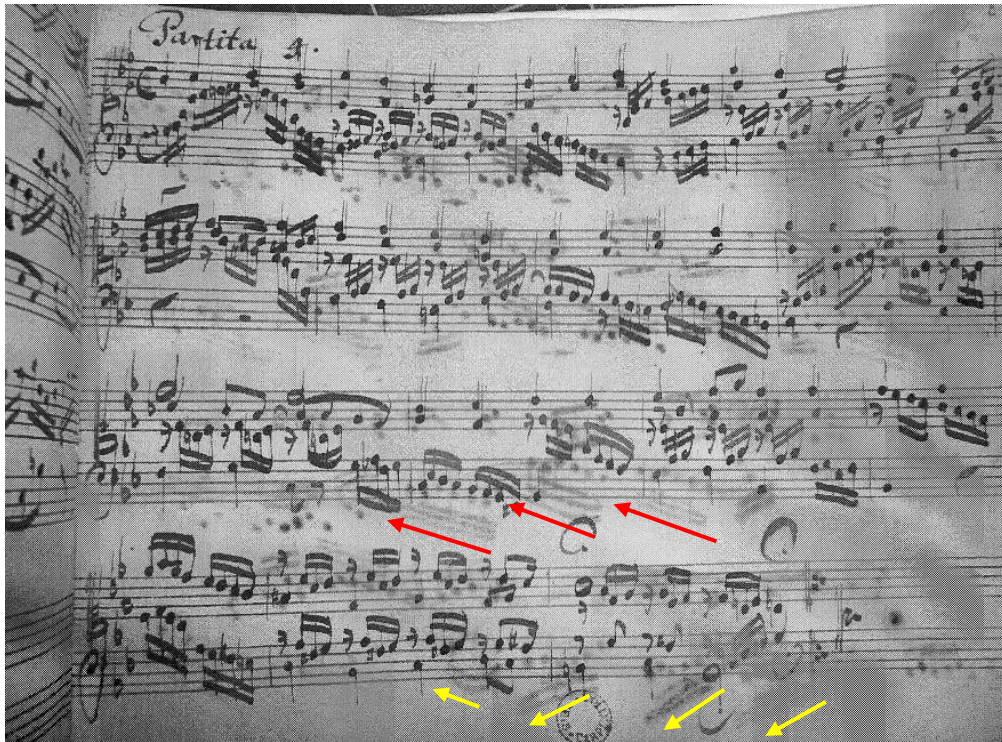
Ex. 5.12: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 4, fol. 4b [r];

Partita 3, bb. 1-14; notation responsible for ink bleed visible on fol. 4a, denoted between lines.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

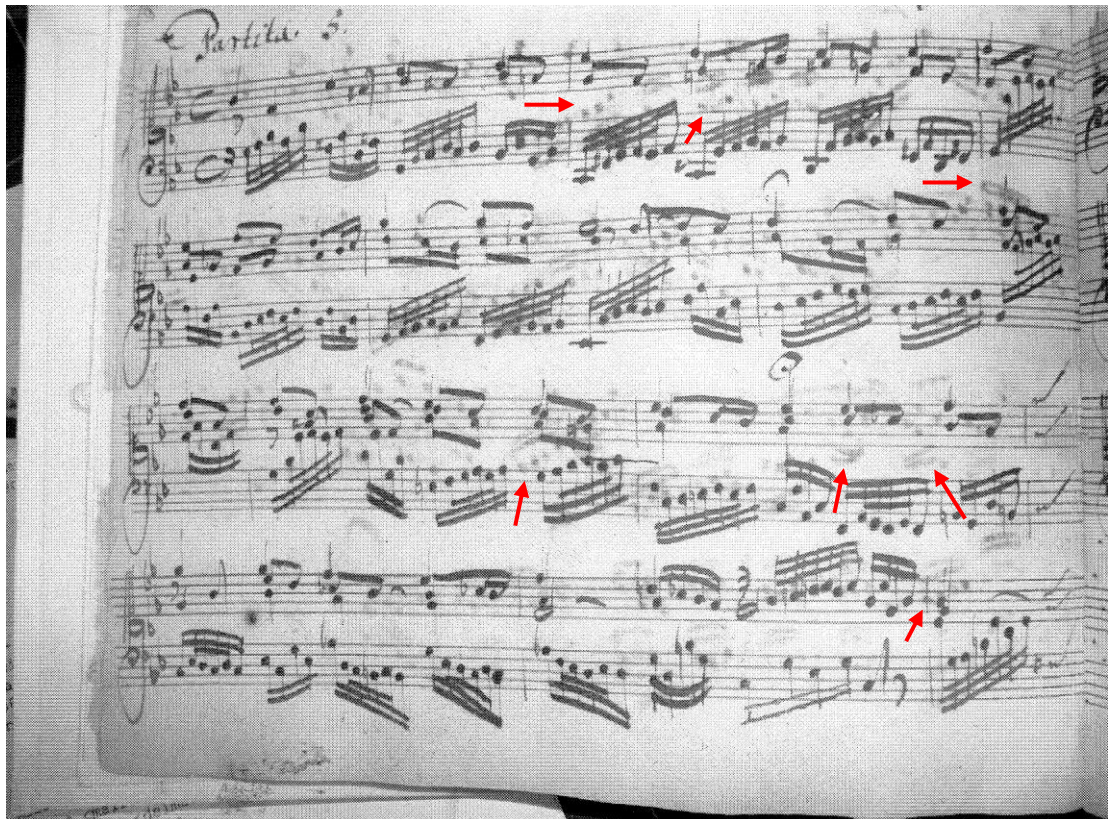
- v. Partita 4 [leaf 5, fol. 5a], at the base, contains retrograde mirror fragments of ink-bleed from Partita 5. Yet the Bach-Archiv commentary continues to report that Partitas 4 and 5 were the result of two separate periods of writing, a proposition which cannot have been substantiated after first-hand examination of the MS.<sup>18</sup> [see ex. 5.13]:

<sup>18</sup> *2 Schichten in der Handschrift erkennbar: eine ältere Schicht umfasst nur Choral und Variationen 1, 2, 4, 10 (wie in D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802)*: trans. "2 handwriting layers visible in the manuscript: one older layer only covers Choral and Variations 1, 2, 4, 10 (likewise D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802)." See: <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00003627](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003627)> [Accessed: 30 June 2012].



Ex. 5.13: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 5, fol. 5a;  
Partita 4, bb. 1-14; visible notation from ink bleed from Partita 5, fol. 5b [r], denoted by arrows:  
Red arrows denote ink bleed from the 3<sup>rd</sup> staff-system of Partita 5; yellow arrows denote ink  
bleed from the 4<sup>th</sup> staff-system of Partita 5, visible on fol. 5b [r].  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- vi. Partita 5 is spread across two separate leaves, namely leaf 5, fol. 5b [r], and leaf 6, fol. 6a. Evidence of ink bleed apparent on leaf 5, fol. 5b [r] having occurred from Partita 4 [fol. 5a] is not as strong as apparent in previous examples, although fragments of Partita 4 can be readily identified: [see ex. 5.14]:

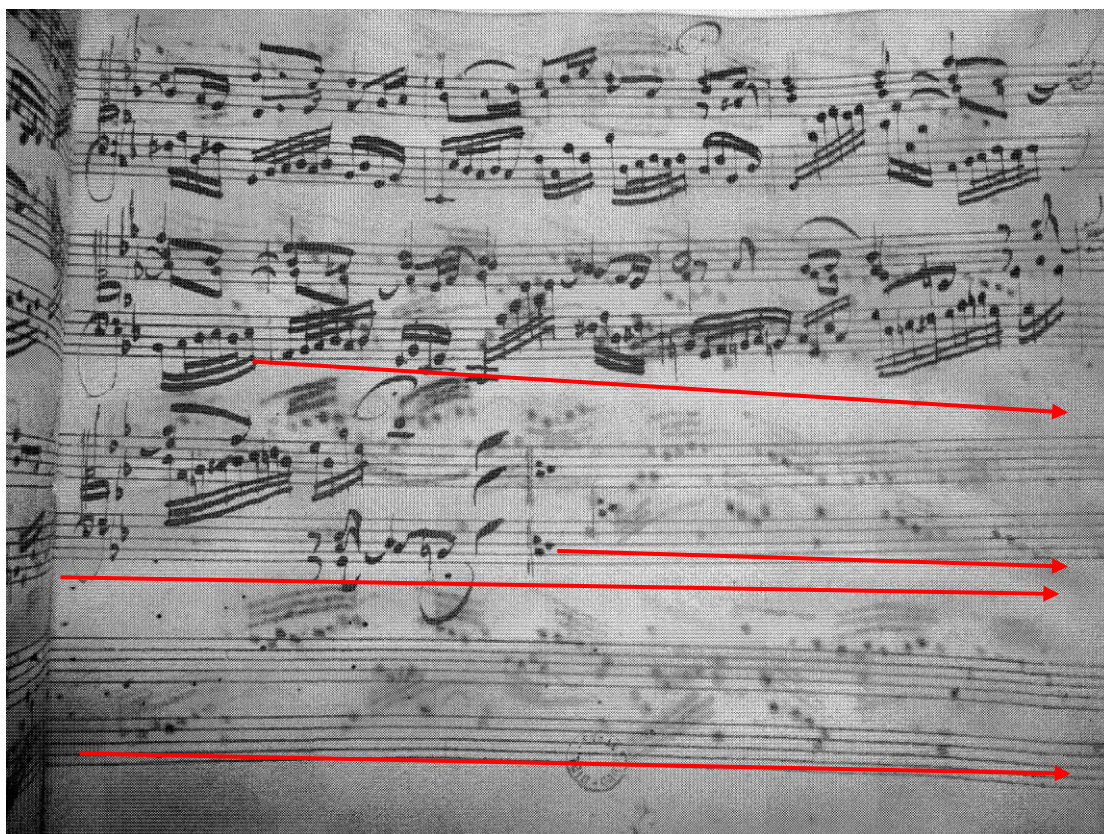


Ex. 5.14: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 5, fol. 5b [r]; Partita 5, bb. 1-10<sup>1</sup>; selected examples of fragmentary evidence of ink bleed visible from Partita 4, fol. 5a, denoted by red arrows.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- vii. Partita 5 extends onto leaf 6, fol. 6a, where Partita 6<sup>19</sup> is clearly visible through the blank ruled paper across the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> systems. [see ex. 5.15 below]:

<sup>19</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Partita 6 = NBA Variation 7.



Ex. 5.15: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 6, fol. 6a;  
Partita 5, bb. 10<sup>2</sup>-15; examples of ink bleed visible from Partita 6 (NBA var. 7), fol. 6b [r],  
denoted between red lines.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- viii. Partita 6 is spread across two separate leaves, namely leaf 6, fol. 6b [r], and leaf 7, fol. 7a. Fragments of Partita 5 are visible through instance of ink bleed from leaf 6, fol. 6a [see ex. 5.16 below]. Furthermore, Partita 7<sup>20</sup> is partially visible through the ink bleed from leaf 7, fol. 7b [r]. [see ex. 5.17 below]:

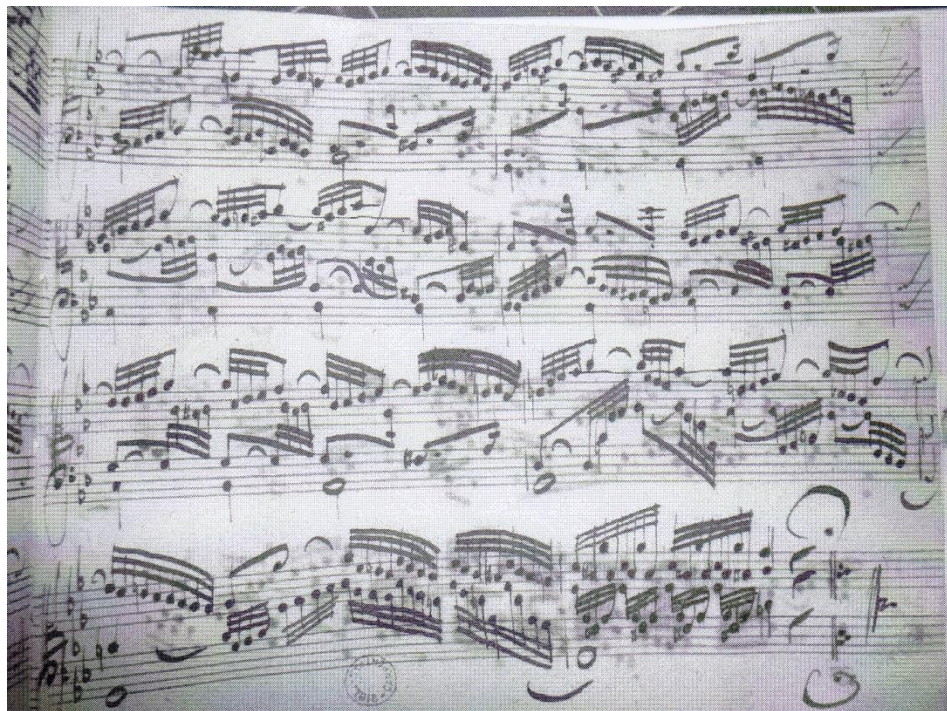
<sup>20</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Partita 7 = NBA Variation 11.



Ex. 5.16: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 6, fol. 6b [r];

Partita 6, bb. 1-8; ink bleed visible from Partita 5, from leaf 6, fol. 6a.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

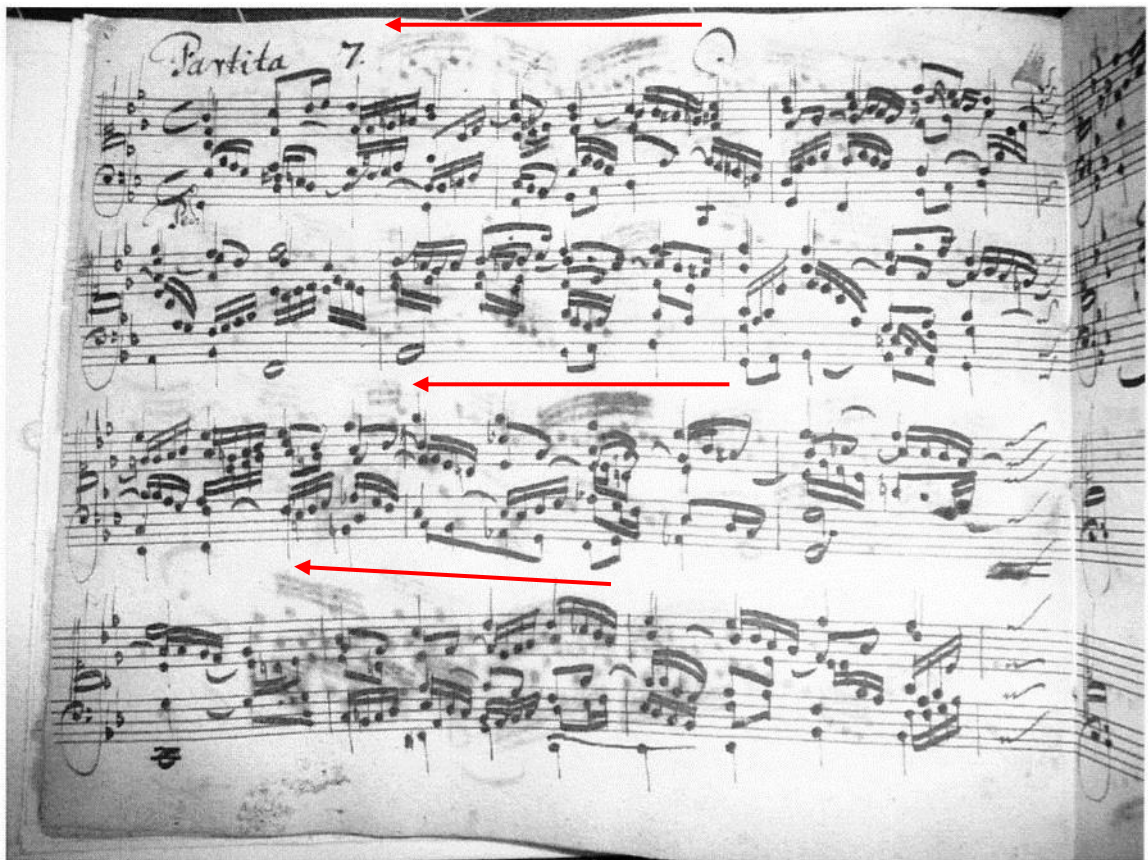


Ex. 5.17: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 7, fol. 7a;

Partita 6, bb. 9-16; ink bleed visible from Partita 7 (NBA var. 11), from leaf 7, fol. 7b [r].

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- ix. Partita 7 (NBA var. 11) is spread across two separate leaves, namely leaf 7, fol. 7b [r], and leaf 8, fol. 8a. Fragments of Partita 6 are visible through instance of ink bleed from leaf 7, fol. 7a [see ex. 5.18 below; ink bleed denoted by red arrows]. Furthermore, as the conclusion to Partita 7 only takes the 1<sup>st</sup> system and 1<sup>st</sup> bar of the 2<sup>nd</sup> stave system of leaf 8, fol. 8a, Partita 8<sup>21</sup> is clearly visible through the ink bleed from leaf 8, fol. 8b [r]. [see ex. 5.19 below]:

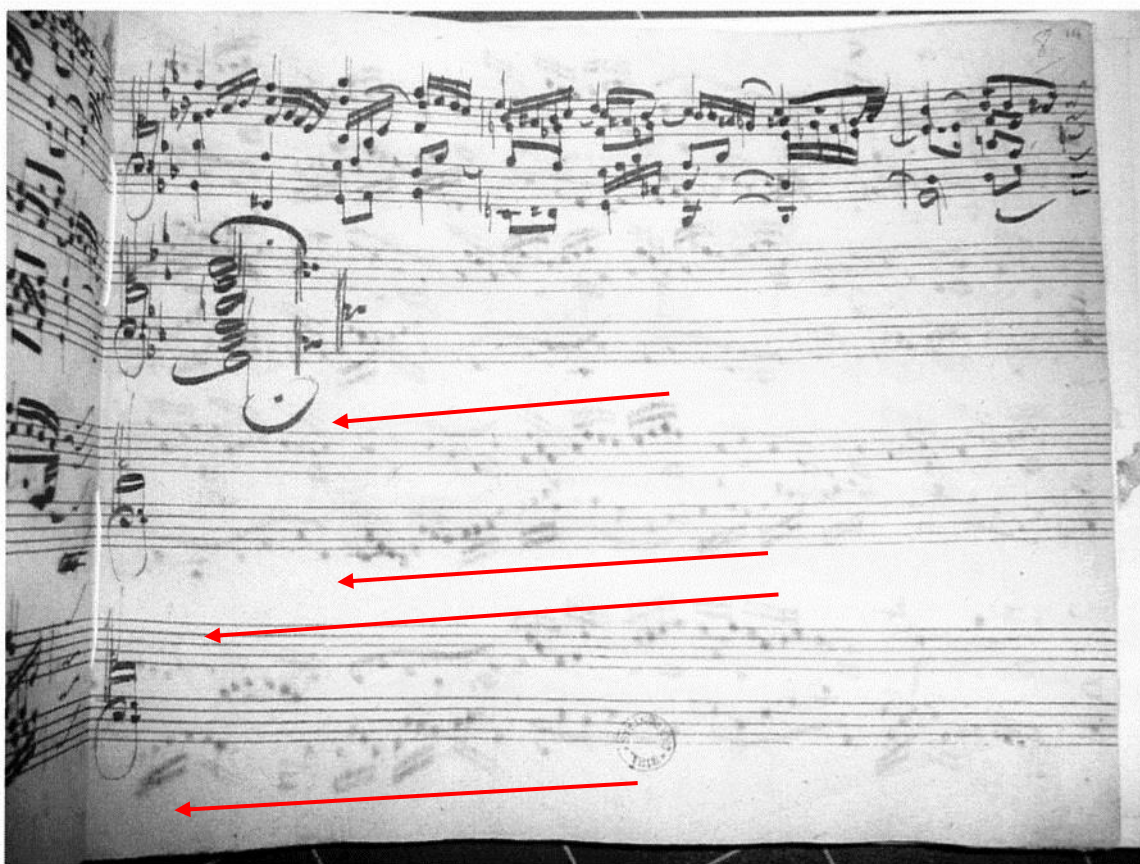


Ex. 5.18: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 7, fol. 7b [r];

Partita 7, bb. 1-11; ink bleed visible from Partita 6 (NBA var. 7), from leaf 7, fol. 7a.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

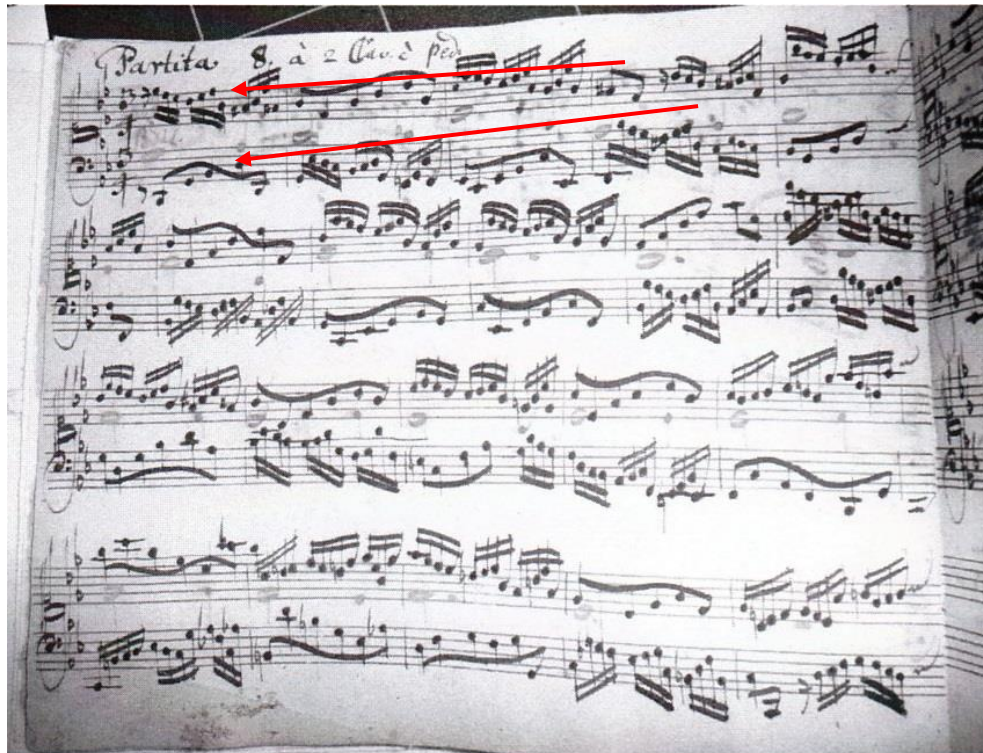
<sup>21</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Partita 8 = NBA Variation 9.



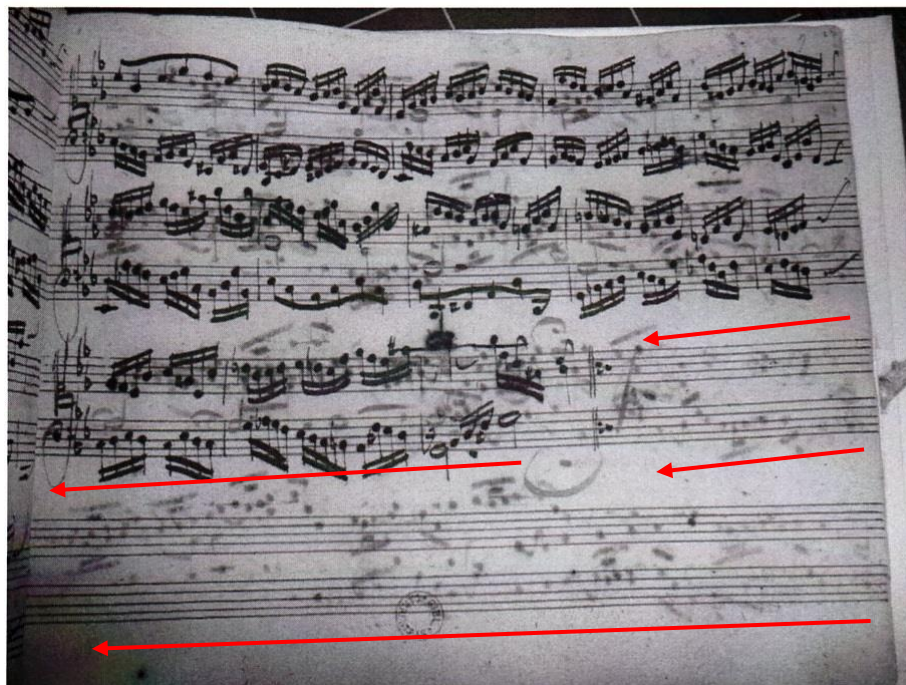
Ex. 5.19: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 8, fol. 8a;  
 Partita 7, bb. 12-14; ink bleed visible from Partita 8 (NBA var. 9), from leaf 8, fol. 8b [r].  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- x. Partita 8 (NBA var. 9) is spread across two separate leaves, namely leaf 8, fol. 8b [r], and leaf 9, fol. 9a. Fragments of Partita 7 (NBA var. 11) are only partially visible across the 1<sup>st</sup> score system, and barely perceptible in bar 5<sup>3</sup>, through instance of ink bleed from leaf 8, fol. 8b [r] [see ex. 5.20 below; ink bleed denoted by red arrows]. Furthermore, as the conclusion to Partita 8 only takes 2 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> of the score systems of leaf 9, fol. 9a, Partita 9<sup>22</sup> is clearly visible through the ink bleed from leaf 9, fol. 9b [r]. [see ex. 5.21 below, denoted by red arrows]:

<sup>22</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Partita 9 = NBA Variation 6.

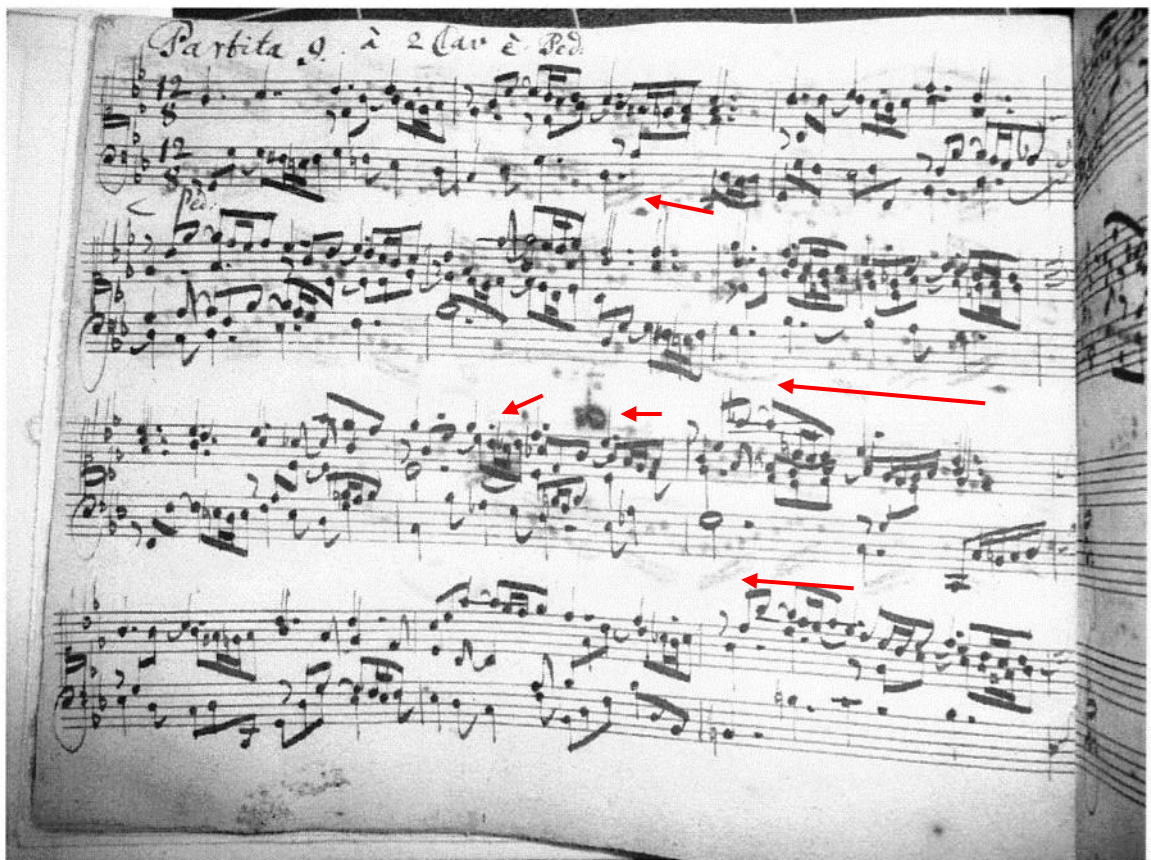


Ex. 5.20: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 8, fol. 8b [r];  
 Partita 8, bb. 1-20; ink bleed partially visible from Partita 7 (NBA var. 11), from leaf 8, fol. 8a.  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 5.21: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 9, fol. 9a;  
 Partita 8, bb. 21-32; ink bleed partially visible from Partita 9 (NBA var. 6), from leaf 9, fol. 9b [r].  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- xi. Partita 9 (NBA var. 6) is spread across two separate leaves, namely leaf 9, fol. 9b [r], and leaf 10, fol. 10a. Fragments of Partita 8 (NBA var. 9) are visible across the first 3 score systems, through instance of ink bleed from leaf 9, fol. 9a [see ex. 5.22 below; sample examples ink bleed denoted by red arrows]. Furthermore, as the conclusion to Partita 9 only takes the first system and 2<sup>nd</sup> bar alone of system 2, Partita 10<sup>23</sup> is clearly visible through the ink bleed from leaf 9, fol. 9b [r], the fluidity of the pen-stroke employed to cross the semiquaver beams easily discernible. [see ex. 5.23 below, denoted by red arrows]:



Ex. 5.22: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 9, fol. 9b [r];  
Partita 9, bb. 1-12; ink bleed partially visible from Partita 8 (NBA var. 9), from leaf 9, fol. 9a.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

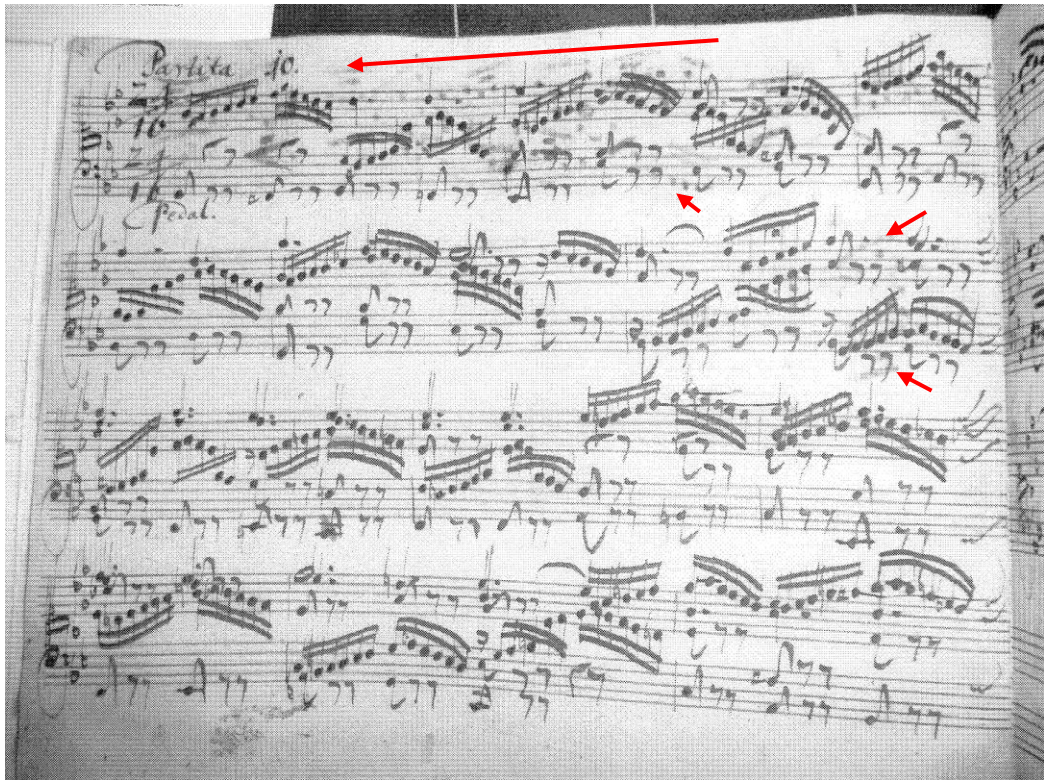
<sup>23</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Partita 10 = NBA Variation 8.



Ex. 5.23: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 10, fol. 10a;  
Partita 9, bb. 13-15; ink bleed visible from Partita 10 (NBA var. 8), from leaf 10, fol. 10b [r].  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- xii. Partita 10 (NBA var. 8) is spread across two separate leaves, namely leaf 10, fol. 10b [r], and leaf 11, fol. 11a. Fragments of Partita 9 (NBA var. 6) are visible across the first score systems and in bar 5<sup>4</sup>, through instance of ink bleed from leaf 9, fol. 9a [see ex. 5.24 below; sample examples ink bleed denoted by red arrows]. Whilst the conclusion to Partita 10<sup>24</sup> only takes the first 2 2/3 of the ruled stave systems, this is the first occasion that no incidence of ink bleed is discernible on the un-notated areas of the MS. This is because leaf 11, fol. 11b, following, remains ruled but devoid of notation. [see ex. 5.25 below]:

<sup>24</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Partita 10 = NBA Variation 8.

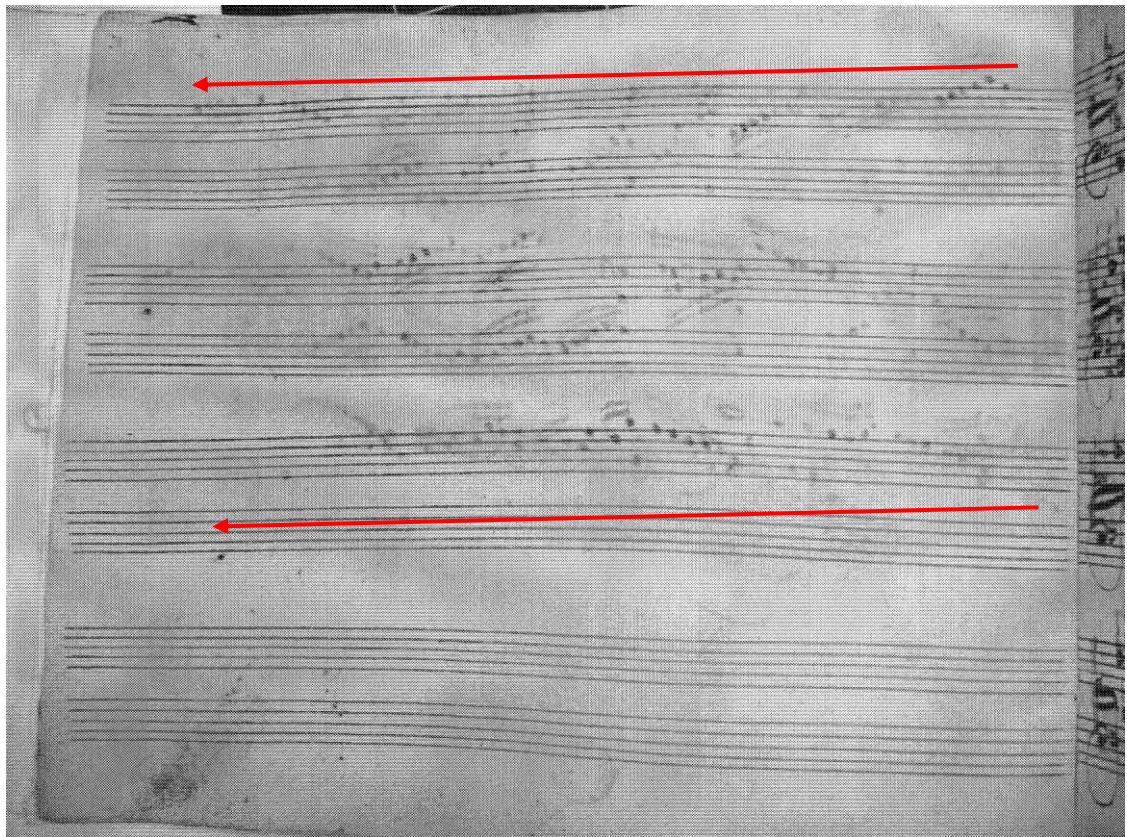


Ex. 5.24: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 10, fol. 10b [r];  
 Partita 10, bb. 1-10<sup>3</sup>; ink bleed visible from Partita 9 (NBA var. 10), from leaf 10, fol. 10a.  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 5.25: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 11, fol. 11a;  
 Partita 10, bb. 10<sup>4</sup>-16; leaf 11, fol. 11b overleaf is ruled, but devoid of notation.  
 F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- xiii. Partita 11 does not follow concurrently from Partita 10. Instead, leaf 11, fol. 11b, where sequentially it would have followed, remains as blank ruled manuscript. [see ex. 5.26 below; retrograde mirror of ink bled notation of Partita 9, bb. 10<sup>4</sup>-16 discernible between red lines]:



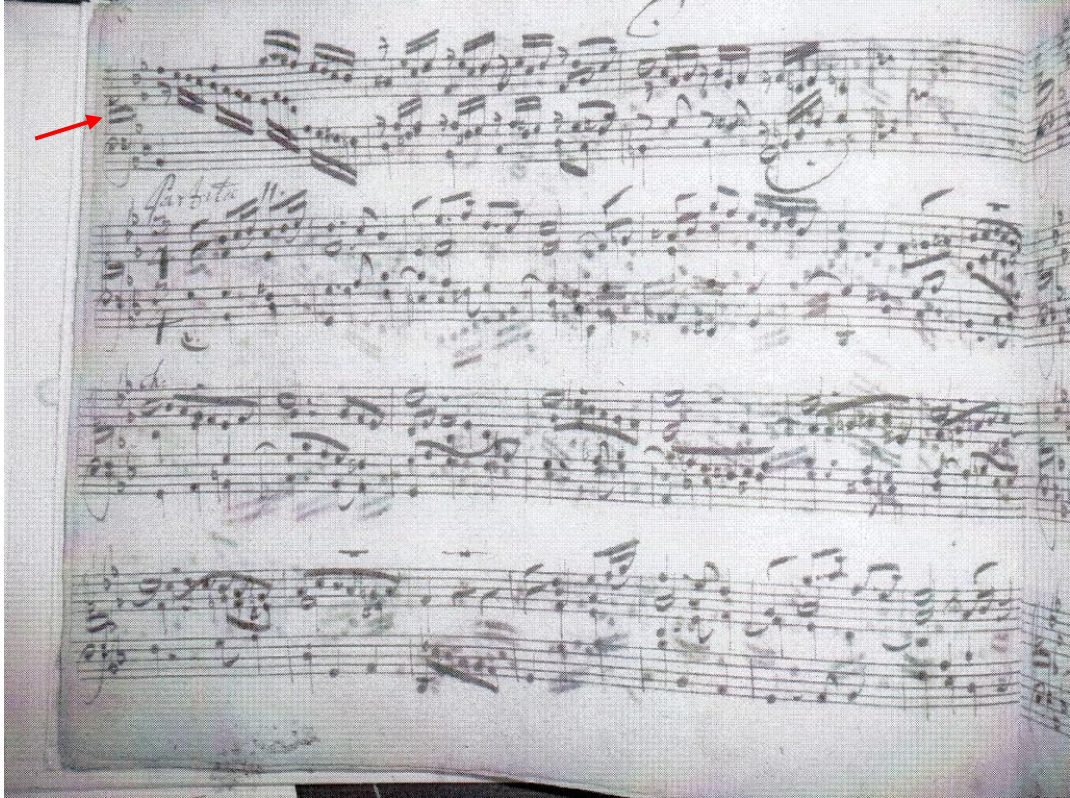
Ex. 5.26: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 11, fol. 11b [r];

Ruled manuscript devoid of notation; retrograde mirror of Partita 10 is discernible through ink bleed.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- xiv. Following the ruled blank page, leaf 11, fol. 11b [r], comes an additional setting of Partita 2, laid out across leaf 12, fols. 12a and 12b [r].
- xv. Following the rewritten Partita 2 [leaf 12, fols. 12a and 12b [r], comes an additional setting of Partita 4, laid out across leaf 13, fols. 13a and 13b [r].

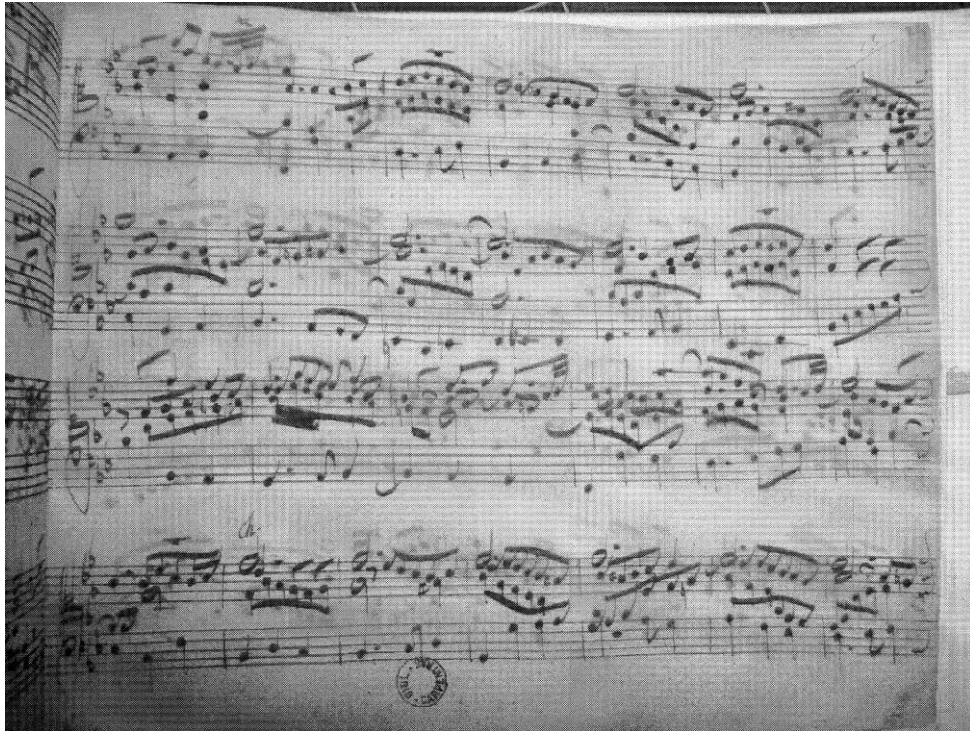
- xvi. Partita 4 concludes with bars 12-14 set on the first ruled staff system of leaf 13, fol. 13b [r]. Partita 11 immediately begins, from the beginning of system 2.<sup>25</sup> [see exs. 5.27-5.30 below; bb. 12-14 of Partita 4<sup>2</sup> denoted by red arrow]:



Ex. 5.27: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 13, fol. 13b [r];  
bb. 12-14 of 2<sup>nd</sup> copy of Partita 4; subsequently, Partita 11 begins, start of system 2, bb. 1-21.  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

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<sup>25</sup> It would appear that, at this point, the scribe has made a conscious decision not to waste the available ruled manuscript resource.



Ex. 5.28: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 14, fol. 14a;  
Partita 11, bb. 22-48.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.



Ex. 5.29: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 14, fol. 14b [r];  
Partita 11, bb. 49-75.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

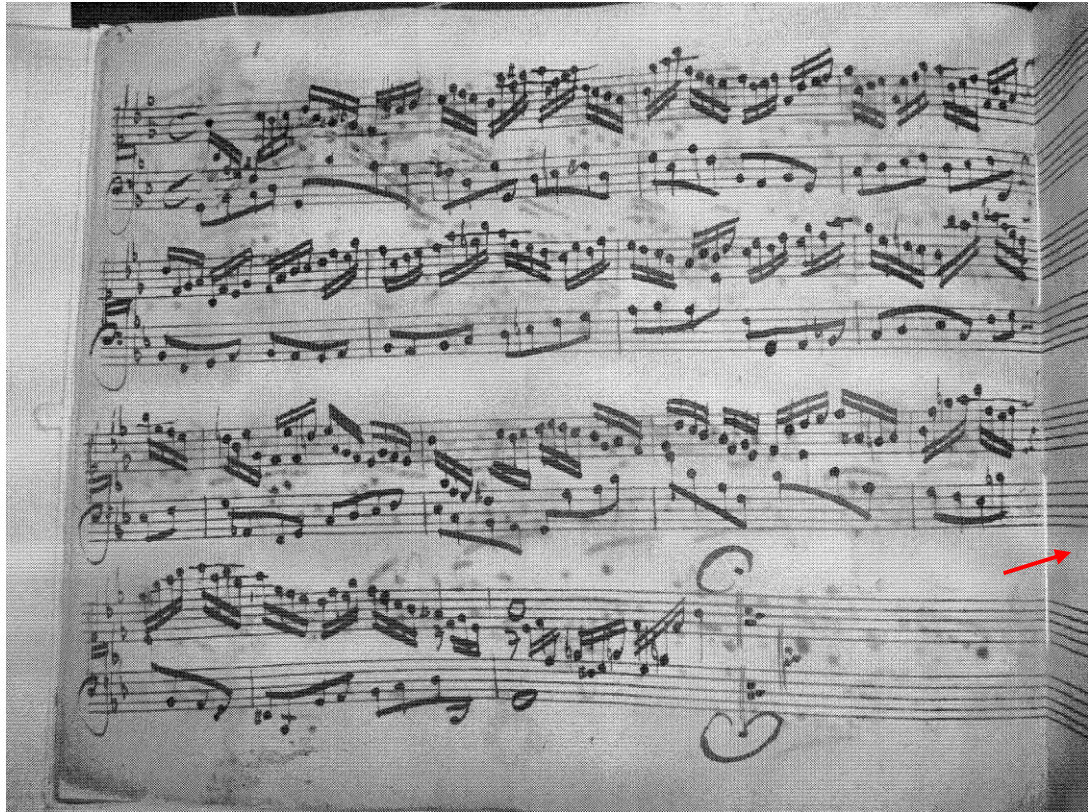


Ex. 5.30: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: leaf 15, fol. 15a;

Partita 11, bb. 76-105.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

- xvii. Following the conclusion to Partita 11, leaf 15, fol. 15a, the scribe then writes a further setting of Partita 3 (without title) on leaf 15, fol. 15b, but with some notational differences evident between it, and the setting of Partita 3 contained earlier in the MS. Ink bleed from the bars 76-105 of Partita 11 is apparent on the MS. [see ex. 5.31]. Remaining leaves in the MS [leaves 16, fols. 16a, 16b [r] & 17, 17a, 17b [r], are ruled, but do not bare further notation or other markings:



Ex. 5.31: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig*; leaf 15, fol. 15b [r];

Partita 11, bb. 76-105; remaining blank ruled MS denoted by red arrow.

F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

Leaf 1; fol.1a: Title Page	Leaf 1; fol.1b [r]: Chorale - Partita. 1.1	Leaf 2; fol.2a: P. 1.2	Leaf 2; fol.2b [r]: P. 1.3	Leaf 3; fol.3a: P. 1.4	Leaf 3; fol.3b [r]: P. 2.1	Leaf 4; fol.4a: P. 2.2 / Blank	Leaf 4; fol.4b [r]: P. 3 [entire]
Leaf 5; fol.5a: p. 4 [entire]	Leaf 5; fol.5b [r]: P. 5.1	Leaf 6; fol.6a: P. 5.2	Leaf 6; fol.6b [r]: P. 6.1	Leaf 7; fol.7b [r]: P. 6.2	Leaf 7; fol.7b [r]: P. 7.1	Leaf 8; fol.8a: P. 7.2 / Blank	Leaf 8; fol.8b [r]: P. 8.1
Leaf 59; fol.9a: P. 8.2	Leaf 9; fol.9b [r]: P. 9.1	Leaf 10; fol.10a: P.9.2/Blank	Leaf 10; fol.10b [r]: P. 10.1	Leaf 11; fol.11b [r]: P.10.2 / Blank	Leaf 11; fol.11b [r]: Blank	Leaf 12; fol.12a: P. 2.1, v. 2 / Blank	Leaf 12; fol.12b [r]: P. 2.2, v. 2 / Blank
Leaf 13; fol.13a: P. 4.1, v. 2 / Blank	Leaf 13; fol.13b [r]: Ch - P.4.2, v.2 / P. 11.1	Leaf 14; fol.14a: P. 11.2	Leaf 14; fol.14b [r]: P. 11.3	Leaf 15; fol.15b [r]: P. 11.4	Leaf 15; fol.15b [r]: P. 3, v. 2	Leaf 16; fol.16a: Blank Ruled	Leaf 16; fol.16b [r]: Blank Ruled
Leaf 17; fol.17a: Blank Ruled	Leaf 17; fol.17b [r]: Blank Ruled						

Table 5.9: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig* – Layout of the Leaves and Folios, F-C Ms. 1086 (1), Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France; MS c. 1700-1705.

# Enlightening the Unknown Scribal Hand of

## F-C Ms. 1086 (1) - Overview

It has been presumed for some time now that the scribal hand detected in the Carpentras copy of BWV 768<sup>1</sup> is the same as that which appears in three other copies.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the *Plauener-Orgelbuch* of 1708, although more recently the scribe of Carpentras has been detected in this significant, yet lost, document, it is interesting that this detail is not referred to in the most important assessment of this work. This was made by Max Seiffert in 1920, before the destruction of the source at some stage during the Second World War.<sup>3</sup> The Carpentras scribe has also been detected in MS: D war Ms. Q 341b: *Weimarer-Tablaturbuch*. This document is believed to be one the earliest sources to contain the autograph scribal hand of Bach, this being a significant indicator as to the early chronology of the activities of the Carpentras scribe.<sup>4</sup> The available evidence indicates a time-frame for the writing of the copy as being within the first two decades of the eighteenth century. A third, and perhaps most useful, document where concurrence may be witnessed is a copy

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<sup>1</sup> Other than the attributional hands on the title pages.

<sup>2</sup>The *Plauener-Orgelbuch* of 1708 (source destroyed c. 1945), now only available as Photographic record: D-B Fot. Bue 129 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; *Weimarer-Tablaturbuch* (D war Ms. Q 341b); D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966: Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur]. It is interesting also that given its appearance among these four most significant [early?] manuscripts, that the scribe of F-C Ms. 1086 (1) et al. does not appear in either the *Möllersche-Handschrift* or the *Andreas-Bach-Buch*. In these two important early MSS collections, there remain at least 6 unidentified scribes, chiefly SS.1–SS. 6. Future studies may well make a cross comparison between the above mentioned sources here, and these two important sources. It may be probable that the scribe of F-C Ms. 1086 (1), et al., was active in Lüneburg, but not prior, as for example at Ohrdruf from where the other Thuringian-organist based entries in MM and ABB appear to derive. Perhaps the scribe of F-C Ms. 1086 (1) et al., may have been in some way connected with Georg Böhm in Lüneburg, either as a student or copyist? Hill (1991), pp. 24-66. Zehnder (1988).

<sup>3</sup> Seiffert, Max. *Das Plauener-Orgelbuch von 1708* (Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 2. Jahrg., H. 3., (July, 1920), pp. 371-393.

<sup>4</sup> Alongside the Neumeister Collection (LM 4708, 1704?), D-LEb Ms. 8, Faszikel 2: Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur = BWV 966 (c. 1704), and BWV 739/BWV 720.

of BWV 966, a *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*, believed to be a very early work of the young Bach.<sup>5</sup> A cross-comparison assessment of the copies listed here now follows. Whilst all will be considered with equal regard, it is MS: D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966] which will be considered first, where the scribal hand has been identified. The intention is to provide a correct analysis of these early Bach documents, and the close relationships which exist between them. It is also intended to ascertain the correct attribution of the unknown scribe discerned among all four MSS assessed in this part of the study, and to propose an identity for the previously unknown scribe present among the versions.

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<sup>5</sup> D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966, c. 1704]: *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.

The Application of Comparative Document Analysis Techniques to:  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [= BWV 768]; D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966];  
D-B Fot. Bue 129 [= Plauener-Orgelbüch of 1708]; D war Ms. Q 341b:  
[Weimarer-Tablaturbuch]

Conventional analysis techniques have been applied for the past fifty years or so to palaeographic documents where scribal hands may not readily be identified.<sup>6</sup> The use of modern forensic document analysis techniques, those employed as a standard in the scientific practice of the interpretation of comparison and identification methods in handwriting, has begun to focus on the study of early manuscripts. The application of these techniques is aimed at considering historic sources in a fresh light, applying scientific tests in order to more securely assess documents by using analytical techniques. In the realm of Bach studies, two methods have come to the fore in this regard, with an emerging body of extensively peer-reviewed work, which, whether outcomes are agreed upon or not, has certainly contributed to scholarly discourse.<sup>7</sup>

Martin Jarvis has reasonably argued that older techniques, focussing on calligraphic differences alone, are not a totally reliable method of identifying one hand over another, particularly because some copyists, the hands of Bach and Anna Magdalena Bach (1701-1760), for example, portray similarities which may occur for a variety of reasons. An overview of these forensic analysis methods identifies the specific scientific techniques which are applied to the study of handwritten

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<sup>6</sup> Yo Tomita, 'Anna Magdalena as Bach's Copyist', *Understanding Bach*, 2, Bach Network UK (2007), pp. 59-76.

<sup>7</sup> Martin W. B. Jarvis, 'The Application of Forensic Document Examination Techniques to the Writings of J. S. Bach and A. M. Bach', *Understanding Bach*, 3, Bach Network UK (2008), pp. 87-92.

See also: Vitaly Feldman and Matthias Roeder, 'Automated Identification of Scribes via Neural Networks', Graduate Student Conference, Music and its Media, Harvard University, January (2004). Tomita (2007), pp. 59-76.

documents and for the purpose of demonstrating authenticity [of a scribal hand(s)] or otherwise. The method employed in this study has been based on one-hundred years of research and investigation and has established a set of scientific principles which can be used to identify the writer of a suspected or *Questioned Document* [QD].<sup>8</sup> In the instance of the four Questioned Documents considered in the final part of this study,<sup>9</sup> one individual, as yet a not fully-identified scribe, is described in contemporary Bach literature as the copyist of all four documents.<sup>10</sup> However, this has not been evidentially substantiated through modern document analysis tests beyond calligraphic source methods or simple conjecture.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the author of the QDs has never been identified prior to this study, tests having been based upon more traditional methods of musicological document examination. It is therefore the intention of the final part of this thesis to explore these four aforementioned documents, applying handwriting analysis techniques, to see whether such similarities present themselves.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Roy Huber and A. Headrick, *Handwriting Identification: Facts and Fundamentals* (New York: CRC Press, 1999). See also: Bryan Found & Douglas Rogers, 'Documentation of forensic handwriting comparison and identification method: A modular approach' (*Journal of Forensic Document Examination*, 1999), pp. 1-68. See: Jarvis (2008), pp. 87-92.

<sup>9</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1); the *Plauener-Orgelbuch* (c. 1708); Weimarer-Tablaturbuch (D war Ms. Q 341b, c. 1704); D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 (c. 1704) [= BWV 966: *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*].

<sup>10</sup> See Heller, NBA KB V/11. S/ 159f.

<sup>11</sup> In other words, determinations having been made about the authorship of questioned documents, but not having set-out initially from the standpoint of a null hypothesis.

<sup>12</sup> i.e. The identification of similarities in what is presumed to be one scribal hand alone having been copyist for some part or all of the QDs in this study.

## Techniques to be Applied:

“Handwriting & Brain Function: Handwriting is the product of the brain’s control over bodily movements, in particular the translation of movement by the arm and fingers to a writing implement [...] these complex movements stem from ‘motor programs’ or ‘motor memories’ within the brain.”

Bryan Found and Douglas Rogers<sup>13</sup>

Three tools are used in the examination of the documents and the scribes viewed within:

### 1. Habituation:

“The final conclusion of any [...] questioned document [examination] is based on individual habit patterns, and habit patterns can manifest themselves in every aspect of writing [...] As every person has certain habits, so does [s/he] project certain habits when [s/he] puts writing on the paper.”<sup>14</sup>

### 2. Complexity:

“The wide range of variation found for each letter of the alphabet between different writers, the presence in many writings of unusual forms, the number of characters present in writings being compared, means the chances of finding a match between

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<sup>13</sup> Found and Rogers (1999), pp. 1-68. I am indebted to Professor Martin W. B. Jarvis OAM, PhD, for his explanation of the application of these document analysis techniques to the specific nature of questioned Bach-related documentation. CDU, Darwin, NT, Australia, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Of course, in the calligraphic writing of scribes to early manuscripts, further issues are raised by the application of quills, quill types used, sharpening and l.h. / r.h. copying matters. See: D. Williamson, and E. Meenach, *Cross-Check System for Forgery and Questioned Document Examination* (Nelson-Hall, 1981), pp. 2, 51. Source discerned in: Jarvis (2008), pp. 87-92.

all the features in combination must be very remote or impossible.”<sup>15</sup>

### 3. Uniqueness:

“Writing is a conscious act [...] made up of innumerable subconscious habitual patterns or mannerisms. Only one person writes exactly the same way as the writer of the disputed material; this is the cornerstone of every identification.”<sup>16</sup>

Jarvis, in his study on the similarities and dissimilarities between the hand-writing examples of Bach and Anna-Magdalena, outlines the following process for FDE techniques as they are to be applied specifically to early scribal hands in Bach-related QDs. They relate to a significant number of modules which may be applied to Questioned Document(s), as outlined in Found and Rogers<sup>17</sup>, but here are applied more specifically to the scribal hand [W1], and further applied to three Questioned Documents [QDs], where the similar nature of the scribal hand in each has been discerned.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> David Ellen, *The Scientific Examination of Documents* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), p. 45.

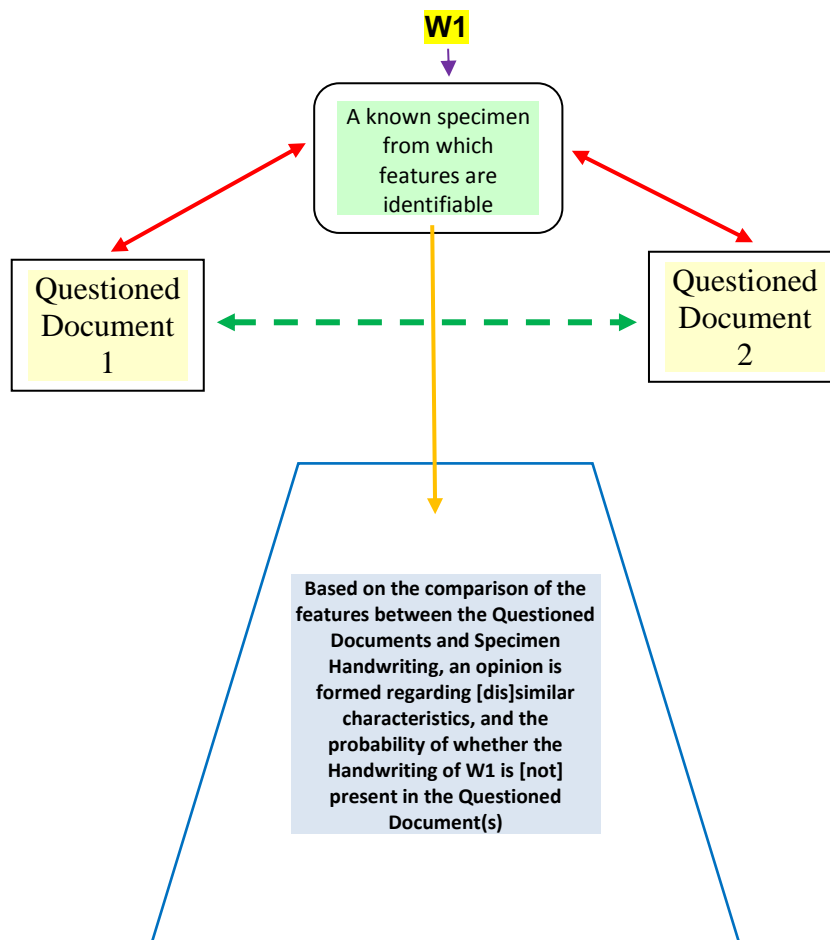
<sup>16</sup> Ordway Hilton, *The Scientific Examination of Questioned Documents* (New York: New York, Elsevier, 1982).

<sup>17</sup> Found and Rogers (1999), pp. 1-68.

<sup>18</sup> Jarvis (2008), pp. 87-92.

## METHOD TO BE APPLIED

Where two or more questioned documents [QD] are available to be compared against the handwriting of one or more known or discernible scribes for incidence of similarity or dissimilarity:









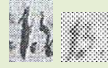




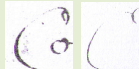

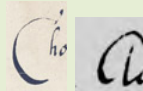
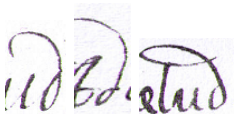







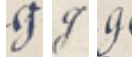
**W1** = D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966: *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*]: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Unknown Scribe - first half of the 18th century ([ca.] 1720-1739)<sup>19</sup>

**QD1** = F-C Ms. 1086 (1): [Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, Provence, France]

**QD2** = D-B Fot. Bue 129 [= Plauener-Orgelbuch of 1708]

**QD3** = D war Ms. Q 341b: [Weimarer-Tablaturbuch]

<sup>19</sup> 1704-1708 (Heller) KB V/11, p. 159f. <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00003381](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003381)> [Accessed: 10 Jan. 2010].

Allograph	W1 = D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]	QD1 = F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705]	QD2 = D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708]	QD3 = D war Ms. Q 341b [Nuremburg, 1704]
1. a				
2. A				
3. B				
4. c				
5. C				
6. d				
7. e				
8. g				




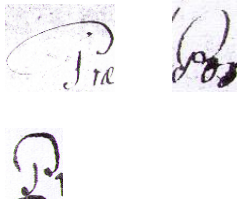


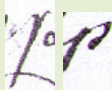

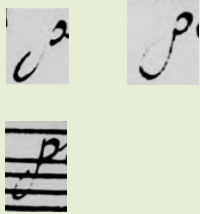




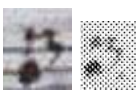
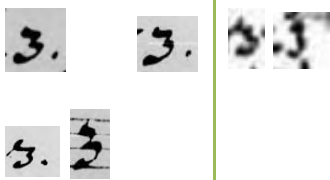

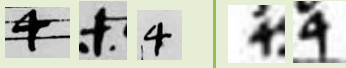
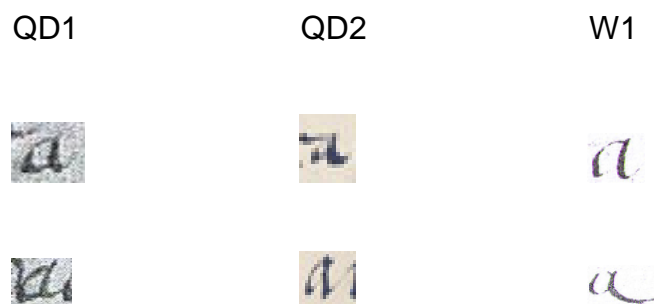
9. h				
10. P				
11. p				
12. 1				
13. 2				
14. 3				
15. 4				

Table 5.10: Comparison of Allograph figures among four MSS.

## Document Analysis and Commentary on Sample Allographs

### 4. Allograph 1: “a”

In this particular case, the specimens of hand-written allographs were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]. Two separate Questioned Documents are considered here, QD 1 and QD 2, which supply the majority of the samples of allograph hand-writing:



Ex. 5.32: Allograph “a” taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

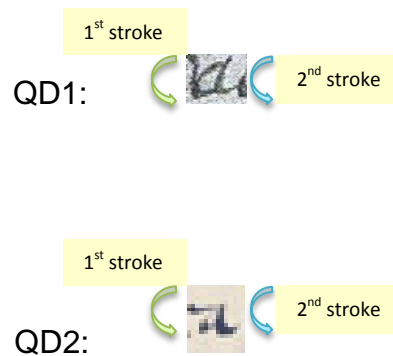
Document Analysis comments on the Allograph “a” comparisons:

It can be seen that there is structural consistency between these examples. The allograph in each is of twofold construction, the first stroke being the semi-circular left-hand loop (the nose), as a down-stroke from top to bottom. The second-figure of the construction is the down-stroke flick of the right-hand side feature of the allograph, which completes “a”:



Ex. 5.33: Hand-writing construction of Allograph “a” taken from W1.

The following example demonstrates the identical hand-written construction strokes of the allograph “a” found consistently throughout QD1 & QD2:



Ex. 5.34: Hand-writing construction of Allograph “a” taken from QD1 & QD2.

The features of the construction of allograph “a” appear consistent between both examples featured from the two Questioned Documents. The writer of the allograph character would appear to be one and the same given the mannerisms of the two-fold construction of the figure. Given that QD1 & QD2 have closely identical construction similarities, I conclude that the allograph “a” discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] and D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708] are entirely consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing, discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], the sample W1 in this case.

##### 5. Allograph 2: “d”

Instances of the allograph figure “d” are now considered. This particular figure displays a very characteristic shape and construction. The specimens of hand-written allographs were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704].

QD1

QD2

W1



Ex. 5.35: Allograph “a” taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

Document Analysis comments on the Allograph “d” comparisons:

There is structural consistency between these examples. The allograph in each is of single construction including where it continues to connect to a further allograph. The single-stroke motion originates from the top of the “nose” feature of the circle, and continues in a sweeping anti-clockwise manner. The conclusion of the character is by means of the upward flick on the right-hand side of the figure, concluding with the characteristic flick to the left and concluding downward curl.

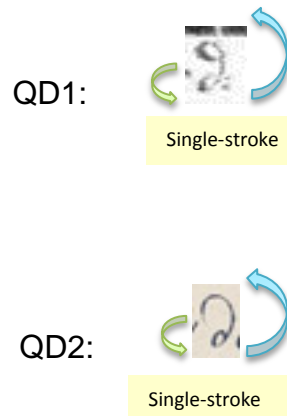
W1:

Single-stroke



Ex. 5.36: Hand-writing construction of Allograph “d” taken from W1.

The following example demonstrates the identical hand-written construction single-stroke of the allograph “d” found consistently throughout QD1 and QD2:



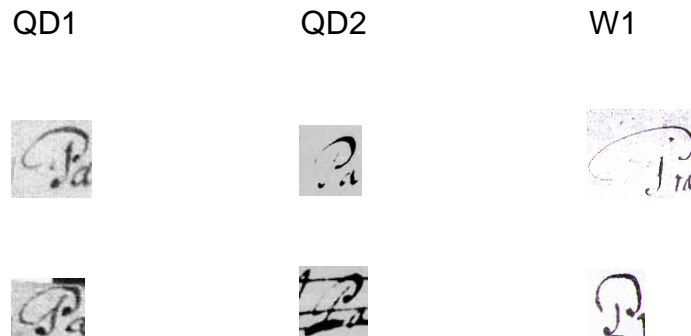
Ex. 5.37: Hand-writing construction of Allograph “d” taken from QD1 & QD2.

The features of the construction of allograph “d” appear consistent between both examples taken from the two Questioned Documents. The writer of the allograph character would appear to be one and the same given the mannerisms of the single-fold construction of the figure. Given that QD1 and QD2 have identical construction similarities, I conclude that the allograph “d” discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] and D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708] are entirely consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing, discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], the sample W1 in this case.

## 6. Allograph 3: “P”

Instances of the allograph figure “P” are considered. This figure once again displays a very characteristic shape and construction. The specimens of hand-

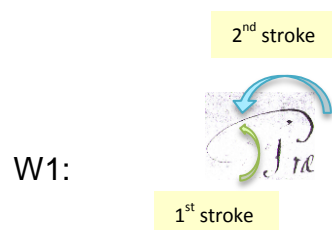
written allographs were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704].



Ex. 5.38: Allograph “P” taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

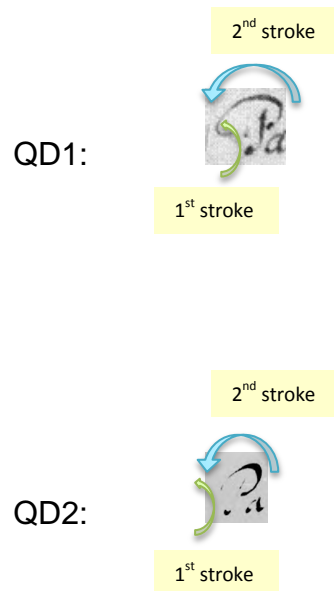
Document Analysis comments on the Allograph “P” comparisons:

It can be seen that there is structural consistency between these examples. The allograph in each is principally of twofold construction (a third underlining-stroke is present in some examples, but appears not to be consistent in the construction of this allograph). The first-stroke begins with the perpendicular (i-stroke) figure, from bottom to top, where the ink present is greater at the base of the figure. The second-stroke, again with ink punctuation, emerges from the right-hand side of the initial stroke, and creates a semi-circular figure across the top of the initial figure, concluding as the ink fades on the centre-left side of the initial figure.



Ex. 5.39: Hand-writing construction of Allograph “P” taken from W1.

The following example demonstrates the identical hand-written construction two-fold stroke of the allograph “P” found consistently throughout QD1 and QD2:

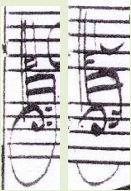
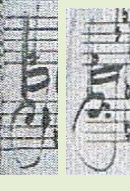
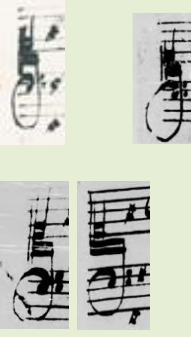
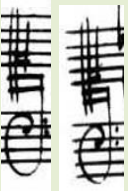
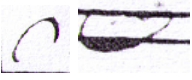

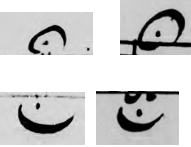
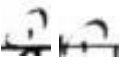
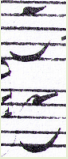
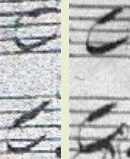


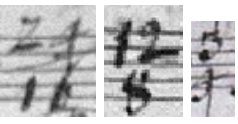
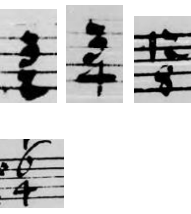
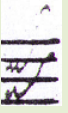

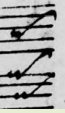


Ex. 5.40: Hand-writing construction of Allograph “P” taken from QD1 & QD2.

The features of the construction of allograph “P” appear consistent between both examples featured from the two Questioned Documents. The writer of the allograph character would appear to be one and the same, given the mannerisms of the two-fold construction of the figure. Given that QD1 and QD2 possess identical construction qualities, I conclude that the allograph “P” discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] and D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708] are consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing, discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], the sample W1 in this case.

## **Conclusion regarding the sample Allograph analysis of the Questioned Documents**

Based on the analysis of the three selected sample-figures of allograph handwriting, and on the balance of probabilities from this, the writer of the figures in both Questioned Documents 1 and 2 appears to be one and the same with the writer of the known sample, W1. After sample analysis of notational and score-based figures below, it will be possible to draw an overall conclusion as to the identity of the scribal source for all of the documents under investigation here.

<b>Notational Fragments</b>	<b>W1</b> = D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]	<b>QD1</b> = F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705]	<b>QD2</b> = D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708]	<b>QD3</b> = D war Ms. Q 341b [Nuremburg, 1704]
1. Staff: soprano  & bass clef				
2. Fermata				
3. Common Time				
4. Time signatures				
5. Segue Marks				

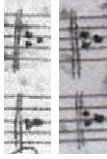




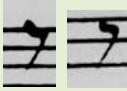





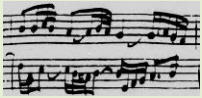
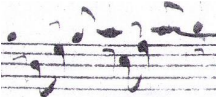
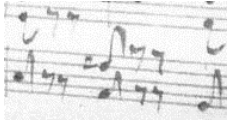




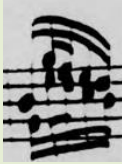


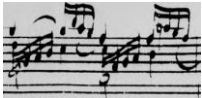
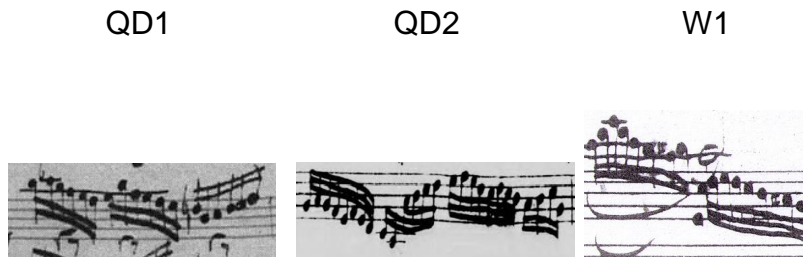
<p>6. Repeat or Double Bars</p>				
<p>7. Rests</p>				
<p>8. Notation</p>				
<p>9. Notation</p>				
<p>10. Notation</p>				
<p>11. Notation</p>				
<p>12. Notation</p>				

Table 5.11: Comparison of Notational figures discerned among four selected MSS.

## Document Analysis and Commentary on Sample Notation

### 7. Notational Sample 1: Semiquaver & Demisemiquaver Notation

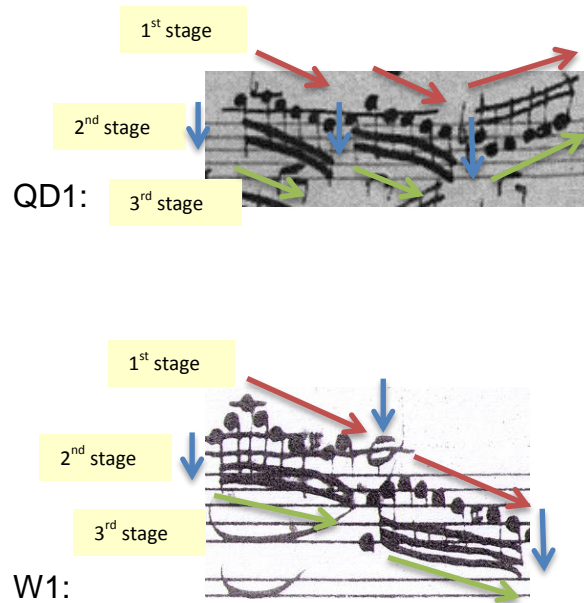
The specimens of hand-written semiquaver and demisemiquaver notation formations were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]. Two separate Questioned Documents are considered here, QD 1 and QD 2:



Ex. 5.41: Notation examples taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

Document Analysis comments on the notation formation comparisons:

A structural consistency exists between these three examples. The notation combination in each is of flexible construction, and appears to display discernible scribal characteristics. Of note is the fluidity of the beams, their insertion appearing to be the secondary phase of writing after the insertion of note values. It would appear that in this instance, QD1 is more closely aligned to the W1, however this does not rule out QD2 in terms of relational proximity to the source for W1.

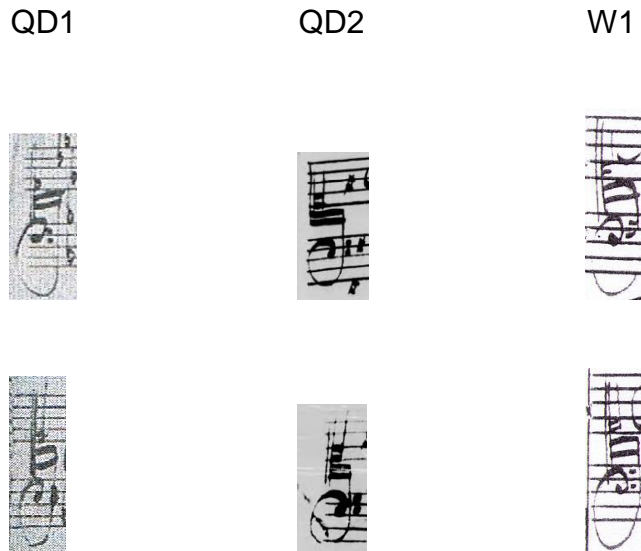


Ex. 5.42: Detailed hand-writing comparison of notation taken from QD1 and W1.

Notation construction between these two examples appears to be consistent. It should be noted that QD2 appears to utilise a slightly thicker quill nib, and a greater volume of ink, but this is apparent throughout the MS, both in notation as well as in other characters. The writers of the notation in at least two of the examples would appear to be strongly related, particularly given the characteristic nature of the reversed note-heads appearing to the left of the beams in the upward semiquaver figures. Given that QD1 and W1 have identical construction similarities, I conclude that the notation discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] is consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing, discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], in this case the sample W1. QD2, whilst it too displays characteristic similarities with QD1 and W1 appears to display features not as closely related as that between QD1 and W1. Further links may be discerned in other sections of the analysis.

## 8. Notational Sample 2: Grand Staff (Soprano & Bass Clef)

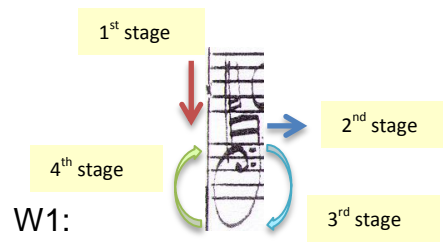
In this case, the specimens of hand-written clef formations were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]. Again two separate Questioned Documents are considered here, QD 1 and QD 2:



Ex. 5.43: clef formations taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

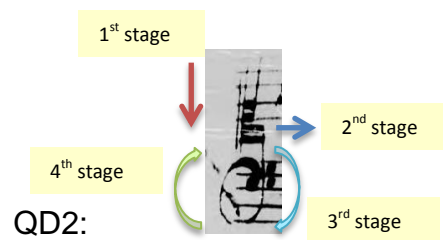
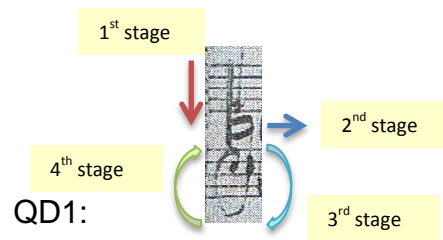
Document Analysis comments on the clef formation comparisons:

A structural consistency exists between these examples. The clef combination in each is of fluid construction, and appears to cover four phases of creation. The commencement of the figure in each case begins with the perpendicular construction of the soprano clef. The secondary strokes are the horizontal lines completing the soprano clef. The penultimate phase of writing is the downward loop from right to left completing the bass clef, with ink punctuation completing the figure. The dual dot figure, characteristic of the completion of the bass clef, is the final scribal signature.



Ex. 5.44: Hand-writing construction of clef formation taken from W1.

The following example demonstrates the identical hand-written construction strokes of the clef formation found consistently throughout QD1 and QD2:

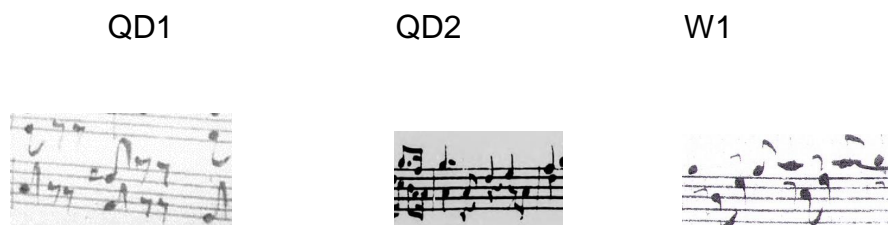


Ex. 5.45: Hand-writing construction of clef formation taken from QD1 and QD2.

The features of the construction of the clefs appear consistent between both examples featured from the two Questioned Documents. It should be noted that QD2 appears to utilise a slightly thicker quill nib, and a greater volume of ink, but this is apparent throughout the MS, both in notational terms, as well as in other characters. The writer of the clef would appear once more to be one and the same, given the mannerisms of the four-fold construction of the figure. Given that QD1 and QD2 have identical construction similarities, I conclude that the clefs discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] and D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708] are consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing, discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], in this case the sample W1.

### 9. Notational Sample 3: Individual Notation Structure Characteristics

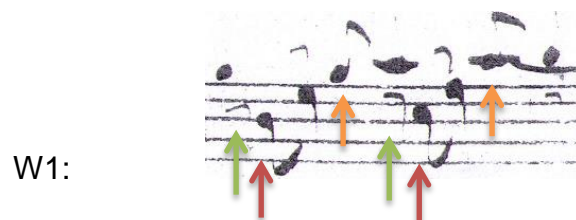
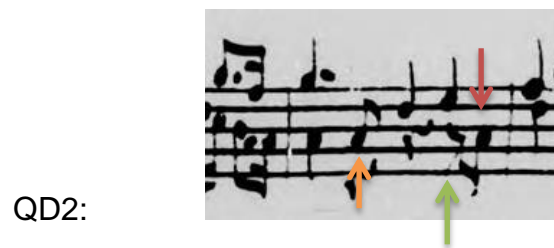
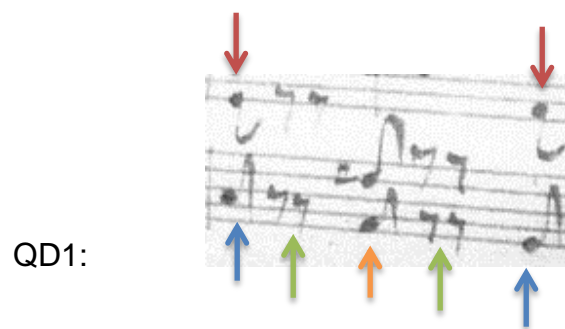
The specimens of hand-written individual notation formations were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]. Two separate Questioned Documents are considered here, QD1 and QD2:



Ex. 5.46: Notation examples taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

Document Analysis comments on the notation formation comparisons:

Structural consistency exists between these three examples. The notation combination in each is of graceful construction, and appears to display discernible scribal characteristics, in particular in the formation of individual quaver characters. Of particular note is the tails of the quaver stems, which appear to indicate regularity in the scribal hand.



Ex. 5.47: Detailed hand-writing comparison of notation taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

Regularity in notation construction between these three examples demonstrates consistency. It should be noted that QD2 appears to utilise a slightly thicker quill nib, and a greater volume of ink, but this is apparent throughout the MS, both in notational terms as well as in other characters. The writers of the notation, in at least two of the examples, would appear to be strongly related, particularly given the characteristic nature of the reversed note-heads appearing to the left of the beams in the upward figures.

Given that QD1 and W1 have identical construction similarities, I conclude that the notation discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] is consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], in this case the sample W1. QD2, whilst it too displays familiar characteristic similarities with QD1 and W1 also appears to display features less closely related than the relationship between QD1 and W1. Might these be developmental changes in the scribal hand? Further links may be discerned in other sections of the analysis, but on the balance of probabilities, the scribe of QD1 and QD2 may both be discerned in the specimen W1.

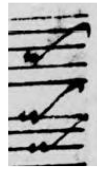
#### 10. Notational Sample 4: Comparative Analysis of Segue Markings

In this particular case, the specimens of hand-written segue markings were taken from a known source, D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704]. Two separate Questioned Documents are considered here, QD1 and QD2:

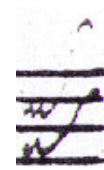
QD1



QD2



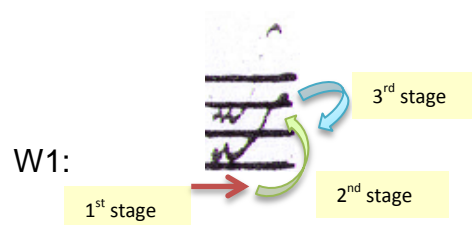
W1



Ex. 5.48: segue formations taken from QD1, QD2 & W1.

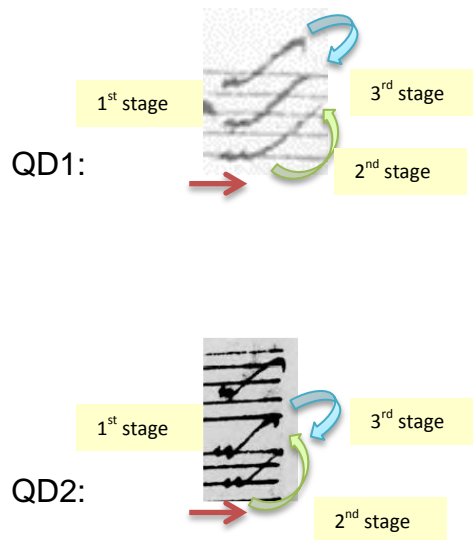
Document Analysis comments on the segue mark formation comparisons:

A structural consistency exists between these examples. The segue mark in each is of fluid construction, and appears to be in two phases of writing. The commencement of the figure in each case begins with the left-hand squiggle, followed by a line of ascent from left to right, culminating in a small downward flick to conclude. The three movements of the single stroke display strong scribal characteristics among all three examples set out here.



Ex. 5.49: Hand-writing construction of segue marks formation taken from W1.

The following example demonstrates the identical hand-written construction strokes of the segue marks formation consistently found throughout QD1 and QD2:



Ex. 5.50: Hand-writing construction of segue marks taken from QD1 & QD2.

The features of the construction of the segue marks appear consistent between both examples featured from the two Questioned Documents. It should be noted that QD2 appears to utilise a slightly thicker quill nib, and a greater volume of ink, but this is apparent throughout the MS, both in notational terms as well as in other characters. Having said this, on this occasion QD2 displays the stronger incidence of similarity with the example W1.

The writer of the segue marks would appear once more to be one and the same given the mannerisms of the three-fold construction of the figure. Given that QD1 & QD2 have identical construction similarities, I conclude that the segue marks discerned in F-C Ms. 1086 (1) [c. 1705] and D-B Fot. Bue 129 [c. 1708] are entirely consistent with that of the known specimen of hand-writing, discerned in the MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [c. 1704], in this case, the sample W1.

## **Conclusion regarding the analysis of the Questioned Documents**

Based on the analysis of the three selected samples of notation-based handwriting, and on the balance of probabilities taken from this, the writer of the figures in both Questioned Documents 1 and 2 appears to be one and the same with the writer of the known sample, W1. Whilst there are certain distinctions present between QD1 and QD2, and their relationship with the authenticated source, W1, the sample analytical assessments of the sources undertaken here point to a balance of probability that a single scribal hand is present in all three specimens.

This conclusion takes into account that, whilst all three sources assessed are in close chronological proximity to each other, other factors are probably responsible for presenting some slight variation in scribal function between them. These include the nib size of quills utilised, the grain of paper employed between the sources, and the thickness and quantity of ink used, differences which are all discernible between the assessed sources. This also is not an exhaustive list of considerations affecting the circumstances of the production of each document, which in many respects are unique to each finished product and the environment in which each was created.

The outcome of the application of these selected forensic document analysis techniques to the samples above, and the broad range of examples chosen from within these sources appears to provide conclusive evidence of the scribal links between the assessed documents. I suggest this finding contributes to the advancement of Bach scholarship, which, overall, has as yet been unable to provide analytically tested proof of scribal links between these significant early manuscripts.

From the analysis presented above, it can now be advanced that the scribal source of the following MSS is strongly consistent with one individual alone:

1. D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966: *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*]: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Previously attributed as “Unknown Scribe - first half of the 18th century ([ca.] 1720-1739)”.<sup>20</sup> Now to be considered as not later than 1705.
2. F-C Ms. 1086 (1): [Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, Provence, France]. Now to be considered as available as a complete copy not later than 1705.
3. D-B Fot. Bue 129 [= *Plauener-Orgelbuch* of 1708]. To be considered as having been in production some years prior, although a compilation of works in at least three distinguishable scribal hands, contains earlier examples of the scribal hand present in the sources listed above – those completed by 1705.
4. D war Ms. Q 341b: [*Weimarer-Tablaturbuch*] – Although not tested in great detail here, this MS is known to be a further source containing incidences of the assessed scribe above, and therefore requires future investigation as to its significance as a scribal source connected to the aforementioned list of MSS above.

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<sup>20</sup> 1704-1708 (Heller), NBA KB V/11, p. 159f <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00003381](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003381)> [Accessed: 10 Jan. 2010].

## Identity of the Scribal Source in the Assessed MSS

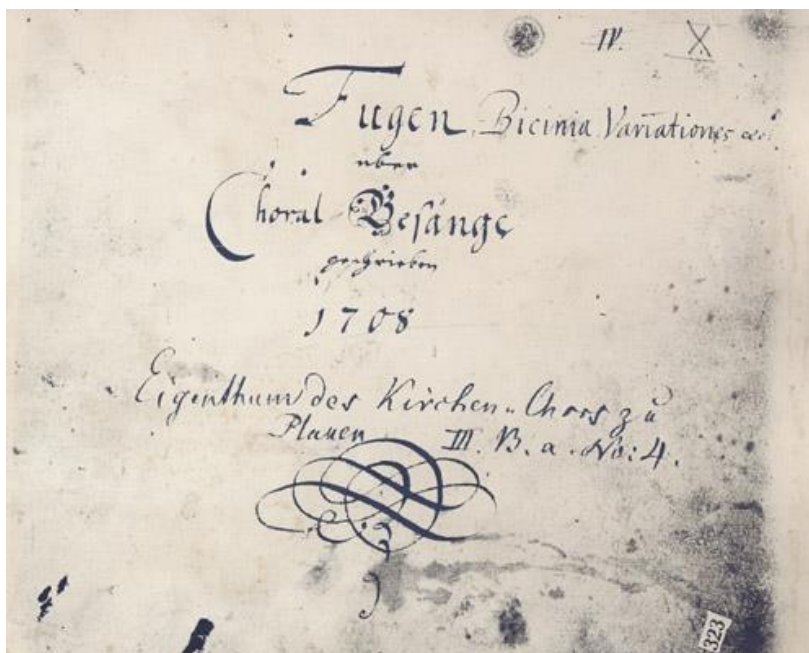


Plate 5.2: Title Page, Plauener-Orgelbuch, 1708 – D-B Fot. Bue 129.

Within the first set of the collection known as the *Plauener-Orgelbuch*, produced in 1708, there are a number of scribal sources from the Thuringian Walther School. Importantly, included are a small number of examples of the scribe present in the other three assessed manuscripts analysed above. The second set of pieces from the same collection, dated c. 1710, contains no further handwriting examples from the source being considered here. The significance of this chronological detail is made clear in the following section, but may be indicative of the death of the scribe having occurred in the interim period between the compilations of the two sets of *Plauener-Orgelbuch*. It is known that the scribe for the complete set of variations forming the Carpentras source of BWV 768<sup>21</sup> has also been identified not only in the Plauener collection, but also in the arranged copy of the Reinken piece, *Praeludium*,

<sup>21</sup> F-C Ms. 1086 (1): [Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, Provence, France].

*Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*, now catalogued as BWV 966.<sup>22</sup> Whilst commentators have previously estimated the Carpentras source as dating from between 1700 and 1719,<sup>23</sup> as well as a more recent critical commentary indicating a date sometime later than this,<sup>24</sup> the above analysis of sources now suggests a much earlier chronology for the complete copy of the piece. The scribal source identified in both the *Plauener-Orgbuch*, as well as the Carpentras MS of BWV 768, may now also be identified as the copyist of BWV 966, an arrangement of a work by Johann Adam Reinken, MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2. The same may also be said of D war Ms. Q 341b: [*Weimarer-Tablaturbuch*], but this has not been explored in great detail in this study, aside from presenting calligraphic scribal examples in the analysis section. The connection of all of these copies with MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 is highly significant. We have in our possession the title page of the BWV 966 MS, and in the same hand as the sources listed above, is a partial signature identifying our unknown scribe, as well as his capitalised initials beneath the signature:

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<sup>22</sup> D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2 [= BWV 966: *Praeludium, Fuga et Alemande. Ex C dur*]: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.

<sup>23</sup> <[http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource\\_source\\_00003627](http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003627)> [Accessed: 10 Jan. 2010]

<sup>24</sup> Jones (2007), pp. 93-96.

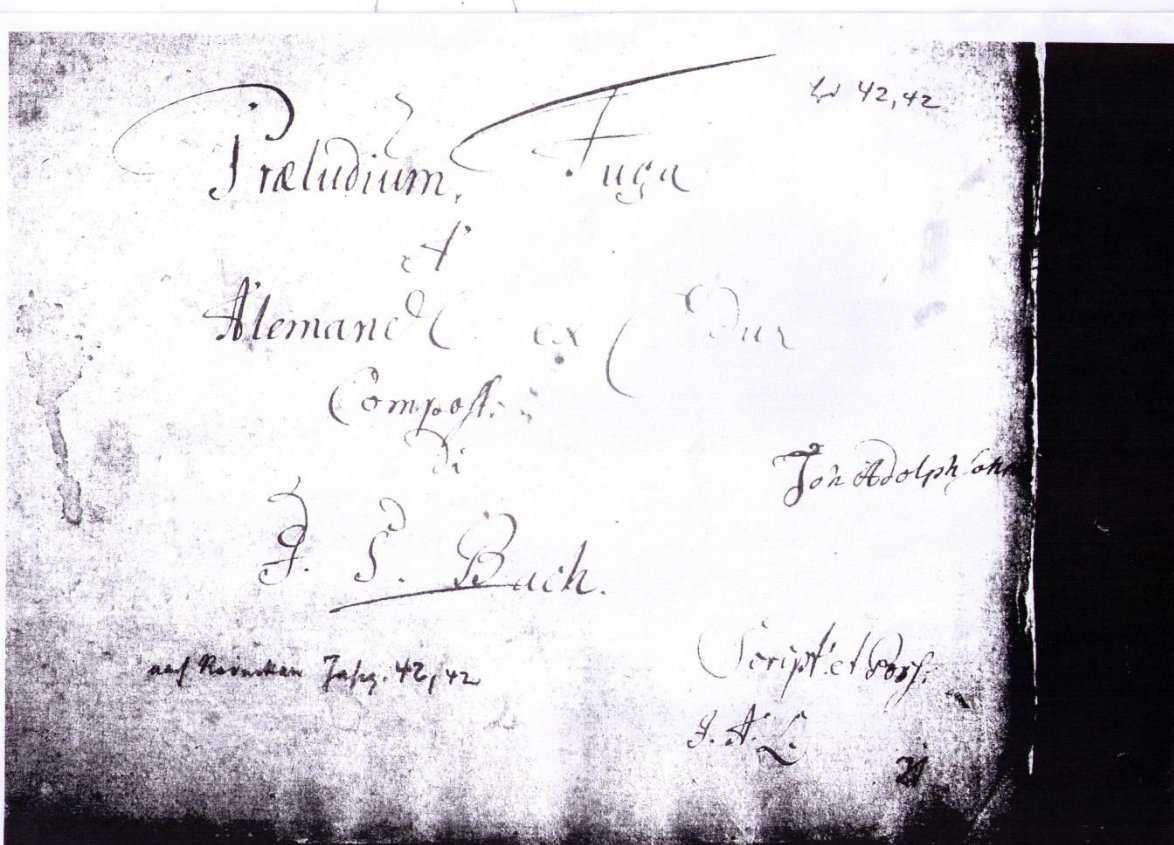
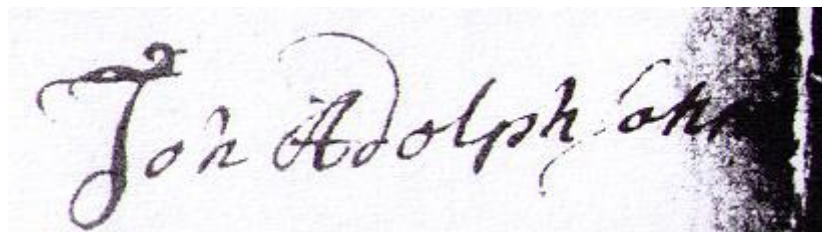


Plate 5.3: Title Page, BWV 966, c. 1704 - MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2.

The document analysis presented in this part of the study has considered scribal examples present in other manuscript copies which are discernible from the scribal hand of this title-page attribution.

Paying close attention to the partial fragment of the signature present, as well as the capitalised initials beneath, the following may be seen:



Ex. 5.51: Scribal signature identified from cover page of MS: D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2.



Ex. 5.52: Scribal capitalised initials identified from cover page of MS: D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2.

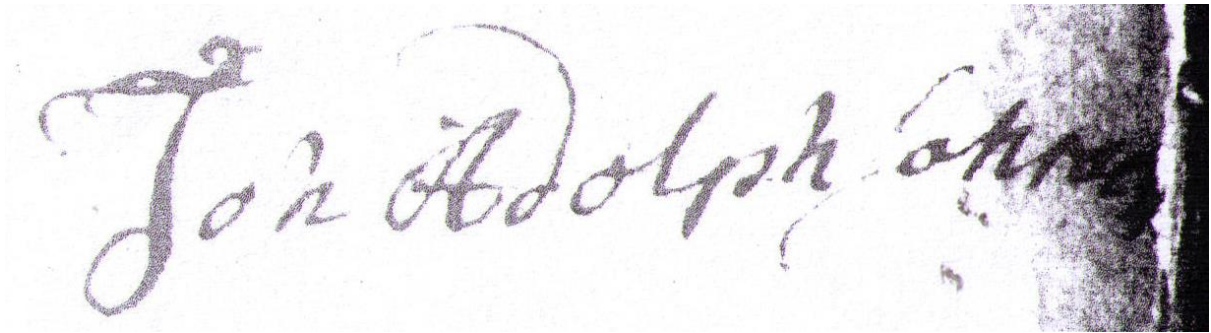
The forenames of the scribe in question most likely indicate attribution to: *Joh.[ann]*  
*Adolph[us]*.

However, the fragment of the surname has led to inconclusive results. Hans-Joachim Schulze has attributed it to “Lohber oder Sohber”.<sup>25</sup> Considering this detail, what may be discerned is that the fourth allograph of the surname does not fit the model of the lower-case “b”, present among our sources, and therefore calls into question the veracity of Schulze’s findings. This leaves only two other possibilities to consider, either that allograph “r” can be seen, or more probably, allograph “n”. A further suggestion has been *Johann Adolph[us] Lohrbe[e]r* as a possible attribution, but no substantive evidence can be provided to determine the existence of such an individual, and neither do the available allographs appear to point to this as a possibility.<sup>26</sup> Closer inspection of the partial fragment of the inscribed surname therefore raises a further more obvious possibility:

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<sup>25</sup> Williams (2003), p. 382.

<sup>26</sup> NBA critical commentaries: V/11, S. 32f. u. 159 and KB V/11, S. 160.



Ex. 5.53: Scribal signature identified from cover page of MS: D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2.



Ex. 5.54: Scribal surname fragment identified from cover page of MS: D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2.

In the case of all four manuscripts which we have considered in this part of the study, sources have categorically reported the dating of each to be between c. 1700-1708, but not beyond. In the case of the MS D war Ms. Q 341b: [*Weimarer-Tablaturbuch*], its provenance from the same period is recorded as having been at Nuernberg [Nuremberg] in 1704. This is highly significant.

Later in his career the organist and composer, Johann [A?] Löhner (1645-1705), was resident in the city of Nuremburg. In 1682, he was appointed organist of the Spitalkirche, and in 1694 at St Lorenz, where he remained until his death on 2 April 1705.<sup>27</sup> Löhner remained active as an organist and writer up to the time of his death at age fifty-nine, and we can presume from this that he could well have been composing and copying at least into the final year of his life. For the eleven-year period when he served as organist in Nuremburg, Bach would have progressed from ages nine to twenty, covering the stages of his time in Ohrdruf, Lüneburg and the first two years at Arnstadt, which this study has identified marked the commencement of his earliest keyboard compositions. We know that the MS F-C Ms. 1086 (1) was a very widely travelled document, and there is no evidence to discount that at some stage, the complete document circulated in Nuremberg, where Pachelbel was based, and where Johann Christoph <sup>(14)</sup> had studied for a time, allowing it to be copied by Johann Löhner. The complete work would have been available to him, prior to, but not after, 2 April 1705. This allows me to conclude that the complete work, BWV 768, had been completed by Bach by the time he was twenty years of age. This study has also produced compelling evidence that the scribal hand of the Carpentras scribe, (Löhner?), is contained within three other manuscripts. All were therefore in production before, but not after, 1705, completed in some cases by other scribes, perhaps following Löhner's death, between 1705 and 1708. As a result of this, it may be that we now have evidence that, by some means, Johann Löhner occupied himself towards the end of his life in the copying (of all four?) of these early Bach-related manuscripts.

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<sup>27</sup> Harold E. Samuel, *Löhner, Johann*, *Grove Music Online*; *Oxford Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/article/grove/music/16885>> [Accessed: 24 Jul. 2011].

## Conclusions

This study has presented a wide-ranging survey of significant details surrounding the early life, education and personal development of Bach. Some of these details have never been fully expressed among the myriad of studies which have picked over the sketchy details of his upbringing and his self-development. This in itself is fascinating, given that he is probably the most researched musician in history.

In the course of my research, I have sought to demonstrate where inaccuracies exist in some of the earliest reports of his life, many of which have understandably arisen as a result of a misreading of some well concealed records which relate to the first twenty years of the musician's life. I have been able to reassess and clarify some of the biographical misinterpretations of Bach's early life and upbringing, providing the most up-to-date assessment of his journey to becoming a self-aware genius towards the end of his adolescent years. Bach, in so many respects, reflects human triumph over adversity. The death of both of his parents so early in his formative years might lead many to wonder how he managed to establish himself as such an informed and capable musician at all. What I have been able to demonstrate is that, through an impartial analysis of all aspects of his youthful development, and a thorough assessment of all of the early biographical sources available, a more representative picture of the first twenty years of the composer's life is now discernible. Many previous commentaries have speculated as to the manner of his early education, which have in the past tended to focus almost exclusively on his links to famous figures with whom he came into contact, chiefly Georg Böhm, Dietrich Buxtehude and Johann Adam Reinken. Whilst the impact of each of these individuals is indeed a crucial factor in his youthful musical progression, this study

provides evidence of the extent to which his own progenitors exerted influence over him before the formation of his relationships with others outside the family.

The early sections of this study provide one of the first available evaluations of Bach's interaction with many members of his highly skilled family. I have carefully charted the considerable extent to which his uncle, Johann Christoph <sup>(13)</sup>, as well as Johann Michael <sup>(14)</sup> and Johann Bernhard <sup>(18)</sup>, inspired Bach to his lifelong relationship with liturgical music in his earliest years. The clarification surrounding details of his early schooling, largely dependent on the reportedly turbulent relationship which existed between Bach and his older brother, Johann Christoph <sup>(22)</sup>, has provided fresh and original details which reveal how the young musician developed rapidly as both an organist and composer. The study also presents evidence of the significance of the time Bach spent in Lüneburg, and confirms the extent to which, through his own personal tenacity and labour, he established himself as a highly proficient organist and composer even before he turned twenty years of age. The connections which he forged in Lüneburg and farther afield, often involving considerable journeys on foot to visit great figures of the day whilst still an adolescent, now make it possible to see the extent to which he was able to master the early keyboard styles. This was chiefly demonstrated through his choral variation sets. A study of these works, in particular through this study's examination all of the available sources for these early manuscripts, has revealed important details about the chronology of Bach's chorale variations. The systematic analysis of the chorale partita BWV 768, and the fresh examination of the rarely considered manuscript, F-C Ms. 1086 (1), has revealed many details about this piece, as well as providing the most recent original analysis of the genre. The final part of this study applies a range of specimen document analysis tests to a specific scribal hand, previously

unidentified, but which has long been known to be connected with at least four very early Bach-related manuscripts, and yet whose identity has never fully been determined.

In conclusion, I now believe that Bach's composition BWV 768, was written in entirety prior to 1705. I have been able to demonstrate this by revealing his ability to write such an extensive and complex piece of music as a young man. I would argue this was inspired by his youthful interest in the genre, through the music he was studying, and his access to instruments with the necessary resources. My research has illuminated the influences that made this type of composition interesting for him to write in his adolescent years. Furthermore, assessment of Bach's education in Ohrdruf and Lüneburg has revealed that in both cases he had at his disposal instruments which would have suited his interest in the partita model of composition. Finally, through careful analysis and examination of a wide range of sources and scribes, I have advanced the probability that the primary source of the complete piece, BWV 768, is in the hand of one of the earliest identifiable copyists of Bach's music. I have been able to point to evidence of the presence of this scribal hand previously undiscerned fully in any other study. I reveal evidence of how his hand appears in at least three other critical Bach manuscripts, all of which can now be dated not after 1705. At this time, Bach would have been twenty years of age. As a result, our appreciation and understanding of his abilities as a fully mature composer in his earliest years has been advanced.

# Appendix 1

## List of Plates:

### Part 1:

Plate 1.1: Genealogical Tree of the Extended Bach Family; Carrus-Verlag Stuttgart, 1999:  
<http://www.carus-verlag.com/images-intern/img/Stammbaum.jpg>

Plate 1.2: Title-Page - BWV 768 *Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig*; F-C Ms. 1086 (1)  
Bibliothèque-Musée *Inguimbertain*, Ville de Carpentras, Provence, France

### Part 2:

Plate 2.1: Johann Christoph Bach <sup>(13)</sup> (1642-1703);  
[http://musik.freepage.de/cgi-bin/feets/freepage\\_ext/339483x434877d/rewrite/jsbach/grafik/Johann-Christoph-Bach.jpg](http://musik.freepage.de/cgi-bin/feets/freepage_ext/339483x434877d/rewrite/jsbach/grafik/Johann-Christoph-Bach.jpg)

Plate 2.2: Denkmal zu Ehren von Johann Michael Bach <sup>(14)</sup> (1648-94), Gehren

Plate 2.3: Contemporary Plate of Ohrdruf; <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~tas3/ohrdruf.gif>

Plate 2.4: Ohrdruf-Kirchstrasse; [http://www.deutsche-schutzgebiete.de/webpages/Ohrdruf\\_Kirchstrasse+.jpg](http://www.deutsche-schutzgebiete.de/webpages/Ohrdruf_Kirchstrasse+.jpg)

Plate 2.5: St. Michael's Church, Ohrdruf; source: [www.musicologie.org/Biographies/bach\\_js.html](http://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/bach_js.html)

Plate 2.6: Die Stadtkirche (St. Michael) von Ohrdruf lag nicht weit vom Schloss der Hohenlohe;  
<http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/sixcms/media.php/25/Ohrdruf2.9364.jpg>

### Part 3:

Plate 3.1: Interior (Eastward), St. Michael's Church, Lüneburg – Hauptorgel and Rückpositiv on extreme left;  
Painting by Joachim Burmester (c. 1700); Museum für das Fürstentum Lüneburg  
[http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/popup\\_fig/img/grove/music/F003698](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/subscriber/popup_fig/img/grove/music/F003698)

Plate 3.2: Interior (Eastward), St. Michael's Church, Lüneburg – close detail of the Hauptorgel and Rückpositiv;  
Painting by Joachim Burmester (c. 1700); Museum für das Fürstentum Lüneburg

Plate 3.3: Fol. 49/11, Fascicle I, Weimar Organ Tablature, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar

Plate 3.4: Façade, Hauptorgel, Lüneburg, Ev.-Luth. Kirche. St. Johannis

Plate 3.5: Johann Adam Reinken (1623-1722)

Plate 3.6: Inscription on MS held in the image by Buxtehude: *In hon[orem]: Dit. Buxtehude et Joh. Adam Reink. fraters*; oil painting by Jan Voorhout (c. 1674)

Plate 3.7: Organist and Calcanten, from: "*L'Art du Facteur D'Orgues*", Dom Bedos de Celle, Paris 1766

Plate 3.8: *Sunday in a Swedish Church*, c.1860. Bengt Nordenburg

Plate 3.9: Katholischen-Stadtkirche-St. Alexander, Rastatt. Reconstruction of the wind system of the Stieffell-  
Orgel, Photographic image, 2007

Plate 3.10: Interior, Neuekirche-Arnsatdt

Plate 3.11: Dietrich Buxtehude, in rare contemporary portrait  
<http://www.muslib-sl.info/Images/DietrichBuxtehude.jpg>

Plate 3.12: Signature, Dietrich Buxtehude.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Buxtehude\\_Signature.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Buxtehude_Signature.jpg)

Plate 3.13: Lübeck-Ratskirche: Marienkirche

Plate 3.14: Lübeck-Marienkirche: Main Organ from 1516-18, renovated by Friedrich Stellwagen 1637-1641

Plate 3.15: Lübeck- Marienkirche: *Totentanz* (Dance of Death) Organ: From 1475-1477, renovated by Friedrich  
Stellwagen 1653-1655

## **Part 5:**

Plate 5.1: BWV 768 Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüßet, Jesu Gütig:*

Title Page: F-C MS 1086 (1), France: Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine

Plate 5.2: Title Page, *Plauener-Orgelbuch*, 1708 – D-B Fot. Bue 129

Plate 5.3: Title Page, BWV 966, c. 1704-1708 - MS D-LEb Ms. 8, fascicle 2

## Appendix 2

### List of Musical Examples:

#### Part 2:

Ex. 2.1: *Der Gerechte, ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt*: motet for five voices. Johann Christoph Bach <sup>(13)</sup> (1642-1703), Soprano part, 1 page, in the hand of Johann Sebastian Bach

Ex. 2.2: Five-part texture in Variation 15 (chromatic): *Aria, a* [15 variations]; ed. G. Birkner (Zürich, 1973)

Ex. 2.3: Final Bar in Variation 15: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940)

Ex. 2.4: Final Bar in Variation 15: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Ex. 2.5: First Bar fragment of section B from Variation 15: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940)

Ex. 2.6: First Bar fragment of section B from Variation 15: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Ex. 2.7: Variation 15 complete: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940)

Ex. 2.8: Variation 15 complete: *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Ex. 2.9: Variation 9 complete (chromatic texture): *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940)

Ex. 2.10: Variation IX complete (chromatic texture): *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Ex. 2.11: Five-part texture on chords i & ii, bar 6, Variation 9 (chromatic): *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940)

Ex. 2.12: Five-part texture of chords i & ii, bar 6, Variation 9 (chromatic): *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Ex. 2.13: Five-part texture in final bar, Variation 9 (chromatic): *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690, D-Elb (facs., Leipzig, 1992); ed. C. Freyse, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jg.xxxix/2 (1940)

Ex. 2.14: Five-part texture in final bar, Variation 9 (chromatic): *Aria Eberliniana* [15 variations], hpd/orgn, 1690; ed. G. Birkner (Zürich, 1973), Edition Brietkopf

Ex. 2.15: Five-part texture in Variation 15 (chromatic): *Aria, a* [15 variations]; ed. G. Birkner (Zürich, 1973)

Ex. 2.16: Chorale *Wir Christenleut* (BWV 612) from *Orgelbuchlein*, where Bach's use of keyboard tablature saves MS space; [www-personal.umich.edu/.../bwv612-tablature.jpg](http://www-personal.umich.edu/.../bwv612-tablature.jpg)

### Part 3:

Ex. 3.1: Fol. 49/11, Fascicle I, Weimar Organ Tablature, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar;  
Page 1 of Chorale Prelude *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* by J.A. Reinken  
MS in tablature notation allegedly in the hand of Bach

Ex. 3.2: Fol. 49/11, Fascicle I, Weimar Organ Tablature, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar;  
Page 2 of Chorale Prelude *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* by J.A. Reinken  
MS in tablature notation allegedly in the hand of Bach

Ex. 3.3: BWV 768a Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Opening Chorale Statement (four-part harmony with passing quavers), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P802, Department of Music, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Lukturbesitz

Ex. 3.4: BWV 768 Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*. Alternative version of opening chorale statement (four-part harmony with passing quavers). F-C Ms. 1086 (1), France Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine

Ex. 3.5: BWV 768a Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*. Fragment of Variatio 1, *eloquent line expansions, which are rich in the demisemiquaver divisions*. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P802, Department of Music, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Lukturbesitz

Ex. 3.6: BWV 768 Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*. Alternative version of Partita 1 (Two-part Bicinium) F-C Ms. 1086 (1), France Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine

Ex. 3.7: Partita 1 – Opening statement of principal theme, from Partita diverse sopra L'Aria *Schweigt mir von Weiber nehmen altrimente chiamata La Mayerin*; Johann Adam Reinken (1643-1722); Source: Public Domain

Ex. 3.8: Variation 15 (Concluding four-part harmonised statement of theme with quaver passing notes); *Aria Eberliniana pro Dormente Camillo Variata*; Presumed c.1690, Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703); Neue Bachgesellschaft, 1992

Ex. 3.9: Variation 15 (Concluding four-part harmonised statement of theme with passing notes); *Aria Eberliniana pro Dormente Camillo Variata*; Presumed c.1690, Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703), ed. Pieter Dirksen, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002 (Edition Breitkopf 8730)

Ex. 3.10: Opening statement of principal theme, from Chorale-Versus *Gelobet Seist du, Jesu Christ*; Georg Böhm (1661-1733); Source: Public Domain

Ex. 3.11: BWV 768a Chorale Partita *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* –  
Fragment of Variatio 1, *eloquent line expansions, which are rich in the demisemiquaver divisions*. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P802, Department of Music, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Lukturbesitz

Ex. 3.12: Versus 1, Choral Partita *Vater unser in Himmelreich* – George Böhm (1661-1733). Source: Public Domain

Ex. 3.13: J.S. Bach: Toccata in E major BWV 566 pre-1705? bb. 16-19;  
Arrows denoting pedal notes which could not have been performed at the Lübeck-Marienkirche pre-1733

Ex. 3.14: J.S. Bach: Toccata in E major BWV 566 pre-1705? bb. 20-22;  
Arrows denoting pedal notes which could not have been performed at the Lübeck-Marienkirche pre-1733

Ex. 3.15: J.S. Bach: Fugue in E major BWV 566 pre-1705? bb. 73-75;  
Arrows denoting pedal notes which could not have been performed at the Lübeck-Marienkirche pre-1733

## Part 4:

Ex. 4.1: Plauener-Orgelbuch 1708, Fol. 1 r: Title Page; Plauener-Orgelbuch, Fol. 2 r: Choralsatz *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*. [http://www.sim.spk-berlin.de/bildergalerie\\_photokopiensammlung\\_693.html](http://www.sim.spk-berlin.de/bildergalerie_photokopiensammlung_693.html)

Ex. 4.2: Tablature Notation: *Gottes Sohn ist komen*: D WRa MS Q341b: Weimarer-Tabulaturbuch (Nuremberg 1704), Weimar, Herzogin-Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek

Ex. 4.3: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Partita 7 (Darmstadt D-DS Mus. Ms. 73)

Ex. 4.4: Melody: *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Anonymous, circa. 1568

Ex. 4.5: Copy of: BWV 906/1: *Fantasia* [and *Fugue* in C minor] (fugue fragmentary); Scribe: J.C. Graupner (c. 1720-39, possibly earlier); D-DS Mus. Ms. 70, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets - und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.6: Copy of Chorale-Partita BWV 766 - *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Partita III: “*Satan’s Wiles*”; Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.7: BWV 766 - Chorale Harmonisation: *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Bach: Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851-1900) Band 39, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1892). Plate B.W. XXXIX.

Ex. 4.8: Title Page and Chorale Harmonisation, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.9: Reproduction of Chorale-Partita BWV 766 - *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag* – Partita 5:  
*Sure, 'tis Thy heart's most precious Blood, Has won our souls Thy brotherhood,  
And so indeed the Father meant, Ere to our world Thyself He sent.*  
Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.10: Final two-bars, Partita 2, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*Nor be by Satan's wiles opprest.* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.11: bb. 3-6, Partita 3, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*E'en though our weary eye-lids fall, O keep our hearts true to Thy call;* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c.  
1706-09); D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und  
Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.12: bb. 9-10, Partita 3, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*Above us stretch Thy sheltering hand;* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.13: bb. 6-10; 12-16, Partita 4, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*Gains Satan's cunning help afford, May he whose fell hosts camp around, Ne'er drag us with him to the ground;*  
Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.14: bb. 15-16, Partita 6, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*From Satan's lures we find sure rest.* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.15: Final Statement, Partita 2, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
*O dearest Lord, e'er guard our sleep, From foes' assault our slumbers keep, And let us find in The our rest, Nor*  
*be by Satan's wiles opprest.* Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.16: bb. 10-21, Partita 7, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
Scribe: Johann Christoph Graupner (c. 1706-09);  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.17: Title Attribution, BWV 766 – *Christ, der du bist der Helle Tag*  
Variation 7:  
*Manualiter di Giov. Bart. / Bast. Bach:* Scribe c. 1706-09: Johann Christoph Graupner (1683-1760)  
D-DS Mus. Ms. 73, Darmstaedter Landgraefliche Hofbibliothek - Darmstadt, Universitaets- und Landesbibliothek,  
Musikabteilung

Ex. 4.18: Melody: *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Anonymous, circa. 1630-46

Ex. 4.19: Chorale Harmonisation: *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp and Bach,  
C.P.E.; (Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X

- Ex. 4.20: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Initial Chorale-Harmonisation
- Ex. 4.21: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Partita 2: *Bicinia*
- Ex. 4.22: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Partita 2: *Bicinia* [conclusion]
- Ex. 4.23: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Partita 2: *Bicinia* [conclusion]
- Ex. 4.24: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Partita 3: *Rectus/Inversus* [Sect. A]
- Ex. 4.25: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott* – Partita 4: *Perpetuum Mobile*
- Ex. 4.26: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Partita 3: *Perpetuum Mobile*; F C MS 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.27: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: Partita 3 - *Perpetuum Mobile*
- Ex. 4.28: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 5, bb. 1-5
- Ex. 4.29: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: Variation 4, bb. 1-5
- Ex. 4.30: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 6, bb. 1-2
- Ex. 4.31: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: Variation 6, bb. 1-3
- Ex. 4.32: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 6, bb. 6-8
- Ex. 4.33: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: Variation 6, bb. 7-9
- Ex. 4.34: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 767 – *O Gott, du frommer Gott*: Partita 6, bb. 12-14
- Ex. 4.35: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*": Variation 6, bb. 13-15
- Ex. 4.36: BWV 739: Chorale-Fantasia *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* [a 2 clav. Ped.]: Page 5  
D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 488: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz
- Ex. 4.37: Chorale Harmonisation *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp & Bach, C.P.E.; (Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X
- Ex. 4.38: Extract from: Partita *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig*.  
Partita 1 – Georg Böhm (1661-1730) [modern reproduction]
- Ex. 4.39: Extract from: Partita *Werder munter, mein Gemüte*.  
Partita 3 - c. 1683 – Johann Pachelbel [modern reproduction]
- Ex. 4.40: Extract from: BWV 770 - Partita *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?*  
Partita 1 – Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) [modern reproduction]
- Ex. 4.41: Extract from BWV 770: Partita *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen?*  
Variation 2 [modern reproduction]

Ex. 4.42: Extract from: BWV 989 - Partita *Aria variata alla maniera Italiana*: Var. 4; Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910)  
Ed. Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 36. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890. Plate B.W. XXXVI

Ex. 4.43: Melody: Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr'  
Plainsong *Gloria*, adapted Nikolaus Decius (1485-p.1546), c. 1525-1539

Ex. 4.44: Chorale Harmonisation: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp

Ex. 4.45: Chorale Harmonisation: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* [bars 1-10] – Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706)

Ex. 4.46: Extract from: BWV 771 - Partita *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'*, Variatio III [bars 1-11]  
Andreas Nicolaus Vetter (1666-1734) / Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) [modern reproduction]

Ex. 4.47: Chorale Harmonisation: *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* [bars 26-35] – Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706)

Ex. 4.48: Melody: Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig  
Attributed to Gottfried Vopelius (1645-1715), c. 1682

Ex. 4.49: BWV 499: From the Schemelli Gesangbuch (No. 293), Leipzig, 1736; NBA No. 22

Ex. 4.50: Chorale Harmonisation: *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Ed. Kirnberger, Johann Philipp & Bach, C.P.E.  
(Ed. 1, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784-1788), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1878). Plate V.A. X

Ex. 4.51: Ex. 4.110: BWV 768 – Chorale Partita + 4 Variata: *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Initial Chorale  
Harmonization. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Ex. 4.52: Ex. 4.111: Ruled AMS page and Title attributions: *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig od. [oder] O Jesu du Edle  
Gabe*. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 802 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Ex. 4.53: Ciaccona sopr'l Canto fermo *O Jesu du Edle Gabe* bb. 1-28  
Max Seiffert (1868-1948) Ed. Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst (1892–1962), 1. Folge; 26, 27.  
BD Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906. Plate D.d.T. XXVI.XXVI

Ex. 4.54: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Initial Chorale Harmonisation  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France

Ex. 4.55: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Initial Chorale Harmonization.  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain

Ex. 4.56: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 1: *Bicinium*  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France

Ex. 4.57: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 2:  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France

Ex. 4.58: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 2:  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL

Ex. 4.59: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 2:  
[concluding bars]: F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Bibliotheque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras, France

- Ex. 4.60: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – [ordered Partita 3 a 2 Clav.]: *Perpetuum Mobile*; F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.61: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – alternate version: [Partita 3]: *Perpetuum Mobile*; F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.62: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation III – *Perpetuum Mobile*  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.63: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 4]:  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.64: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 4]: bb. 5 & 12  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.65: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 4]: bb. 1, 7 & 12<sup>2</sup>  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.66: BWV 599: *Nun Komm der heiden Heiland*, bb. 5-7 - D B Mus. ms. Bach P 283 (c. 1713-1714)  
AMS: Johann Sebastian Bach Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz [& Modern Reproduction]
- Ex. 4.67: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 4]: bb. 13-14  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.68: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 5]: bb. 1-10<sup>1</sup>  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.69: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 6]: Complete  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.70: Examples of Pedal-Part Pre-requisite: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 6]: bb. 2, 6, 7-8; F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.71: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 7, b. 6 – *Fantasia quasi Toccata* [modern reproduction]: Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.72: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation VII, bb. 15-16 – *Fantasia quasi Toccata* [modern reproduction]: Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.73: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 7: *cantus firmus*, bb. 1-4<sup>1/2</sup> – *Fantasia quasi Toccata*: [modern reproduction] Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.74: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 7] bb. 13-16  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France

- Ex. 4.75: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 8] bb. 1-5<sup>1</sup>  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.76: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 8, bb. 1-4 – *Trio* [modern reproduction]  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.77: BWV 655 – Trio-Super: *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*, bb. 1-7 [modern reproduction]  
Rust, Wilhelm (1822–1892) Ed., Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 25 Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878. Plate B.W. XXV. Public Domain
- Ex. 4.78: BWV 655 – Trio-Super: *Allein Gott, in der Höh sei 'her*, bb. 1-6 [modern reproduction]  
Rust, Wilhelm (1822–1892) Ed., Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 25 Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878. Plate B.W. XXV. Public Domain
- Ex. 4.79: Extract from Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 8] concluding bars. F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.80: BWV 720 – Chorale-Fantasia: *Ein' Feste burg ist unser Gott*, c. 1700-1719 [modern reproduction]. Ernst Naumann (1832–1910) Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, (1893), plate B.W. XL
- Ex. 4.81: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation VIII: conclusion – *Trio* [modern reproduction].  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.82: Fantasia-Ionian [modern reproduction] - Jan-Pieterzoon Sweelinck  
Max Seiffert (1868-1948) *Werken van Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, Vol. 1 Martinus Nijhoff / Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894, 1943. (revised, expanded edition) New York: Dover Publications, 1985 (reprint of 1943 ed.)
- Ex. 4.83: BWV 684 – Chorale-Prelude: *Christ, unser Herr, zun Jordan kam*, bb. 7-15 [modern reproduction]. Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–1877) Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (1851–1900), Band 3, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1853. Plate B.W. III.
- Ex. 4.84: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 9: bb. 1-8 – *cantus firmus in tenor* [modern reproduction]. Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL
- Ex. 4.85: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 9: bb. 5-8; 13-16; 25-28 – *cantus firmus in tenor* to e<sup>b1</sup> [modern reproduction]. Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.86: Chorale-Partita BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig*: [Partita 8]  
F-C Ms. 1086 (1): Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras, France
- Ex. 4.87: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 8-9 – *pedal motives* [modern reproduction].  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain
- Ex. 4.88: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 15-20 – development of pedal motive;  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL
- Ex. 4.89: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 23-27<sup>1</sup> – development of pedal motive;  
Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL

Ex. 4.90: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 100-104 – development of pedal motive; Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL

Ex. 4.91: BWV 768 – *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 59-72 – [modern reproduction]. Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain

Ex. 4.92: *Sei Gegrüsset, Jesu Gütig* – Variation 10: bb. 1-30 – accompaniment in l.h. & ped. [modern reproduction]; Naumann, Ernst (1832–1910), Ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. (1893). Plate B.W. XL Public Domain

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