

ISSN 2633-9951

Discussing BACH

Issue 6 (December 2023)

Bach for the Future: The Future of Bach Sources

Authorised Transcript

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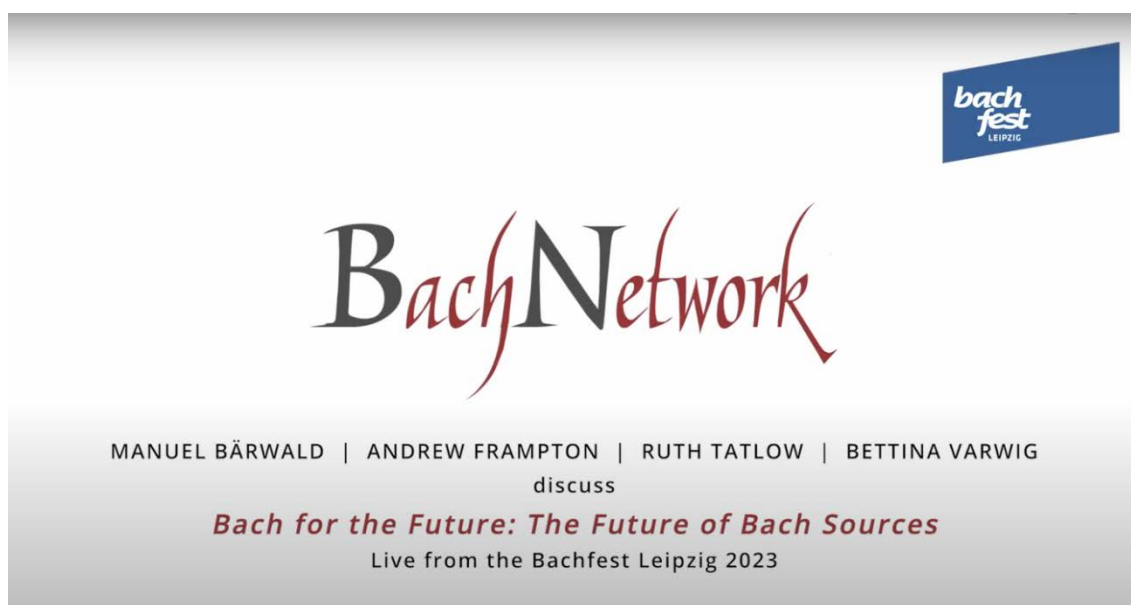
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Bach for the Future: The Future of Bach Sources

Authorised transcript* of a live video discussion with Manuel Bärwald (MB), Andrew Frampton (AF), Ruth Tatlow (RT) and Bettina Varwig (BV).

Recorded on Wednesday, 14 June 2023, in the Blauer Salon, Central Kabarett, Leipzig, Germany, as part of Session 90 of the Bachfest Leipzig 2023.

The editors would like to thank Larry Molinaro and Philipp Marx for stage-managing the live session and overseeing the recording, John Harrington for assembling and editing the audio and video files, and Yo Tomita for formatting the accompanying written materials. The audio is used by kind permission of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig.



*The following transcript has been edited and expanded for clarity and will at times differ from the spoken live discussion.¹

RT Welcome to this Bach Network session at the 2023 Leipzig Bachfest. Over the next 40 minutes or so, we will be discussing 'The Future of Bach Sources'.² Let's start by introducing ourselves.

MB My name is Manuel Bärwald. I'm a Professor of Library and Information Science at the Leipzig University of Applied Sciences. Before that, I worked for 15 years in the research department of the Bach-Archiv. My scientific work includes editions of the works of J.S. Bach and research in the field of scientific communication systems in the early modern period and, well, everything that has to do with music libraries and their collection activities.

AF My name is Andrew Frampton. I'm a Lecturer in Music at the University of Oxford, and I'm also a member of the Bach Network Council. My research interests include the creation and transmission of manuscript sources by J.S. Bach and his circle, particularly the music of Zelenka, music bibliography, textual criticism, and material culture.

RT My name is Ruth Tatlow, and I'm chair of the Bach Network Council. I'm currently a visiting fellow at Clare Hall Cambridge, where I'm writing a book on Bach's liturgical cantatas. My research interests include the history of ideas, and compositional procedures in Bach's time.

BV Hello, I'm Bettina Varwig. I'm a Professor of Music History at the University of Cambridge and a fellow of Emmanuel College. My research interests include the music of J.S. Bach, Heinrich Schütz, musical listening, the history of the emotions, histories of the body, and so on.

AF Although the study of Bach sources has a long and illustrious history, exciting new discoveries and research methods continue to reshape our ideas about Bach, his music and his world. 'The Future of Bach Sources' is therefore a topic that still fundamentally influences the work of everyone studying and engaging with Bach's music. We will each give a five-minute presentation about our research, and after some discussion between us, we'll open up to questions from the audience. So, without further ado, let's begin with Manuel.

MB Thank you, Andrew. It is clear that a Bach manuscript means something quite different to us today than it did to people 300 years ago, so I believe that at the beginning of our discussion it is worth taking a look at the value music manuscripts had in the past. For many centuries, music manuscripts had, above all, a very practical value. Since the printing of sheet music was much more complicated than the printing of books, the handwritten reproduction of sheet music retained its equal importance alongside music printing until the 19th century.

Initially, therefore, the handwritten sources of Bach's works primarily had a practical relevance for performance. In Bach's case, both aspects are combined in collections, such as, for example, the *Alt-Bachisches Archiv*. Bach conscientiously

preserved the musical heritage of his ancestors, but at the same time the sources were for him the basis for a practical engagement with the compositions they contained.

The historicism of the 19th century not only brought the so-called rediscovery of Bach, but also led to a cult of personality that continues in ever new facets today. The value attached to the original manuscripts of outstanding composers developed into a relic-like veneration of the documents and led to such absurd results as the mutilation of the score of Cantata (BWV) 188, *Ich habe meine Zuversicht*. Individual pages were cut into strips, presumably in order to be able to provide an increasing circle of Bach admirers with relics of their master. In the course of Bach research, which had been developing since the middle of the 19th century, the documentary value of the culturally and historically important sources came more and more to the fore.

A highlight of Bach research was the development of the new chronology of the vocal works in the 1950s by diplomatic evaluation of the sources.³ By evaluating the watermarks of the paper and undertaking detailed scribal research, groundbreaking conclusions were made. New findings of comparable scope have not yet been achieved in the course of digital work with Bach's sources. The focus of digitisation to date has been primarily on the location-independent digital provision of the globally scattered sources, and thus makes a major contribution to the sustainable preservation of source content and to the provision of scholarly-supervised, high quality objects and content metadata.

The basic tasks of libraries and documentation centres are to collect, to catalogue, to preserve and to make available relevant materials. I have already mentioned cataloguing work metadata and providing digital access to source material. So finally, let us look just briefly at the aspect of collecting. Collecting Bach sources is becoming increasingly costly for public institutions in an ever-shrinking market of original manuscripts and rising prices. Collection strategies help to objectify the relevance of source materials for one's own collection and to act transparently when acquiring rare and unique holdings, especially when they are designed on an inter-institutional basis.

In 2015, the autograph of the B minor Mass (BWV 232, D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 180) was added to UNESCO's International Memory of the World Register.⁴ As important as this distinction is for Bach's oeuvre, I think, unfortunately, it does a disservice to an urgently needed future understanding of the internationally scattered Bach manuscripts as a coherent and interrelated body of source material. Thank you.

BV Thank you very much, Manuel. I wonder if I could ask a quick follow up question. I'm interested in how you think these collection strategies that you talked about contribute to an understanding of this globally scattered body of manuscripts as a sort of unified corpus of sources?

MB Well, on the one hand, not all libraries have yet developed a collection strategy for their unique holdings. However, the real task for collection development of national important source holdings will be to develop some kind of overarching collection strategy, so not focused only on several institutions. We have that in Germany for all kinds of printed material from the 15th century on until today. But we don't have that for manuscript material, and I think it is worth thinking about such a strategy.

BV Thank you. You know, that's a fascinating prospect. I think we'll move on and hear from Andrew now.

AF Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach said of his father that 'in his last years, he esteemed highly Fux, Caldara, Händel, Kayser, Hasse, both Grauns, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda, and in general, everything that was worthy of esteem in Berlin and Dresden. Except for the first four, he knew the rest personally'.⁵ Today, new research into the source materials of some of these sometimes-marginalised 18th-century composers is significantly reshaping our understanding of the complex musical networks of which J.S. Bach was a part. Of the composers C.P.E. Bach named, I'm particularly interested in Bach's relationship with the Dresden court composer Jan Dismas Zelenka and how they exchanged sources of Catholic music. And I want to talk about just one example that my colleague Janice Stockigt and I have been working on.⁶

As is well known, Bach's Mass in B minor (BWV 232) makes extensive use of parody: that is, the reworking of pre-existing music and setting it to a new text. Two of its movements, the 'Gratias agimus tibi' and the 'Dona nobis pacem', reuse *stile antico* music found in the 1731 Leipzig Town Council inauguration cantata *Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir*, BWV 29. As Peter Wollny has mentioned in his 2017 *Bach-Jahrbuch* article, there is an extraordinary resemblance between the nature and treatment of the main subject used here by Bach and that of a 16-bar movement in a mass setting by the Italian Viennese Imperial court composer Antonio Caldara.⁷ This is the 'Glorificamus te' from Caldara's *Missa Providentiae* in D minor, which dates from around 1720.

We can be certain that Bach knew the *Missa Providentiae* because it is the same work from which, in the late 1730s or early 1740s, he copied out a 'Sanctus' setting (BWV Suppl 2, S. 655/BWV 239, D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 13) which was once thought to be authentic.⁸ But how could Bach, who, as Carl Philipp Emanuel informs us, did not know Caldara or Fux and had no connections to the Viennese court, have accessed it?

Of particular interest here is a copy of the *Missa Providentiae* (D-DI Mus. 2170-D-7) found in Dresden that was owned by Zelenka and is in the hand of one of his copyists, known as ZS 0. This manuscript is especially remarkable because it contains a number of changes from the original version of the work. It also shows that Zelenka expanded Caldara's work from a Kyrie-Gloria mass into a complete

setting, using a technique called ‘stretching’ (*gestreckte Messe*) that was common in Dresden at the time, whereby already existing movements were parodied to supply music for the additional text (although in this case the Credo is an original composition by Zelenka himself). So Zelenka, who spent three years in Vienna studying with Fux, would have certainly known Caldara personally, and indeed his own catalogue (*Inventarium*) of his personal music library shows that he possessed manuscript copies of seven masses by Caldara—here you can see the entry for the *Missa Providentiae*—and that most of these were acquired around 1727.⁹

It has been suggested on textual grounds that Zelenka accessed the *Missa Providentiae* via the music collection of the Prague Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (*Kreuzherm mit dem Roten Stern*).¹⁰ However, Caldara’s music was widely circulated across Catholic Europe at the time, including in Bohemia, and there are a number of important Czech collections connected to Zelenka’s circle about which almost nothing is known. As a result, there is really not enough evidence currently available to securely ascertain the source used for Zelenka’s copy.¹¹

As Wollny comments, ‘Whether this is a deliberate takeover needs further consideration’.¹² This is especially so given that we now think that the version in Cantata 29 was probably not the original parody model.¹³ But there are good reasons to suppose that the music existed with the same text before 1731.¹⁴ So it is striking to consider that Bach perhaps chose a *stile antico* theme resembling one by a well-known Catholic composer, not just for any occasion, but for the Leipzig Town Council inauguration, at which representatives from the Dresden court might have been present. And if Cantata 29 is not the original model and the music therefore pre-dates 1731, it would be contemporaneous with the stretching of the *Missa Providentiae*. This supports an increasing body of evidence to suggest that Bach made a stronger connection with Zelenka and Catholic music at the Dresden court in the late 1720s than previously thought.

If, indeed, the fugue subject of the ‘Gratias’ was loosely parodied from Caldara, it vividly shows us how Bach took a musical idea and led it across confessional borders, from its Catholic origins to a Lutheran cantata and back to a setting of the Catholic mass, which, of course, was originally written for the Dresden court in 1733. And it is the sources themselves that show us how this network likely operated, as the text of Caldara’s mass crossed geographic and political borders from Vienna and Bohemia to Saxony via Zelenka, who showed it to Bach. Moreover, in no way does it diminish the originality and significance of Bach’s composition, but rather makes it all the more astounding. This is just one example that shows how much we might still learn about Bach and his musical networks from carefully studying the sources of his contemporaries, especially those whom, to quote C.P.E. Bach, ‘he esteemed highly’. Thank you.

MB Thank you, Andrew. So, one quick question. You mentioned that there is an increasing body of evidence to suggest that Bach made a strong connection with

Zelenka and Dresden in the late 1720s. What is some of the other evidence for that?

AF Yes, I can give another example which my colleague Janice Stockigt has been working on. You might all know the cantata *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, BWV 51, which we know was probably performed on the 15th Sunday after Trinity in 1730. But we don't know whether that was actually its first performance and the first occasion for which it was written. And it's also written in a very unusual style: it uses the Dresden *galant* style.¹⁵ It's quite remarkable. And interestingly, there is a psalm setting by the Zelenka called *Laudate pueri* (ZWV 81) that dates from 1729 that uses almost exactly the same scoring: trumpet obbligato, trumpet in the first and last movements.¹⁶ I think it's for tenor instead of soprano. But otherwise, it's very similar. So it's tempting to think that perhaps Bach might have seen that setting, and that there's some relationship between the two works.

MB Thank you, Andrew. So, now let's hear from Ruth.

RT I chose for my title: 'Handling Unruly Sources'.

Databases and digitised sources are changing the way we research and encouraging new and different questions. Scholars will always need to begin a research topic by reading what has already been written. With online resources it is far easier nowadays to check the citations in articles and books and weigh up the arguments. This new ease of access is causing many established narratives within the core knowledge of Bach's life and works to be questioned.

My focus is mostly on 17th- and 18th-century printed materials that Bach and his contemporaries could have read. Here's an example of how the availability of digitised books is giving rise to a new narrative for Cantata (BWV) 196. We don't know when, where, or why Bach wrote it.¹⁷ It may be the earliest cantata he composed. The text is the blessing from Psalm 115 verses 12 to 15:

Der Herr denket an uns und segnet uns; er segnet das Haus Israel, er segnet das Haus Aaron. Der Herr denket an uns!
Er segnet, die den Herrn fürchten, beide, Kleine und Große.
Der Herr segne euch je mehr und mehr; euch und eure Kinder.
Ihr seid die Gesegneten des Herrn, der Himmel und Erde gemacht hat.
Amen.

The Lord remembers us and will bless us: He will bless his people Israel, he will bless the house of Aaron, he will bless those who fear the Lord—small and great alike.

May the Lord cause you to flourish, both you and your children.

May you be blessed by the Lord, the Maker of heaven and earth. Amen.

These sentiments are suitable for many different occasions. But the words ‘May the Lord cause you to flourish, both you and your children’ suggested to some scholars that it was for a wedding. Many have since doubted this, but nonetheless the wedding idea is still registered in *Bach-Digital*, in the BWV catalogue, and written in books, liner notes and internet sites as if it were fact.¹⁸ In my survey of German devotional books, I have not yet come across this text used for a wedding, but I have discovered a shortened version printed in the popular prayer book by Johann Olearius (1611–1684) to be used at the end of public worship.¹⁹ There is also an exact version of the cantata text in a 1702 collection of spiritual writings by Pastor Mayer, used as the introductory words to celebrate the new Hamburg town council.²⁰

My next example shows how databases can release new areas of knowledge, and how research questions can be brought to a conclusion more quickly and efficiently than ever before. It also illustrates the role of serendipity, or chance, in research—that is, the importance of stumbling across an idea, meeting the right person, and making unexpected connections, because we are human, with complex creative brains.

I needed to know if Bach thought that Jesus died at the age of 33. Over lunch one day I met a senior New Testament scholar who didn’t know the answer but was intrigued by the question.²¹ He put the word ‘thirty-three’ through his database of writings by early Greek church fathers. The earliest hit was a lecture by Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 312–386) from the year 350.²² I then searched for Cyril in the database of 18th-century German sources,²³ and discovered that Salomon Deyling (1677–1755), Bach’s Leipzig pastor, examined a 60-page thesis on this same Cyril in 1726.²⁴ This was close, very close to Bach, but not close enough. So the next thing I did was to ask Robin Leaver,²⁵ and he thought there might be a clue in the travel book by Heinrich Bünting (1545–1606) in Bach’s library.²⁶ And he was right. I found there the proof I was looking for. Bach and his contemporaries definitely thought that Jesus died at the age of 33.

My final example illustrates how databases promise more than they can deliver. I am working on Cantata (BWV) 82, *Ich habe genug*, a cantata for solo voice, composed for 2 February 1727. A week later Bach composed another solo cantata. Why were the choirboys not singing? We know there was no influenza epidemic that year. Thinking around this issue, I wondered if I could find a weather report for that month. So I put the terms ‘Dresden, Januar, 1727’ into the database. It was a wildcard search, and I use a lot of those. The first hit was a printed obituary with biography of the world-famous Leipzig mathematician and engineer Jacob Leupold, who died on 12 January 1727.²⁷ And for some reason, I decided to read it, because that is what I do! The biography, by Gottfried Tettelbach (d. 1748) told me that Georg Bose (1682–1731), of the Bosehaus, and Pastor Christian Weiß (1671–1737), of Thomaskirche, were close friends of Leupold, and that Leupold was buried with great pomp in Paulinerkirche. Most strikingly, though, it ends with the words: “Ich habe alles genug!”. The social

overlaps, the dates, and these words are too many to ignore. But Leupold does not appear in the database of German *Leichenpredigt*, or funeral sermons, and I do not have a title for his funeral publications.²⁸ I need to generate other, creative ways of finding the answer.²⁹ Any ideas would be gratefully received.

In conclusion, therefore, the increasing ease of access to rare books and manuscripts is going to challenge many established narratives, and enrich, diversify and renew our understanding of Bach's life and compositions.

Thank you.

AF Fantastic. Thanks Ruth. That was really interesting, and I particularly like what you have to say about serendipity. I think that's really important, you know, particularly in this age when we've got so many things digitised and this idea that, well, it's all out there and you know, someone's seen it and we just need to access it. Actually, knowing what you're looking for and then just stumbling upon something is still incredibly important, just as it is in a physical archive. But perhaps in the absence of serendipity, I wanted to ask: you mentioned that you need to generate other ideas about that last cantata. What's the starting point for generating other ideas, how might you go about that?

RT Well, in the absence of the title of the *Leichenpredigt*, the starting point is that he was buried with pomp and splendour, just as Archimedes was. He was called the Leipzig Archimedes. He was a grand figure. We know Paulinerkirche had big ceremonies, so I am sure, 100% sure, that there was a *Leichenpredigt* and there was grand music, and in that publication, there probably will be a mention of what music was played.

Where will I look? Well, until I've got the title of the funeral sermon, I have to look very much more imaginatively. Who was collecting the *Leichenpredigt*? They are collectors' objects. We know that Bose was a friend and a sponsor. Was there a Bose *Nachlass*? Well, Bose died, and somebody in his family remarried a Richter, Johann Zacharias.³⁰ And there is a Richter *Nachlass* with all these mechanics and engineering books.³¹ So, I'm going to start looking in mechanical engineering museums, online. There is...[audience laughter] yes, we have to cast our net wide! I will find it!

AF This is Bach scholarship, right?!

RT Yes, exactly. So that's where I'm starting. But I am also telling people about it and hoping that they might just know a relative of Leupold who kept one.

AF Fantastic. Great. Okay. And finally, now, let's hear from Bettina.

BV For any Bach scholar worth their salt, this title will immediately evoke that venerable tradition of research into the handwriting that Manuel was referring to, grounded in the work of Georg von Dadelsen and Alfred Dürr, which has

produced such valuable insights into Bach's autographs, his scribes, watermarks, chronology and so on.³² And recent technological advances have helped to push the field yet further, so the X-ray fluorescence method is being used to distinguish between different ink types, and then there is a reference I came across by Yoshitake Kobayashi, suggesting that measuring the angle at which the writer's quill was held in different manuscripts could help with scribe identification.³³ I haven't been able to find anything else about how that is enabled technologically, but it's a prospect out there.

But, of course, when Bach's hands didn't hold a quill, they were busy doing other things, musical things: holding a bow and a stringed instrument, touching the keys of a keyboard. And it is those activities of Bach's hands that I have recently been attending to more closely. And I've come to conclude that Bach's hands and his bodily resources more generally were vital agents in his processes of musical invention.

So, from such an embodied perspective, the musical notation that his hands produced can be read as a somatic script that inscribes and affords certain patterns of bodily engagement. To give one very brief example, the opening of the Invention in D minor (BWV 775): the notation affords an initial smooth movement of the hand up the keyboard. And in Bach's time, possibly, that would have been played with a sort of paired fingering, two, three, two, three, rather than with the thumb under, which was only sort of gradually coming into common practice at the time. However it was executed, in bar two that smooth motion is arrested. And so this disruptive downward leap of a diminished seventh lands on a black key, C sharp. This would either have required an unusually exposed use of the thumb on that black key, or an uncomfortable stretching of the hand to reach it with the second finger. And then the hand needs to shift back immediately to the B flat after that. So Bach's musical invention here is not just an abstract shape on the page, but it affords a sense of physical disjunction with audible implications for phrasing, articulation and so on. And so the physically unsettling nature of that C sharp, I think, chimes quite nicely with the visual displacement of that note in the autograph here, with the stem pointing in the opposite direction from the surrounding notes. And then the physicality of this opening motif, in turn, turns out to shape at least some of the piece's larger-scale musical features as we go through as well.

I am aware that such an embodied approach to Bach's musical notation in many ways runs counter to established wisdom. Robert Marshall wrote in his 1972 book on Bach's compositional process that 'creation is done only in the mind and something of that creation is then stenographically recorded by the hand on paper under the direction of reason'.³⁴ But this craniocentric view of human creativity is being rapidly superseded in current embodied cognition research, for instance. And through that research, hands come into focus as a key to rereading the notated sources of Bach's keyboard music, not as abstract representations of musical works, but as enfolding the flesh and blood and hands and bodily

resources of its creator and the performers who might have reached for a copy of this music. And so interestingly, research of this kind, in a certain way, unexpectedly comes to meet those technologically enhanced approaches to scribal hands, holding quills at different angles and so on. They converge in their interest in what hands are doing. So, I want to leave you today with a question, which is: what might happen when traditional source study and embodied cognition research shake hands? Thank you very much.³⁵

RT Well, thank you, Bettina. I'm allowed to ask you a question. Do you know which question I'd like to ask you?

BV You're going to throw it right back at me, aren't you?

RT I'm going to throw it straight back at you! Could you read it again? It was very well formulated.

BV What might happen when traditional source study and embodied cognition research shake hands? Boom, and the world is going to end! For me, the prospect of linking up fields of knowledge and fields of research and ways of approaching things that have traditionally been kept quite separate is really exciting. So, there is a sense in which this is not a zero-sum kind of game where one type of research sort of eliminates or critiques the other...or critiques, but in a productive way.

So there's a way in which the kinds of insights produced through more traditional philological study then feed into an understanding of how looking at this notation from an embodied perspective might give us a combined deeper insight into how these compositional processes worked, what that meant for performance, and where to find the hands in there, both in terms of a tool for making that notation work, but also as an agent in the creative and performing processes. So it's about synergies and allowing a genuine dialogue between these different approaches to let genuinely new insights emerge.

AF Well, we've covered quite a lot of material between the four of us, I think.

RT Thank you very much for listening so carefully and thank you very much to the panellists. And I will also say thank you very much to the audience, for whoever's watching online, or reading what we've done. We can also say, don't forget to watch our website, where you'll find more information about Bach Network's publications, and please join us again. And from all of us here in Leipzig, goodbye.

[Applause]

Notes

- ¹ The spelling has been standardised following British English norms. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the editors.
- ² The theme of the Bachfest Leipzig 2023 was 'Bach for Future'.
- ³ See Georg von Dadelsen, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seines Kreises*, Tübinger Bach-Studien I (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1957); Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Tübinger Bach-Studien IV/V (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958); Alfred Dürr, *Studien über die frühen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1951); Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Zweite Auflage: Mit Anmerkungen und Nachträgen versehener Nachdruck aus dem Bach-Jahrbuch 1957) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976).
- ⁴ UNESCO, 'Autograph of h-Moll-Messe (Mass in B minor) by Johann Sebastian Bach', <https://en.unesco.org/memoryoftheworld/registry/351>.
- ⁵ '...in der letzten [sic] Zeit schätzte er hoch: Fux, Caldara, Händeln, Kaysem, Haßen, beyde Graun, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda u. überhaupt alles, was in Berlin u. Dreßden besonders zu schätzen war. Die erstgenannten 4 ausgenommen, kannte er die übrigen persönlich.' Letter from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, 13 January 1775, reprinted in Christoph Wolff and Michael Maul, *Johann Nikolaus Forkel: Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke (Leipzig 1802): Edition, Quellen, Materialien*, Bach-Dokumente VII (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 108–110, at 109, trans. in Arthur Mendel, Hans T. David and Christoph Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1998), 398–400, at 400.
- ⁶ I thank my friend and colleague Janice B. Stockigt at the Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, The University of Melbourne, for her input into this presentation. Further results of our study will be published in a forthcoming article.
- ⁷ Peter Wollny, 'Zur Identifizierung einiger anonym überlieferter liturgischer Werke aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2017), 43–91, at 48–51. 'In diesem Zusammenhang sei die verblüffende thematische und satztechnische Parallele zwischen Caldaras kurzem, nur 16 Allabreve-Takte umfassenden "Glorificamus te" und einem Bachschen Chorsatz erwähnt', at 50.
- ⁸ Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Dritte, erweiterte Neuauflage (BWV³)*, ed. Bach-Archiv Leipzig [Christine Blanken, Christoph Wolff and Peter Wollny] (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 2022), 655; Wollny, 'Zur Identifizierung einiger anonym überlieferter liturgischer Werke aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek', 45–55; Kirsten Beißwenger, *Kritischer Bericht to Johann Sebastian Bach, Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke (Neue Bach-Ausgabe)*, Series II, Volume 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 63.
- ⁹ See Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium* (D-Dl Bibl.-Arch. III H b 787d), reproduced in facsimile in Wolfgang Horn, Thomas Kohlhase, Ortrun Landmann and Wolfgang Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1989), 169–218.
- ¹⁰ Wollny, 'Zur Identifizierung einiger anonym überlieferter liturgischer Werke aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek', 49–50.
- ¹¹ I thank Václav Kapsa at the Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences, for his advice on this matter.
- ¹² 'Ob hier tatsächlich eine bewußte Übernahme vorliegt, bedarf noch eingehender Überlegungen.' Wollny, 'Zur Identifizierung einiger anonym überlieferter liturgischer Werke aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek', 51.
- ¹³ On this point, see the detailed argument in Christine Fröde, *Kritischer Bericht to Johann Sebastian Bach, Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke (Neue Bach-Ausgabe)*, Series I, Volume 32.2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), 41–42 and 51–55.
- ¹⁴ John Butt, *Bach: Mass in B minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 47–48.
- ¹⁵ In using the term 'Dresden *galant*' here, of course, I do not mean to oversimplify the considerable scholarly debate over the origins and style of BWV 51. Robert Marshall used the term *galant* to describe

the cantata in his article 'Bach the Progressive: Observations on His Later Works', *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976), 313–57, which was rejected by some other scholars (notably Frederick Neumann); see also the discussion in Suzanne Aspden, 'Bach and the Feminised *Galant*', *Understanding Bach* 5 (2010), 9–22, at 11–14. Here, I use 'Dresden *galant*' as a general term to refer to a highly operatic (and often virtuosic) style that is often said to have been brought to Dresden by Hasse, but which is found in the works of Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729) and is already present in Zelenka's works from the late 1720s onwards; a later example includes the motet *Gaude laetare* (ZBWV 168, 1731).

¹⁶ Janice B. Stockigt, 'A Meeting of Minds: Jan Dismas Zelenka's *Laudate pueri* (ZBWV 81) and Johann Sebastian Bach's *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen* (BWV 51)', unpublished paper given at the Zelenka Conference Prague, 16 October 2020.

¹⁷ There is no surviving copy of the cantata in Bach's hand. It has survived in a copy from around 1731/2 by Johann Ludwig Dietel 1713–1773). See the *Bach-Digital* page for Cantata (BWV) 196 at https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalWork_work_00000243.

¹⁸ The *Bach-Digital* page for Cantata 196 gives the following under 'Date of origin, Work history': 'Date of composition around 1707–1708. First performance possibly on October 17, 1707, for Bach's own wedding to Maria Barbara Bach in Dornheim by Johann Lorenz Stauber, or on June 5, 1708, for the wedding of Pastor Stauber to Regina Wedemann, an aunt of Maria Barbara Bach.'

¹⁹ Johann Olearius, *Christliche Betschule* (Leipzig, 1664), 229. The text is prescribed for use as a blessing at the end of Sunday worship service: 'Der Herr dencket an uns und segnet uns. Der Herr segne euch ie mehr und mehr, euch und eure Kinder, ihr seyd die Gesegnete des Herrn, der Himmel und Erden gemacht hat' (Psalm 115).

²⁰ Johann Friedrich Mayer, *Geistliche Reden* (Berlin, 1702), 515. The opening text for the celebration of the inauguration of the new town council in Hamburg, year unknown, but predating publication in 1702.

²¹ The serendipitous lunch meeting was at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where I was a visiting fellow throughout 2023. I happened to sit beside Professor George van Kooten, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity (<https://www.clarehall.cam.ac.uk/directory/vankooten/>). I am grateful for his generous help.

²² Cyril of Jerusalem, Catethetical lecture 12:33: 'The Saviour passed the nine months period in the womb of the Virgin; but the Lord was a man for thirty-three years'.

²³ In the German database he is catalogued as Cyrillus <Hierosolymitanus> This search resulted in a hit for the thesis *S. Cyrillum Hierosolymitanum a corruptelis pontificiis quas recentissimus eius elucidator Antonius Augustinus Touttaeus alique ei affinxerunt* by M. Friedrich Gottfried Cyriacus, published in Leipzig, 1726. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10639980?page=1>.

²⁴ Strikingly, this was just months before Bach first performed BWV 82. The auction catalogue of Deyling's library, sold after his death in 1755, shows that Deyling owned two copies of Cyril's complete works.

²⁵ Robin Leaver is a friend, Bach scholar, and, among numerous other publications, the author of *Bach's Theological Library* (Hänssler-Verlag, 1983).

²⁶ Heinrich Bünting, *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae. Das ist Ein Reisebuch Über die gantze Heilige Schrifft*. Originally published in 1581, and with numerous later editions.

²⁷ Gottfried Tettelbach, *Die letzte schuldige Freundschaft- und Ehren-Bezeugung Wolte Dem Weiland Hoch-Edlen, Vesten und Hochwohlgelahrten Herrn, Herrn Jacob Leupolden, Sr. Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und Chur-Fürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen wohlbestallt-gewesenen Rath und Bergwercks-Commissario, wie auch der Königl. Preußl., Chur-Sächßl. und Forlischen Societäten derer Wissenschaftten ansehnlich gewesenen Mit-Gliede, Einem ... begabt-gewesenen Mathematico und Mechanico, nach seinem den 12. Januar. 1727. erfolgten seel. Tode durch nachfolgende Lebens-Beschreibung und Gedächtniß-Schrifft erweisen die Chur-Sächß. Societät der Liebe und Wissenschaftten / durch M. Gottfried Tettelbachen, Pastorem der Kirche Gottes in Roßwein, und vorbesagter Societät Vice-Adjunctum*. See <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/112935/1>.

²⁸ These were collectors' items, and apparently usually only about 25–30 sets of funeral materials were printed. Perhaps there is a copy in a German or international technical museum or college with an interest in the history of science.

²⁹ Several possibilities remain: to use digitised world catalogues, to search databases of Antiquariat booksellers, to visit museums and different archives that are not in the central catalogues, and to continue to be imaginative with word searches.

- ³⁰ The database of funeral sermons GESA, search 'Leupold, Jacob' lists only the Tettlebach publication: <https://www.personalschriften.de/datenbanken/gesa/gesa-registersuche.html>. The Deutsche National Bibliothek database gives more biographical details, as well as a publication list. See <https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&cqlMode=true&query=nid%3D118572210>.
- ³¹ I remembered incorrectly. I was thinking of the famous Museum Richterianum, which contained primarily natural science exhibits, and not mechanical objects. The connections are as follows: After the death of his second wife, Johann Zacharias Richter (1696–1764) married Christiane Sybilla, the daughter of Georg Heinrich Bose (1682–1731). J.Z. Richter then bought the Bosehaus in 1745, and created a massive and renowned art collection. Meanwhile his older brother, Johann Christoph Richter (1689–1751), set up a museum in Leipzig, the famous Museum Richterianum for which we have a catalogue, *Museum Richterianum: Continens Fossilia Animalia Vegetabilia Mar* (Leipzig, 1743). The museum collection was sold off in 1781. There are other connections that confirm the relationships between Jacob Leupold and the Bose family. Georg Matthias Bose the inventor (1710–1761), a son of Leupold's friend and sponsor, Georg Heinrich Bose (1682–1731), became famous as a mechanical engineer at the very time when his Leipzig-based Richter relative-through-marriage was setting up the museum of natural sciences. What I was trying to point out is that the Boses—through personal interest in Leupold, and their son becoming a famous mechanic and inventor—were also linked to the very influential Richter family. I wondered if the Richters, via the Boses, might have kept the Leupold funerary materials, as they were so interested in creating renowned collections (and Leupold himself was so famous).
- ³² Key publications include Von Dadelsen, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seines Kreises*, Von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, and Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs*.
- ³³ See Uwe Wolf, Oliver Hahn and Timo Wolff, 'Wer schrieb was? Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse am Autograph von J.S. Bachs Messe in h-Moll BWV 232', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 95 (2009): 117–134; and the response by Joshua Rifkin, 'Blinding Us With Science? Man, Machine and the Mass in B Minor', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8 (2011): 77–91. See also Yoshitake Kobayashi, *Bach to no Taiwa: Bach Kenkyu no Saizensen* / バッハとの対話: バッハ研究の最前線 [Conversation with Bach: the Frontline of Bach Research] (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2002), 149; as reported in Yo Tomita, 'Manuscripts', in *The Routledge Research Companion to Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Robin A. Leaver (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 65. I would like to thank Yo Tomita for sharing with me the original quotation from Kobayashi's publication.
- ³⁴ Robert L. Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 236.
- ³⁵ For further exploration of this question, see my articles 'Bach's Hands', *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* (forthcoming), and 'Embodied Invention: Bach at the Keyboard', in *Rethinking Bach*, ed. Bettina Varwig (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 115–140.

