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An Introduction To Bach Studies

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Bach's life

3.1 The Bach family

3.1.1 *Ancestors*

General

In 1735, his fiftieth year, J.S. Bach made a genealogy of the Bach family.

“Ursprung der musicalisch-Bachischen Familie.” Transcribed in *Dok* I/184, with additional notes in *Dok* III, p. 647; *BR*, 203–11.

This genealogy assigns numbers to various (male) members of the family, and this numbering system, augmented in *New Grove*, is still used to distinguish family members. On the family in general and on individual members, see

New Grove, “Bach family” and individual entries for family members.

The following two general works on the Bach family are outdated but still useful:

Karl Geiringer and Irene Geiringer. *The Bach family: seven generations of creative genius.* New York, 1954.

Percy M. Young. *The Bachs, 1500–1850.* London, 1970.

Special studies of older Bachs

Two older members of the family have been studied particularly for their musical connections to J.S. Bach.

Johann Christoph Bach (1671–1721) was J.S. Bach's older brother, with whom he lived and studied as a child. The basic study is

Hans-Joachim Schulze. “Johann Christoph Bach (1671 bis 1721), ‘Organist und Schul Collega in Ohrdruf,’ Johann Sebastian Bachs erster Lehrer.” *BJ* 71 (1985): 55–81.

3.1 The Bach family

He was also the copyist of two important sources of J.S. Bach's early keyboard compositions; see

Robert Stephen Hill. "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book: two keyboard anthologies from the circle of the young Johann Sebastian Bach." Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1987.

Robert Hill, ed. *Keyboard music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript*. Cambridge, Mass., 1991.

Johann Ludwig Bach (1677–1731) was a cousin of J.S. Bach, who copied and performed eighteen of Johann Ludwig's church cantatas. On J.S. Bach's contact with this repertory, see

William H. Scheide. "Johann Sebastian Bachs Sammlung von Kantaten seines Veters Johann Ludwig Bach." *BJ* 46 (1959): 52–94; 48 (1961): 5–24; 49 (1962): 5–32.

The Altbachisches Archiv

J.S. Bach owned—and possibly assembled—a collection of old family music known as the Altbachisches Archiv. On the collection and its history see

Daniel R. Melamed. "J.S. Bach and the German motet," 39–129. Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1989.

Much of the music from the collection, together with related repertory, is published in

Max Schneider, ed. *Altbachisches Archiv*. Das Erbe deutscher Musik 1/2. Leipzig, 1935.

3.1.2 Wives

Bach's first wife, Maria Barbara was a Bach by birth, the youngest daughter of Johann Michael Bach; see the literature on him (3.1.1 *Ancestors*) and on the town of Gehren in Thuringia (3.5.1 *Thuringia in general*).

His second wife was born Anna Magdalena Wilcke. On her role as copyist, see 5.1.3 *Bach's copyists*; as inheritor of some of J.S. Bach's music, see 5.2.2 *Bach's heirs*. On her family and youth, see

Christoph Schubart. "Anna Magdalena Bach: neue Beiträge zu ihrer Herkunft und ihren Jugendjahren." *BJ* 40 (1953): 29–50.

3.1.3 *Children*

Four of Bach's sons (Wilhelm Friedemann, Carl Philipp Emanuel, Johann Christoph Friedrich, and Johann Christian) were prolific and important composers on whom there is extensive literature. We present basic tools and literature particularly relevant to J.S. Bach studies. See also the biographical articles, worklists, and bibliographies in *New Grove*. On the inheritance by Bach's children of their father's music and their role in its transmission, see 5.2.1 *Bach's estate and its division* and 5.2.2 *Bach's heirs*. On their role as copyists and musical assistants to their father, see 5.1.3 *Bach's copyists*.

Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784)

The fullest biography (with a catalogue of works), outdated but still influential, is

Martin Falck. *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*. 2d. ed. Leipzig, 1919.

For a recent survey of the works and their sources and a revision of Falck's catalogue, see

Peter Wollny. "Studies in the music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: sources and style." Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1993.

There is no complete edition of W.F. Bach's compositions.

On Wilhelm Friedemann's performances of his father's cantatas, see

Peter Wollny. "Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's Halle performances of cantatas by his father." In *Bach studies 2*, edited by Daniel R. Melamed, 202–28. Cambridge, 1995.

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788)

A basic biography is

Hans-Günter Ottenberg. *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*. Leipzig, 1982. Translated by Philip J. Whitmore as *C.P.E. Bach*. Oxford, 1987.

The old thematic catalogue by Wotquenne has been succeeded by the less than thoroughly systematic

E. Eugene Helm. *Thematic catalogue of the works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*. New Haven, 1989.

A complete edition of C.P.E. Bach's compositions is under way:

Rachel W. Wade, gen. ed. *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach edition*. Oxford, 1989–.

3.2 Documentation

The three catalogues of material from C.P.E. Bach's estate are extremely important sources in Bach research; see 5.2.2 *Bach's heirs*. C.P.E. Bach's obituary of his father is printed as *Dok* III/666 and *BR*, 215–24, and several of his letters to Forkel, which were sources for the latter's biography of J.S. Bach, also appear in *Dok* III and *BR*.

On C.P.E. Bach's performances of his father's music, see Joshua Rifkin. “. . . Wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen . . .”: zum Credo der h-Moll-Messe in der Aufführung Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs.” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 (1985): 157–72.

Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (1732–95)

The standard biography and worklist are

Hannsdieter Wohlfarth. *Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach: ein Komponist im Vorfeld der Klassik*. Bern, 1971.

There is no complete edition of J.C.F. Bach's compositions.

Johann Christian Bach (1735–82)

The standard biography, with a worklist, is

Charles Sanford Terry. *John Christian Bach*. London, 1929. 2d ed. with a Foreword by H.C.R. Landon. London, 1967.

J.C. Bach's complete works are being published in Ernest Warburton, gen. ed. *The collected works of Johann Christian Bach 1735–1782*. New York, 1984–.

This edition will include a thematic catalogue.

3.2 Documentation

3.2.1 Documents

The primary documents of Bach's life are transcribed and annotated in detail in

Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds. *Bach-Dokumente. Band I: Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs*. Cassel and Leipzig, 1963. [*Dok* I]

3. *Bach's life*

Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds. *Bach-Dokumente. Band II: Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685–1750*. Cassel and Leipzig, 1969. [Dok II]

Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed. *Bach-Dokumente. Band III: Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750–1800*. Cassel and Leipzig, 1972. [Dok III]

The first volume covers writings in Bach's hand, the second and third (divided at Bach's death) printed documents and those written by others. They are organized chronologically, with the first volume also divided by type of document (letters, receipts, etc.). The third volume contains an extensive index and corrigenda, as well as documents belonging in volumes I and II but discovered after the publication of the earlier volumes. (A fourth volume contains pictorial documents; see 3.2.2 *Iconography*.)

Many documents are available in English translations in

Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds. *The Bach reader*. Rev. ed. New York, 1966.

The versions here should be used with the same caution as with any other translations. Also included is an early nineteenth-century English translation of Johann Nicolaus Forkel's influential Bach biography (see 3.3.1 *Primary and early biographies*). A revision of the *The Bach reader* by Christoph Wolff is in progress.

Many of the most important documents have been reprinted in

Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Leben und Werk in Dokumenten*. Leipzig, 1975.

A few Bach documents have generated their own interpretive literature. On the "Short but most necessary draft for a well-appointed church music," see the literature in 9.1 *Vocal forces*. On the documents concerning Bach's students and his teaching, see 4.1 *Bach's teaching and students*. On the famous polemic between Scheibe and Birnbaum, see 11.4 *Reception*. On Bach's estate, see 5.2.1 *Bach's estate and its division* and 4.2 *Bach's library*. On C.P.E. Bach's obituary of his father, see 3.3.1 *Primary and early biographies*.

Inevitably, documents have been discovered since the publication of the three volumes of documents. Here is a list of the most important belonging to volumes I and II, together with citations of literature describing and discussing them.

Volume I

1713/14: Record of Bach's expenses in connection with his application for the organist's post at the Marienkirche in Halle

Peter Wollny. "Bachs Bewerbung um die Organistenstelle an der Marienkirche zu Halle und ihr Kontext." *BJ* 80 (1994): 25–39.

28 July 1726: Letter to Georg Erdmann

Grigorij Ja. Pantijelew. "Johann Sebastian Bachs Briefe an Georg Erdmann: nebst Beiträgen zur Lebensgeschichte von Bachs Jugendfreund." *BJ* 71 (1985): 83–97.

5 April 1734: Testimonial for Paul Christian Stoll(e)

Reinhold Krause. "Noch ein unbekanntes Zeugnis Johann Sebastian Bachs." *BJ* 64 (1978): 73–77.

1746–49: Receipts for the "Nathanisches Legat"

Hans-Joachim Schulze. "Vier unbekannte Quittungen J.S. Bachs und ein Briefauszug Jacob von Stählins." *BJ* 59 (1973): 88–90.

Hans Moldenhauer. "J.S. Bach und das Nathanische Legat: bisher unveröffentlichte Quittungstexte." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 141 (1980): 353.

18 December 1747: Receipt for the rental of a keyboard

Christoph Trautmann. "Unregistriertes Dokument belegt Graf Wrba als österreichischen Bach-Schüler." *Bachfestbuch Graz*, 1983: 81–86.

12 January 1748: Testimonial for Heinrich Andreas Cuntzius, organ maker

Wolf Hobohm. "Ein unbekanntes Gutachen Johann Sebastian Bachs." *BJ* 63 (1977): 135–38.

Various: Baptismal records for Bach's children (two documents are in Bach's handwriting)

Herbert Stiehl. "Taufzettel für Bachs Kinder—ein Dokumentenfund." *BJ* 65 (1979): 7–18.

Volume II

12 April 1717: Room receipt for "ConcertMeister Bach" in Gotha

Eva-Maria Ranft. "Ein unbekannter Aufenthalt Johann Sebastian Bachs in Gotha?" *BJ* 71 (1985): 165–66.

7 February 1739: Reference to Bach and his music

George B. Stauffer. "Christian Gottlieb Zieglers 'Anleitung zur musikalischen Composition': ein Bach-Dokument aus der New York Public Library." *BJ* 74 (1988): 185–89.

20 May 1747: Newspaper report on Bach's Potsdam visit

Heinz Scior. "Bachs Potsdam-Besuch in den 'Franckfurter Gazetten.'" *BJ* 78 (1992): 81–83.

3 October 1749: Letter from Johann Jacob Donati to the Leipzig *Oberpostsekretär* Georg Gottfried Günther on the use of Bach as organ examiner

Wolfram Hackel. "Johann Sebastian Bachs Ruf als Orgelsachverständiger: zu einem Brief Johann Jacob Donatis d.J. aus dem Jahre 1749." *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 6 (1987): 92–95.

Various: Baptismal records for Bach's children

Herbert Stiehl. "Taufzettel für Bachs Kinder—ein Dokumentenfund." *BJ* 65 (1979): 7–18.

3.2.2 *Iconography*

Many portraits have been put forward as representing Bach. The only authentic image of Bach is the portrait by Elias Gottlob Haussmann, known in a version from 1746 (now in Leipzig) and one from 1748 (Princeton, New Jersey).

A possibly authentic painting of Bach and his sons is discussed in an editor's note:

Nicholas Kenyon. "A Bach family portrait?" *Early Music* 13 (1985): 164.

For literature on Bach iconography, including discussions of the provenience and authenticity of known portraits and information on lost portraits, see the picture books cited below and

Hans Raupach. *Das wahre Bildnis des Johann Sebastian Bach: Bericht und Dokumente*. Munich, 1983.

Images of Bach's world have been assembled in several collections. Particularly strong Bach picture collections—portraits, depictions of buildings and cities, reproductions of documents, etc.—are found in

Werner Neumann, ed. *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs / Pictorial documents of the life of Johann Sebastian Bach*. Bach-Dokumente 4. Leipzig and Cassel, 1979.

Barbara Schwendowius and Wolfgang Dömling, eds. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Zeit, Leben, Wirken*. Cassel, 1976. English translation as *Johann Sebastian Bach: life, times, influence*. Cassel, 1977.

Images connected with Bach's religious and liturgical life are collected in Martin Petzoldt. *Ehre sei dir Gott gesungen: Bilder und Texte zu Bachs Leben als Christ und seinem Wirken für die Kirche*. 2d ed. Göttingen, 1990.

3.3 Biographies of J.S. Bach

An overwhelming number of Bach biographies, few of them adding much to the archival researches of earlier studies, has appeared in the twentieth century. One of the more readable and probably the best of these is Malcolm Boyd. *Bach*. 2d. ed. Oxford, 1995.

Less reader-friendly but extremely useful is Christoph Wolff and Walter Emery. "Bach, Johann Sebastian." In *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie. 20 vols. London, 1980. Rev. in Christoph Wolff et al. *The New Grove Bach family*. New York, 1983. Further rev. in translation as *Die Bach-Familie*. Stuttgart, 1993.

For a particularly good short study, see Martin Geck. *Johann Sebastian Bach: mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1993.

For a recent study of Bach's early career, see Konrad Küster. *Der junge Bach*. Stuttgart, 1996.

For a survey of older biographies, see Albert Riemenschneider. "Bach biographies and their authors 1732–1935." *Music Book* 7 (1953): 381–92.

3.3.1 Primary and early biographies

In this and the next section we mention the most important biographies based on original research into Bach's life and personality.

Obituary

Bach's obituary notice (Nekrolog), written by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel and his students Johann Friedrich Agricola and Lorenz Mizler, is an interesting account of selected aspects of his life. All biographical research on Bach is heavily indebted to it. The notice was first printed in

Lorenz Christoph Mizler [von Kolof]. *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek*, IV/1, 158–76. Leipzig, 1754. [Transcribed in *BJ* 17 (1920): 11–29 and *Dok* III/666; *BR*, 215–24]

Forkel

Johann Nikolaus Forkel. *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke: für patriotische Verehrer echter musikalischer Kunst*. Leipzig, 1802, and reprints.

This is the first extended study on Bach, partly based on information garnered from correspondence with Bach's sons Carl Philipp Emanuel and Wilhelm Friedemann. It is more a critical appreciation of Bach's art and works than a "life" in the biographical sense. Some editions of the German version modernize Forkel's expressions, not always accurately; it is best to consult a facsimile of the original publication.

An anonymous translation appeared as

[J.N.] Forkel. *Life of John Sebastian Bach, with a critical view of his compositions*. London, 1820. Reprinted as "On Johann Sebastian Bach's life, genius, and works" in *BR*, 293–356.

For a better translation (with notes and appendices by the translator), see

Johann Nikolaus Forkel. *Johann Sebastian Bach: his life, art, and work*, translated and edited by Charles Sanford Terry. London, 1920, and reprints.

3.3.2 *Later biographies*

Spitta

Philipp Spitta. *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1873–80, and reprints. Translated by Clara Bell and John Alexander Fuller-Maitland as *Johann Sebastian Bach: his work and influence on the music of Germany, 1685–1750*. 3 vols. London, 1884–85, and reprints.

A monumental study of Bach's life and works. It set formidable standards for thoroughness in documentary research, and all subsequent Bach scholarship has been in its shadow. Nothing approaching its scope has since been attempted.

Readers should be sure to notice Spitta's various appendices, supplementary materials, and lists of corrections, not all of which appear in the English version.

3.3 *Biographies of J.S. Bach*

Because the English translation's accuracy often leaves a great deal to be desired, those doing advanced work should always check it against the original. The English version has its own scholarly value, though, as it contains some author's revisions that were not incorporated into subsequent printings of the German version.

Other biographies

Here we list the most important biographies after Forkel and Spitta that were based on original documentary research or that, though not offering much in the way of new archival material, have had an especially extensive readership and influence.

Forkel's information is essentially repeated in

C.L. Hilgenfeldt. *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Wirken und Werke: ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, 1850.

A summary in English of Forkel and Hilgenfeldt with negligible additions appeared as

Edward Francis Rimbault, ed. *Johann Sebastian Bach: his life and writings; adapted from the German of Hilgenfeldt and Forkel, with additions from original sources*. London, 1869.

The first biography employing modern methods of archival research—soon after, however, eclipsed by Spitta's—is

C.H. Bitter. *Johann Sebastian Bach*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1865. Rev. and exp. ed., 1881. Translated by Janet E. Kay-Shuttleworth as *The life of J. Sebastian Bach: an abridged translation from the German of C.H. Bitter*. London, 1873.

Widely read critical assessments of Bach that draw only on Spitta for their biographical materials are

Albert Schweitzer. *J.S. Bach, le musicien-poète*. Leipzig, 1905. Exp. version in German as *J.S. Bach*. Leipzig, 1908, and reprints. Latter translated by Ernest Newman, with minor additions by the author, as *J.S. Bach*. Leipzig and New York, 1911, and reprints.

André Pirro. *J.S. Bach*. Paris, 1906 [in French]. Translated by Mervyn Savill as *J.S. Bach*. New York, 1957.

An elegantly written study of Bach's artistic personality, but not featuring any new documentary material, is

Charles Hubert Hastings Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach: the story of the development of a great personality*. Rev. ed. London, 1934, and reprints.

The results of new archival research, undertaken by the author and gleaned from the literature on Bach, appeared in

Charles Sanford Terry. *Bach: a biography*. 2d ed. London, 1933, and reprints.

3.3.3 *The Bach image*

The image of Bach as Great Pious Lutheran was first projected by

C.H. Bitter. *Johann Sebastian Bach*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1865. Rev. and exp. ed., 1881. Translated by Janet E. Kay-Shuttleworth as *The life of J. Sebastian Bach: an abridged translation from the German of C.H. Bitter*. London, 1873.

and put forth forcefully by Philipp Spitta (see 3.3.2 *Later biographies*). It was also the concentrated subject of the widely read monograph

Hans Preuß. *Johann Sebastian Bach, der Lutheraner*. Erlangen. 1935.

and of many studies by the theologian and Bach scholar Friedrich Smend.

Following upon the new chronological research of Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen in the 1950s (see 7.2.2 *Chronologies of Bach's vocal music*), Friedrich Blume radically questioned this view, now seeing Bach as a begrudging, impious church musician and a sort of proto-Marxist. See

Friedrich Blume. "Umriss eines neuen Bach-Bildes: Vortrag für das Bachfest der internationalen Bach-Gesellschaft in Mainz, 1. Juni 1962; Vorabdruck." *Musica* 16 (1962): 169–76, and reprints. Translated as "Outlines of a new picture of Bach." *Music and Letters* 44 (1963): 214–27. Reprinted in *Twentieth-century views of music history*, edited by William Hays, 225–38. New York, 1972.

An avalanche of scholarly protests immediately followed. The most important of these are

Alfred Dürr. "Zum Wandel des Bach-Bildes: zu Friedrich Blumes Mainzer Vortrag." *Musik und Kirche* 32 (1962): 145–52. [cf. "Antwort von Friedrich Blume," 153–56]

Friedrich Smend. "Was bleibt? Zu Friedrich Blumes Bach-Bild." *Der Kirchenmusiker* 13 (1962): 178–88. Also as pamphlet. Berlin, 1962.

For more detailed responses, taking into account, among other things, the discovery of Bach's personal Bible with extensive hand-penned annotations, and now providing a more nuanced version of the older image, see

Christoph Trautmann. “Calovii Schrifften. 3. Bände’ aus Johann Sebastian Bachs Nachlass und ihre Bedeutung für das Bild des lutherischen Kantors Bach.” *Musik und Kirche* 39 (1969): 145–160. Translated as “J.S. Bach: new light on his faith.” *Concordia Theological Monthly* 42 (1971): 88–99.

Gerhard Herz. “Toward a new image of Bach.” *Bach* 1, no. 4 (1970): 9–27; and 2, no. 1 (1971): 7–28. Reprinted in his *Essays on J.S. Bach*, 149–84. Ann Arbor, 1985.

A related but somewhat different issue concerns Bach’s socially progressive versus reactionary outlooks. For an exceedingly clever and influential essay arguing for the former, see

Theodor W. Adorno. “Bach gegen seine Liebhaber verteidigt.” *Merkur* 5 (1951): 535–46. Translated by Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber as “Bach defended against his devotees.” In Adorno, *Prisms*, 133–46. London, 1967, and reprints.

Adorno’s view—that Bach’s life and music appear to be trapped in what he called the Middle Ages while they in essence look ahead to the Enlightenment—was developed by

Susan McClary. “The blasphemy of talking politics during Bach year.” In *Music and society: the politics of composition, performance and reception*, edited by Richard Leppert and Susan McClary, 13–62. Cambridge, 1987.

This view of Bach as Enlightenment-oriented has been questioned biographically and musically in

Michael Marissen. *The social and religious designs of J.S. Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos*, 111–19. Princeton, 1995.

Michael Marissen. “The theological character of J.S. Bach’s *Musical Offering*.” In *Bach studies 2*, edited by Daniel R. Melamed, 85–106. Cambridge, 1995.

See also

Laurence Dreyfus. “Bach as critic of Enlightenment.” In his *Bach and the patterns of invention*, 219–44. Cambridge, Mass., 1996.

The St. Thomas School rector Johann August Ernesti, who was to become a famous Enlightenment biblical scholar, had an extremely strained relationship with Bach; for a study taking this to involve a clash of pro- and anti-Enlightenment sentiments, see

Paul S. Minear. "J.S. Bach and J.A. Ernesti: a case study in exegetical and theological conflict." In *Our common history as Christians: essays in honor of Albert C. Outler*, edited by John Deschner et al., 131–55. New York, 1975.

Pointing back to the sort of Bach image projected by Spitta and followers, the following authors study Bach's newly discovered personal Bible with his handwritten annotations for their biographical implications:

Renate Steiger. "Bach und die Bibel: einige Anstreichungen Bachs in seiner Calov-Bibel als Selbstzeugnisse gelesen." *Musik und Kirche* 57 (1987): 119–26.

Howard H. Cox. "Bach's conception of his office." *Bach* 20, no. 1 (1989): 22–30.

The notion that Bach held "Pietist" (anti-Orthodox Lutheran) views is often put forward; there is, however, considerable misunderstanding of what Pietism is and what Bach's relationship to it was. The problems are carefully sorted out in

Robin A. Leaver. "Bach and Pietism: similarities today." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 55 (1991): 5–22.

For further consideration of whether Bach as artist should be considered progressive or backward-looking, see

Robert L. Marshall. "Bach the progressive: observations on his later works." *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976): 313–57. Rev. in his *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the sources, the style, the significance*, 23–58. New York, 1989.

Frederick Neumann. "Bach: progressive or conservative and the authorship of the Goldberg aria." *Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985): 281–94. Rev. in his *New essays on performance practice*, 195–208. Ann Arbor, 1989.

Marshall argues that to the extent Bach allowed himself in the 1730s and '40s to be influenced by the latest developments in musical fashion (particularly the so-called *galant* styles), he can be characterized as progressive. Neumann argues that Bach actually made limited and aesthetically unsuccessful forays into the *galant* and that a conservative view of Bach is more fitting.

For a moderate, Eastern-bloc socialist reading of Bach's biography, see Walther Siegmund-Schultze. *Johann Sebastian Bach*. Leipzig, 1976.

3.5 Places and their biographical issues

On the notion that Bach was a social climber, see

Ulrich Siegele. “Ich habe fleissig sein müssen . . .’: zur Vermittlung von Bachs sozialem und musikalischem Charakter.” *Musik und Kirche* 61 (1991): 73–78. Also in *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 9/10 (1991): 13–19. Translated by Gerhard Herz as “I had to be industrious . . .’: thoughts about the relationship between Bach’s social and musical character.” *Bach* 22, no. 2 (1991): 5–12.

For an image of Bach as inexplicable and unknowable, see

Wolfgang Hildesheimer. *Der ferne Bach: eine Rede*. Frankfurt am Main, 1985.

3.4 Chronology of Bach’s life

The following pamphlet, based largely on the volumes of the *Bach-Dokumente* and on studies of the chronology of Bach’s vocal music, presents a chronology of the documented events of Bach’s life and his known performances.

Bach-Archiv Leipzig. *Kalendarium zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs*. 2d ed. Leipzig, 1979.

For studies of the chronology of Bach’s music and its sources, see 7.2.2 *Chronologies of Bach’s vocal music* and 8.1.1 *General topics in Bach’s instrumental music*.

3.5 Places and their biographical issues

In this section we present literature about the places in which Bach lived and worked or to which he made significant visits. We also include some references to general works on the musical history of these places. Note that there are brief but useful articles on most of these places, with bibliographies, in *New Grove*.

A useful guide to touring Bach cities and towns is

Martin Petzoldt. *Bachstätten aufsuchen*. Leipzig, 1992.

3.5.1 *Thuringia in general*

Essays on various aspects of Bach's time in Thuringian towns are found in *Landesarbeitsausschuss Thüringen. Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen: Festgabe zum Gedenkjahr 1950*, edited by Heinrich Besseler and Günther Kraft. Weimar, 1950.

Der Landeskirchenrat der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Thüringen, ed. *Bach in Thüringen: Gabe der Thüringer Kirche an das Thüringer Volk zum Bach-Gedenkjahr 1950*. Berlin, 1950.

3.5.2 *Eisenach 1685–95*

The most detailed studies of the Bach family in Eisenach and its musical life are

Claus Oefner. "Das Musikleben in Eisenach 1650–1750." Ph.D. diss. University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1975.

Claus Oefner. *Die Musikerfamilie Bach in Eisenach*. Eisenach, 1984.

Claus Oefner. "Eisenach zur Zeit des jungen Bach." *BJ* 71 (1985): 43–54.

3.5.3 *Ohrdruf 1695–1700*

The most significant literature on Ohrdruf and Bach's time there focuses on his older brother Johann Christoph, with whom he lived and studied, particularly

Hans-Joachim Schulze. "Johann Christoph Bach (1671 bis 1721), 'Organist und Schul Collega in Ohrdruf,' Johann Sebastian Bachs erster Lehrer." *BJ* 71 (1985): 55–81.

On the musical manuscript Bach compiled while living with his brother (the so-called moonlight manuscript), see

Robert Hill. "'Der Himmel weiss, wo diese Sachen hingekommen sind': reconstructing the lost keyboard notebooks of the young Bach and Handel." In *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: tercentenary essays*, edited by Peter Williams, 161–72. Cambridge, 1985.

3.5.4 Lüneburg 1700–03

The most detailed writings on Bach in Lüneburg are

Gustav Fock. *Die Wahrheit über Bachs Aufenthalt in Lüneburg—Richtigstellungen zu Dr. E.W. Böhm's Schrift: Johann Sebastian Bach in Lüneburg*. Hamburg, 1949.

Gustav Fock. *Der junge Bach in Lüneburg, 1700 bis 1702*. Hamburg, 1950.

Of particular interest is the extensive music collection of the St. Michael School, where Bach was a student; the extent of his acquaintance with this collection is unknown. The inventory of manuscript music is transcribed in Max Seiffert. "Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit." *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 9, no. 4 (1908): 593–621.

The printed music is listed in

W. Junghans. "Johann Sebastian Bach als Schüler der Partikularschule zu St. Michaelis in Lüneburg, oder Lüneburg: eine Pflegstätte kirchlicher Musik." In *Programm des Johanneums zu Lüneburg: Ostern 1870*. Lüneburg, 1870.

On the collection in general, see

Friedhelm Krummacher. *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate*. Berlin, 1965.

3.5.5 Weimar 1703

See 3.5.8 Weimar 1708–17.

3.5.6 Arnstadt 1703–07

For essays on Bach's time in Arnstadt, as well as on other members of the family in that town, see

Karl Müller and Fritz Wiegand, eds. *Arnstädter Bachbuch: Johann Sebastian Bach und seine Verwandten in Arnstadt*. 2d. ed. Arnstadt, 1957.

For more recent details on Bach's time there, see

Markus Schiffner. "Johann Sebastian Bach in Arnstadt." *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 4 (1985): 5–22.

3.5.7 Mühlhausen 1707–08

On Bach's time in Mühlhausen, see

Ernst Brinkmann. "Die Mühlhäuser Bache." In *Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen: Festgabe zum Gedenkjahr 1950*, edited by Heinrich Besseler and Günther Kraft, 220–28. Weimar, 1950.

3.5.8 Weimar 1708–17

The court of the dukedom of Saxe-Weimar had a fine musical establishment that had a great interest in modern Italian poetry and music. Bach held a minor position there for a few months in 1703; he returned in 1708 as a chamber musician and court organist and was promoted to *Konzertmeister* (leader of the orchestra) in 1714.

Many characters in this part of Bach's story have "Ernst" or "Johann" (or both) in their names; we offer here a brief summary of their identities. Duke Johann Ernst II (died 1683) had two sons who co-reigned as dukes of Saxe-Weimar. In 1703 Bach worked for the younger duke, Johann Ernst (died 1707). In 1708 he was hired by the elder, Wilhelm Ernst, who got on badly with his brother and with this brother's successor, Ernst August, who came of age in 1709. Ernst August's half-brother, Johann Ernst (the Ernst formally known as "Prince"), named after their father, was not a reigning duke, but he plays an important role in Bach's biography because he was a composer and because around 1713 he probably commissioned Bach to arrange for keyboard a series of modish Italian string concertos. Except during the last few months of his time in Weimar, Bach appears to have managed himself reasonably well with both sides of the family.

For an overview of Weimar's musical life during Bach's tenure there, see Wolfgang Lidke. *Das Musikleben in Weimar von 1683 bis 1735*. Weimar, 1954.

Detailed reporting on the Weimar court archives is provided by Reinhold Jauernig. "Johann Sebastian Bach in Weimar: neue Forschungsergebnisse aus Weimarer Quellen." In *Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen: Festgabe zum Gedenkjahr 1950*, edited by Heinrich Besseler and Günther Kraft, 49–105. Weimar, 1950.

For further interpretive discussion of the known documentation on Bach in Weimar, see

William Warren Cowdery. "The early vocal works of Johann Sebastian Bach: studies in style, scoring, and chronology." Ph.D. diss. Cornell University, 1989.

Bach's reasons for leaving Weimar for Köthen are discussed in Andreas Glöckner. "Gründe für Johann Sebastian Bachs Weggang von Weimar." In *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. internationalen Bachfest der DDR in Verbindung mit dem 60. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft*, edited by Winfried Hoffmann and Armin Schneiderheinze, 137–43. Leipzig, 1988.

3.5.9 Köthen 1717–23

Anhalt-Köthen, where Bach's employer Prince Leopold ruled, was a rather insignificant principality among the German states. Owing to Leopold's extraordinary interest in music, its court had a first-rate orchestra. Bach was hired as *Kapellmeister* (director of the entire musical establishment).

The most extensive study of the city, though hard to come by, is Oskar Hartung. *Geschichte der Stadt Cöthen bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Cöthen, 1900.

The classic work on Bach and Köthen is

Friedrich Smend. *Bach in Köthen*. Berlin, 1951. Translated by John Page and edited and revised by Stephen Daw as *Bach in Köthen*. St. Louis, 1985.

Smend actually had very little to say about Bach's position at the court or about the mostly instrumental works performed there. The book centers on Bach's vocal compositions, many of them later arranged by Bach with new librettos as church cantatas for the Leipzig liturgy. Smend was especially concerned to show that in Bach's Lutheranism, contrary to statements in traditional Bach scholarship, there was no "conflict" between secular and liturgical music.

To make up for the lack of information that readers might reasonably have expected to find in Smend's book, the English version provides an extra chapter summarizing previous research on the court, the musicians employed there, the palace itself, and the instrumental and vocal music Bach is known to have composed or arranged there; see

Stephen Daw. "Supplementary Material (Editorial)." In Friedrich Smend. *Bach in Köthen*, translated by John Page and edited and revised by Stephen Daw, 163–82. St. Louis, 1985.

For more recent work on Bach's time in Köthen, with important new information, see the extremely detailed study

Günther Hoppe. "Köthener politische, ökonomische und höfische Verhältnisse als Schaffensbedingungen Bachs (Teil 1)." *Cöthener Bach-Hefte* 4 (1986): 13–62.

For an extensive bibliography on Bach and Köthen, see

Karl-Heinz Kresse and Günther Hoppe. "Bibliographie 'Der Köthener Bach: Leben und Werk.'" *Cöthener Bach-Hefte* 2 (1983): 32–50.

Bach's reasons for leaving Köthen for Leipzig are discussed in

Ulrich Siegele. "Johann Sebastian Bachs und Fürst Leopolds Auffassungen über das Hofkapellmeisteramt." *Cöthener Bach-Hefte* 4 (1986): 9–12.

3.5.10 *Leipzig 1723–50*

Because there has been considerable confusion over Bach's duties in Leipzig and his relationships with his employers, we thought some brief comments would be useful here.

Bach held a position as Cantor of the St. Thomas School (not Cantor of the St. Thomas Church, as writers in English often put it) and Musical Director of the city.

As *director musices* Bach provided music for civic occasions and for the city's churches, principally the St. Thomas and St. Nicholas Churches but several others as well. Bach's ensembles were made up of municipal musicians (Stadtpeifer and Kunstgeiger), freelancers, and students from the St. Thomas School.

Traditionally, the cantor's job was to teach music and other subjects (for example, Latin) to students at the St. Thomas School. With reluctant permission from his employers in advance of his hiring, Bach was able to pay a student to take on these nonmusical duties soon after assuming his post.

In 1729 Bach took up the directorship of Leipzig's first *Collegium musicum* (the one founded by Georg Philipp Telemann), which was not a municipally supported institution. During his Leipzig tenure, Bach was also careful to keep or secure appointments as Kapellmeister (court composer) for nobility at Köthen, Weißenfels, and Dresden. His musical activities were thus extensive and wide-ranging.

Bach's various conflicts with authorities in Leipzig were not with the churches, as is often stated, or even, strictly speaking, with the Town Council as a whole, as has until recently been assumed.

The extremely illuminating essay

Ulrich Siegele. "Bach and the domestic politics of Electoral Saxony." In *The Cambridge companion to Bach*, edited by John Butt, 17–34. Cambridge, 1997.

shows that the Town Council consisted of two parties politically and culturally at odds: city-minded and court-minded councillors. This situation came about as part of the fundamental conflict of that time in Saxony, namely between the electoral ruler, who strove for absolute unlimited power, and the Estates, who strove to curb it. In Saxony, the Estates consisted primarily of two bodies, the nobility and the cities; with its established trade fairs, Leipzig was the leading city, and its deputies oversaw administrative duties for the Estates (that is, it was an especially important city within the state even though it had no court).

August the Strong, who ruled Saxony from 1694 to 1733, went to great lengths to consolidate and extend his power; in Leipzig, this included forcibly imposing mayoral appointments and packing the Town Council with men loyal to him. Thus when Bach applied for the job at Leipzig, he faced within the Council an absolutist faction who essentially wanted a *Kapellmeister* (a star composer and performer) and a city faction who wanted a traditional cantor (a schoolteacher). This meant not only that the search committee's proceedings would become protracted but also that inevitably there would be continual trouble ahead for the Council's unanimously agreed-upon compromise candidate, Bach.

For an excellent general introduction to the Leipzig of Bach's day, see

George B. Stauffer. "Leipzig: a cosmopolitan trade centre." In *The late Baroque era: from the 1680s to 1740*, edited by George J. Buelow, 254–95. Englewood Cliffs, 1994.

The classic study of the city's musical life and Bach's time there is

Arnold Schering. *Das Zeitalter Johann Sebastian Bachs und Johann Adam Hillers (von 1723 bis 1800)*. Vol. 3 of *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Musikleben Leipzigs im 18. Jahrhundert: Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*. Leipzig, 1941.

For more on the issues surrounding Bach's hiring by the Leipzig Town Council, see

Ulrich Siegele. "Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit." *BJ* 69 (1983): 7–50; 70 (1984): 7–43; 72 (1986): 33–67.

For a summary of those articles and for valuable new information on Leipzig's municipal and Saxony's electoral governments, see

Ulrich Siegele. "Bach and the domestic politics of Electoral Saxony." In *The Cambridge companion to Bach*, edited by John Butt, 17–34. Cambridge, 1997.

For details on Bach's musical test for his application, see

Christoph Wolff. "Bachs Leipziger Kantoratsprobe und die Aufführungsgeschichte der Kantate 'Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn' BWV 23." *BJ* 64 (1978): 78–94. Translated by Alfred Mann as "Bach's audition for the St. Thomas cantorate: the cantata 'Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn.'" In Wolff, *Bach: essays on his life and music*, 128–40. Cambridge, Mass., 1991.

Concerning Bach's *Schaffensrhythmus* (artistic productivity) at Leipzig, see Rudolf Eller. "Gedanken über Bachs Leipziger Schaffensjahre." In *Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen*, edited by Rudolf Eller and Hans-Joachim Schulze, 7–27. Bach-Studien 5. Leipzig, 1975. Translated by Stephen A. Crist as "Thoughts on Bach's Leipzig creative years." *Bach* 21, no. 2 (1990): 31–54.

For a history of the choirs at the St. Thomas School, see

Bernhard Knick. "Das Zeitalter Johann Sebastian Bachs." In *St. Thomas zu Leipzig, Schule und Chor: Stätte des Wirkens von Johann Sebastian Bach; Bilder und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Thomasschule und des Thomanerchores mit ihren zeitgeschichtlichen Beziehungen*, edited by Bernhard Knick, 135–262. Wiesbaden, 1963.

On the old music collection of the St. Thomas School, see

Arnold Schering. "Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918–19): 275–88.

Bach studiously cited the regulations of the St. Thomas School in his disputes with the Leipzig Town Council. These ordinances have been reprinted in facsimile as

Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed. *Die Thomasschule Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs: Ordnungen und Gesetze 1634, 1723, 1733*. Leipzig, 1985.

One of these conflicts has generated much discussion in the secondary literature: the so-called Präfekten-Streit, over who had the right to appoint prefects (assistant directors of music students at the St. Thomas School); see

Paul S. Minear. "J.S. Bach and J.A. Ernesti: a case study in exegetical and theological conflict." In *Our common history as Christians: essays in*

honor of Albert C. Outler, edited by John Deschner et al., 131–55. New York, 1975.

The main documents of the Präfekten-Streit are printed conveniently next to each other in

Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Leben und Werk in Dokumenten*, 47–57. Leipzig, 1975.

and in

BR, 137–49.

On Bach's direction of the Leipzig *Collegium musicum*, see

Werner Neumann. "Das 'Bachische Collegium musicum.'" *BJ* 47 (1960): 5–27. Reprinted in *Johann Sebastian Bach*, edited by Walter Blankenburg, 384–415. Wege der Forschung 170. Darmstadt, 1970.

Herbert R. Pankratz. "J.S. Bach and his Leipzig *Collegium musicum*." *Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 323–53.

On the life of the churches in Leipzig and Bach's relationship to them, see

Günther Stiller. *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Leipziger gottesdienstliche Leben seiner Zeit*. Cassel, 1970. Translated by Herbert J.A. Bouman et al. and edited by Robin A. Leaver as *Johann Sebastian Bach and liturgical life in Leipzig*. St. Louis, 1984.

The architecture of the St. Thomas Church is described in

Herbert Stiehl. *Das Innere der Thomaskirche zur Amtszeit Johann Sebastian Bachs*. Beiträge zur Bachforschung 3. Leipzig, 1984.

During some years, Bach was responsible for performing church cantatas in the University church; see

Reinhard Szeskus. "Bach und die Leipziger Universitätsmusik." *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 32 (1990): 161–70. Also in *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart—Bach, Händel, Schütz: Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Stuttgart 1985*, edited by Dietrich Berke and Dorothee Hanemann, vol. 1: 405–12. Cassel, 1987.

For extensive discussion of the New Church and its relationship to the churches whose music Bach directed, see

Andreas Glöckner. *Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs*. Beiträge zur Bachforschung 8. Leipzig, 1990.

Concerning the Town Council's search for Bach's successor, see

Arnold Schering. *Das Zeitalter Johann Sebastian Bachs und Johann Adam Hillers (von 1723 bis 1800)*. Vol. 3 of *Johann Sebastian Bach und*

das Musikleben Leipzigs im 18. Jahrhundert: Musikgeschichte Leipzigs, 326–28. Leipzig, 1941.

3.5.11 *Other places with Bach connections*

Dresden

Dresden was the court seat of the Saxon electorate. It had one of the finest musical establishments in the German states. For both of these reasons, Bach continually sought contact there. Bach made several visits, wrote secular cantatas for the royal family (BWV 193a, 205a, 206, 207a, 208a, 213–215, Anh. I 9, 11–13), dedicated the *Missa* BWV 232^I to the elector in 1733, and secured a court title in 1736.

For a general introduction to the Dresden of Bach's day and its musical culture, see

George J. Buelow. "Dresden in the age of absolutism." In *The late Baroque era: from the 1680s to 1740*, edited by George J. Buelow, 216–29. Englewood Cliffs, 1994.

The classic study of the history of the musical life there is

Moritz Fürstenau. *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*. 2 vols. Dresden, 1861–62.

For more recent information, see

Irmgard Becker-Glauch. *Die Bedeutung der Musik für die Dresdener Hoffeste bis in die Zeit Augusts des Starken*. Cassel, 1951.

More recent information on church music at the court is provided in

Wolfgang Horn. *Die Dresdener Hofkirchenmusik 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire*. Cassel, 1987.

For more recent research on the court's musical scene, particularly in Bach's day, see also

Ortrun Landmann. "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach." *Early Music* 17 (1989): 17–30.

On Bach's musical indebtedness to Dresden repertory, see

Robert L. Marshall. "Bach the progressive: observations on his later works." *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976): 313–57. Rev. in his *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the sources, the style, the significance*, 23–58. New York, 1989.

For an older bibliography on Bach and Dresden, see

Werner Neumann and Rudolf Eller. "Bach und Dresden: eine Bibliographie." In *43. Deutsches Bach-Fest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft 6.–9. Dezember in Dresden—Bachfestbuch*, 40–43. Dresden, 1968.

Berlin

Berlin was the court seat of Prussia, one of the two most powerful German states in the eighteenth century. Bach dedicated the *Brandenburg Concertos* to the Margrave of Brandenburg, Christian Ludwig of Berlin. Bach's connections to the city intensified again in the 1740s, when several of his students and his son Carl Philipp Emanuel joined the royal musical establishment there. In 1747 he dedicated the *Musical Offering* BWV 1079 to King Frederick the Great, after having performed at court in Potsdam.

For an introduction to musical culture of the Berlin of Bach's day, see

Curt Sachs. *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof*. Berlin, 1910.

On musical life under Frederick the Great, see

Ernest Eugene Helm. *Music at the court of Frederick the Great*. Norman, 1960.

On Bach's connections with the city, see

Hans Theodore David. *J.S. Bach's Musical Offering: history, interpretation, analysis*, 3–15. New York, 1945.

Andreas Holschneider. "Johann Sebastian Bach in Berlin." In *Preußen, Dein Spree-Athen: Beiträge zu Literatur, Theater und Musik in Berlin*, edited by Hellmut Kühn, 135–45. Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1981.

Weißenfels

Weißenfels was the seat of a dukedom where Bach's second wife, Anna Magdalena, had been a singer (her father was a court trumpeter). Bach wrote the cantatas BWV 208 and 249a for Duke Christian of Weißenfels, and he secured a court title in the late 1720s.

The classic study of the history of the musical scene in Weißenfels is

Arno Werner. *Städtische und fürstliche Musikpflege in Weissenfels bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, 1911.

For more recent information on Weißenfels in Bach's time, see also

Eva-Maria Ranft. "Zum Personalbestand der Weißenfelscher Hofkapelle." *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 6 (1987): 5–36.

3. *Bach's life*

On Bach's musical and titular connections there, see

Klaus Hofmann. "Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantate 'Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen' BWV 51: Überlegungen zu Entstehung und ursprünglicher Bestimmung." *BJ* 75 (1989): 43–54.

On Bach's familial connections there, see

Adolf Schmiedecke. "Johann Sebastian Bachs Verwandte in Weißenfels." *Die Musikforschung* 14 (1961): 195–200.

Eva-Maria Ranft. "Neues über die Weißenfelser Verwandtschaft Anna Magdalena Bachs." *BJ* 73 (1987): 169–71.

Lübeck

For information on Bach's extended trip to Lübeck, see

Kerala J. Snyder. "To Lübeck in the steps of J.S. Bach." *Musical Times* 127 (1986): 672–77. Reprinted in *Bach* 20, no. 2 (1989): 38–48.

Gottfried Simpfendörfer. "Wo lernte Johann Sebastian Bach die Schriften Heinrich Müllers kennen?" *BJ* 79 (1993): 205–11.

Halle

Concerning Bach's application for a position at Halle, see

Peter Wollny. "Bachs Bewerbung um die Organistenstelle an der Marienkirche zu Halle und ihr Kontext." *BJ* 80 (1994): 25–39.

Alfred Dürr. "Zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Hallenser Probestück von 1713." *BJ* 81 (1995): 183–84.

Hamburg

Concerning Bach's application for a position at Hamburg, see

Joachim Kremer. "Die Organistenstelle an St. Jakobi in Hamburg: eine 'convenable station' für Johann Sebastian Bach?" *BJ* 79 (1993): 217–22.