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GERHARD HERZ

BACH SOURCES IN AMERICA

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SHELDON SOFFER, *Administrative Director*
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Preface

The publication of this issue of the *American Choral Review* was announced in a previous issue (Vol. XXIV, Nos. 2 and 3, *From Schütz to Schubert: Essays on Choral Music – A Festschrift)* and its manuscript was received by the editor with the warm personal thanks that went to all contributors of the *Festschrift* observing his dual anniversary.

At the time the earlier issue went to press, the American Chapter of the *Neue Bachgesellschaft* held its third national meeting, which the author, one of the foremost American Bach scholars, attended, although this meant postponing a cataract operation. It is characteristic of the indomitable spirit of Gerhard Herz that his Bach research continued with the most admirable results even under the most adverse circumstances.

While the work on this study had to be postponed, its completion, nevertheless, proved to be early — it was finished before the international trade inflicted changes on the picture of American holdings in Bach sources which, on the basis of material supplied by the author, are summarized below:

The Hinrichsen Collection of Bach autographs was offered for auction sale by the firm of Sotheby's, London, on November 11, 1982. Sales were negotiated on this date for the original scores of BWV 20 and 113, as well as for the original parts of BWV 168, 176, and 187. Sold at about the same time, though not by Sotheby's, were: BWV 114 (score) and BWV 174 (thirteen parts). Three of these manuscript sets remained in the United States, namely, the parts for BWV 176 and 187 (in the possession of William H. Scheide, Princeton) and the parts of BWV 174 (in the possession of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, Berea, Ohio).

The parts for BWV 168 were not sold and remained in the estate of Robert Harris (formerly Robert Hinrichsen), London. The score of BWV 114 is now in private possession — apparently not accessible to the public — in Switzerland. The score of BWV 2 is at present owned by Mrs. Max Hinrichsen, London. The scores for BWV 20 and BWV 113 were acquired by the manuscript dealers Albi Rosenthal (of Otto Haas in London) presumably for the *Staatsbibliothek* in West Berlin and by Hans Schneider (Tutzing, near Munich) apparently for a South-German private collector.

The recent developments reported here did not affect the publication of Dr. Herz's comprehensive catalogue, *Bach Sources in America* — a project embodying many years of thorough investigation — to be issued by Bärenreiter, Kassel, for the manuscript of this significant contribution to Bach scholarship had gone into production prior to the auction date.

The *American Choral Review* owes a great debt of gratitude not only to the author, but also to Bärenreiter Verlag, for it is through their gracious permission that the present volume could be published as a preview of Dr. Herz's larger work. The Bärenreiter publication was planned in anticipation of the Bach Tercentenary in 1985 and will become available with both German and English texts in 1984.

A.M.

Bach Sources in America

America owns more autograph manuscripts and other primary Bach sources than exist anywhere else outside of Bach's homeland, now East and West Germany. These Bach treasures are dispersed throughout the United States. They can be found in thirty-one different places, from the Library of Congress in the South to Harvard University in the North and Stanford University in the West. Most of them are known only to a handful of Bach scholars. They have not yet been catalogued and made known to a wider public, although they constitute a priceless and unique humanistic legacy of our country.

America has become the home of at least eighteen autograph manuscripts, fifty-five original performing parts and other autograph writings, such as letters, receipts, a signature as well as a portrait of the composer painted from life, and Bach's own Bible. The gathering of these American Bach sources in one volume that will be illustrated by reproductions of their most representative pages and will include the often fascinating stories of their provenance might well appear as one of the most urgent indigenous scholarly contributions the eleven-year-old American Chapter of the most distinguished Bach organization can make to its almost eighty-three-year-old parent society, the *Neue Bachgesellschaft.*[1]

Most formidable among the American Bach sources are the autograph scores of church cantatas that have found their way to the United States. Slightly less than one-half of Bach's 194 extant authentic church cantatas have come down to us in the ideal form of both autograph score and original performing parts. While some fifty of the original sets of parts of the church cantatas are apparently lost forever, about 140 of them have survived, most of them in the two *Staatsbibliotheken* in East and West Berlin as well as in the *Bach-Archiv Leipzig.* In only four cases have the principal sets of parts found their way to America. Though usually proofread, added to, and revised by the composer, the parts are rarely in Bach's own handwriting. Of the fifty-five parts in this country only one is totally preserved in his own hand: the Basso part of BWV 174.[2] Since the composer's creation is

[1]New Bach Society, American Chapter; see the announcement on page 53.

[2]The numerical order of Bach's cantatas reflects the sequence in which they were published in the first Complete Edition *(Bach-Gesellschaft)*, a sequence retained in the thematic catalogue published by Wolfgang Schmieder in 1950 *(Bach-Werke Verzeichnis).*

first committed to paper in the form of the handwritten score, it is the autograph score that is usually regarded as the artwork proper, the composition itself. And it is in this all-important category that America houses with justifiable pride a substantial percentage of the surviving total. The autograph scores of some sixty cantatas seem to be irretrievably lost. But of the about 130 that have survived, fourteen plus a cantata fragment have found their way to the United States. Nine of them are in New York City though, in contrast to those in Leipzig, East and West Berlin, they are in four different locations.

It is noteworthy that not a single one of these 14¼ autograph scores had been inherited by Carl Philipp Emanuel, Bach's second son, as is proven by his estate catalogue. The majority, if not all of those now in America, had, in 1750, come into the possession of Bach's oldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann. Most of their performing parts were inherited by Bach's widow Anna Magdalena and are now in the *Bach-Archiv Leipzig*. From J.N. Forkel, Bach's earliest biographer, and several other sources we know that Friedemann did not guard his father's musical legacy with the same zeal as did Philipp Emanuel.

The circumstances of Friedemann's wayward life forced him eventually to sell the bulk of the manuscripts from his father's estate. In 1827 a fair number of them re-emerged and were offered for sale at an auction in Berlin. Carl Friedrich Zelter, Mendelssohn's teacher, was eager to acquire them for his Berlin *Singakademie* but he was outbid by the *Geheime Postrat* Karl Philipp Heinrich Pistor (1778-1847). On the next day Zelter tried in vain to persuade Pistor to let him buy them back. Pistor's daughter Betty belonged from her early youth together with the three Mendelssohn children to the chorus of the Berlin *Singakademie*. Felix composed his String Quartet in E-flat Major, Op. 12, for her. In a letter to his friend, the violinist Ferdinand David,[3] he vented his disappointment half-humorously and yet half-seriously that Betty had become engaged to the young jurist Adolf Friedrich Rudorff (1803-73).[4] Apparently Mendelssohn was the first musician to visit Betty's parents in order to see and study their newly acquired Bach manuscripts. He is supposed to have made a list of them and received as reward for his labors the autograph score of Bach's Cantata 133, *Ich freue mich in dir*. Pistor left his Bach treasures to his son-in-law Adolf who in the meantime had become Professor of Jurisprudence. Adolf did not foresee that his son Ernst Friedrich Karl (1840-1916) would someday become a musician

[3]April 13, 1830. Cf. *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy – Briefe aus Leipziger Archiven*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Rothe and Reinhard Szeskus, Leipzig, 1971, p. 129.

[4]For this and the following, see Nancy B. Reich, "The Rudorff Collection" in *Notes*, Vol. 31, No. 2, December, 1974, pp. 247-61.

himself. Had Adolf known this, he would hardly have given the parts of six cantatas in about 1840 to his friend, the Weber biographer and Music Director, Friedrich Wilhelm Jähns, in Berlin (1809-88).

But Ernst did become a musician. His mother saw to it that her five-year-old son began studying piano with his godmother Marie Lichtenstein (1817-1890). She was the daughter of Weber's close friend Heinrich Lichtenstein, whose correspondence with Carl Maria von Weber Ernst Rudorff was later to inherit from Marie and publish in 1900. His piano studies at the age of eighteen with Clara Schumann resulted in an enduring friendship to which 220 letters bear witness. In 1865 Ernst moved from Leipzig to Cologne where he joined Ferdinand Hiller's conservatory of music and founded a remarkably successful *Bach-Verein.* Three years later Joseph Joachim, who was the one who had convinced young Ernst Rudorff of his musical calling, appointed the twenty-eight-year-old musician to head the piano department at the newly founded *Hochschule für Musik* in Berlin (1869). At Christmas time 1888 Ernst Rudorff compiled a list of five Bach cantatas, the autograph scores of which had been given over the years to friends of the family. In addition to the Cantata 133 that Mendelssohn had received from Pistor, Cantata 5 was given to Joachim and Cantata 10 to Philipp Spitta, who received this precious gift for Christmas 1879 upon completion of his monumental Bach biography.

After Spitta's premature death at the age of fifty-two in 1894, the manuscript was for a time in the possession of the Viennese pianist Paul Wittgenstein. While the other four cantatas, given so generously to friends of the Rudorff family, have remained in Europe, Spitta's Cantata 10 — Bach's German Magnificat, *Meine Seel erhebt den Herren* — is now one of the priceless possessions of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. In 1948 it was presented to the Music Division of the Library by one of its great patronesses, Mrs. Gertrude Clarke Whittall.

In 1888 the parts of the six cantatas that Ernst Rudorff's father had given to Jähns and of whose existence and whereabouts Ernst Rudorff professed to know nothing, were returned to him in accordance with Jähns's Last Will and Testament. This is noteworthy because half of them, those of Cantatas 168, 174, and 176 are likewise now in this country. After Ernst Rudorff's death in 1916 the *Musikbibliothek Peters* in Leipzig acquired his musical estate, thereby making the Leipzig publishing house the repository of one of the great manuscript collections in Europe. Since the end of World War II most of its Bach holdings are in the Hinrichsen Collection of the heirs of C.F. Peters in New York. They consist of the autograph scores of Cantatas 2, 20, 113, 114, and of the principal sets of parts of

the three cantatas just mentioned, and of Cantata 187 — 46 parts in all — and finally of the beautiful autograph manuscript of the *Praeludium and Fugue in G Major* for organ, BWV 541.

I would not have dwelt to such an extent on the Bach manuscripts once owned by the Rudorff family if they did not reveal the provenance of at least five of the fourteen autograph scores as well as of all but seven of the fifty-five parts of Bach cantatas now in this country. In fact, of these seven parts four may also have once belonged to Ernst Rudorff.

Their provenance aside, what is the actual significance of the American-housed Bach manuscripts? Do any of these compositions hold a special place in Bach's *oeuvre* or life? Indeed, an astonishing number of them are, in the literal sense of the word, extraordinary. The autograph score of Bach's very first cantata, BWV 131, *Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir* is the property of a well-known musician who lives in New York. It is in fact the earliest autograph of a major composition by Bach that has come down to us.

PLATE IA

On the opening page of the autograph score for BWV 131 Bach writes the cantata title (with curiously old-fashioned spelling of "Tieffen" and double f in "ruffe") in German script, which is typical of Bach's cantata headings. The continuation, in Latin script, shows the amusingly faulty Italian of the the twenty-two-year-old composer. The "C.", signifying soprano, stands for *Canto,* "Fond." (*=Fondamento)* for Continuo; the "è" would be better off without the *accent grave.* Bach saves time and space by not listing the instruments again at the beginning of the six opening staves of the Sinfonia. That both oboe and bassoon are notated in true pitch (in A minor, "*Kammerton*"), that is, a whole tone higher than the other instruments, designates the composition as a Mühlhausen cantata. The headings "adagio" above the oboe and "Lente" after the word "Sinfonia" above the continuo part indicate that Bach regarded these two tempi as identical. The full figuring is highly unusual for the continuo part in an autograph cantata score by Bach. All this, as well as the careful spacing, the absence of errors, and the fact that the bar lines were drawn with a ruler, convey the impression that this earliest extant major vocal score by Bach is the fair copy of the work.

PLATE IB

BWV 131, fifth movement, last (15th) page: The final measures of the cantata's last movement show the text "aus allen seinen Sünden" as expected in German script, the bassoon part in the unusual position above the soprano rather than above the continuo part, a sudden "piano" (or "pian") noted no less than six times in measure 4 of the lower brace, and, two

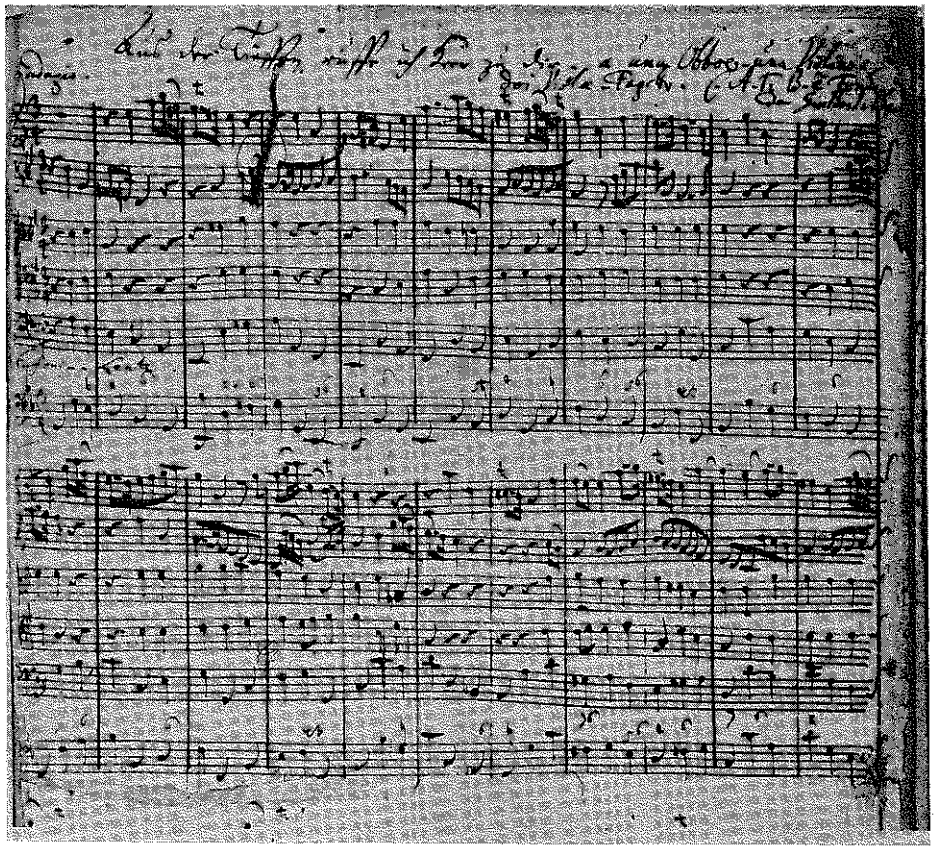

Plate IA
From: Cantata BWV 131
Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir

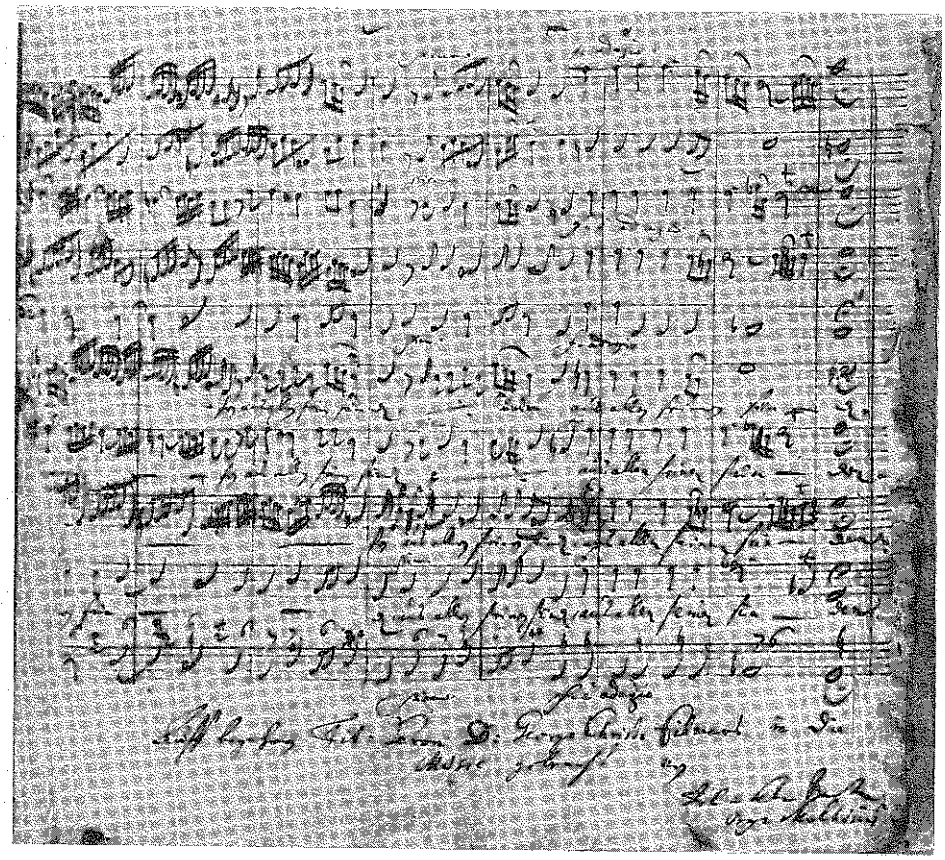

Plate IB
From: Cantata BWV 131
Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir

measures farther on, the strong and quite Handelian adagio conclusion, a style characteristic of Bach's early cantatas, written in wherever space allowed as "f. adagio" or "f. è [!] adagio".

The postscript, written partly in German, partly in Latin script, is unique in Bach's *oeuvre.* It reads: "Auff begehren Tit: Herrn D: Georg: Christ: Eilmars in die/ Music gebracht von/ Joh: Seb: Bach/ Org: Molhusin (?)". (At the request of Tit: Herrn Dr. Georg: Christ: Eilmar set to music by Joh: Seb: Bach, organist in Mühlhausen). It thus appears that Eilmar, who was not the minister of Bach's church but of St. Mary's Church in Mühlhausen, was the instigator of Bach's first church cantata. Since Frohne, the minister of Bach's church, was an ardent Pietist, the newly appointed organist Bach was not supposed to compose, much less to perform, cantatas. The intention of Bach's postscript thus seems to have been to shift the responsibility for having composed and performed a cantata in Mühlhausen to Eilmar, the orthodox Lutheran minister of St. Mary's Church.

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Bach's Weimar period is represented in America, in the Houghton Library of Harvard University, by a canon which the composer entered on August 2, 1713, into an album, probably of a pupil. No matter how small a work this four-part *Canon perpetuus,* BWV 1073, may be, it nevertheless constitutes the first composition by Bach that gives the exact date in the composer's own handwriting. The latter is also true of the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,* which was begun by Johann Sebastian in Cöthen on January 22, 1720, two months after Friedemann's ninth birthday. Again it is a manuscript that, like most of those now in America, belonged to Bach's oldest son. With its 134 pages of music the *Clavier-Büchlein* is the most voluminous Bach manuscript in the country. Since 1932 it is in the possession of the Library of the School of Music at Yale University. It is one of the only two American Bach compositions made known so far in a facsimile edition.[5] The other facsimile of an American Bach manuscript is that of the C-minor *Fantasia per il Cembalo* which Robert L. Marshall edited in 1976 for the members of the *Neue Bachgesellschaft.* The autograph manuscript is the property of America's oldest Bach organization, the Bach Choir of Bethlehem which was founded, like the *Neue Bachgesellschaft,* in 1900.

Since it was Carl Philipp Emanuel who inherited the scores of the cantatas Bach performed during his first year in Leipzig — cantatas that represented both new creations or re-performances of works composed in Weimar — we should not expect, after what has been

[5]Published by Yale University Press, 1959; edited and with a foreword by the renowned harpsichordist Ralph Kirkpatrick.

pointed out so far, to find any of them in America; and indeed, none of them is in this country. But of Bach's second Leipzig year cycle, the scores of which Wilhelm Friedemann inherited, there is almost an *embarras de richesses.* It is America's good fortune that this was the year of the chorale cantatas, Bach's most original artistic creation within his cantata *oeuvre.* Their form is so perfect that Spitta saw in them the crowning achievement of Bach's endeavors in the cantata *genre* and placed them at the end of the composer's career (1735-44). However, the new chronology established by Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen has revealed these cantatas as the work of Bach's second year in Leipzig: composed from the first Sunday after Trinity (June 11, 1724) onward through Annunciation (March 25, 1725). The very first composition that opens the chorale cantata year cycle, the imposing eleven-movement Cantata 20, *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort,* is in the Hinrichsen Collection in New York.

PLATE II

With BWV 20, *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* (Eternity, thou thundrous word), which opens his second year cycle of cantatas in Leipzig, Bach introduced an altogether new cantata style which is in form and concept entirely his own creation: the chorale cantata. The last cantata of Bach's first Leipzig cycle that was truly a new composition was BWV 44. It was written for *Exaudi* Sunday which fell on May 21 in 1724. The cantatas performed on the three Pentecost Days that followed and on Trinity Sunday were, on the other hand, revisions, or adaptations, of earlier Weimar or Cöthen cantatas. One, BWV 59, was even a one-year-old Leipzig cantata. We may thus assume that serious planning of what became Bach's most original contribution to the cantata genre began shortly after May 21, 1724. This means that the first of the at least 39 chorale cantatas of the second cycle (the scores of seven of which are now in America) had to be ready three weeks later, on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 11.

When Bach sat down to compose Cantata 20, he had before him the text and a stack of lengthwise folded folios that measured 35½ x 43 cm (or 35½ x 21½ cm per page or leaf). The text consisted of the first and last stanzas of Johann Rist's well-known hymn of 1642, "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort," and of its eighth stanza. Bach seems to have been fully conscious that he was opening a new path in the history of the church cantata, for he dressed Rist's first hymn stanza in the magnificent style of the French Overture for its opening movement. Stanzas 8 and 12 (the last stanza of the shortened version of the hymn as it appeared, for instance, in Vopelius's Leipzig hymn book) served Bach as texts for the two simple chorale harmonizations with which he was to conclude Part I and Part II of the cantata. Rist's stanzas 2-7 and 9-11 must have been presented to Bach in altered form; that is, paraphrased and turned into recitative and aria texts by an unknown poet (perhaps by Bach's minister, Christian Weiss, Sr., to whom the composer himself may have lent a helping hand). The overall layout of the

eleven-movement cantata was therefore decided when Bach put pen to paper. What flowed from his pen was by no means a composition fully completed in Bach's mind, but a composition that was still being created as he wrote it down. The score was obviously written at breakneck speed and constitutes what we call a typical composing score of the master. Every page conveys something of the momentum of the creative process.

Bach reached the tenth, the penultimate movement, "O Menschenkind, hör auf geschwind," a duet for alto, tenor, and continuo, at the bottom of page 19 (leaf 10 *recto*). When he turned the page — see the left side of Plate II — he came (with the final beat of measure 17) to the last page of his fifth folio. By the time he had filled its seven available braces of three staves each in alto, tenor, and bass clefs, it should have been perfectly clear to Bach that there was no chance whatsoever of completing the cantata on this page and that he simply would have to reach for a sixth folio. As it turned out, only its first page was needed to complete the duet (measures 72-95) and to notate the final chorale — see right side of Plate II. The three remaining pages of this folio (11 *verso*, 12 *recto* and *verso*) are empty, though fully lined.

That Bach was economical by nature is well known. But the largesse shown on the last page, as well as the fact that Bach did not cut this last folio in half, thereby saving one leaf, rules out Bach's economical instinct in this particular case. The reason for what Bach did at the bottom of the penultimate page must thus be found elsewhere. In braces 5, 6, and 7 Bach was in the grip of the canonic follow-the-leader game that he invented for the two voices describing the "torment" *(Qual)* the rich man suffers as "he cannot have a drop of water." Bach's treatment of this text grew to more than twice the length of the two preceding pairs of verses. Bach is here concerned with "d" in the overall structure of the duet: a (= ritornello) – b – ½a· – c – ½a – d – a. It seems to have been Bach's total involvement in the creative process that precluded any practical consideration beyond the moment at hand. When Bach arrived at the empty two last staves (the 22nd and 23rd) of the obviously pre-lined page, his creative impulse was evidently not to be stopped; perhaps because he was about to reverse the canonic leadership by passing it from tenor (in brace 7) to alto (in brace 8). His pen simply continued to write the next five measures (67-71) for the two voices.

Since there was no space left to add a hand-drawn staff for the missing continuo part, Bach supplied it by making use of the old space-saving device of tablature (that is, by letter notation). One does not have to be an expert, yet one has to be able to read the German script of Bach's not very tidy, hurried handwriting in order to decipher it. See for instance the clear "d f e d c h" of the first, or the notation of the pause, then "g a f g" of the last bar of this brace. Only now was Bach forced to realize that another page was needed. His creative involvement thus had only delayed the necessary interruption of the flow of the pen by the few minutes it had taken him to write the final brace on the penultimate page.

On the last page he notated the final twenty-four measures (72-95) of the duet on the three upper braces *à* 3.After the third brace he squeezed in the word "Choral." The textless concluding chorale follows on the next two braces of four staves each, the last brace leaving just enough space for Bach

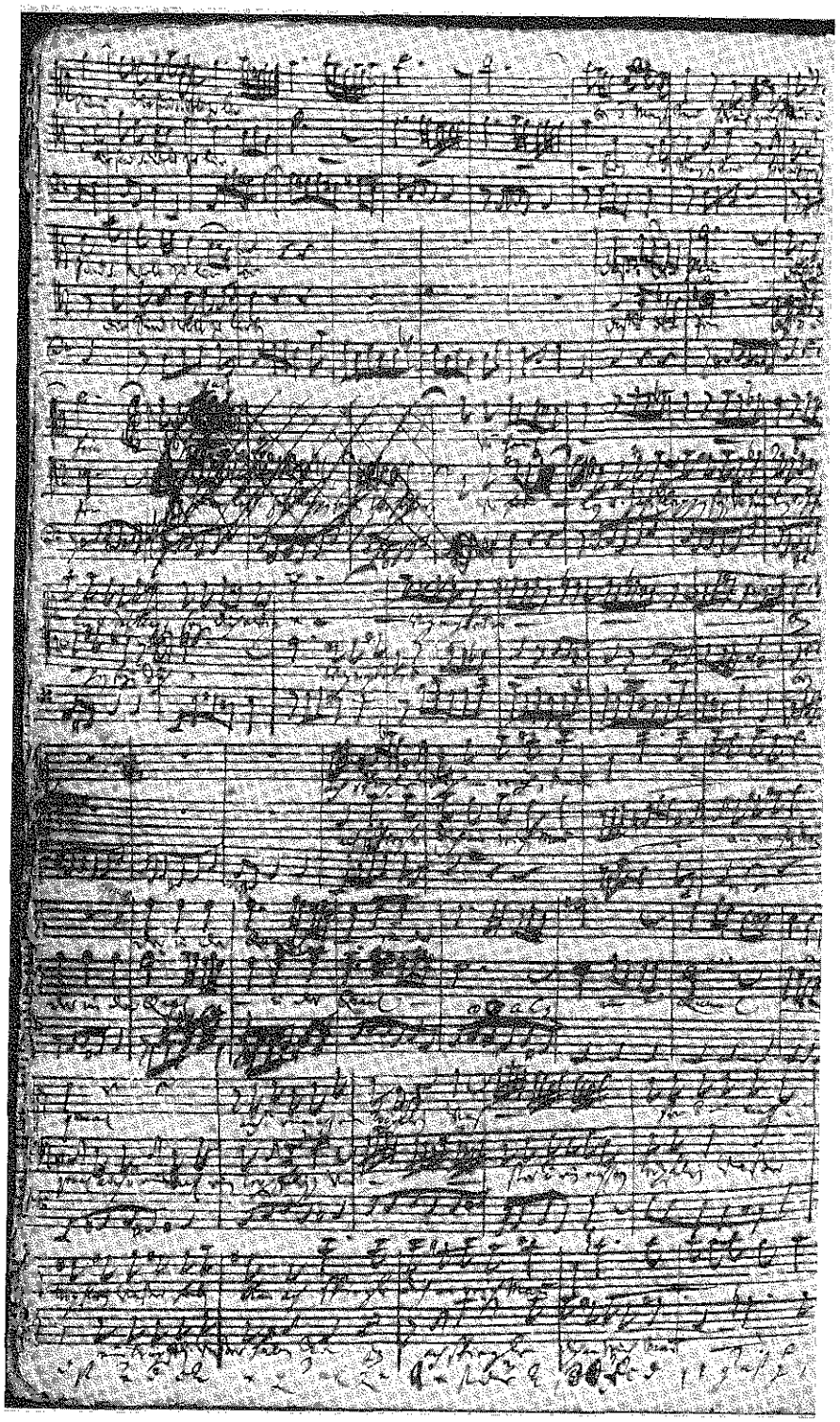
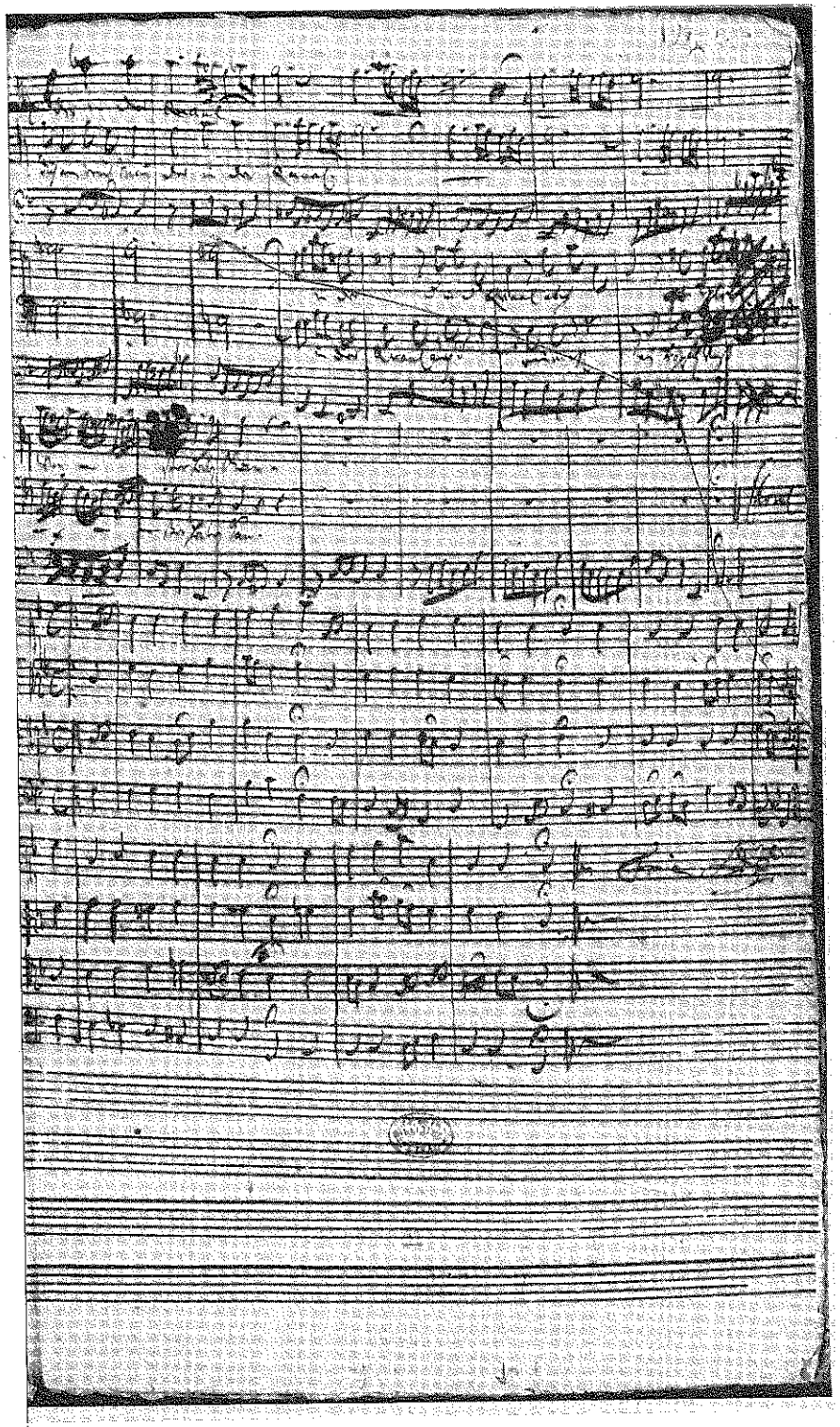


Plate II From: Cantata



VV 20 *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort*

to jot down his customary "Fine SDG." Even if the original vocal parts, which contain the text of the final chorale and which are preserved in the *Bach-Archiv Leipzig,* had not survived, we could deduce from the textual norm of the chorale cantata that the concluding chorale would have to be sung to the text of the hymn's final stanza. That Bach had penned the first text phrase of the hymn's eighth stanza below the tenor part of the chorale that concludes Part I of the cantata, but had failed to do anything similar with regard to the final chorale, might be indicative of the increasing haste with which he seems to have completed his score. While Bach named the "Hautb" above the top staff in the opening movement of the score, "3 Hautb" at the beginning of the fifth movement, and "Violin:" above the sixth movement, he did not mention the Tromba's participation in the eighth movement perhaps because it is such a typical trumpet part. Thus it is again the surviving set of the original parts that gives us absolute certainty as to what instruments go *colla parte* in the concluding chorale: Tromba, Oboe I and II, and Violino I with the soprano; Oboe III and Violino II with the alto; the Viola with the tenor; and the Continuo instruments with the bass.

Seeing these two pages as we see them today, one wonders whether Bach became belatedly aware that this last page had given him more than ample space for the completion of the duet and the notation of the final chorale. Did he give any thought to the four empty staves which now accommodate the oval stamp of the former owner of the score, the "*Musik/Bibliothek/Peters*"? I personally believe that Bach was totally oblivious to the contrast of these two pages. Bach, who at the very end of the penultimate page had failed to think ahead, as has been shown, was probably thinking ahead at the very moment he had finished the score. From what is known of Bach's working and copying habits, it may be assumed that he had given his principal copyist, Johann Andreas Kuhnau, the first two folios containing the vast opening movement as soon as they were filled with music, and the third and fourth folios on which Part I of the cantata is completed soon thereafter, so that the copying labors were well under way by the time Bach finished his score. But at that moment Bach was probably thinking of the tasks that still lay ahead: the customarily frenzied effort of overseeing the completion of the copying of the parts, lending a helping hand himself in proofreading them, and the little time that remained for rehearsal before the performance of his first chorale cantata on June 11, 1724.

Plate II is reproduced by kind permission of the Hinrichsen family, New York City.

Also in the Hinrichsen Collection is the second cantata of the second year cycle, Cantata 2, *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein.* This cantata introduces the large "Halfmoon" watermark that is so typical of the paper Bach used during his second year in Leipzig.

PLATE III

Bach's caption on page 1 of BWV 2, a typical composing score, reads: "J. J. Do [min]ica 2. post Trinitatis [Latin script]. Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein." [German script]. The cantata was thus composed for June 18, 1724. Bach reveals his consciousness of starting a new cantata cycle with his chorale cantatas by doing something quite unusual. He lets the cantus firmus in the opening chorale fantasies of the first four cantatas of the Trinity season wander from soprano to alto, tenor, and bass. Since BWV 2 is Bach's second chorale cantata, the cantus firmus will thus be found, proceeding in whole notes, in the alto (see second brace). As the instruments in the first movement go *colla parte,* Bach does not indicate them again at the beginning of the score. The hook form of the C clef that evolved in Bach's first year in Leipzig may be compared to the shape in the illustration of Cantata 131 of 1707 resembling the figure 3 (though barely visible there).

The autograph score measures 35 x 21 cm and is in rather good condition although the paper has darkened quite considerably while the ink has retained its almost black color. The clearly visible watermark is that of the large "Halfmoon." It appears in this score for the first time. Cantata 2 thus introduces the "Halfmoon" as the principal watermark of the paper used by Bach in his second year in Leipzig. Although the manuscript is relatively free of corrections, it is again (as was BVW 20 of the previous Sunday) a typical composing score.

Plate III is reproduced by kind permission of the Hinrichsen family, New York City.

The cantata for Visitation, *Meine Seel erhebt den Herren,* was written two weeks after Cantata 2 and is the fifth of Bach's chorale cantatas. This is the cantata the autograph score of which Ernst Rudorff had given to Spitta as a Christmas present and which is now in the Library of Congress.

PLATE IV

The heading of page 1 for the autograph score of Bach's fifth chorale cantata, BWV 10, begins with the composer's typical prayer for divine assistance in the act of creation, "J [esu] . J [uva] .", and continues with "Festo Visitationis Mariae" (in Latin script) and the title "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn" (in German script). The manuscript represents a characteristic composing score, apparently written at breakneck speed. In spite of the superb result of the recent cleaning and patching process undertaken at the Library of Congress, the general condition of the manuscript is still very fragile. The color of the paper is light brown, that of the ink, black. The format of the score is slightly taller than usual; it measures 36 x 21.5 cm. The watermark is the large "Halfmoon" of the chorale cantata year cycle. Since the cantata was written for the Feast of Visitation, which in 1724 coincided

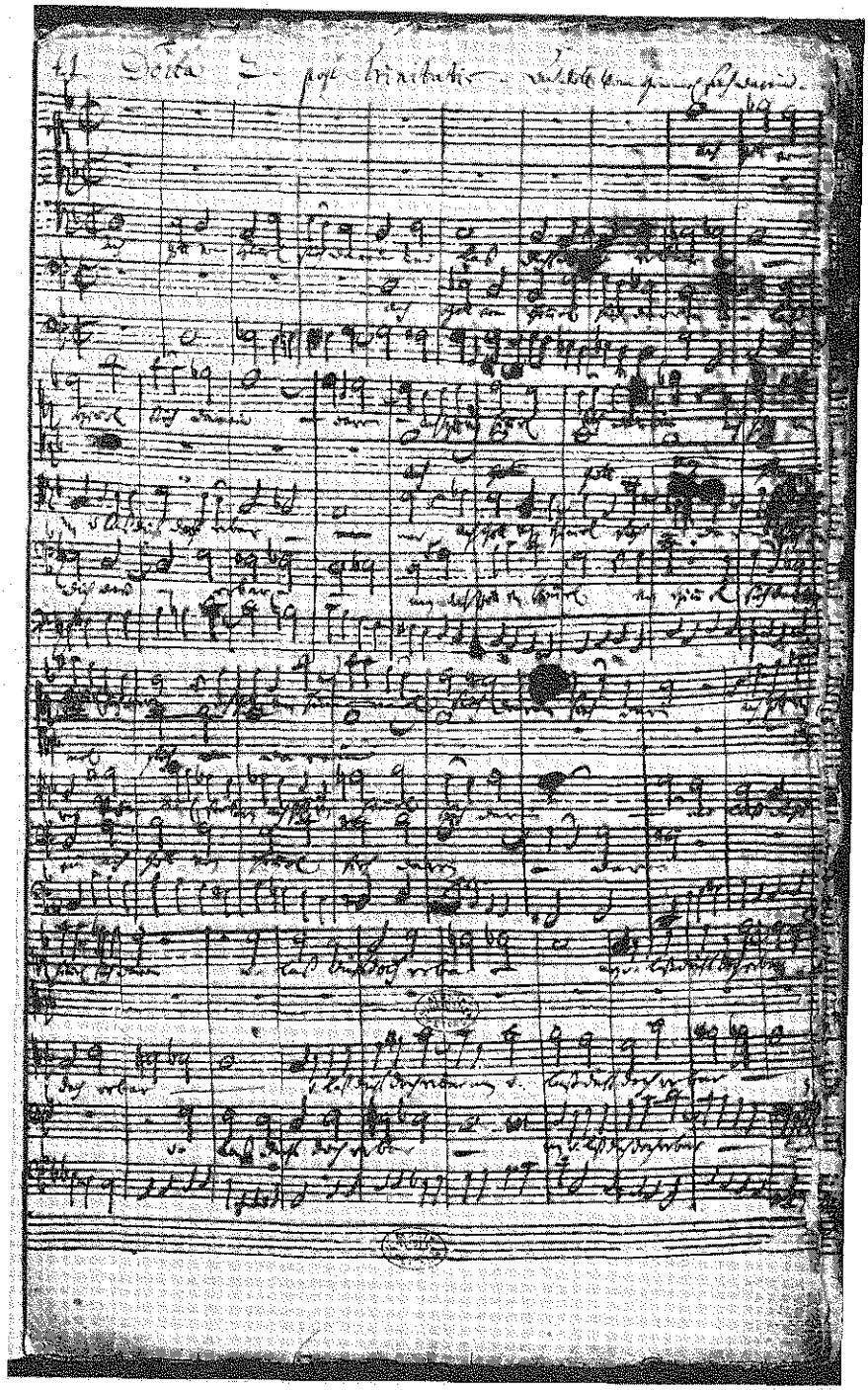


Plate III
From: Cantata BWV 2
Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein

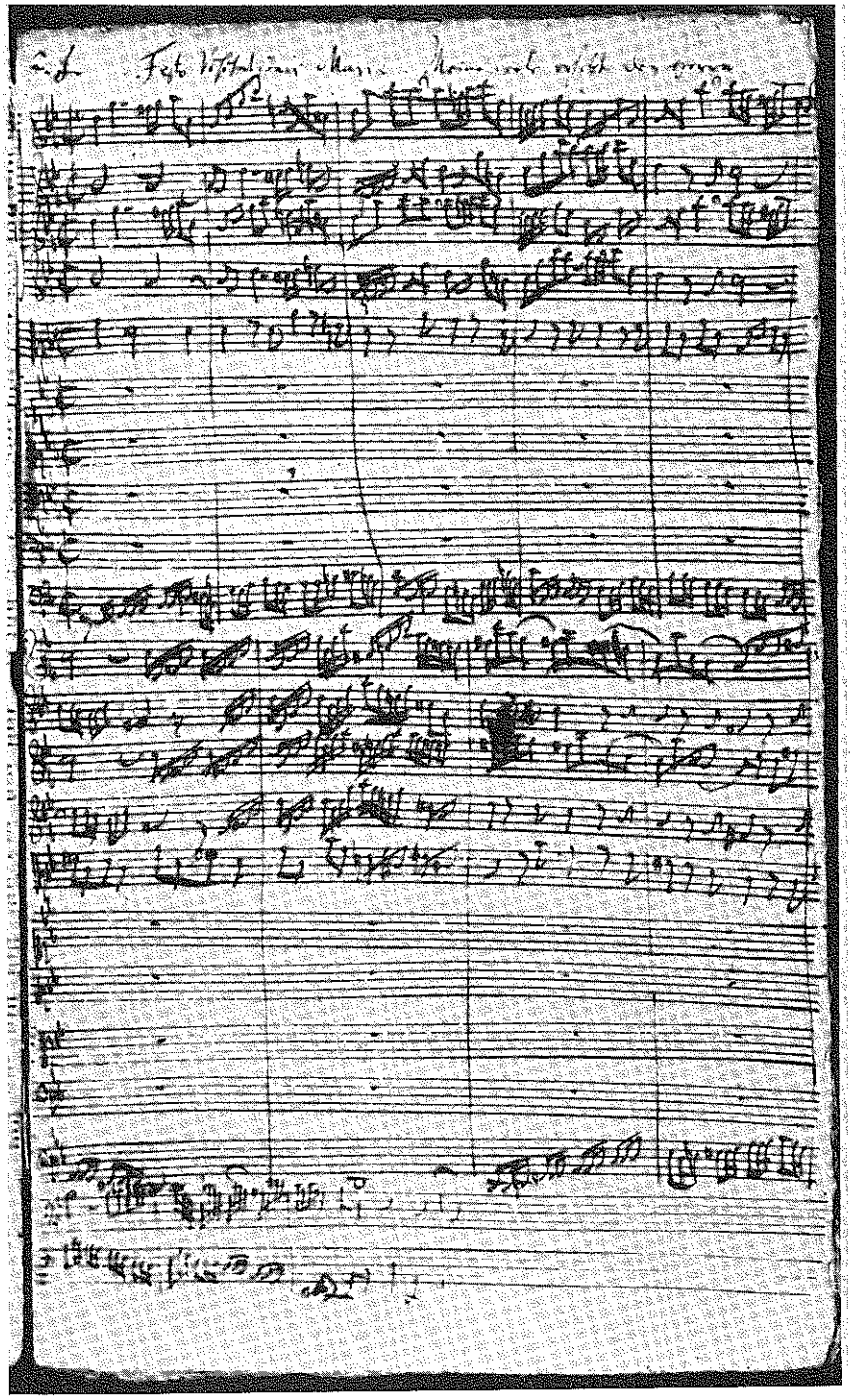


Plate IV
From: Cantata BWV 10
Meine Seel erhebt den Herren

with the fourth Sunday after Trinity, the date of its first performance was July 2 of that year. It was, however, not Bach's fourth but his fifth chorale cantata, because eight days earlier he had to supply an additional cantata, BWV 7, for St. John's Day.

As can be expected from the observations made about Cantatas 20 and 2, the chorale fantasy that opens BWV 7 carries the cantus firmus ("Christ, unser Herr zum Jordan kam") in the tenor. In his next cantata, for the third Sunday after Trinity, Bach assigned the cantus firmus ("Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder") to the bass. What would Bach do a week later in the cantata before us, his fifth chorale cantata? He gave the first phrase of "Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren," the German version of the *Magnificat,* to the soprano and the second to the alto. On July 2, 1724 the musically aware listener or participant in the performance of BWV 10 may well have wondered whether Bach was beginning a new series of chorale cantatas that would carry the cantus firmus in two voices. That this was not in Bach's mind was shown when in Cantata 93, July 9, and in the cantatas thereafter he established the soprano as the normal position of the cantus firmus in the opening chorale fantasies.

Plate IV shows that Bach did not name the instruments at the beginning of the first movement, a chorale fantasy on the *Tonus peregrinus.* They can, however, be deduced from the clefs and from their enumeration on J. A. Kuhnau's title page — not reproduced here — as 2 oboes, 2 violins, viola, and continuo. The reader will detect three flats on most staves for this movement in G minor; i.e., double notation of e-flat for most of the treble clefs and double notation of b-flat for the bass clefs. Bach used the time while the ink on page 1 was drying to sketch below the two ten-stave braces the treble and bass of the next three measures which complete the vigorous orchestral ritornello. The inquisitive reader may discover subtle changes when these three measures are notated in their proper context on the next page (not shown); or he may look them up in Robert L. Marshall's splendid study, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach* (Princeton University Press, 1972), Vol. II, sketch 8.

Plate IV is reproduced by kind permission of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The autograph scores of Cantatas 113 and 114 (for the eleventh and seventeenth Sundays after Trinity) were, unlike Cantata 10, kept by Rudorff, then acquired by the *Musikbibliothek Peters* and are now in the Hinrichsen Collection in New York.

PLATE V

Plate V shows the first of the thirteen pages of the autograph score for Bach's Cantata 113, *Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut* (Lord Jesus Christ, thou highest treasure). The paper of this page, which measures 35½ x 22 cm, has darkened considerably while the ink seems to have retained its

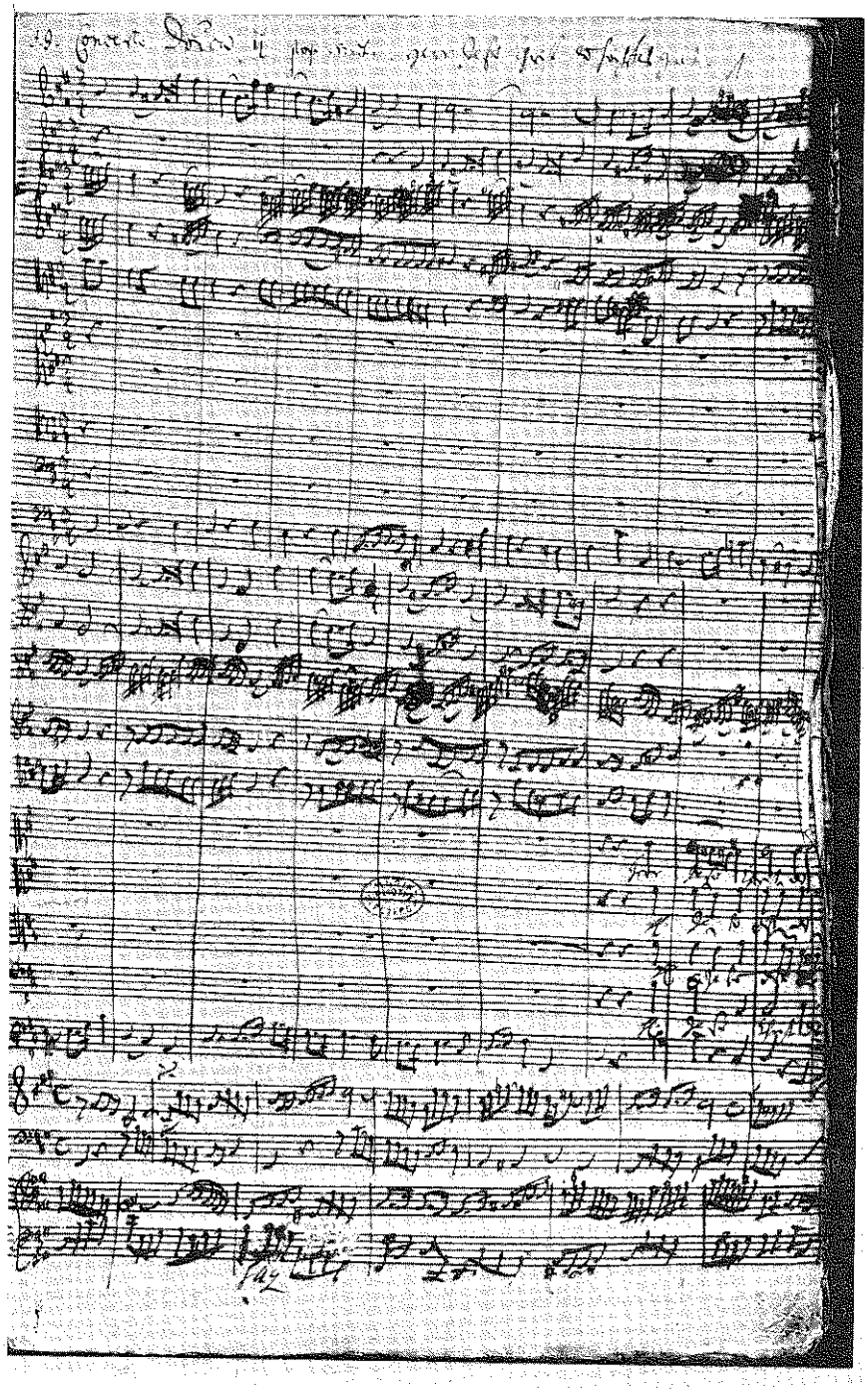


Plate V
From: Cantata BWV 113
Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut

original dark brown color. The autograph caption that heads the score reads: "J.J. Concerto Do [min] ica 11 post Trinit. Herr Jesu Christ du höchstes Gut." (The cantata title is written in German script). The penmanship of this beautiful manuscript reveals a typical composing score. Corrections and inkblots increase as the composer apparently tried to meet his deadline for the completion of the score. The watermark of the paper, an "Eagle" with an "H" on its breast, appears in Bach manuscripts from August to September 17, 1724. Since Bach's heading tells us that the cantata was composed for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, the date of its first performance was August 20 of that year. The word "Concerto" is frequently used by Bach to designate a "cantata" (a term Bach never applied to his church cantatas). The number "1" in the top right corner refers to the pagination of the manuscript which was added by a later hand.

The two braces of ten staves each contain the sixteen-measure ritornello of the opening chorale fantasy and the entrance of the chorus which carries the hymn tune in the soprano. Plate V shows that Bach spelled out the word "Herr" only below the soprano part. Below the other three voices Bach used his typical time- and space-conserving abbreviation of "H." Below the alto and tenor, in the last visible measure, Bach symbolized the word "Christ" by the familiar "X" (which we still use for *Xmas*). Below the two outer voices, however he spelled out the word "Christ." Although Bach could have omitted the four vocal staves in the first brace — something he does quite frequently (see Plate X) — the space is otherwise used with utmost economy. Bar lines were obviously drawn by hand before the first violin part, which moves in almost uninterrupted sixteenth notes, was written into the score, causing it thereby to spill over rather consistently into the next measure. While the vocal parts are naturally identified by their clefs, Bach failed to name the less unequivocally identifiable instrumental parts at the beginning of the score. He could, however, afford to do this because the instruments were listed by his principal copyist of that time, Johann Andreas Kuhnau, on the title page; in addition to the "2 Hautbois/ 2 Violini/ Viola/e/ Continuo" obviously called for in the opening movement, it also lists: "Flaut: Travers," the virtuoso obbligato instrument of the fifth movement (a tenor aria, which Bach heads "col la Traversiere").

Since the score is lined with twenty-four staves, Bach's chief space-saving device consisted in appending the second movement and the beginning of the third on the lowest staves of the first five pages needed for the writing of the grand opening chorale fantasy. On the first page, reproduced here, Bach notated on two braces *à* 2 the instrumental parts, i.e., violins and continuo, of the twelve-measure ritornello of the second movement; it turns into a trio on the next page, with the entrance of the alto intoning the second stanza of the hymn tune. In measure 9 of the ritornello (see Plate V) Bach found it necessary to clarify the three smeared opening notes of the Continuo by the addition of the letters "h a g." Furthermore, a notational custom of Bach and his time can be observed on this page. So far as the five lines of the staff allow it, the signs for the accidentals will frequently be written twice. In this chorale fantasy in the key of B minor, Bach notated the sign for the sharping of the f twice on eight of the two ten-staff braces, while

on the lowest of the appended braces for the second movement in F-sharp minor, the signs for both f-sharp and g-sharp are given double notation.

The stamp of the "MUSIK/ BIBLIOTHEK/ PETERS" (on the empty seventeenth staff) attests to the provenance of the score, which led from the original ownership of Bach's oldest and favorite son, Wilhelm Friedemann, through Karl Pistor, Adolf Rudorff, and Ernst Rudorff to the *Musikbibliothek Peters.* The score is today in the possession of the Hinrichsen family, the owners of C. F. Peters in New York City, with whose kind permission the first page of this manuscript has been reproduced.

Cantata 33, *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ,* for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity has its chronological place between Cantatas 113 and 114. Its autograph score is in the Scheide Library at Princeton University. The last of the Trinity season cantatas of 1724 which until May 21, 1982, had been in America, is Cantata 180, *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele.* It once belonged to Mendelssohn, then to Julius Rietz, the editor of the *B-Minor Mass* in the old *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition, and to the famous singer Pauline Viardot-Garcia. Through the generosity of a later owner, the avid collector of music manuscripts Mary Louise Curtis Bok (Mrs. Efrem Zimbalist), it found a new home in the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. To summarize: of the opening chorale cantatas of Bach's second Leipzig year cycle, that is, from the first through the twentieth Sunday after Trinity (or from June 11 through October 22, 1724) thirteen cantatas have survived by their autograph scores; and of these thirteen the above-listed seven are in America. (Cantata 180, which was recently acquired by the Stuttgart *Bachakademie,* is here still counted among the American-housed Bach cantatas).

The autograph title page of Cantata 178, *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält,* written for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, is particularly beautiful because it is unmarred by any library stamp, owner's name or other inscriptions. It is one of the three Bach items discovered during my four-year pursuit of original Bach sources in America.[6] I found this page at a place one would not likely be inclined to look for a Bach manuscript: at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. There, in the Belmont Room of the Metropolitan Opera Guild, it hangs, a gift of Louisville-born Edwin Franko Goldman, the founder and director of the famous Goldman Band. While this title page is the only survivor in America of this cantata, BWV 178 is again one of those six cantatas, the parts of which Jähns returned to Ernst Rudorff

[6]I would like to express my thanks to Professor Otto Albrecht, America's indefatigable detective of music manuscripts, who made me aware of the existence of this title page.

in 1888. Among these parts were also those of Cantata 176, Bach's last cantata of his second Leipzig cantata cycle. Most of the individual parts — fourteen in all — are in the Hinrichsen Collection. Of two further cantatas, once owned by Jähns and Rudorff, the Hinrichsen Collection harbors an impressive number of parts: nine of Cantata 168, *Tue Rechnung! Donnerwort,* and thirteen of Cantata 174, *Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte.* Cantata 168 was written two months after Cantata 176, that is, two months after the steady flow of two year cycles of cantata composition (from May 30, 1723 to May 27, 1725) had come to an end. A tenth part of this cantata was recently presented to Princeton University. The fourteenth and fifteenth parts of Cantata 174 are, one at the Library of Congress, the other, already mentioned on page 5, the beautiful two-page autograph Basso part, at Stanford University in California. The parts of Cantata 174 were not completed until the day before its first performance. Together with Cantata 171 (see Plate VIII) BWV 174 belongs to the handful of church cantatas based on texts written by the Leipzig poet Picander for the year 1728/29. Picander's claim that Bach had set to music his "Cantatas for the Sun- and Feast-Days throughout the whole Year" can, however, in no way be substantiated. The eleven instrumental parts of Cantata 187, *Es wartet alles auf dich,* complete the Bach holdings of the Hinrichsen Collection. Ernst Rudorff wrote of these parts: they "were always in the possession of my parents (never in that of Jähns)."[7]

PLATE VI

Plate VI reproduces the second page of the "Hautb: d'Amour 2" part of Cantata 168, *Tue Rechnung! Donnerwort* (Account for thyself! Word of thunder). Its paper has turned rather brown and the notes on the reverse side of the leaf have bled through the paper to quite an extent. The ink has, however, retained its original black color. The watermark of the paper, which measures 33 x 20 cm, is so rarely found in Bach manuscripts, that it proves to be of little help in establishing the date of this cantata. The determining factors are rather that J. A. Kuhnau, C. G. Meissner, Joh. Heinrich Bach, and two anonymous copyists collaborated in the writing of the parts and that Bach's caption on the first page of the autograph score reveals that the composition was written for the ninth Sunday after Trinity. The date of its first performance was thus July 29, 1725. This date reserves for Cantata 168 a curious and special place in the composer's cantata *oeuvre.* It makes it the first of only four clearly identifiable church cantatas Bach wrote during the seven months of sagging creative activity that followed in

[7]The notation appears on a handwritten sheet attached to the original parts in the Hinrichsen Collection in New York.

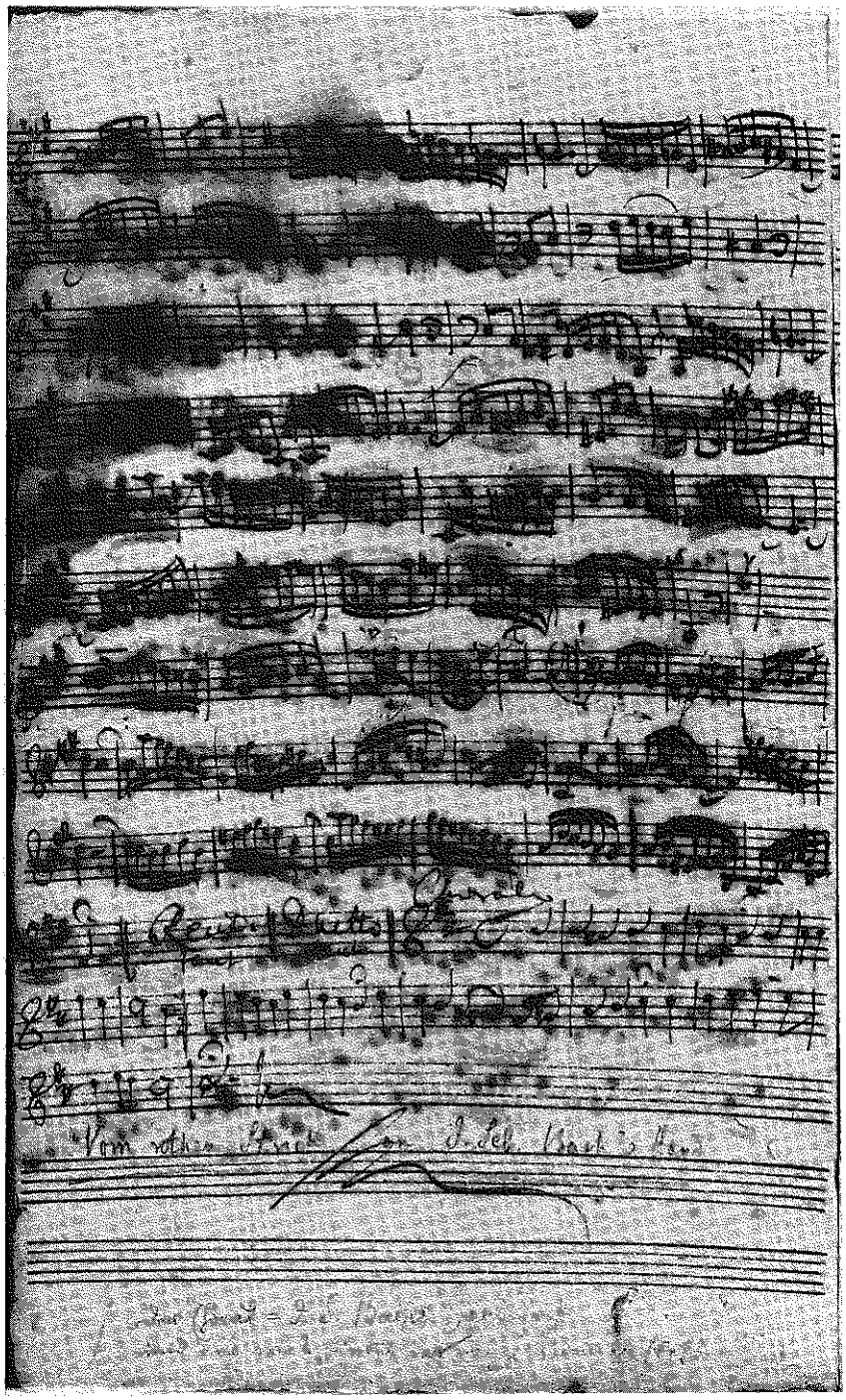


Plate VI
From: Cantata BWV 168
Tue Rechnung! Donnerwort

the wake of his second Leipzig cantata cycle. (If the texts for some Leipzig cantatas that were found in the early 1970's in Leningrad could be proven to have been composed by Bach, the slackening of Bach's creative energy between May 27 and Christmas 1725 would become less awesome but would still remain considerable.)

The principal writer of the parts is again Bach's chief copyist of his first two and a half years in Leipzig, Johann Andreas Kuhnau. BWV 168 is a rather short cantata which employs the chorus only in its final chorale. The orchestra consists of only two oboi d'amore, the usual strings, and continuo. In spite of the modest dimensions of the work, time was apparently again of the very essence. Kuhnau needed all the help he could get to complete the required set of parts, although most of them were only two pages long. The reverse page of the second oboe d'amore part, reproduced here by kind permission of the Hinrichsen family in New York, which also owns the other eight instrumental parts of the cantata, conveys something of the hectic atmosphere in which the parts were apparently written. The first six staves show Kuhnau's unmistakable handwriting. Then, in the third bar of the seventh staff, Bach took the pen from Kuhnau's hand and wrote the da capo of the ritornello of this tenor aria himself. Observe in the illustration, for instance, the seven typical treble clefs of Kuhnau and then Bach's three, with more evenly rounded shapes resembling the figure "8." After he had completed the writing of the ritornello (at the beginning of staff 10), Bach added the two *tacet* indications for the two following movements:

Recit: tacet Duetto tacet

It probably would have taken him no longer than one minute to write the forty-three notes of the concluding chorale. But he was not willing to spare even this much time. Bach must have felt that he had to proofread the other parts as they were being finished, inserting *tacet* indications (in the first oboe and the three string parts) and entering the dynamic marks for most of the parts.

The handwriting of the concluding chorale (see Plate VI) resembles that of Bach to an astonishing degree; and it was indeed for a long time regarded as autograph. See Ernst Rudorff's and another writer's remarks at the bottom of the page: "Vom rothen Strich an J. Seb. Bach's Hand" (From the red line [here not visible] J. Seb. Bach's hand) and "Der Choral = J.S. Bach's Handschrift," etc. (The Chorale = J.S. Bach's handwriting). Yet, the chorale was written here as well as in the Oboe I, Violino I, II and Viola parts by Christian Gottlob Meissner, designated "main copyist B" by the Bach scholar Alfred Dürr and identified in 1968 by H.-J. Schulze of the *Bach Archiv Leipzig*. Meissner's modest assignment on the page reproduced here begins with the treble clef and the heading "Chorale," which Meissner habitually spelled with an "e" at the end. The participation of three writers — Kuhnau as principal copyist, the composer as helper in need, and Meissner writing out the chorale — all of them engaged in the copying of not quite twelve staves of music, indicates not only that Bach was present but also that he

directed the apparently frantic production of the performing parts. Plates VIIA and B of the following cantata, BWV 174, will furnish proof that this race against time took place customarily.

PLATES VII A AND B

Of the twenty-two extant original parts for Cantata 174, *Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte* (I love the Highest with all my heart), fifteen are in the United States. The presence of such a wealth of parts is explained by the introductory Sinfonia, a recasting of the opening movement of the third Brandenburg Concerto with considerably enlarged orchestration. The cantata was written in the period between 1726 and 1731 during which time Bach tended to open a fair number of his cantatas with large-scale concerto movements, the majority of which consisted of transcriptions of clavier or other concertos. The tremendous vigor of the long opening concerto movement is followed by an intimate solo cantata. The latter consists of a da capo aria in Siciliano style for alto, two obbligato oboes and continuo, a secco recitative for tenor, strings and continuo, a bass aria with unison strings and continuo and a simple four-part chorale using the first stanza of Martin Schalling's hymn of 1569, "Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr." BWV 174 is based on a text by Bach's librettist Picander that dates from 1728-29 and interprets the Gospel of the second Pentecost Day (John 3:16-21). The watermark of the paper — the medium-sized letters "MA" — can be observed in Bach manuscripts from October 17, 1727 until December 2, 1731. Plates VIIA and B reproduce the final pages of the "Violino 1 Concertato" and the "Violino 3 Concertato" parts. They measure about 35 x 22 cm and show on the slightly darkened paper the original black color of the ink. For once, the exact date of the cantata's first performance can be documented, for the anonymous copyist of the alto part wrote below the final chorale: "Fine d. 5 Junii 1729. Lipsiae." The second Pentecost Day was June 6! This date is corroborated by the watermark, by Picander's text, and by the three of the five identifiable scribes who copied the parts.

The final page of the Violino 1 Concertato part is entirely in Bach's handwriting. On the preceding page Bach had taken over the copying task from "principal copyist D" whom H.-J. Schulze has recently identified as the then sixteen-year-old Samuel Gottlieb Heder, one of the "usable" students mentioned by Bach in his letter of August 23, 1730 to the Leipzig Town Council. The page (Plate VIIA), reproduced here by kind permission of the Hinrichsen family in New York City, shows measures 99-120, a four-measure rest and the ornately penned words "Da Capo" for the repeat of the ritornello (= measures 1-12[1]) of this aria (movement 4). While Bach marked doubly entered sharps on and between the respective lines of each staff for this G major movement, he did away with the extravagance of two f-sharps in the four staves of the concluding chorale in D major, an unusually long hymn tune.

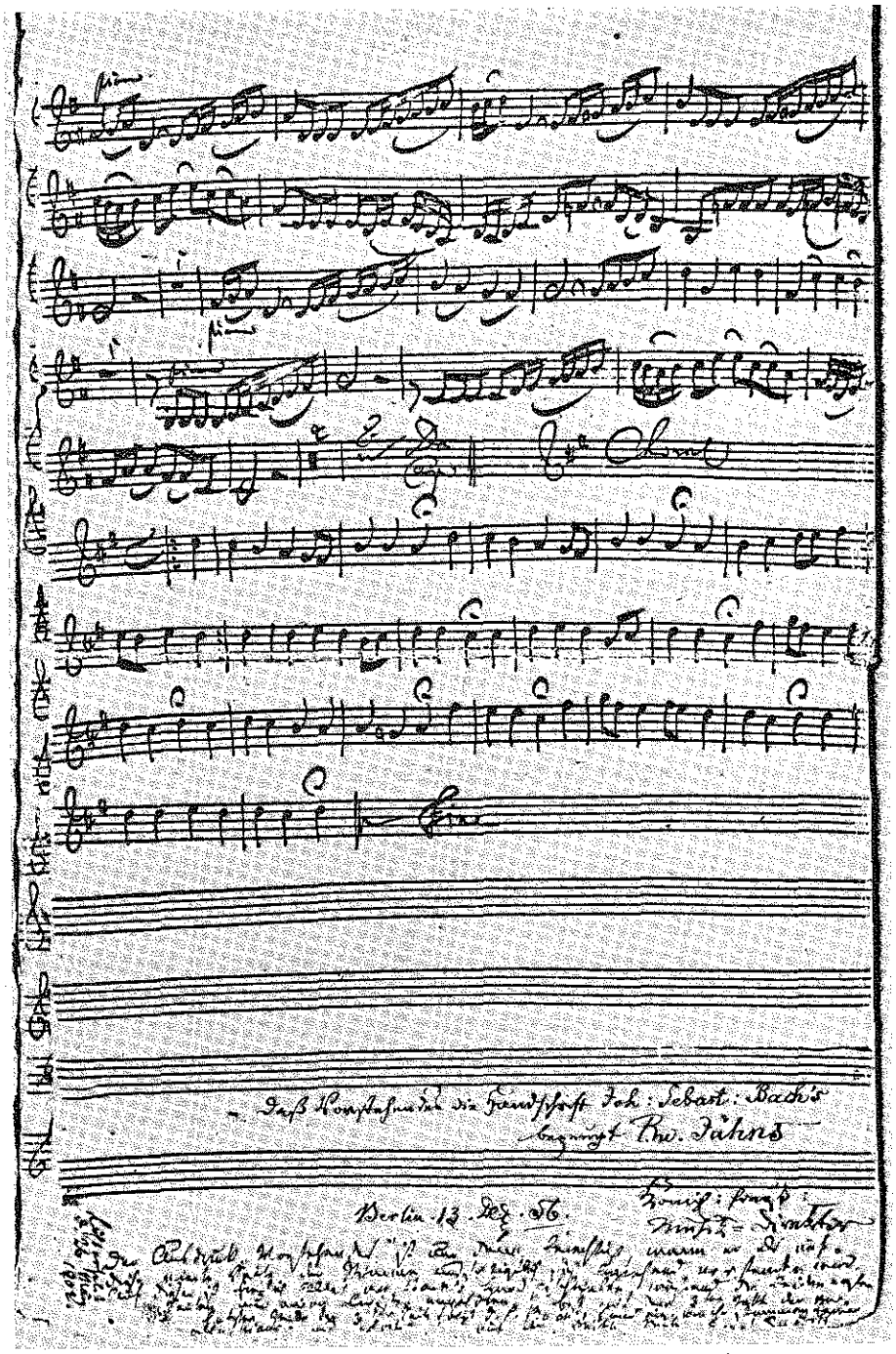


Plate VII A
From: Cantata BWV 174
Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte

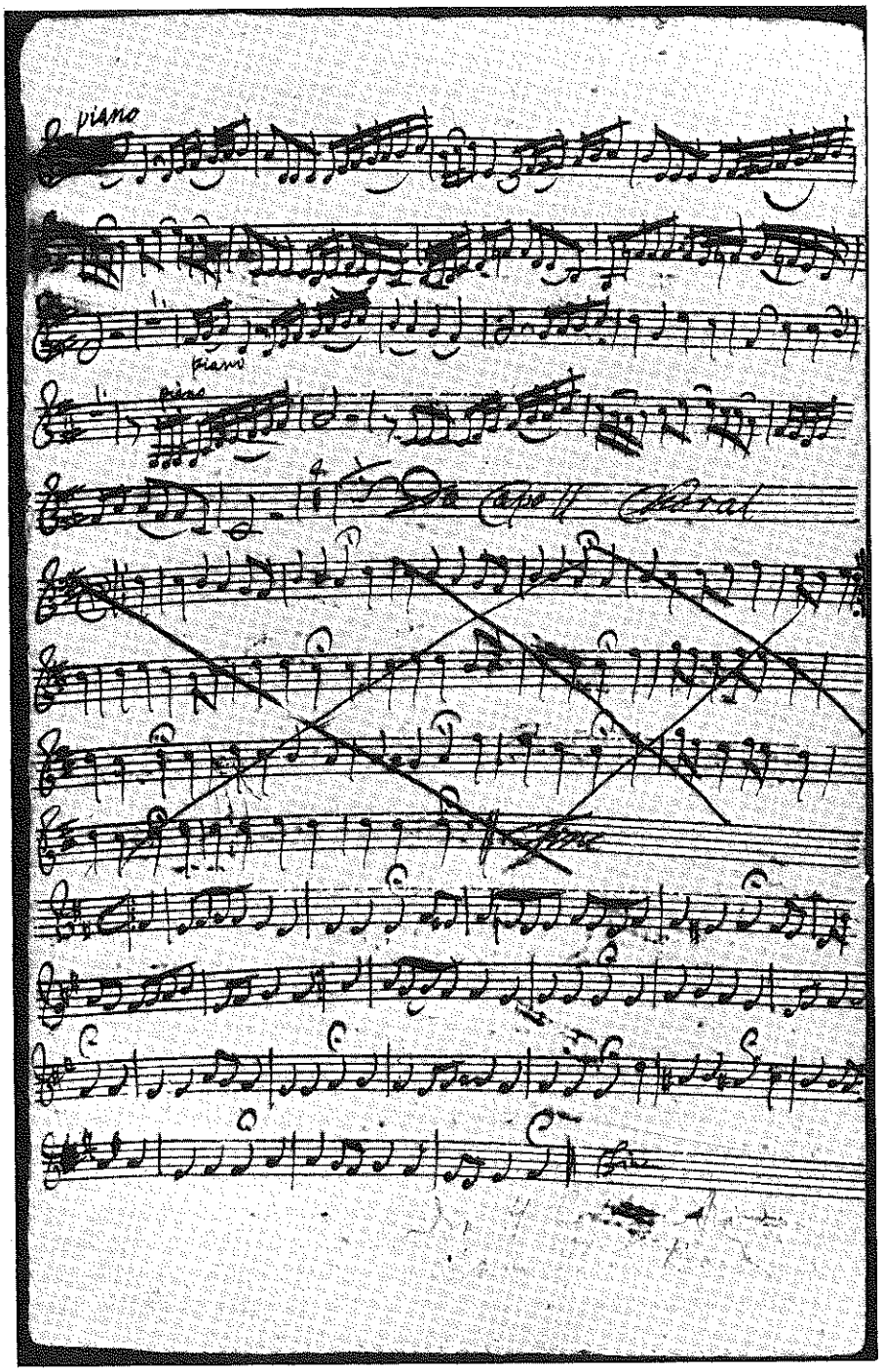


Plate VII B
From: Cantata BWV 174
Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte

At the bottom of the page, the "Royal Prussian Music Director" at Berlin, Friedrich Wilhelm Jähns, who was in possession of this part, certified on "13. Dez. [18] 56" that the "preceding" was "the handwriting of Joh: Sebast: Bach." Ernst Rudorff remarked underneath: "The expression 'preceding' is justified only if it is understood as referring exclusively to this 4th page of the part." In addition to this, Rudorff pointed out the entrance of Bach's handwriting "with the 3rd measure in the penultimate staff of the 3rd page" as well as the autograph dynamic marks in movement 4. Since in this movement the three violins and three violas furnish the unison top line above the bass voice and the continuo, it is worth noting that Bach entered piano signs — see three of them on Plate VIIA — whenever the voice joins the strings. But he wanted the framing ritornelli to be played forte by the strings. This is indicated by the "forte" Bach entered in the string parts at the beginning of the transposed repeat of the ritornello in the center of the movement (measure 41) as well as for a four-measure episode (at measure 72). Since Ernst Rudorff dated his addendum in Berlin "Lichterfelde/d. 26. März/1902" (see bottom left, written crosswise), Jähns must have sold this part at some time after 1856. On March 24, 1902 Rudorff finally succeeded in recovering this part which once had belonged to his father.

Plate VIIB shows the same measures 99-120, etc., of the fourth movement that we saw in Bach's handwriting on the last page of the first violin part (Plate VIIA). Here, in the third violin part, they were written by "copyist F," whose youth may account for the childlike dynamic marks, the clumsy treble clefs, and so forth. After completion of this movement he made the mistake of writing the hymn tune of the chorale into his third violin part. When Bach, apparently ever present and watchful, became aware of this, he crossed out the wrong soprano part and entered the correct alto melody of the chorale himself (plus "Fine"). This change in handwriting is duly noted by Rudorff at the bottom of the page: "Die 4 letzten Zeilen/ von J.S. Bach." (The last four lines by J.S. Bach).

The exact date "d. 5 Junii 1729" at the end of the alto part constitutes an extremely rare phenomenon in Bach manuscripts. That this part, and probably most, if not all, parts were completed only on the day prior to the cantata's first performance, is for once concrete proof of the general lack of time and the inadequacy from which the first performances of Bach's cantatas appear to have suffered. Moreover, June 5 was not a free day but Pentecost Day, which had to be celebrated by the proper musical services in the two principal churches of Leipzig. The only rehearsal time available to all participants seems to have been the evening of the fifth. On the other hand, Bach could at least depend on the indigenous musicianship of his eighteen- and fifteen-year-old sons Friedemann and Philipp Emanuel, as well as on that of his favorite pupil, the gifted fifteen-year-old Johann Ludwig Krebs. That time was, however, of the greatest premium, can be deduced not only from Bach's unusually manifold participation in the copying of the parts (see Plates VIIA and B) but also from the fact that ten of the fifteen parts preserved in America show hardly any trace or no trace at all of Bach's inspection, corrections, or revisions. Bach, however, made a significant contribution to speeding up the completion of the performing

parts, for his participation in the writing of the parts amounts, all in all, to more than twelve pages, not counting his additions of headings, dynamic marks, corrections, and other revisions.

Except for two stray single parts — the Alto part of Cantata 130, the other the figured Continuo part of Cantata 7 — there remain only three more parts in America. They belong to Cantata 9, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.* When Ernst Rudorff named the parts of the six cantatas his father had given to Jähns, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* was among them. But since the parts of this cantata were turned over by Anna Magdelena in 1750, along with those of forty-three other Bach cantatas, to the Thomasschule and, except for the final years of World War II, never left Leipzig, Ernst Rudorff's inclusion of them cannot refer to the Leipzig parts. It can only refer to the duplicate parts of the cantata, a fact of which Rudorff was apparently unaware. The foreword to volume 1 of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition (of 1851), which contains Cantata 9, makes no mention of any duplicate parts. Although *Es ist das Heil* is a late chorale cantata of the early 1730's, the autograph score was part of Friedemann's inheritance. As we know from numerous concrete examples in Philipp Emanuel's estate catalogue, the heir of the autograph scores also inherited their duplicate parts. The three duplicate parts of *Es ist das Heil* appeared in auction catalogues (Stargardt, Berlin) as early as 1908. Hugo Riesenfeld, a Viennese musician who had lived in America since 1907, bought them at the auction of the Heyer Museum in Cologne in 1926. After Riesenfeld's death in 1939, the second Violin and Bassus parts were purchased by Mrs. Mary Flagler Cary, whose overwhelmingly rich collection of musical manuscripts was given to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York in 1968.[8] Hugo Riesenfeld's third part, the flute part, disappeared from view and remained unknown even to the world's greatest Bach scholars and manuscript hunters. It was, however, found recently (in about 1971/72) on a pile of rubble near Greenwich Village in New York where some houses had been torn down to make way for new construction. I sought out the elated finder and keeper of this page in May, 1977, and persuaded him to

[8]Among American libraries the Pierpont Morgan Library is second only to the Library of Congress in the realm of autograph music manuscripts. In addition to the scores of Cantatas 112, 171, and 197a, two parts of Cantata 9, and Bach's last letter, the Pierpont Morgan Library is the home of Haydn's Symphony No. 91, Mozart's "Haffner" Symphony and his *Schauspieldirektor,* Beethoven's "Geister" Trio, Schubert's *Winterreise* and *Schwanengesang,* Brahm's First Symphony, R. Strauss's *Don Juan* and *Tod und Verklärung,* Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* and Schönberg's *Gurrelieder.*

The donation of the collection was made by the Trustees of the Mary Flagler Cary Charitable Trust, one year after Mrs. Cary's death.

allow the Pierpont Morgan Library to photograph his manuscript, a fact for which I would like to express my gratitude again. The autograph title page in the possession of the Metropolitan Opera Guild and this duplicate flute part show that "new" Bach sources can still be found in our day, though they have a way of turning out to be re-emerging old acquaintances that had at some time disappeared from view.

The autograph score of Cantata 171, *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm,* is housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library, deposited there on loan by the Robert Owen Lehman Collection. Ernst Rudorff remembered that his parents had given it to Jähns.[9] But instead of being returned to Rudorff after Jähns's death, at the time when the cantata was published by the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition (in Vol. 35, November, 1888) it was in the hands of Dr. Max Jähns in Berlin, the son of Friedrich Wilhelm Jähns, who had died on August 8 of that year.

PLATE VIII

The opening page of Bach's Cantata 171, *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm* (According to thy name, O God, so is thy praise), is reproduced because it represents the original version of what later was to become the "Patrem omnipotentem" chorus in the *Symbolum Nicenum* of the Mass in B Minor. On account of the precarious condition of the extremely thin paper of this score, its two folios have been placed between plexiglass plates. The color of the paper is moderately brown; that of the ink, black. The size of the page shown here is approximately 33 x 22 cm. The caption on page 1 reads: "J. J Festo Circumcisionis Xsti. Concerto. à 4 Voci. 3 Trombe, Tamburi, 2 Hautb/ 2 Violini, Viola e Contin: di Bach." The cantata was thus written for New Year's Day. Picander's text (1728-29), the "Posthorn" watermark, and other reasons speak for New Year 1729 as the date of its first performance (though it might also have taken place one or two years later). BWV 171 is not a chorale cantata. Bach turns the Psalm text (Psalm 48:10) that Picander had chosen for his New Year's cantata, into a vast fugue in which the two oboes and strings go in motet style *colla parte* in unison with the four choral voices. Yet with the fifth statement of the fugal subject the first trumpet begins to add an independent part and a new silvery sound that is intensified when the second trumpet and, finally, the third trumpet (and kettledrums) join in, leading the movement to a brilliantly triumphant end. While the seraphic sound of the trumpets hovers above the chorus, the chains of eighth notes of the continuo instruments form its agitated basis.

The reader who is accustomed to the later version of this movement, as it appears in the Mass in B Minor, will recognize "changes for the better" in the shape of the fugal subject and probably find its original form a bit stiff (see example).

[9]Cf. *Neue Bach Ausgabe,* I/14, Critical Report, p. 84.

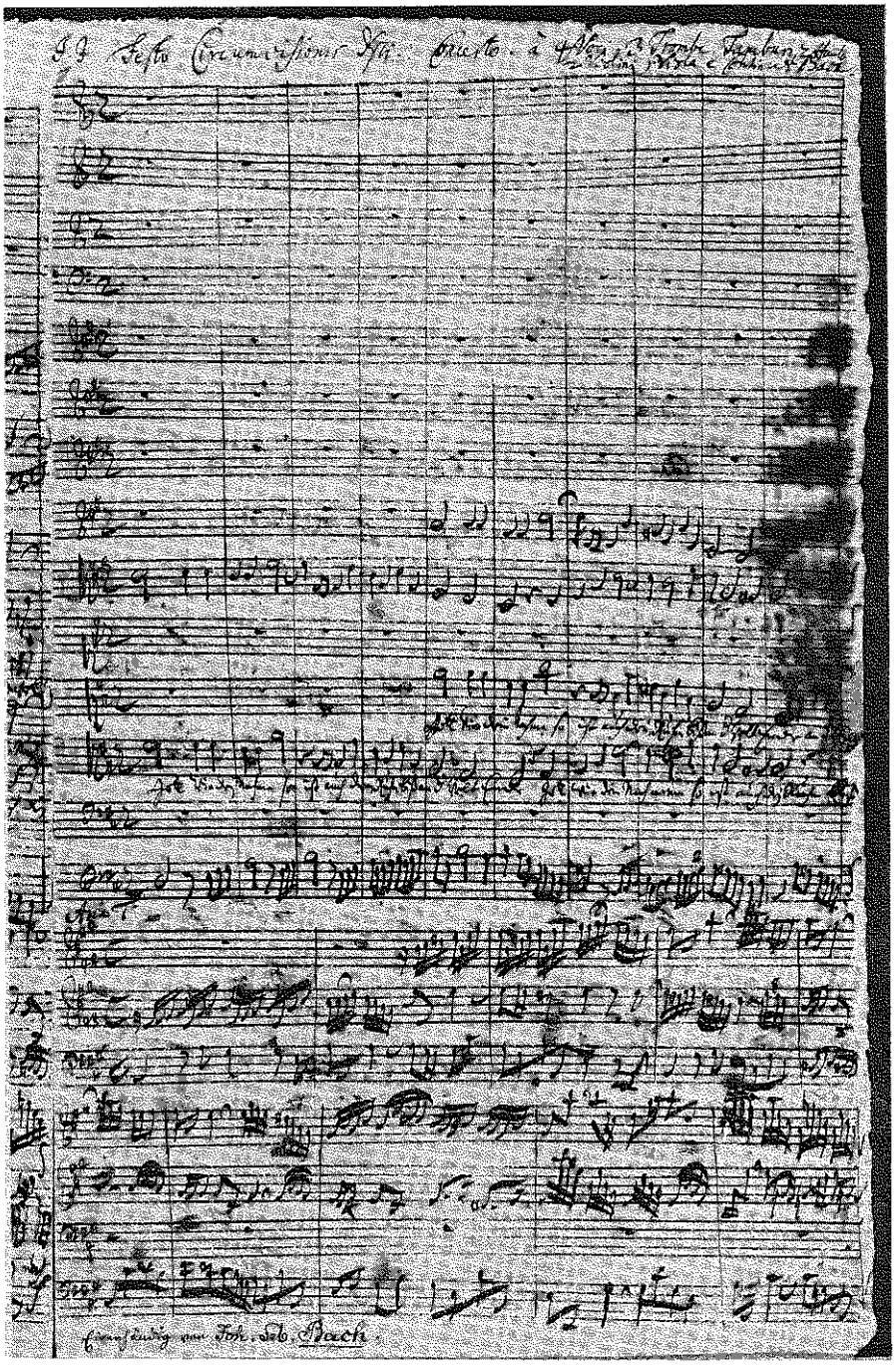
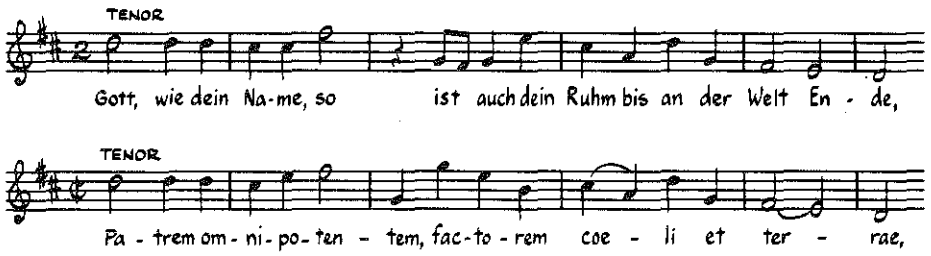


Plate VIII
From: Cantata BWV 171
Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm

EXAMPLE



He will also miss the three symbolic shouts of "Credo in unum Deum" that connect the "Patrem omnipotentem" with the Credo's opening movement. Perhaps he will also notice that the cantata chorus begins with the *subject* in the tenor, not with the *answer* of the subject in the bass, which the Mixolydian close of the preceding Credo movement of the Mass had made necessary. The cantata chorus thus lacks the six initial measures of the "Patrem omnipotentem"; but from measure 7 on the two movements are structurally identical.

The opening chorus of the cantata with its fourteen-stave brace fills the upper portion of the first seven pages of the score. Since Bach notated the instruments in the order in which he had listed them in the caption (see Plate VIII), there was no need for him to name them again at the beginning of the score proper. Bach used the number "2" as time signature to indicate the *alla breve* nature of the movement. (In the B-Minor Mass he preceded the adopted movement with the time signature "¢".) The absence of accidentals on the four upper staves shows that Bach calls for trumpets (and kettledrums) in the key of D.

On the unused lower staves of the first seven pages Bach entered his "Aria 1," i.e., the second movement, the tenor aria "Herr, so weit die Wolken gehen" (Lord, as far as clouds will go). The opening page (see Plate VIII) accommodates the first nine measures of its ritornello on one three-stave and one four-stave brace. Bach failed to name the two obbligato instruments. Since the performing parts have not survived, we can only guess by the compass and general style of these parts that he meant them to be played by Violino I and II although oboes or oboe and violin are likewise conceivable. On the two upper staves Bach gave these A-major parts a signature of five accidentals, while on the remaining five staves he was content with the necessary three sharps. That the empty penultimate staff reserved for the tenor voice contains the bass clef shows that even Bach can make a mistake; unless we want to assume that during the writing of the ritornello he was still thinking of a bass aria (which, however, seems unlikely).

The postscript "Eigenhändig von Joh. Seb. Bach." does not resemble Fr. W. Jähns's handwriting sufficiently to be attributed to him. It may well have been written by his son, Dr. Max Jähns (1837-1900), in whose possession the manuscript was when Spitta completed his Bach biography (in 1879) and

when Alfred Dörffel published the cantata in Volume 36 of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition (1888). Plate VIII is reproduced by kind permission of the Robert Owen Lehman Collection which is on deposit at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City.

The particularly beautiful autograph score of Cantata 112, *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt,* did not find its way to America via the *Musikbibliothek Peters.* When the *Bach-Gesellschaft* published this cantata in 1876, Bach's manuscript of it was in the possession of Ernst Rudorff's godmother and first piano teacher, the now married Marie Hoffmeister, née Lichtenstein.

The score had been in the possession of Karl Pistor and was given to Marie either by him or by his daughter and son-in-law, Betty and Adolf Rudorff. Since Pistor died on April 1, 1847, and Marie married in the summer of that year, the thought arises that the manuscript was perhaps a wedding present. It seems even more believable that it was a farewell present for Marie who had to leave the cultural climate of the city of Berlin with its budding love for the music of Bach. She had to exchange the big city in which she had grown up for the small town of Blankenburg im Harz where her husband, Dr. August Hoffmeister (1815-1895) held a position in the Lutheran church. Because her marriage remained childless, Marie decided in her later years (between 1876 and 1886) to present Bach's score to her friend Ernst who was her junior by twenty-three years and thereby return the gift she had received a generation earlier to the Rudorff family.[10]

PLATES IX A AND B

One look at the reproduction of the first page of BWV 112, *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt* (The Lord is my faithful Shepherd), reveals the extraordinary beauty of the autograph score. The rather brown paper is thin and brittle so that a few tiny particles of its borders and corners have crumbled away. However, Bach's penmanship on the five pages of the first movement is of superb elegance and clarity (see Plate IXA). Its fair copy character has led to the logical assumption that what we face here is a copy of an earlier version of this chorale fantasy, about the original date of which the Bach specialists Robert L. Marshall and Alfred Dürr have not yet come to an agreement. In about two-hundred and fifty years the ink has lost none of its original black color. The size of the manuscript is 33.5 x 21 cm. Due to the thin paper, the watermark of the small (3 x 3 cm) "Posthorn" with "GV"

[10]For the above and some of the following information I am greatly indebted to Dr. Hans-Joachim Schulze of the *Bach-Archiv Leipzig.*

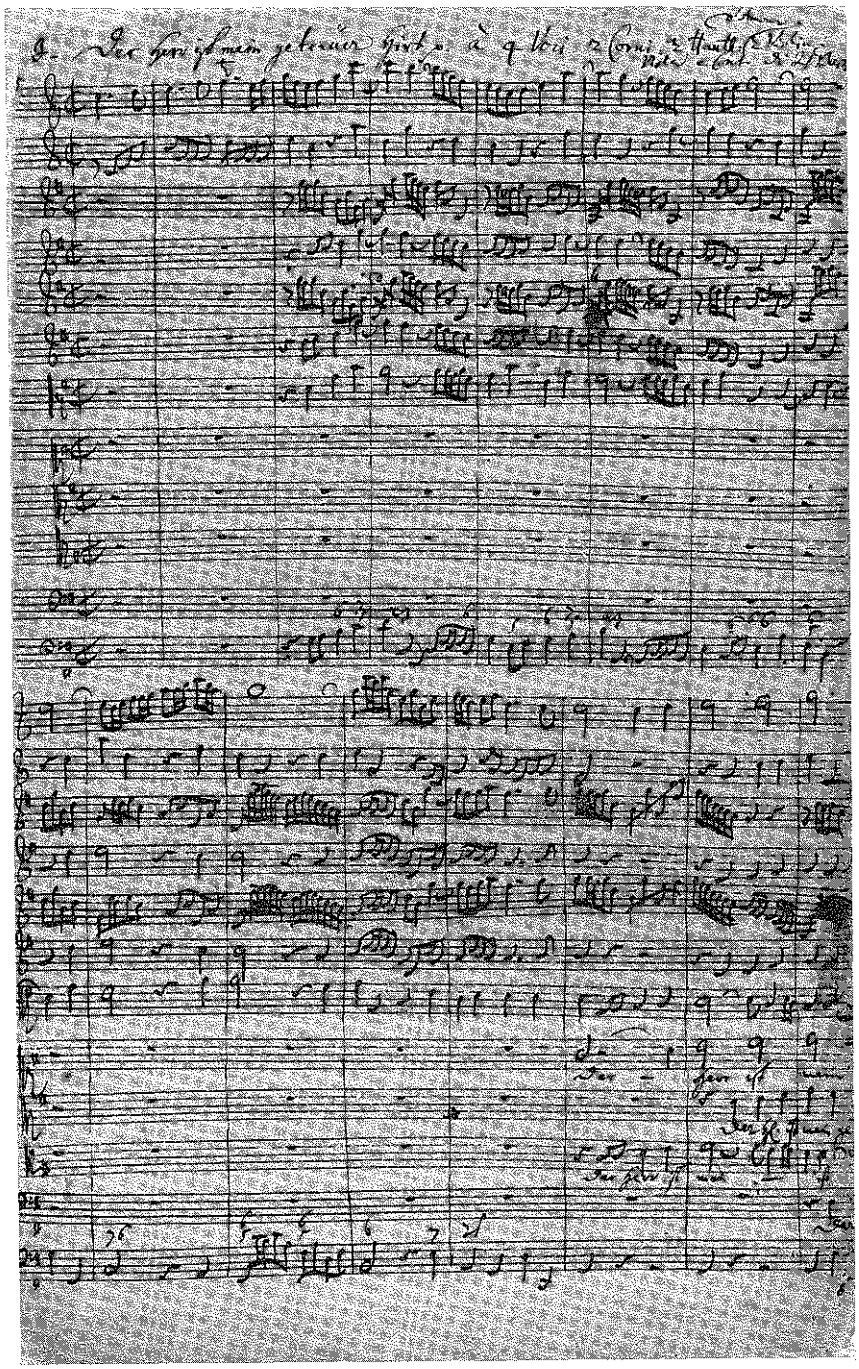


Plate IX A
From: Cantata BWV 112
Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt

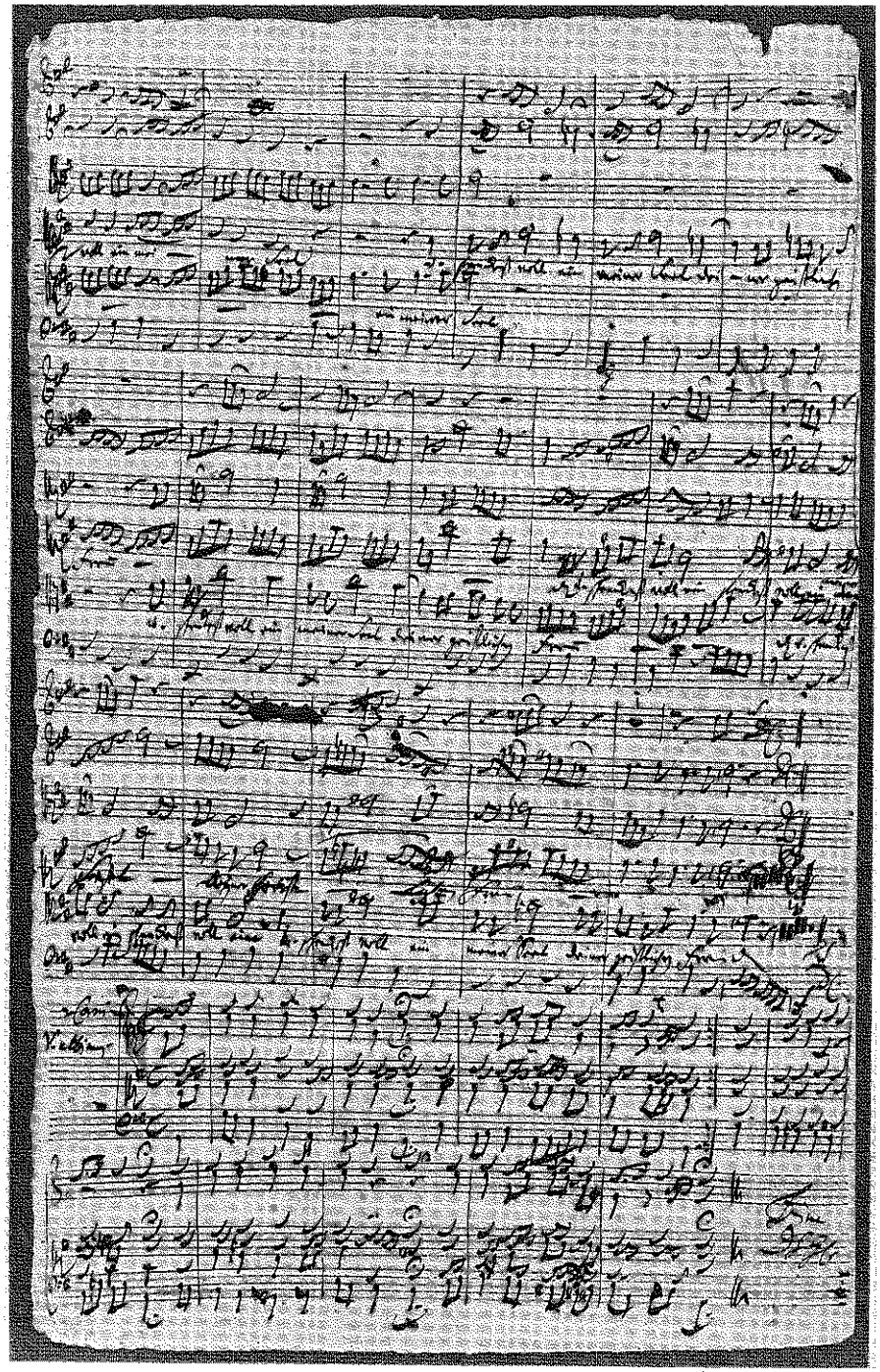


Plate IX B
From: Cantata BWV 112
Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt

as its countermark is clearly visible. This watermark, as well as the fact that the title page of the extant parts (in the *Bach Archiv Leipzig)* contains the notation "Misericordias Domini," i.e., for the second Sunday after Easter, establish April 8, 1731 as the date of its first performance (with the possible exception of its opening movement as already stated.)

Bach used Wolfgang Meuslin's hymn of 1531, a poetic recasting of the twenty-third Psalm, as text for the whole cantata. Like *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* (BWV 140) of 1731, *Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt* is a chorale cantata which Bach added years later to his basic stock of chorale cantatas for 1724-25 that had ended quite abruptly with the Annunciation Cantata 1, *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* (How brightly shines the morning star), on March 25, 1725.

At top left of page 1 (see Plate IXA) Bach's caption has lost the first "J" of "J [esu] J [uva]." It now reads: "J. Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt [in German script] p. [= etc.] à 4 Voci. 2 Corni: 2 Hautb: d'Amour 2 Violini/ Viola e Cont. di J S Bach." [from "p" on in Latin script]. (Bach had at first omitted the word "d'Amour" but added it subsequently above the "2 Hautb:".) Since Bach notated the parts of the instruments in the order in which he had enumerated them in the caption, he found it unnecessary to name them again at the beginning of the score proper. The first movement, one of Bach's most serene chorale fantasies, fills the first five pages of the score with its two, apparently custom-ruled twelve-stave braces. The continuo is fully figured in the opening ritornello, an unusual feature, which strengthens the assumption that this is not the composing score of the first movement. The time signature is "¢". The lack of accidentals in the two French horn parts shows that Bach calls for 2 horns in G. In the twelfth, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth staves we meet a Bachian idiosyncrasy again, that of entering the f-sharp of this G-major movement twice. The opening by the first horn and its modified echo in the continuo part show a subtle relationship to the first cantus firmus phrase, that is, to Nicolaus Decius's reshaping of the plain chant "Gloria in excelsis Deo" into the hymn tune "Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr." The second horn indicates its independence as early as the opening measures while the only other independent part, the first violin, is reinforced by the doubling first oboe d'amore. The entrance of the chorus clarifies this independence and shows that the other instruments go *colla parte:* Corno I with the soprano, Oboe d'amore II and Violino II with the alto, Viola with the tenor, and the continuo instruments with the bass. The concertante vying of the horns with the strings, which are doubled by the oboes, and the linear flow of the voices can already be gleaned from the opening page which, together with the final page, is reproduced by kind permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, where Bach's score constitutes one of the components of its rich *Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection.*

A look at the seven pages that follow the first movement reveals that Bach's handwriting became considerably more hurried and less tidy, resulting in an increasing number of corrections. The duet for soprano, tenor, and strings (movement 4) is notated in four six-stave braces per page and bears the *alla breve* time signature "2". The fact that BWV 112 is a

genuine chorale cantata, using the hymn verses exclusively for its text, may have caused Bach to reconcile the form of this duet with the "bar-form" of the chorale. Plate IXB shows the last eighteen measures of the duet, short of its eighteen-measure ritornello (see the da capo signs at the end of staves 13, 14, 15, and 18 and the rest signs [18 measures] for the voices on staves 16 and 17.) With the upbeat of the soprano in bar 3 of this page begins the final return to the "A" section of the duet's overall form: A A B A. Its joyous, dance-like similarity to the opening chorale phrase is emphasized by the canonic repeat in the tenor four measures later (measure 1 of staff 11).

Since the duet ends on the eighteenth staff of the last page, only six staves were left for the final chorale, which Bach compressed into two three-stave braces. On the upper staff he wrote the two horn parts, giving the second horn a rather independent part, with three brisk extra notes before the final chords of sections A and B. This left only two staves, in treble and bass clefs, to accommodate the four vocal parts, the tenor frequently joining the soprano and alto on the crowded middle staff (see Plate IXB). Obviously, no space remained for the text. But by adding "V [ersus] ultim-[us]" below the "2 Corni," Bach left no doubt that the last stanza of Meuslin's hymn was to be used. The hymn melody is, of course, again "Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr" which had already served as cantus firmus in the opening movement. Bach's "Fine" and beneath it — drawn together with one pen-stroke — "DSG" *(Deo Soli Gloria,* the "G" with Bach's customary closing loop) bear witness to the speed with which Bach terminated the writing of his score.

BWV 112 is included on a so-far-unpublished list that Ernst Rudorff had compiled in 1886 when he first tried to sell his Bach manuscripts. After Marie's death in 1890, Rudorff inherited the rest of her musical estate. Cantata 112 must have been sold between 1886 and 1916. If it was offered for sale at the Stargardt auction in 1893 when Rudorff's scores of Bach's Cantatas 115 and 116 were sold, it may have been acquired by Dr. Max Abraham (1831-1900), the founder of the *Edition Peters* (1867) who in 1893 — just four weeks before this auction — had opened the *Musikbibliothek Peters.* Abraham's nephew and successor Henri Hinrichsen might have inherited the score in 1900 when he became the sole owner of his family's publishing house. It is, of course, also possible that Hinrichsen purchased the score from Rudorff after his uncle's death or acquired it from Rudorff's estate for his private collection. Be that as it may, when Ernst Rudorff died in 1916, the score of this cantata was not among the Bach treasures purchased by the *Musikbibliothek Peters* as has sometimes been assumed. The absence of the characteristic oval stamp of the *Musikbibliothek Peters* anywhere in the autograph score of Cantata 112 confirms the fact that — unlike Cantatas 2, 20, 113, and

114 — it never belonged to this collection. This is corroborated by the fact that Peter Krause did not include this manuscript in his comprehensive catalogue of *Die Handschriften der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs in der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.*[11] That Henri Hinrichsen maintained a private collection of autographs can be deduced indirectly from a short article written by Liesbeth Weinhold in 1940.[12] This article is entitled: *"Musikerautographen aus fünf Jahrhunderten. Eine bedeutende Erwerbung der Leipziger Stadbibliothek,."* The account, which includes Cantata 112 among the "new acquisitions" of the *Stadtbibliothek,* mentions among these also a letter by Leopold Mozart dated November 10, 1762. Now it so happens that this same letter had already appeared eighteen years earlier as a facsimile in the following publication: *"Briefe berühmter Meister der Musik aus meiner Autographensammlung. Den Teilnehmers am Jahresessen des Leipziger Bibliophilenabends gewidmet von Henri Hinrichsen. Im Februar 1922."* (Letters of famous composers from my collection of autographs. Dedicated to the participants of the annual banquet at the evening gathering of the Leipzig Bibliophiles by Henri Hinrichsen. February 1922.) This proves that Henri Hinrichsen was the owner of a private collection of autographs. Henri Hinrichsen, who in 1926 succeeded in acquiring the large instrument collection of the Heyer Museum in Cologne for the Musicological Institute at the University of Leipzig and on whom this University bestowed the degree of *Dr. phil. honoris causa* in 1929, died at the age of 74 on September 30, 1942, in Auschwitz, a victim of the Holocaust. After World War II, the autograph score of Cantata 112 and two autograph receipts of October 26, 1742, and of October 27, 1744, were brought to America by his son Walter. The two receipts were purchased by Mr. J. J. Fuld of New York City, while the autograph score of Cantata 112 was acquired by Mrs. Cary and is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Though written in 1731, this chorale cantata nevertheless belonged to the cycle of works inherited by Friedemann Bach.

The same is true of Cantata 9, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.* Not only the three duplicate parts of this late chorale cantata (see above) but also the autograph score found their ultimate home in America, the latter in the Library of Congress. Like Cantata 9, Cantata 97, *In allen meinen Taten,* of 1734 is one of Bach's last church cantatas, representing a newly written work rather than a work incorporating movements transcribed from earlier compositions. Spitta tells us that the autograph score of this cantata, which in 1932 was presented to the Music Division of the New York Public Library, was in the

[11] *Bibliographische Veröffentlichungen der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig,* 1964.
[12] In *Philobiblon,* Jahrgang 12, 1940, pp. 52-57.

possession of Ernst Rudorff.[13] This is, however, demonstrably a case of mistaken identity and thus constitutes one of the rare errors made by the great Bach biographer.

That the first version of the funeral motet *O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht* of 1736 or 1737 — published in the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition as Cantata 118 — is the last autograph score by Bach to be found in America is perhaps less significant than the fact that it is the autograph score of what is actually Bach's very last motet.

PLATE X

Page 1 of BWV 9, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (Salvation has come to us), is reproduced by kind permission of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The size of the autograph score, which is in a relatively good state of preservation, is 35.5 x 22.3 cm. The legibility of Bach's handwriting has benefited to a remarkable degree from a cleaning process that was undertaken by the Library of Congress in 1979. The color of the paper is light brown, that of the ink, black. The large size of the "MA" watermark places the writing of this score into the time between July 6, 1732 and February 2, 1735. Since the cantata was composed for the sixth Sunday after Trinity, its first performance must have taken place in July or on one of the first days of August in 1732, 1733, or 1734. July 12, 1733 is an unlikely date because Bach was in all probability still busy with the completion of the *Missa* of the later Mass in B Minor, many of the parts of which Bach wrote himself, delivering them to the new Elector in Dresden on July 27 of that year. The absence of Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach as copyists of some of the parts of BWV 9 and the presence of the copyists designated by modern Bach scholarship, for lack of full identity, Ve, Vk and Vl, speak rather in favor of August 1, 1734. Comparing Bach's handwriting of Cantata 97, which is dated 1734 (see Plate XI), with that of BWV 9, speaks at least not against this suggested date.

Plate X represents the first of the seventeen pages of the score. Bach's caption above the beginning of the manuscript reads: "J. J. Dom̃ca 6. post Trinitatis. Es ist d[as] Heyl uns kom̃en her. a 4 Voci. 1 Trav. 1 Hautb./ 2 Violini. Viola e Cont." Bach wrote the twenty-four-measure-long ritornello on the first page on three six-stave brackets and one brace of five staves (condensing the two violin parts in one staff). Apparently not pressed for time, Bach notated at the beginning of the score the following instruments: "Travers."/"Hautb d'Amour"/"Violino 1"/"Violino 2" leaving only Viola and Continuo unnamed. What looks like a French treble clef (i.e., a treble clef on the first line) at the beginning of the flute part (staff 1) must be read as a regular treble clef. In contrast to the oboe part which shows at the beginning

[13]In his *Johann Sebastian Bach*, II, p. 703 of the English edition, London 1883/85, reprinted London and New York, 1951. Spitta's error is not to be found in the German edition, Leipzig 1873/80, reprinted Wiesbaden 1970, II, p. 805 f.

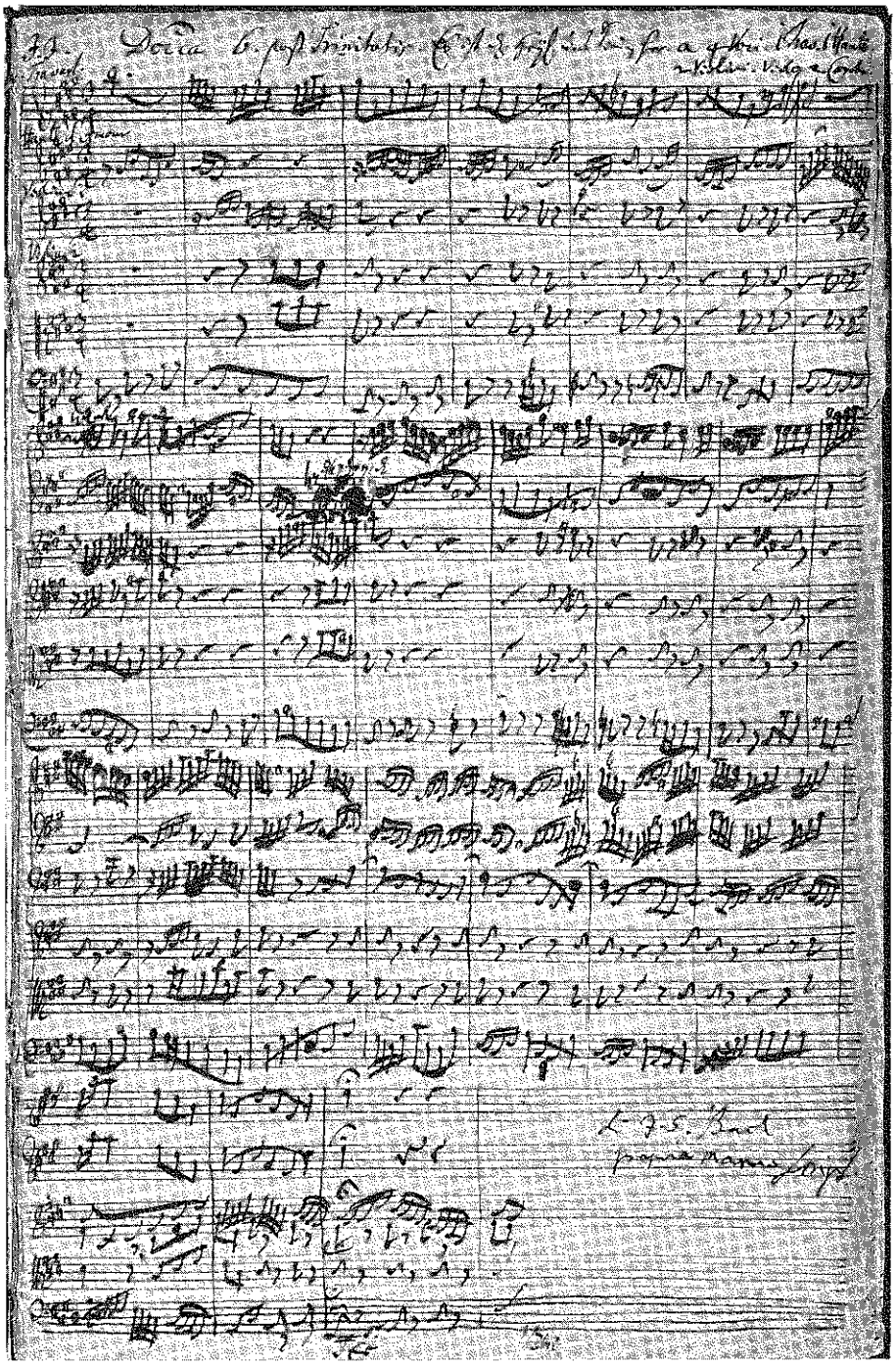


Plate X
From: Cantata BWV 9
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her

of its second and eighth staves six rather than four sharps for this E-major movement, at least two of the six sharps on staff 1 seem to be misplaced. The manuscript is obviously Bach's composing score. See, for instance, the utter confusion on the first beat of measure 8 in the flute part (staff 7) or on the second and third beats of measure 10 in the oboe d'amore part (staff 8) where only about one half of the letters "h c d h c d e c/d," added by Bach for clarification, are decipherable. At the twenty-fourth measure of this page the soprano enters with the first cantus firmus word "Es," which Bach appended below measure 3 of the twenty-third staff. The fermatas on the first beat of this measure indicate that the opening ritornello is to be repeated at the end of the movement. At the right of this five-stave brace Wilhelm Friedemann added "di J. S. Bach/propria manu script." (By J. S. Bach/ written by his own hand). Thereby he identified the composer of the cantata, as well as himself as owner of the manuscript. The "Volti" at the bottom of the page urges the reader to turn the page. When the voices enter on the next page, the six staves Bach used for the ritornello became ten-stave braces. The ritornello of the opening movement of BWV 9 shows, in contrast to that of BWV 112/1 (Plate IXA), no connection with the hymn tune "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her." Its independent orchestral fabric grows naturally out of the three short motives with which, in a most lively display of colors, the oboe d'amore, the transverse flute and the first violin open the movement.

The lack of a cantata for the sixth Sunday after Trinity in 1724 is explained by a visit Bach and his wife paid to Cöthen at that time. The first cantata written for this Sunday (BWV 170, *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* of 1726) is a solo cantata. BWV 9, based on Paul Speratus's hymn of 1523, "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her," is thus Bach's only chorale cantata for the sixth Sunday after Trinity. Though composed perhaps as many as ten years after the chorale cantata year cycle, it belatedly fills a gap in the scores Friedemann Bach inherited. Three additional facts speak for Friedemann's ownership. (1) When Friedemann offered the scores of his father's chorale cantatas to J. N. Forkel for twenty *louis d'or,* the latter was unable to raise the requested amount. But he paid Friedemann two *louis d'or* for the privilege of examining these manuscripts. Among the few cantatas Forkel copied was *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.* (2) As in the case of the other chorale cantatas, the scores of which belonged to Friedemann's legacy, the parts of BWV 9 were inherited by Anna Magdalena, and were turned over by her to the Thomasschule and are now in the *Bach-Archiv Leipzig.* (3) The son who inherited the score usually claimed and also received their duplicate parts. In this instance we know that the duplicate parts had been in the possession of the Rudorff family and thus had once belonged to Friedemann Bach. Three of them are now in this country (see p. 31). Since Bach wrote the cantata in about 1734, that is, after Friedemann had left his father's house, he must have added his authenticating inscription on page 1 (see Plate X) at a later time. This inscription makes sense only if it is seen in connection with Friedemann's desire to sell the manuscript. Friedemann probably added his own inscription between 1771 and 1774 when he offered his father's manuscripts, first to Forkel, then to the general public, for sale.

The score of BWV 9 was acquired in the early 1920's from the Berlin music dealer Leo Liepmannssohn by Dr. Werner Wolffheim, Berlin's most discriminating private collector of music manuscripts. After Wolffheim's death in 1930, Carl Engel, then chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, recommended the purchase of the score to the Librarian of Congress. On June 11, 1931, it became the first major autograph manuscript by Bach to be acquired by the nation's Library. (Its present call number is ML 96/.B 186/case).

PLATE XI

The last (20th) page of the autograph score of Bach's Cantata 97, "In allen meinen Taten" (In all my deeds), shows, in contrast to the sparseness with which Bach had notated the final chorales of Cantatas 20 or 112 (see Plates II and IXB) an even more bewildering wealth of two ten-stave braces for the writing of the concluding chorale. The heading "Versus ultim [us]" clarifies which stanza of Paul Fleming's hymn of 1642 is to be sung by the voices notated without text. That Bach indicated the instruments: "H, H [H = Hautbois], V, Viol., Viola, Sopr, Alt, Ten., Baß, Cont." 1 2 1 2 is quite unusual. It was made at least partly necessary by the fact that Bach enlarged the customary four-part harmony of the chorale to a seven-part texture by the addition of lively obbligato parts for the two violins and the viola. However, the two oboes go *colla parte* with the soprano, the continuo with the vocal bass, thus hardly justifying their individual staves. By adding independent string parts, Bach imbued Heinrich Isaac's old melody, which he had used as a hymn tune on numerous previous occasions, with fresh interest. To the right of the soprano's final note Bach signed his composition "Fine. SDG." (the G with its typical closing loop) and "1734.", a year in which Bach was not pressed for time by the writing of new cantatas. The large "MA" watermark of the paper, which measures 34.2 x 22 cm, can be observed in Bach manuscripts from July 6, 1732 to February 2, 1735. It thus corroborates the autograph date "1734." The paper color of this particularly well preserved manuscript is light brown, that of the ink, black-brown. Bach did not cross out this page. The diagonal lines are an unfortunate blemish on the microfilm of the New York Public Library from which the photo shown on Plate XI was made.

The tiny inscription at bottom left identifies "Frederick Locker/1872" (1821-1895), a well-known English collector of music manuscripts, as a former owner of the score. At bottom right someone listed dates and places of Bach's birth and death and the year of composition of this rather late church cantata.

The last page of the precious manuscript is reproduced by kind permission of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox & Tilden Foundations.

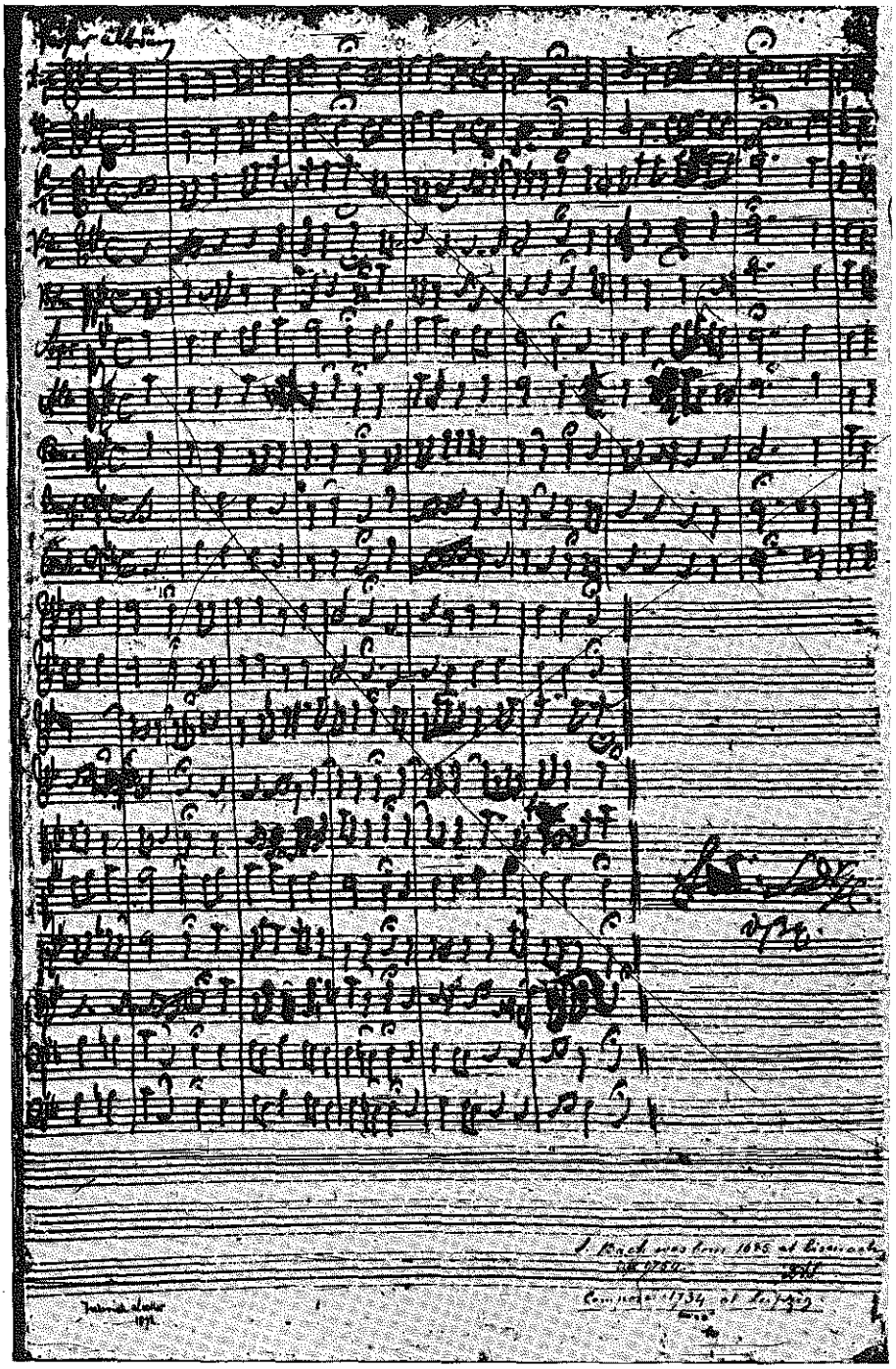


Plate XI
From: Cantata BWV 97
In allen meinen Taten

Plate XII

BWV 118, *O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht* (O Jesus Christ, light of my life), shown here in the first of its two original versions, is not a cantata but a true chorale motet. That the composition appeared as Cantata 118 in Volume 24 of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition in 1876 was probably due to the nature of the work: a chorale chorus with the cantus firmus in the soprano, which is preceded and followed by an independent ritornello and whose four cantus firmus phrases are separated by orchestral episodes. The instruments however, with noticeable exceptions, go *colla parte:* the Cornetto with the soprano, Trombone I with the alto, and Trombone II with the tenor. Since there is no separate continuo part, the vocal bass remains unsupported. The part of Trombone III with its reiterated quarter notes and the two "Litui" (i.e., high horns) act for the most part as free agents in the ensemble, a fact that may have persuaded Alfred Dörffel, the editor, to include the work as a cantata in his *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition. Whereas Bach had used the term "Motetto" at the beginning of his career for his Cantata *Gott ist mein König,* BWV 71 — written for the Mühlhausen town council election, and certainly a piece of true concerted church music — he used the heading "Motetto" in BWV 118 advisedly for a composition that is a true funeral motet.

The use of brass instruments and the absence of the continuo suggest an open air performance by the grave side. The second version of the motet, written by Bach a few years later, is a typical fair copy. The replacing of the original cornetto and trombone parts by strings, two oboes, oboe da caccia, and bassoon may have been motivated by the use of the composition in a church service, perhaps in connection with the funeral of Count Joachim Friedrich von Flemming in 1740.

While the autograph score of this second version is in private possession in Switzerland, that of the first version is in the United States. The profoundly moving, serene setting of the first stanza of Martin Behm's funeral hymn of 1611 is sung by the sopranos to the anonymous hymn tune "Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid" (O God, what heartbreak). The autograph score in ink of dark brown color is in rather poor condition. The paper has turned quite brown and become so brittle that it has crumbled away in some spots, while the ink has in a few cases eaten through the paper and left holes. The manuscript consists of one folio that measures 35 x 21 cm and of an oblong half-sheet measuring 26 x 20.5 cm. Each one of the four pages of the folio is made up of two braces of ten staves each; the half-sheet, of one ten-stave brace. When the folio is turned upside down, the watermark, the heraldic weapon of Zedwitz, and its countermark "NM" are clearly visible. Letters written by Bach in 1736 on the paper of the half-sheet and compositions that share the watermark of the folio, aid the placing of the composition of this work in the years 1736-37.

The autograph caption at the top of the first page (see Plate XII) reads: "J. J Motetto a 4 Voci. due Litui. 1 Cornet. 3 Trombone." "No 70" (not in Bach's hand) after "Motetto" refers to the *Breitkopf & Härtel Archiv* which seems to have housed this manuscript until 1945. On November 20, 1953, it

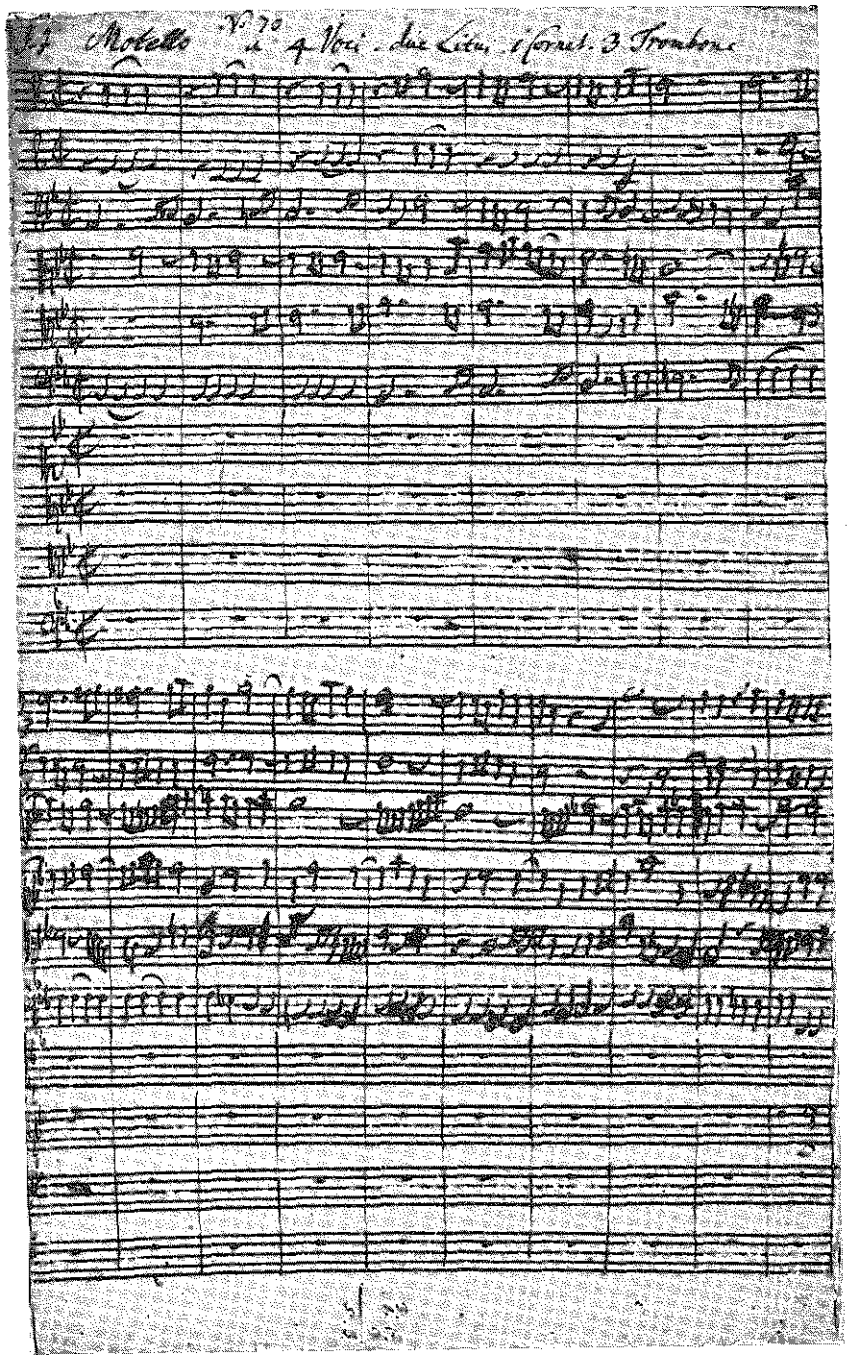


Plate XII
From: Cantata BWV 118[1]
O Jesu Christ

was acquired by William H. Scheide of Princeton, New Jersey, with whose kind permission its first page (Plate XII) is reproduced. The score is now in the Scheide Library at Princeton University. The many corrections that resulted in blots and blotches indicate that Bach wrote this score with utmost speed (see, for instance, measures 11-17 of the second, and measures 12-16 of the third trombone parts). The many changes and corrections prove further that the manuscript is unquestionably the composing score of BWV 118, i.e., its first version. Though the score includes four blank staves for the chorus during the purely instrumental sections, it is, with this exception, written in a tightly compressed manner (see Plate XII). Bach listed the instruments in his caption by the order in which he notated them in the score, without naming them there again. The "due Litui" are notated, as transposing instruments, in treble clef without accidentals, the cornetto in treble, and the three trombones in alto, tenor, and bass clefs. Bach assigned to the brass instruments a motif — conceivably grafted from measures 5-7 of the second cantus firmus phrase and imitated by inversion at half-measure distance — that weaves a tightly-knit pattern around the chorale. It even takes control of the accompanying alto and tenor voices in the second cantus firmus phrase. The entrances of Cornetto, Trombone I, Trombone II, and, two measures later, of Trombone III, Lituus I and Cornetto can be clearly seen on the top brace of Plate XII, which contains the ritornello. The entrance of the alto voice (see the half-note with the text syllable "O" on the third lowest staff) precedes the B-flat-major close of the ritornello, which overlaps with the intoning of the cantus firmus by the soprano.

The meaning of the numbers, written crosswise below the twentieth staff, remains a mystery:

3.
1. 6.
9
5. 3

The copies of Bach compositions that were made by others during the composer's lifetime or shortly thereafter and which have found their way to this country are almost exclusively devoted to Bach's clavier and organ works. They range from the second oldest copy of Book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (begun in 1725) to Mozart's copy of the four-part fugues from Book II (the first five) which he arranged in 1782 for string quartet performance at the home of Baron van Swieten. Friedemann Bach's copy of the fifth movement of his father's cantata *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* and a

curious short score of BWV 9, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her,* also in Friedemann's handwriting, constitute the almost negligible portion of contemporaneous copies of his father's choral music in the United States — negligible, if seen in contrast to the wealth of some twenty copies in America that were made from Bach's keyboard music.

Of the few compositions that were printed during Bach's lifetime, thirty-two — one fifth of the preserved number of copies — are presently in this country. They begin — in chronological order — with one of the rare single copies of the first *Clavier Partita,* published in 1726, and end with four copies of the 1752 edition of the *Art of Fugue.* Among these first editions in America are Bach's personal and richly amended copy of the *Schübler Chorales* (which William H. Scheide succeeded in acquiring), the Library of Congress copy of *Clavierübung I,* which contains a number of annotations (especially tempo changes) apparently in Bach's handwriting, and finally the complete set of all four parts of the *Clavierübung* which the Yale University Music Library calls its own.

In 1968, the Luther-Bible that headed the list of books left by Bach at his death reappeared almost miraculously. This copy of the three-volume work, edited and annotated by the orthodox Lutheran theologian Abraham Calov (1612-86), had long been believed lost. It had, however, come to Philadelphia some 130 years ago, which makes it the earliest Bach source to have arrived in the United States. It seems almost incredible that Bach's Bible should have reposed in the Library of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, since 1938 without its identity and provenance having been made known beyond the local level. It is due to the persistent detective work of Christoph Trautmann that not only was its hiding place finally officially disclosed, but also that permission was granted to exhibit Bach's Bible during the Heidelberg *Bachfest* in 1969. Trautmann has since told the story of this spectacular find and shown the ideological significance of the revealing annotations Bach had penned into the margins of his Bible.[14] Identical signatures at the right bottom of each title page of the three-volume work attest to Bach's ownership. They are almost identical with a signature I happen to own. The reappearance of Bach's Bible encouraged me to publish the detective story of the provenance and authenticity of my signature and to show to what book in Bach's possession it may once have belonged.[15]

[14]"Bach's Bible," *American Choral Review,* Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1972, pp. 3-11.

[15]Gerhard Herz, "J. S. Bach 1733: A 'new' Bach Signature" in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel,* Kassel and Hackensack, N.J. 1974, pp. 254-63.

In the one small remaining category, that of autograph Bach documents other than music, the letters of the composer deserve to be mentioned first. Unlike Mozart, Bach was not a prolific letter writer. Of Bach's forty-four extant letters — not counting testimonials for students or reports on new organs — only two are in America. But these are the last letters of the composer that have survived: the famous ones addressed to his cousin Johann Elias Bach. The one of October 6, 1748, about the "Prussian Fugue," is in the Scheide Library at Princeton University. The other one of November 2, 1748, about the unwelcome gift of a cask of wine, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This last extant letter, although in its content almost amusingly prosaic, serves at the same time as a poignant reminder of the aging master's cramped and deteriorating penmanship.

Receipts for certain annual payments are certainly not among the most interesting documents of a genius. But here again, of ten receipts and two fragments in America, all of which have their own specific graphological significance, four are of particular interest. Not only do they belong to Bach's last ones, but the very last, though incomplete receipt (from the end of October 1749) is no longer written by Bach himself but by his fourteen-year-old son Johann Christian. This moving indication of either failing eyesight or failing general health, or possibly of both, appears nine months before the composer's death.[16] It marks the midway point between Gottlob Harrer's seemingly inappropriate "trial performance for the future appointment" as St. Thomas Cantor "in case the Capellmeister and Cantor Sebastian Bach should die" and the two cataract operations performed on Bach's eyes with their ensuing disastrous and eventually fatal result.[17] The fact that Johann Christian Bach wrote this last receipt implies no more nor less than that in the last days of October, 1749, his father was no longer able or willing to write.

A mention of the superbly preserved oil portrait of J.S. Bach that hangs in the music room at the home of William H. Scheide in Princeton will conclude this brief essay. Painted from life by Elias Gottlieb Haussmann in 1748, it is in all probability the portrait that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach owned and in whose house in Hamburg Charles Burney saw it; in addition to Burney's subsequent account, it was also carefully described in C. P. E. Bach's estate catalogue. It is

[16]As early as October 6, 1749, Bach was notably absent from the christening of his godchild Johann Sebastian Altnickol in nearby Naumburg so that the grandfather's place had to be taken by another sponsor. Cf. *Bach-Dokumente,* Vol. II, Kassel, etc., Leipzig, 1969, p. 459.

[17]Harrer's audition took place on June 8, 1749, *ibid.,* p. 457; the two operations, in the last days of March and the first days of April, 1750, *ibid.,* p. 468 f.

the one Bach source in America that does not go back to Wilhelm Friedemann, but to Philipp Emanuel Bach. This painting shows the master as he looked in 1748, one year before his health and eyesight began to deteriorate until a higher fate stayed his hand, and with it his pen, through which the creative and daily thoughts had flowed and which we can follow in American Bach sources through forty-two years of the composer's life.

The Author

GERHARD HERZ, distinguished American Bach scholar, is Professor Emeritus of Music History at the University of Louisville, Kentucky. He was the first to be elected chairman of the American Chapter of the *Neue Bachgesellschaft,* the international organization for the promotion of Bach research and performance. His work has become well known in this country through his editions of Bach's Cantatas 4 and 140 in the Norton Critical Scores series.

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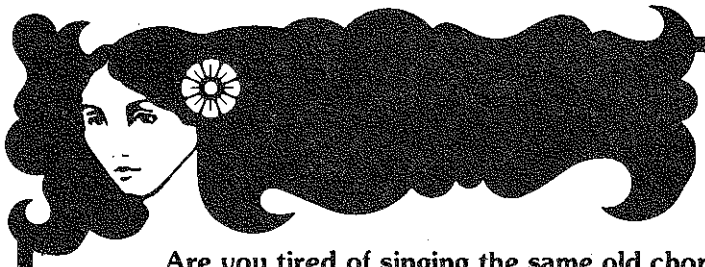

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