

*The Keyboard Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*  
Updates and Corrections

## Chapter 1

*“But any biography of these composers must remain incomplete in ways that is not the case for musicians whose inner life, emotional as well as musical, is better documented . . .” (p. 5).*

Friedemann’s inner life has nevertheless been reconstructed fictionally in the novels, films, and operas mentioned on pages 12–13. To these must be added Lauren Belfer’s 2016 novel *And After the Fire*, which, although continuing the tradition begun by Brachvogel of making Friedemann a lover of certain wealthy young women, in other respects paints plausible pictures of both the aging composer and his youthful pupil Sara Levy.

*“One long-standing enigma . . . his fourth cousin” (p. 11)*

The exact relationship of Friedemann to J. C. Bach of Halle is less certain and probably more remote than is indicated here. The “Halle Clavier Bach” was descended from Lips (Philippus) Bach, who might have been a brother or son of Veit Bach (Friedemann’s great-great-great-grandfather). All that can be said assuredly is that the two probably were distantly related, with one or more common ancestors, but none within five generations as suggested here. J. C. Bach of Halle belonged to the same Meiningen branch of the family that also produced the composer Johann Ludwig (his uncle) and the painters Gottlieb Friedrich and Samuel Anton Bach (his cousins).

## Chapter 2

*“I do not give instruction” (see p. 292n. 27)*

The claim that Friedemann did not teach during his Berlin years is based not only on Friedemann’s own declaration but on a 1779 letter of Kirnberger to Forkel (in Bitter, 2:323: “auch Lection geben mag er nicht”). This same letter is the principal source for Friedemann’s break with both Emanuel and Kirnberger. Friedemann’s own statement about not teaching is quoted in an addendum (*Beilage*) to Zelter’s letter to Goethe dated April 6, 1829. Absent from most editions of the Zelter-Goethe correspondence, the latter was printed in *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, vol. 5 (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1834), 209–10. Zelter relates that “a wealthy learned father of an only son had me offer Friedemann the opportunity to give a music lesson that would have been well paid for; ‘I don’t teach’ was his answer” (“Ein wohlhabender gebildeter Vater eines einzigen Sohnes sandte mich ab, dem Friedemann eine erkleckliche Unterrichtsstunde anzutragen: ‘Ich informire nicht’ war seine Antwort”). Peter Wollny, “Anmerkungen zur Bach-Pflege im Umfeld Sara Levys,” in *“Zu groß, zu unerreichbar”: Bach-Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns*, edited by Anselm Hartinger et al. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 2007), 39–49 (cited: 42), refers to Kirnberger’s letter without further identifying it.

## Chapter 3

*“New” pieces and problems of attribution (pp. 66–67, 117–19, etc.)*

Peter Wollny’s thematic catalog of Friedemann’s music, which became available in 2013, includes entries for several previously unknown compositions and also for a much greater number of spurious

works. In addition to several short dances and the like, the “new” compositions include a minuet with thirteen variations: Friedemann’s only substantial set of variations, apparently a significant virtuoso work comparable in some respects to the polonaises, although whether this places it in the composer’s Berlin period (as suggested in the catalog) must remain unresolved, at least for now. The sole source for most of these works is a large manuscript copied by J. C. Bach of Halle, now in Lithuania (unseen by me); further discussion will become possible when these pieces are published in volume 2 of the *CW*.

The list of spurious works in the new catalog works includes several fantasias by Johann Wilhelm Hässler (1747–1822) that have long masqueraded as Friedemann’s, most recently on several CD recordings. At least one of the latter compositions was among the first pieces to be printed and performed under Friedemann’s name in the later nineteenth century (for details, see my “Enigmatic Legacy,” listed below under Bibliography, p. 24n. 1). Another spurious work, a fugue in C minor by Sebastian Bach’s friend Johann Peter Kellner, was good enough to be published anonymously in an anthology edited by C. P. E. Bach (*Musikalisches Vielerley*, 1770). There it immediately follows a sonata by J. C. F. Bach, which may explain its occasional attribution to the latter, but the two works are in different keys and have nothing else in common either. The fugue’s conventional *stile antico*, maintained throughout except in a stylistically anomalous coda, also has nothing to common with any keyboard music by W. F. Bach, whose name seems to have been attached to the piece arbitrarily (as it is, for example, on [imslp.org](http://imslp.org)).

The main sequence of entries in the new catalog still includes the doubtful chorale settings and fugues that have long been regarded as compositions by Friedemann for the organ. Although these are now accompanied by a remark pointing out the uncertainty of their attributions, they apparently will be included in volume 2 of the *CW*.

Volume 1 of the *CW* includes several previously unpublished keyboard sonatas. Among these is a work that I discussed in the present book as the original version of the Sonata in E minor for flute and continuo. Yet the score, preserved only in the Lithuanian manuscript mentioned above, is unlikely to have been intended for a keyboard instrument. In addition to containing much that is unidiomatic to the keyboard, it ascends to high g<sup>'''</sup>, a note that does appear in at least one mature sonata by W. F. Bach but is not to be expected in an ostensibly early work composed at Dresden. Could the inclusion of this sonata in a manuscript otherwise devoted to keyboard pieces have been the product of a misunderstanding? J. C. Bach of Halle was a generally reliable transmitter of Friedemann’s music, but perhaps he found the piece notated on two staves without a title clarifying the instrumentation. Or could Friedemann himself have passed it off as a keyboard piece, despite its distinct unsuitability for that medium?

Pieter Dirksen (2012) argues for attributing a number of organ chorales and fugues—both those considered in the present book and several “new” pieces—to Friedemann. Although I am grateful to Pieter for sharing his article with me prior to publication, I find that the basis of the argument lies chiefly in superficial thematic parallelisms. Without stronger evidence in the sources, I must continue to regard the connection of these pieces to the Bach tradition as tenuous at best.

### *The Prelude in C minor F. 29*

Peter Wollny suggests that the completion of the fragment left by Friedemann might have been the work of the Cöthen-born organist Carl August Hartung (1723–1800), who subsequently worked in Braunschweig and apparently was in contact with Friedemann during the latter’s time there. See “Carl August Hartung als Kopist und Sammler” (full citation below under Bibliography), 95.

## *Keyboard Instruments*

More could be said about the preferred medium of Friedemann's keyboard music—harpsichord, clavichord, or fortepiano—for only his earliest works, such as the pieces with French titles F. 26 and 27, can be played entirely satisfactorily on the harpsichord. Other works seem to demand at least some dynamic capability. Yet it doubtless remains true that we simply do not know on what instruments any of his works were most commonly played, or whether Friedemann had a preferred instrument at any particular time or place in his career. Certainly there is no basis for asserting, as Paul Simmonds does in a recent review (*Early Music* 38 [2010]: 625), that the D-major sonata F. 3 “was probably intended for the harpsichord.” Dresden, where it was composed, knew fortepianos as well as more exotic types of dynamic keyboard instruments. The dedication of the published edition of the sonata to a figure at the Berlin court likewise points to someone familiar with additional instruments besides the old harpsichord, which can hardly be considered an ideal medium for this piece. (The word *cembalo*, as in the work's published title, is a generic term in mid-eighteenth-century sources and does not mean specifically “harpsichord.”)

On the other hand, the possible usefulness of particular types of special harpsichords for this and other pieces should not be dismissed. Sebastian's pupil and successor as organist at Weimar, Johann Caspar Vogler, owned an extraordinary harpsichord with pedals and a six-octave manual compass CC–c”” (advertised for sale in 1766 by his widow; see Carl G. Anthon, “An Unusual Harpsichord,” *Galpin Society Journal* 37 [1984]: 115–6). Although there is no known connection between Vogler and Friedemann Bach, other than their living for a time in the same city, on this instrument the revised version of Friedemann's concerto F. 40, with its low DD, might have been played as written. Appendix 1 of the present book dismisses the reliability of the source in which this very low note appears. But the same note was apparently available on the large English harpsichords by Schudi that King Frederick kept at the Neues Schloß in Potsdam. These instruments might also have been available to the king's sister Princess Anna Amalia (see Latcham, “Pianos and Harpsichords For Their Majesties,” 383; full citation below under Bibliography), and through her to Friedemann. One might also have managed that note and others on the sixteen-foot rank of the instrument usually attributed to Johann Heinrich Harass—sometimes described as having been owned by Friedemann—which is now in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum of the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin (cat. no. 316); see *Das Berliner “Bach-Cembalo”*: *Ein Mythos und seine Folgen*, ed. Konstantin Restle and Susanne Aschenbrandt (Berlin: Musikinstrumenten-Museum, 1995). In short, it is possible that F. 40 was revised at Berlin with such instruments in mind—though it also remains possible that the extreme low notes in this version do reflect some sort of misunderstanding by a copyist.

## **Chapter 4**

### *The Trio in B-flat, F. 50*

A manuscript copy of the original version of this work for two violins and continuo has been reported by Christine Blanken (see under Bibliography below).

### *The Sinfonia in B-flat, F. 71*

This work is no longer lost (as indicated in Table 4.6, p. 150, and in the List of Works, p. 286). A manuscript source dating from Bach's Halle period has been reported by Christine Blanken (see under Bibliography below). The sinfonia will be published in an appendix of a forthcoming volume of the

*CW*. Until the latter appears, the relationship of F. 71 to the *torneo* in the doubtful *Ouverture* BWV 1070 (discussed on p. 164) must remain uncertain.

*Suite in G minor (BWV 1070) and Concerto in G minor (F. deest)*

For a more detailed discussion of the attributions of these compositions, see my article “An Enigmatic Legacy” (full citation below under Bibliography).

## Chapter 5

*Additions and corrections for table 5.1 (pp. 204–5)*

*Lasset uns ablegen* (F. 80) was originally for Advent; Emanuel Bach used it at Pentecost when he performed it at Hamburg.

*Friedemann’s use of vocal works by others (pp. 236–39)*

To Friedemann’s adaptations of his father’s vocal music might be added at least one by another composer. A manuscript copy of a Magnificat for four voices and instruments in D by Jan Dismas Zelenka, with corrections probably by Friedemann, raises the possibility that he performed this and other Dresden works during his Halle period, and that his own church works were influenced by them. The greatest number of additions to the score are indications for which instruments should play in various passages. Rubrics at the outset of the score indicate that it was originally conceived for an ensemble with two viola parts but (apparently) only one violin part, doubled by oboes. The added indications presumably served to adapt Zelenka’s score to the forces available to Friedemann at Halle and preceded the copying of individual parts.

The copy in question is a manuscript score in a hand identified as that of Gottlob Harrer (Cambridge, Harvard College Library, bMUS Mus 83); bound with it is a violin part that has been reported as being in Friedemann’s hand, although the script does not resemble his. On the other hand, the handwriting of the numerous verbal additions in the score is close to that of his known autographs. This source suggests that Friedemann adapted and performed not only works of his father but also those of the Dresden musician who was probably the most original if not the most prolific or influential composer during Friedemann’s tenure there. The Magnificat, ZWV 108 in the thematic catalog by Wolfgang Horn and Thomas Kohlhase (*Zelenka Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1989), follows traditions of Dresden rather than Leipzig or Berlin in comprising just three movements. Most of the text is set in the opening section, which is followed by the *Suscepit Israel* and final Amen. The latter, a fugue in *stile antico*, lacks independent instrumental parts. Friedemann’s Amen F. 99/1 is similarly conceived and might have been used in place of this or other fugal Amen choruses in works of this type.

Although Zelenka’s work on the whole is remote in style from the Magnificat settings of J. S. and C. P. E. Bach, and from Friedemann’s own vocal music, one passage briefly calls to mind the vivid virtuoso choral writing in works such as his Easter piece *Erzittert und fället* (F. 83) and might have been the sort of thing heard at Dresden that inspired it (see example below).

Telemann also may have provided material for a work that Friedemann presented in church, although in this case the relationship is one of modeling rather than arrangement or adaptation. Peter Wollny (2012, 27–8) argues that both text and music of the church piece *Der Höchste erhöret* F. 86 (including the aria

Example. Zelenka, Magnificat in D (ZWV 108), doubling instrumental parts omitted

The image shows a musical score for Zelenka's Magnificat in D (ZWV 108). It features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and four instrumental parts (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello/Double Bass). The score is in D major and common time. The lyrics are: "dis-per - sit, dis-per - sit su-per-bos, dis - per-sit dis - per-sit su-per - bos men - te cor - dis su - - - is, per - sit su-per - bos men - te cor - - - dis su - - - is, bos men - te cor - dis su - - - is de - po-su - it".

“Das Herze klopft,” ex. 5.15) are modeled on those of the cantata for the seventh Sunday after Trinity in Telemann’s *Engel-Jahrgang*, published in 1749 (so called for the vignette of an angel or putto on the title page). Indeed, not only do the texts of the arias parody those by Daniel Stoppe for the Telemann work, but the musical character, key, and some of the specific motivic material of each are too closely parallel to have arisen by coincidence. Wollny rightly notes, however, that there is no question of outright musical parody or paraphrase; indeed, Telemann never takes up the obvious word painting introduced by Friedemann on the word *klopft* (beat or throb; cf. ex. 5.15)—even though the subject doing the throbbing in Telemann’s aria is a poor man with a stick (*Der Arme . . . mit seinem Stabe*), not “the heart” (*Das Herz*). In this case, therefore, Friedemann is actually more “painterly” than Telemann. In the second aria, however, Telemann gives the violins slurred thirty-seconds, reminiscent of the aria “Ergiesse dich” in BWV 5; these depict, more vividly than Friedemann’s triplets (for obligato organ), the rain (*Regen*) which is mentioned in the first line of both texts. One might conclude that, as in other compositions that open with derivative material, Friedemann took a suggestion from another work before making himself master of it with matter of his own.

*The G-Minor Mass F. 100 (pp. 239–41)*

The discussion of this work (including table 5.6) requires modification. As indicated in the new catalogue, Friedemann’s original manuscript parts and vocal score, containing vocal parts and

transposed continuo part, have been acquired by the Bach-Archiv in Leipzig as part of the Kulukundis Collection. These supplement the incomplete score in SA 236 that was used in the preparation of the present book, making possible a complete recording of the work (by the Rastatter Hofkapelle, directed by Jürgen Ochs, on Carus 83.429, Stuttgart, 2010) and its eventual publication in volume 11 of the *CW*. In addition to a Kyrie and a closing fugue (“Du bist allein”) in *stile antico* with *colle parti* instruments, the work includes a setting in accompanied-recitative style for soprano and strings of the opening of the Gloria (“Herr Gott, himmlischer König”).

*The unfinished opera Lausus und Lydie F. 106 (pp. 263–64)*

It was Plümicke who engaged Friedemann to compose the opera, not the latter who sought out a librettist, as indicated on page 263. And it was the libretto, not the music, to which Plümicke refers when he writes that the opera remained “unprinted.” But there can be no question that Plümicke, writing about himself in the third person, approached Friedemann and not another member of the Bach family. Falck, who quoted the relevant sentence, has been accused of arbitrarily supplying the composer’s given names within parentheses, thereby making the reference more specific than it actually was. Although Falck did insert Plümicke’s name (after the ambiguous pronoun *er*), he gave the opening clause of the passage exactly as it appears in the original: “Für den durch sein grosses musikalisches Genie berühmten Herrn (Wilhelm Friedemann) Bach unternahm er [Plümicke] hiernächst in den Jahren 1778 und 1779 die Verfertigung einer ernsthaften Oper (nach Marmontel): Lausus und Lydie, worinn er besonders die Chöre der Alten (in so fern solches möglich ist) wieder auf die Bühne zu bringen versuchte—Doch ist selbige weil die Komposition kränklicher Umstände des Komponisten wegen unbeendigt verblieben, bis jetzt noch ungedruckt.”

## Appendix 1

The reference on page 273 to example 5.18 is incorrect; the reference should be to example 5.26.

## Bibliography

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Blanken, Christine. “Ein wieder zugänglich gemachter Bestand alter Musikalien der Bach-Familie im Verlagsarchiv Breitkopf & Härtel.” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 99 (2013): 79–128. A talk giving portions of the same material was presented in English at the 2014 meeting of the American Bach Society (“Recently Rediscovered Sources of Music of the Bach Family in the Breitkopf ‘Firmenarchiv’ in Leipzig”).

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