

Activities around the Composer's Desk: The Roles of Bach and his Copyists in Parody Production*

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Johann Sebastian Bach's so-called 'parody process' has been an important theme throughout the history of modern Bach research. The literature on this topic is rich. In his classic article of 1989 Hans-Joachim Schulze¹ summarised different points of view and provided new clues to solving many of the remaining problems. Since Schulze's study, however, new material has been discovered in St Petersburg in the form of original printed texts of Bach's cantatas. This has raised new questions about Bach's parodies and their originals, and allowed several of Bach's works to be dated more accurately. In light of this new material the current paper will present observations on a number of Leipzig manuscripts of Bach's cantatas from the 1720s and 1730s, and will discuss some broader questions about the parody process.

O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe BWV 34a

Based on the dating of extant sources, it has long been accepted that the Pentecost cantata *O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe* BWV 34 is a direct parody of the wedding cantata BWV 34a, written by Bach almost 20 years earlier.² The recent

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¹ Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'The Parody Process in Bach's Music: An Old Problem Reconsidered', *Bach*, 20/1 (1989), 7–21; repr. in: Yo Tomita (ed.), *Bach, The Baroque Composers* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 369–83.

² According to comparatively recent research, the Pentecost cantata BWV 34 has been dated back to 1746/7 (see *BC I/1*, 334; Yoshitake Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 74 (1988), 55; Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Die Bach-Kantaten: Einführungen zu sämtlichen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 259–60, etc.) and the wedding cantata BWV 34a back to 1725/6 (see Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 86; Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Kantaten*, 8th edn. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 403 f.; Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, *Tübinger Bach-Studien*, 4/5 (Trossingen: Hohner,

discovery of the original printed text at the National Library of Russia,³ however, has radically changed our understanding of the history of this work. The date on the title page of the booklet shows that the Pentecost cantata *O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe* BWV 34 was performed in 1727, and not premiered in 1746 or 1747 as previously thought. This suggests therefore that Bach wrote both the original and its parody within a year or two of each other. The new dating, however, does not challenge the accepted correlation between these works: the wedding cantata, thought to have been performed in 1726 or 1725, and the Pentecost cantata performed, as we now know, in 1727. Even where the new dating of BWV 34 is taken into account, recent publications continue to assume that the Pentecost cantata is a direct parody of the wedding cantata written one or two years previously.⁴ But this cannot be the case as can be seen from the results of corrections in existing manuscripts – Bach’s autograph score of BWV 34 (D-B, Am.B 39) and the original performance parts of BWV 34a (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 73) – which reveal a hitherto unknown and radically new set of correlations between these works.⁵

Let us first look at features in St 73, the original manuscript of BWV 34a, the majority of which was written out by both Christian Gottlob Meißner and Johann Heinrich Bach, J. S. Bach’s main copyists in 1726 and 1727.⁶ In several movements

1958), 173; Hans-Joachim Schulze, ‘Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Kantatentexten Bachs auf Grund neuer biographischer Daten’, in Martin Geck (ed.), *Bach-Interpretationen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 22–8; *BC I/3*, 867; Schulze, *Die Bach-Kantaten*, 260 f.). In 1999 Konrad Küster doubted such a late dating of BWV 34. Konrad Küster (ed.), *Bach Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 381–2.

³ Tatjana Schabalina, ‘“Texte zur Music” in Sankt Petersburg: Neue Quellen zur Leipziger Musikgeschichte sowie zur Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit Johann Sebastian Bachs’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 94 (2008), 65–8; Tatiana Shabalina, ‘Recent Discoveries in St Petersburg and their Meaning for the Understanding of Bach’s Cantatas’, *Understanding Bach*, 4 (2009), 78–80.

⁴ Günther Zedler, *Die erhaltenen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs (Spätere Sakrale und Weltliche Werke): Besprechungen in Form von Analysen – Erklärungen – Deutungen* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2009), 212; Martin Petzoldt, ‘Theologie und Spiritualität in Bachs Pfingstkantaten: Das Beispiel der Kantate BWV 34’, *Musik und Kirche*, 79/3 (May-June 2009), 177; Reinmar Emans and Sven Hiemke (eds.), *Bachs Kantaten: Das Handbuch*, Teilband 2 (Laaber, 2012), 74; Raffaele Mellace, *Johann Sebastian Bach, le cantate* (Palermo: L’Epos, 2012), 272–3, etc. It used to be thought that the movements 1, 3 and 5 of BWV 34 were the direct parodies of movements 1, 5 and 4 of BWV 34a.

⁵ Tatjana Schabalina, ‘Neue Erkenntnisse zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Kantaten BWV 34 und 34a’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 96 (2010), 95–109.

⁶ Christian Gottlob Meißner (1707–1760) was a pupil of St Thomas’ school (*Thomasalumne*) in 1719–1729; on 1 July 1729 he became a student of Leipzig University. His activity as J. S. Bach’s copyist can be seen from 7 February 1723 until 30 December 1728, and in separate manuscripts until 1731. In 1729 he worked as a copyist for Carl Gotthelf Gerlach (*Neukirche*), and from 1731 to 1760 as a cantor in Geithain (see Hans-Joachim Schulze, ‘Johann Sebastian Bach und Christian Gottlob Meißner’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 54 (1968), 80–88; Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 101–10; *NBA IX/3*, 38). Johann Heinrich Bach (1707–1738), J. S. Bach’s nephew from Ohrdruf, was a pupil of St Thomas’ school (*Thomasalumne*) from 1724 until c.1728. Since 1735 he worked as a musician and cantor in Öhringen. His activity as J. S. Bach’s copyist can be seen from 26 December 1724 until 1727; from 1 January 1726 he began to act as Bach’s main copyist (see Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 110–19; *NBA IX/3*, 85).

one copyist wrote the musical text and the other added the verbal text.⁷ Looking specifically at the first movement, in bar 67 of the tenor part the six quavers were initially written with one beam (see Figure 1a); later on, however, they were divided into three groups with vertical strokes corresponding to three syllables in this bar. In BWV 34 there is exactly one beam for six quavers (Figure 1b) according to one syllable 'wey-' (in the line 'entzünde die Herzen und weyhe sie ein'); meanwhile, BWV 34a has three syllables '-weyh-ten_Al-' (in the line 'entzünde der Herzen geweyhten Altar'), which appear as if the musical text was copied from a manuscript closely related to Am.B 39, and as if the corrections to the beam were made when a verbal text was added.



Figure 1: Bar 67 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the tenor part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

In the alto part, the last note of bar 113 was originally written as a minim with a tie to the next bar in BWV 34a (Figure 2a). The same reading can be found in BWV 34 (Figure 2b). However, the minim in BWV 34a was changed to a crochet, with another crochet squeezed before it, and the tie across the bar line crossed out. There are other similar corrections of beams and flags in these bars, for example the first and second beats of bar 112 and the first beat of bar 113:

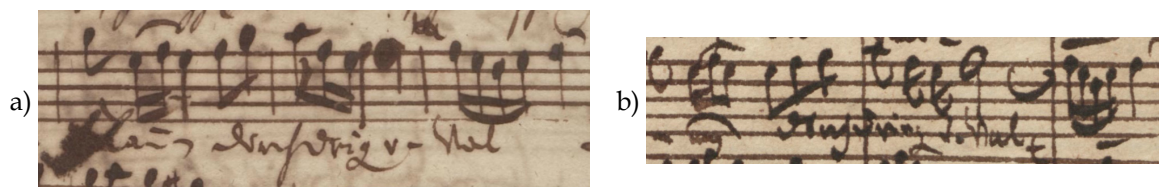


Figure 2: Bars 112–4 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the alto part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

Further corrections can be found in bar 127 in the alto part. The first two quavers were originally written in BWV 34a with one beam (Figure 3a), but were then divided into separate notes with flags conforming to two syllables 'Re-gun-' (in

⁷ Johann Heinrich Bach wrote the musical text of the soprano part until bar 77 of the chorus 'Friede über Israel'. Meißner wrote in the words and both music and words in the rest of the part (besides the text in bars 31–65 in movement 7). The work between the copyists was distributed in the same way in the alto part of the first movement. In the tenor part the copyists worked again in the same manner until bar 3 of 'Friede über Israel' (only in bars 131–42 of the first movement the words were added by J. S. Bach). The musical text of the bass part, including 'Friede über Israel', was written by Heinrich Bach and the words across these movements by Meißner. Wilhelm Friedemann Bach wrote bars 1–27 of the bass part in movement 7; the copyist Anonymous IId participated in the basso continuo part. Johann Sebastian Bach added the text in some movements (soprano: movement 7, bars 31–65; alto: movement 3, movement 4, bars 1–2; tenor: movement 1, bars 131–42, movement 3) and the musical text and words in bars 31–96 of movement 7 in the bass part (see *NBA IX/3*, 16, 42, 74, 87, 191).

the line ‘die Funken der edelsten Regungen’). The *ante correcturam* reading corresponds to BWV 34 with one syllable (‘Glau-’) in this place (Figure 3b).



Figure 3: Bar 127 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the alto part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

The same can be seen in bar 128 of the tenor part, where the first two quavers were originally written in both BWV 34a and 34 with one beam (Figures 4a and 4b), which works fine with one syllable ‘Glau-’ in BWV 34 (Figure 4b), but not so well for two syllables ‘Re-gun-’ in BWV 34a; and so the beam was later corrected to two separate quavers (Figure 4a):

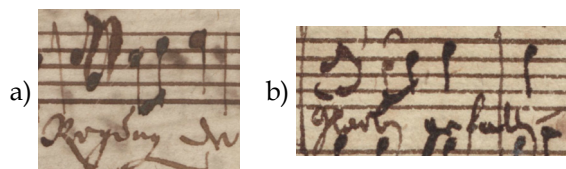


Figure 4: Bar 128 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the tenor part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

There are more corrections related to the changes of the number of syllables in bar 133 of the soprano part. The fourth note originally written under one beam with two semiquavers in both BWV 34a (Figure 5a) and BWV 34 (Figure 5b), but the former was corrected to a separate flagged quaver. (Text underlays are ‘Höchster’ in BWV 34 and ‘-ei-nig-te’ in BWV 34a):

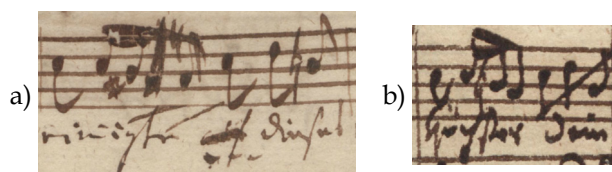


Figure 5: Bar 133 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the soprano part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

In bar 134 of the same part the last group of notes was first written in both BWV 34a and BWV 34 with one beam (Figures 6a and 6b). The latter has a word ‘dein’ (‘dein Tempel’, Figure 6b). The notes joined with a beam were later split in BWV 34a with both a vertical stroke and the addition of a separate flag to the last quaver, corresponding to two syllables ‘-nig-te’ (‘vereinigte Paar’):

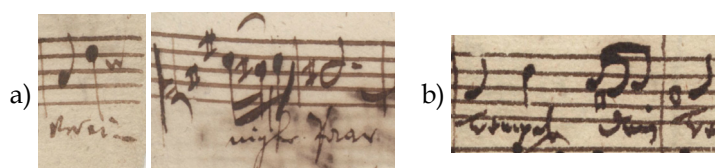


Figure 6: Bars 134–5 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the soprano part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

Corrections are clearly visible in bar 135 in the alto and tenor parts. In BWV 34a, three crochets were written in this bar (Figures 7a and 8a) but subsequently they

were changed to a more syncopated dance rhythm, using quavers for the four syllables of the new words and a new character ('ver-ei-nig-te' in the line 'auf dieses vereinigte Paar'). In BWV 34 there are three crochets according to the three syllables 'Tem-pel zu' in the line 'dein Tempel zu sein' (Figures 7b and 8b).

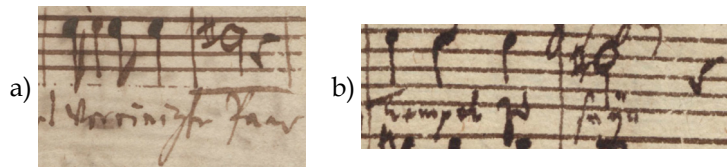


Figure 7: Bars 135–6 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the alto part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

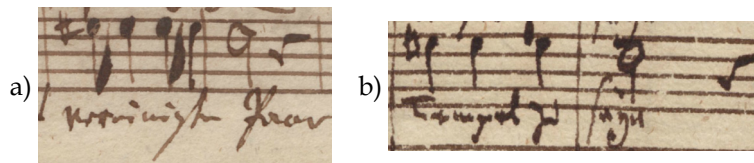


Figure 8: Bars 135–6 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the tenor part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

Finally, in the tenor part in bars 139–41 the reading corresponding to BWV 34 (Figure 9b) was again found in BWV 34a as *ante correcturam*; the rhythm was adapted presumably when the new words were introduced (Figure 9a).

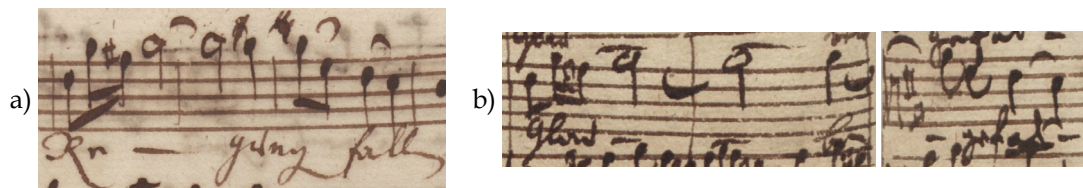


Figure 9: Bars 139–41 of BWV 34a(34)/1 (showing the tenor part only) – a) St 73, b) Am.B 39

The texts of this movement in BWV 34 and 34a are very similar:

<p>BWV 34: O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe, Entzünde die Herzen und weihe sie ein. Laß himmlische Flammen durchdringen und wallen, Wir wünschen, o Höchster, dein Tempel zu sein, Ach, laß dir die Seelen im Glauben gefallen!</p>	<p>BWV 34a: O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe, Entzünde der Herzen geweihten Altar. Laß himmlische Flammen durchdringen und wallen, Ach laß doch auf dieses vereinigte Paar Die Funken der edelsten Regungen fallen.</p>
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It is significant that the corrections in St 73 appear exactly where the text of BWV 34a differs from that of BWV 34. This challenges the accepted time-line relationship between these two works.⁸ As there are no earlier manuscripts of

⁸ Apparently the dating of BWV 34a should be reconsidered in this new light. At any rate '1725/6' is supposedly too early a date for this piece. '1726/7' seems more reliable for its composition (see the more detailed discussion of the dating of St 73 in: Schabalina, 'Neue Erkenntnisse zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 105–7). As for other questions of correlation of BWV 34 and 34a (including relationship between the text and music, declamation in both pieces, connection of the text 'Friede über Israel' with BWV 34a/3 and its lack in BWV 34 etc.) they will be discussed in a separate article, which is being prepared for publication.

BWV 34, BWV 34a must be compared with Bach's late score of BWV 34 (from 1746/7), and the examples above are presumed to represent the readings in the lost 1720s manuscript of BWV 34. The examples suggest that BWV 34 was not a direct parody of BWV 34a. There are two possible explanations for this: BWV 34 and BWV 34a had a common source, now lost; or Bach may have written a direct parody BWV 34 → BWV 34a, as indicated by the stemma of BWV 34 and 34a in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 2010.⁹

The corrections in the manuscript parts of the wedding cantata BWV 34a in the examples above, nevertheless suggest that it was created by the parody method,¹⁰ and that the parody of the first movement, at least, was largely created by the copyists: Heinrich Bach copied the musical text from the original; Meißner added the words and presumably corrected the beams, flags, rhythm, and grouping of notes whenever they did not coincide with the new text. It is hard to identify the hand of the writer in such tiny details as the short strokes in beams and flags, but it seems likely that Meißner, who added the new words for the musical text in a number of movements of BWV 34a, also corrected the notational details under Bach's supervision. There are other similar instances in Meißner's copies.

Meißner appears to have been a more experienced copyist than Heinrich Bach at this time. He undertook the most difficult part of the work in a number of manuscripts, copying and transposing the material, for example in the Leipzig performance parts of some earlier cantatas,¹¹ and in many continuo parts for Bach's Leipzig cantatas.¹²

The copyists apparently created a parody directly into the parts St 73 (at least in the first movement), rather than copying from Bach's score of BWV 34a. One of them seems to have copied the musical text from the original, while the more experienced of the two added the words and adapted the musical writing to the new text.¹³ In some fragments they might have worked together on short phrases,

⁹ Ibid, 108. It should be remembered that the vocal parts of BWV 34a (St 73) contain other corrections where the *ante correcturam* readings do not correspond with the readings of the existing version of BWV 34 (see, for example, soprano: movement 1, bars 58, 106, 140; tenor: bars 101, 127; bass: bars 125, 140). However, that the version of BWV 34 from the 1720s had a different text underlay for some words in these bars (especially the word 'Herzen' in bars 58 in the soprano and 101 in the tenor), or such variants refer to some lost cantata (BWV *deest*), cannot be ruled out. The copyists could also have made mistakes (as hinted by the obvious error in the rejected fragment of soprano in the chorus 'Friede über Israel').

¹⁰ Vocal parts in other movements of BWV 34a (3 and 7) in St 73 also contain corrections of beams, flags etc., which might suggest that those movements were also parodies, although their models are still unknown.

¹¹ By August 8, 1723 he had transposed the Weimar parts of violin 1, violin 2 and viola (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 459) of *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut* BWV 199 for its first Leipzig performance (see Tatjana Schabalina, 'Ein weiteres Autograph Johann Sebastian Bachs in Rußland: Neues zur Entstehungsgeschichte der verschiedenen Fassungen von BWV 199', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 90 (2004), 21–3).

¹² These are basso continuo parts in the manuscripts of BWV 1 (Thom), 2 (Thom), 6 (St 7), 7 (Priv. Tale USA), 10 (Thom), 16 (St 44), 23 (St 16), 33 (Thom), 39 (St 8), 43 (St 36), 44 (St 86), 57 (St 83), 62 (Thom), 67 (St 40), 68 (Thom), 70 (St 95), 74 (St 103), 87 (St 6) and many others (see *NBA IX/3*, 38–50).

¹³ Other manuscripts from this period show a similar distribution of work between Meißner and Johann Heinrich Bach while they were copying parts (for example, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 36,

Heinrich Bach writing the musical text and Meißner adding the words; this would account for the corrections in bars 112, 113 and 133 (Figures 2a and 5a). The insertions made by J. S. Bach show that he participated in the making of the parts and must have dictated his revisions to the copyists.¹⁴

Erwünschtes Freudenlicht BWV 184

Comparing the parts of BWV 34a with some earlier manuscripts such as the vocal parts of *Erwünschtes Freudenlicht* BWV 184 (which, excluding movement 5, is itself a parody of BWV 184a) written in 1724 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 24) shows that corrections to St 24 are similar to those to BWV 34a. Amendments to beams, flags, the grouping of notes and change of vocal cast in several movements reveal the parody process. Although the original Cöthen cantata BWV 184a has not survived in its entirety, the corrections in the parts of *Erwünschtes Freudenlicht* show that the procedures were very similar to those in the parts St 73 (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Corrections in the parts of BWV 184, St 24: a) soprano, movement 2, bb. 59–60; b) soprano, movement 2, bb. 163–4; c) soprano, movement 2, bb. 180–1; d) alto, movement 2, b. 109; e) alto, movement 2, bb. 182–3; f) tenor, movement 4, bb. 64–5; g) tenor, movement 4, bb. 67–8

The parts in BWV 34a and BWV 184, however, were prepared differently. In BWV 184 the musical text of the vocal parts in the parody movements was copied by Johann Andreas Kuhnau, Bach's main copyist at that time,¹⁵ but the words were added by Bach himself.¹⁶ In St 24 the copyist undertook only the mechanical

St 306, St 316, etc.), but it is the corrections in St 73 that show definite traces of the parody process.

¹⁴ See note 7.

¹⁵ Johann Andreas Kuhnau (b. 1703) was a nephew of Johann Kuhnau and a pupil of St Thomas' school (*Thomasalumne*) in 1718–1728. His activity as J. S. Bach's copyist can be seen from 7 February 1723 until 30 December 1725 (in separate manuscripts until 1727). See Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie*, 55; Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke*, 21–6, 147, 163; NBA KB I/4, 16; Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 119–20, 122–3; NBA IX/3, 27.

¹⁶ Johann Andreas Kuhnau wrote the following parts in the second group of St 24: soprano—movements (1), 2 (besides the text), (3–4), 6 (besides the text), alto—movements (1), 2 (besides the text), tenor—movements 1 (besides the text), (2), 3–4 (besides the text), 5 (only text), bass—movements (1–4), 5 (only text), 6 (besides the text). Johann Sebastian Bach added the text in

task of copying this work; Bach made the parody for movements 1–4 and 6. Other parody manuscripts of that year, such as the parts of the first Leipzig version of BWV 134, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 18, written in 1724, reveal the same distribution of work between J. S. Bach and his copyists. The scribes copied the musical text of the parody movements in the vocal parts from BWV 134a, while Bach added nearly all of the words.¹⁷

In the second half of the 1720s, the copyists worked more independently on the parodies, so much so that in some manuscripts Bach's hand is not evident at all.

***Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut* BWV 173**

The score of *Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut* BWV 173 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 74) is written completely in the hand of Christian Gottlob Meißner.¹⁸ The recently discovered text booklet confirms the date of this score as 1727, rather than 'after 1726', c.1728,¹⁹ or even 1730.²⁰ Corrections in all the corresponding movements of Meißner's score suggest that the parody of the congratulatory cantata *Durchlauchtster Leopold* BWV 173a was made while the manuscript was being written out. The performing cast and some variants of the musical text, such as voice leading, show that making the changes must have been quite difficult.²¹ All the corrections in P 74 were thoroughly analysed in Series I Volume 14 of *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*.²² Some variants in the musical text of BWV 173 led Alfred Dürr to hypothesise about the existence of an early version of this cantata, as an intermediate version between the Cöthen and later Leipzig versions.²³ However, the corrections to both the musical text and the words strongly suggest that the parody process took place in 1727 while Meißner's score was being prepared (Figure 11).

Figure 11b is especially persuasive as it contains three layers of the text. In the first the copyist reproduced the whole line 'Nach Landes Väterlicher Arth Er' from the Cöthen cantata. He later crossed it out and wrote 'Nun wir laßen unsre

St 24 (the second group of parts): soprano – movements 2, 6; alto – movements 2, (3–4); tenor – movements 1, 3, 4; bass – movement 6 (see *NBA IX/3*, 36, 200). See also analysis of corrections in vocal parts of St 24 in: *NBA KB I/14*, 148–51.

¹⁷ See *NBA KB I/10*, 70–9, 82–3; *NBA IX/3*, 68, 198.

¹⁸ See Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke*, 96; Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 101, 104; *NBA IX/3*, 48.

¹⁹ Dürr dated it 'nach 1726' and 'um 1728' (Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke*, 30, 96), although he did not exclude its dating back to 2 June 1727 (*ibid*, 97). The catalogue of Bach's copyists date P 74 as 'um 1728' (*NBA IX/3*, 48), as does the facsimile edition of BWV 216 (Yoshitake Kobayashi, 'Report on the analysis of the original material of BWV 216', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach, Vergnügte Pleißenstadt BWV 216, Faksimileausgabe der Originalstimmen mit Einführung und Gutachten* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2005), 47).

²⁰ 'WA 14. Mai 1731 (→OTDr), vielleicht auch schon 17. Mai 1728 oder 29. Mai 1730 (→Quelle P 74: WZ), nach Anfertigung einer neuen Partitur.' *BC I/1*, 348.

²¹ In many corrections found in this score, readings *ante correcturam* are visible (see facsimile reproductions of these corrections and their discussion in: Shabalina, 'Recent Discoveries in St Petersburg', 81–4).

²² *NBA KB I/14*, 11–5. Although the volume was edited jointly by Alfred Dürr and Arthur Mendel, BWV 173 was edited by Dürr (*ibid*, 234).

²³ *Ibid*, 18–22, 26–8.

Pflicht' (the first line from the third verse of this aria in BWV 173), before erasing this and writing down the correct words 'Sein verneuter Gnaden Bund' from the second verse of this movement.



Figure 11: Corrections in the score of BWV 173 (P 74) (showing the soprano part only): a) movement 6, bb. 65–6; b) movement 4, bb. 61–5

In his discussion of this double correction of the text, Dürr asked how the copyist could begin to write the third verse instead of the second one if he had the sample of BWV 173.²⁴ He hypothesised that Meißner had worked from many different sources, including the score and parts of BWV 173a as well as the intermediate version of BWV 173.²⁵ However, the text of this cantata must have been ready by 1727, when Meißner was preparing the score of BWV 173. The copyist could therefore have written the musical material from the manuscripts of the Cöthen cantata BWV 173a and the words from the printed text booklet, which could already have been published.²⁶ This would account for the copyist's confusion over the text of bars 61–5. The musical material of the second and third verses of this aria is so different to the original that Meißner could hardly have made such a mistake when copying from the score or parts of BWV 173, even in its intermediate version. Such an error in the copying from the printed or written text could have been the result of carelessness and appears to be typical of the copying process.²⁷

²⁴ 'Hätte unser Kopist aber eine Vorlage gehabt, der bereits der Parodietext unterlegt war, wie sollte er dann die Strophen verwechselt haben? So schließt dieser zweite Irrtum, die Verwechslung der Strophen, wenigstens für diese Takte das Vorliegen einer Zwischenquelle in parodierter Fassung aus' (ibid, 20).

²⁵ Ibid, 22.

²⁶ In the recently discovered text booklet for Pentecost and Trinity 1727 (RUS-SPsc, shelfmark 15.62.6.94) the text of BWV 173 follows the text of BWV 34 (see Shabalina, 'Recent Discoveries in St Petersburg', 80). Furthermore, it is quite possible that this booklet had already been printed by the time the score P 74 was being prepared.

²⁷ The second and third verses of this aria (unlike the first one) are placed on one page in the text booklet 1727 and could easily have been confused by the copyist (see its reproduction in: Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg', 94).

Corrections in a number of movements of this manuscript show that the parody of BWV 173a could have been made by Meißner in 1727 while he was writing out the score. Although this was apparently done under Bach's supervision, following his instructions concerning some variants of voice leading, the scribe's contribution to the process was significant. In the second movement, for example, Bach decided to change the soprano aria to the tenor in the middle of the twelfth bar. In the first six systems, Meißner wrote the soprano clef for the vocal part and the first notes of this part as for the soprano. He then returned to the beginning of the movement and changed all the soprano clefs to tenor clefs and corrected the notes in the first five bars (bars 8–12). There is no doubt that this reflects the composer's change of mind and the corrections made under his instruction. Meißner wrote the rest of the part without any essential corrections, although he sometimes forgot to change the soprano notation to the tenor, as in bars 21 and 31. Such corrections demonstrate that Meißner carried out this work himself throughout the whole movement. Meißner successfully changed the notation of the vocal parts in a similar fashion in other movements of this score.²⁸

Something quite complex must have occurred in the sixth movement, which is scored for chorus in BWV 173 but as a duet for soprano and bass in BWV 173a. P 74, however, does not contain any significant corrections in this movement. Although Meißner was a very skilful copyist, it is hard to imagine that he could create such a complicated work himself without any corrections. Alfred Dürr used this as evidence to suggest that Meißner's score did not reflect the direct parody process from the Cöthen cantata.²⁹ The corrections elsewhere in the score of *Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut* BWV 173 (P 74), however, are in Meißner's hand. Although by 1727 Meißner's and Bach's handwriting were quite similar, Bach's handwriting cannot be identified in this score.³⁰ If Dürr's hypothesis that Meißner compiled the readings from many different sources (the score and parts of the Cöthen version, as well as the score or parts of the intermediate Leipzig one) to create the score of *Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut* is correct, this would have been more complicated than making a direct parody.

***Erwählte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216a**

Congratulatory cantata *Erwählte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216a survives only in the text written by Meißner (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 613); the music is lost. The majority of indications and corrections in P 613 are also in Meißner's hand, although some

²⁸ Having considered different possibilities and hypothesised about the existence of an early version of BWV 173 performed in 1724, Alfred Dürr did not exclude the possibility that Meißner was involved in the compositional activity: 'Wir müßten unserem Schreiber schon eine beachtliche Kompositionsbegabung zusprechen, wenn wir annehmen wollten, daß er die Angleichung der Melodik an den Parodietext und die Vermeidung hochliegender Spitzentöne ohne Vorlage selbständig bewerkstelligt hätte' (*NBA KB I/14*, 21).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ In the catalogue of Bach's copyists the following is indicated concerning this manuscript: '[Meißner] Part.: ganz... JSB (Revision)' (*NBA IX/3*, 48). However, the table of J. S. Bach's insertions into different manuscripts in this volume 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Eintragungen in Original-Handschriften' contains no indications of Bach's hand in P 74 (*ibid.*, 189–210). See also *NBA KB I/14*, 11.

indications such as 'Tenor', 'Ten.', 'Alt' were entered by J. S. Bach.³¹ The arias and duets in the text of *Erwählte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216a represent the parodies of Picander's text of the wedding cantata *Vergnügte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216 performed in 1728.³² Recitatives were newly composed movements in BWV 216a.

The corrections made by Meißner in P 613 are typical of the parody process. In the first duet, he first wrote 'übt' as it was in the wedding cantata BWV 216 ('Neiße: Wer seine Lust an deinem Prangen übt | Pleiße: Wer seine Lust an deiner Schönheit übt'), but then corrected it to the word 'hat' (Figure 12). The whole line ('Der ~~ist~~ wird und bleibt in dich verliebt' which corresponded to 'Der wird und bleibt in dich verliebt' of BWV 216) was crossed out and replaced by another text ('Wird deiner Gegend niemahls satt').

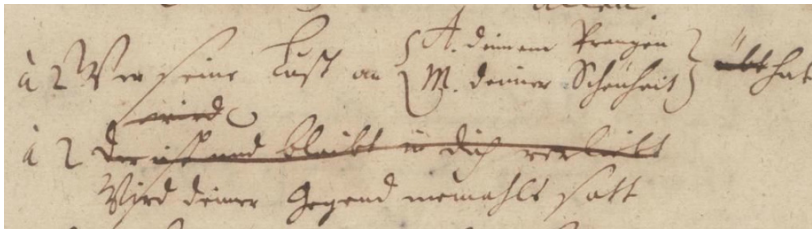


Figure 12: The fragment of the first movement ('Aria à Duetto' for tenor and alto) of BWV 216a, P 613

Similar corrections are visible in other movements of BWV 216a in P 613 (Figure 13):

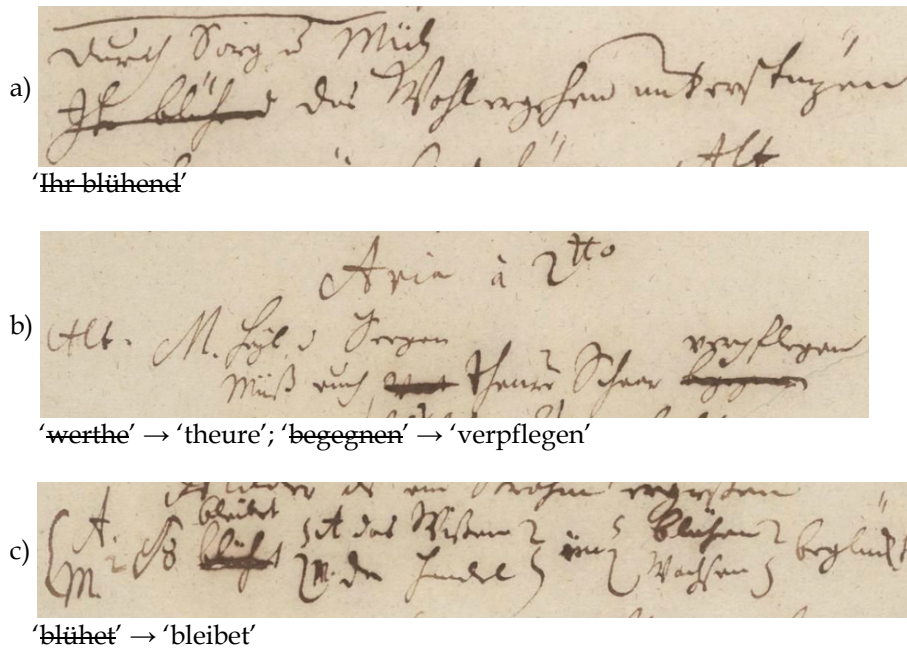


Figure 13: Corrections in the text of BWV 216a, P 613: a) movement 6, line 6; b) movement 7, line 2; c) movement 7, lines 7-8

All these corrections are evidence of Meißner's extraordinary engagement with the preparation of this text. Based on these corrections he was regarded as an author of the text ('Textdichter') of BWV 216a.³³ Was he really the author of the

³¹ See Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 109–10; NBA IX/3, 51.

³² NBA KB I/39, 12–3; BC I/4, 1618–9.

³³ Ibid.

text *Erwählte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216a? Or was he perhaps making a parody under Bach's (or a librettist's) supervision? It is peculiar that in the recitatives, which, unlike the arias, were new movements added to BWV 216a, there are almost no corrections to the manuscript (Figures 14 and 15).³⁴

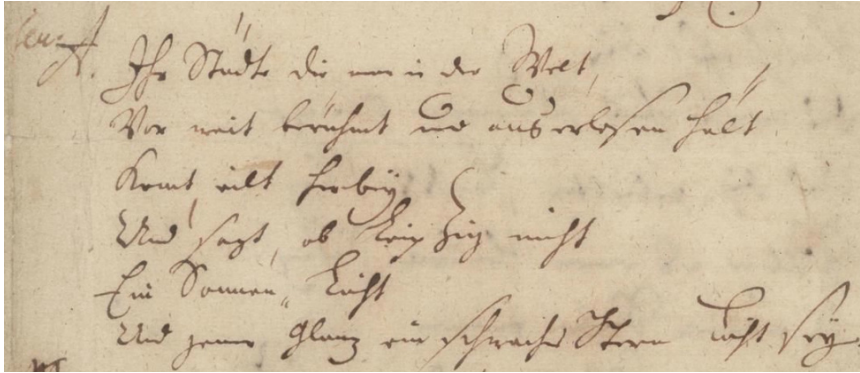


Figure 14: The recitative of the tenor 'Ihr Städte, die man in der Welt' of BWV 216a, P 613

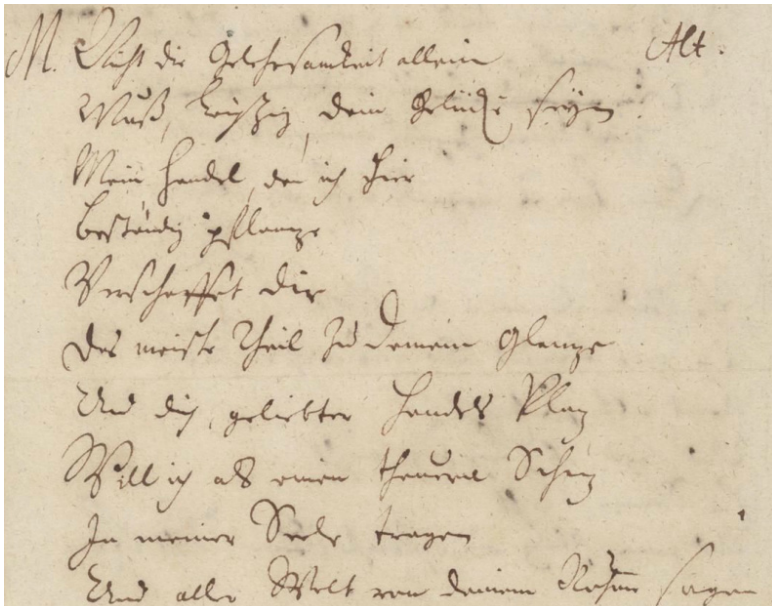


Figure 15: The recitative of the alto 'Nicht die Gelehrsamkeit allein' of BWV 216a, P 613

If Meißner had been the author, a number of compositional corrections would have appeared in the text of the recitative movements in BWV 216a. Unfortunately, there are no extant examples of Meißner's skill as a poet that would help resolve this problem. Regardless of whether or not he was the author of the text of *Erwählte Pleißenstadt*, Meißner's role in Bach's parodies of those years seems to have been an important one.

³⁴ The sole exception is 'Ihr blühend', which was crossed out at the beginning of the sixth line of the sixth movement of BWV 216a (see Figure 13a). But it could have been deleted at J. S. Bach's request. It should be remembered how many corrections Bach made to recitative movements in composing scores during his Leipzig years.

Ihr Tore zu Zion BWV 193

The surviving vocal parts of *Ihr Tore zu Zion* BWV 193 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 62) were written in 1727 by Johann Heinrich Bach, with some revisions by J. S. Bach. Movements 1, 3 and 5 were a parody of an earlier work, possibly of *Ihr Häuser des Himmels, ihr scheinenden Lichter* BWV 193a/1, 7, 9, or of a Cöthen or early Leipzig source that they had in common.³⁵ The recitatives, however, were newly composed. There are corrections in St 62 (Figure 16) similar to those made to the manuscripts discussed above.

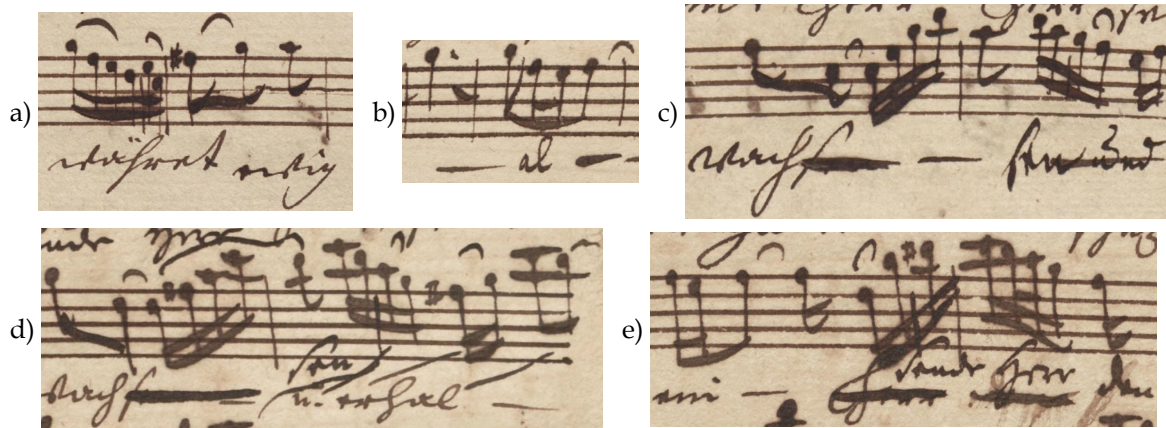


Figure 16: Corrections in the parts of BWV 193, St 62: a) soprano, movement 3, bb. 61-2; b) soprano, movement 3, bb. 142-3; c) alto, movement 5, bb. 13-4; d) alto, movement 5, bb. 19-20; e) alto, movement 5, bb. 25-6

The words in Johann Heinrich Bach's manuscript are written evenly and smoothly, while the musical notation is irregularly spaced. This suggests that J. H. Bach, unlike Meißner, wrote the words first and the music afterwards (Figure 17).

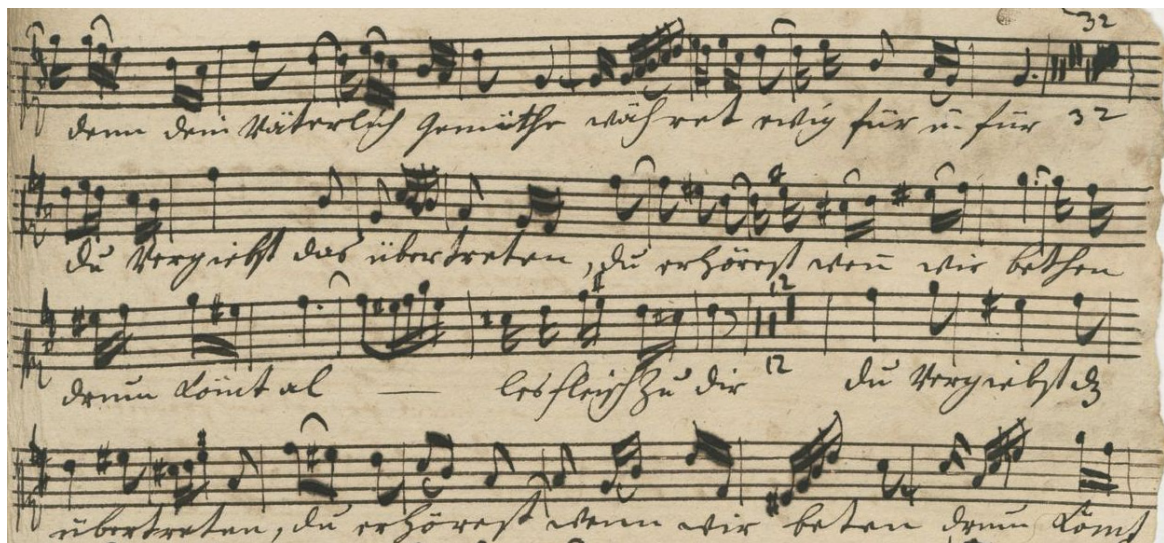


Figure 17: Soprano part of BWV 193, movement 3, bb. 65-137, St 62

³⁵ Friedrich Smend, *Bach in Köthen* (Berlin: Christlicher Zeitschriftenverlag, 1951), 51-5; Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 114; Christine Fröde, 'Zur Entstehung der Kantate "Ihr Tore zu Zion"', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 77 (1991), 183-5; NBA KB I/32.1, 123-7.

Figure 18 shows that Heinrich Bach initially wrote out some of the verbal text without due regard to the subsequent placement of music, resulting in empty and crossed out spaces in the musical writing in bars 22 and 27. This in turn suggests that he did not have an example from which to copy, making it hard for him to maintain the necessary alignment of text and music.

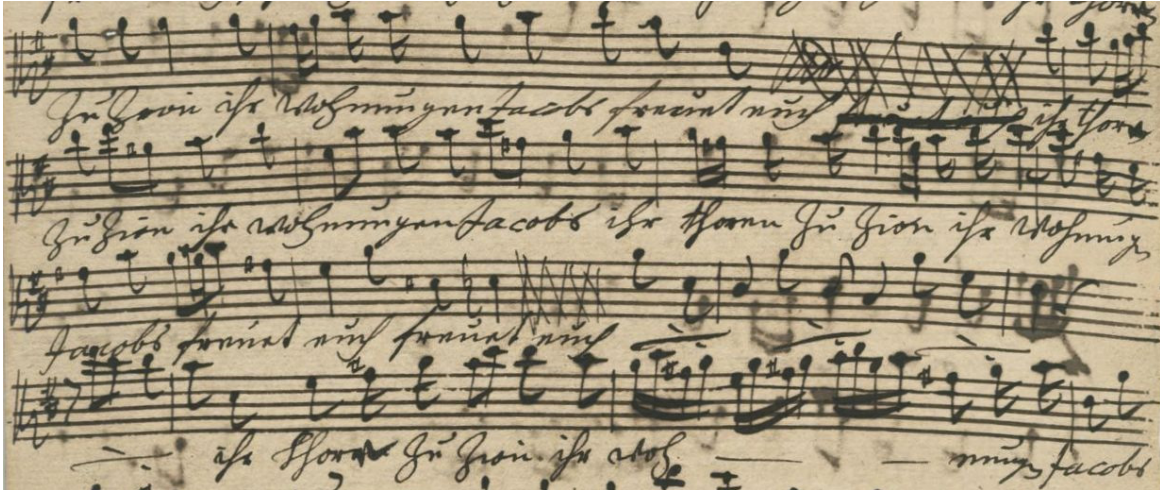


Figure 18: Alto part of BWV 193, movement 1, bb. 21-32, St 62

Heinrich Bach's parts of BWV 193 can be compared with his other manuscripts of the same year where the musical text is written evenly and much more regularly, but in which the words are squeezed and adjusted to fit the music (Figure 19).³⁶

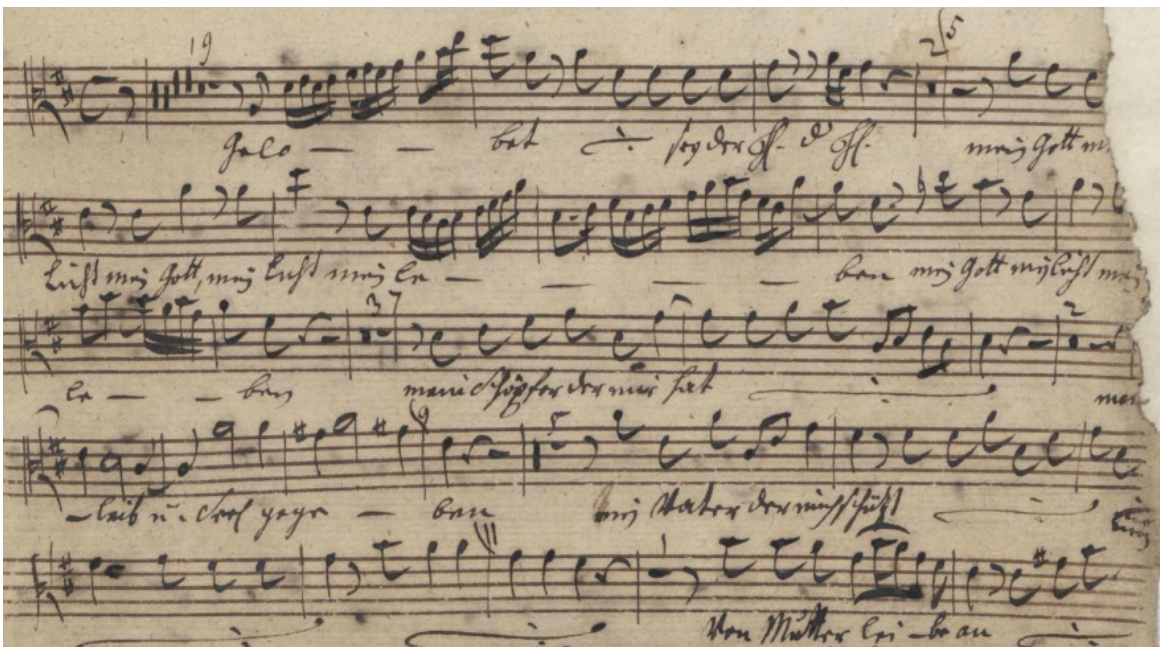


Figure 19: The fragment of the alto part of BWV 129 in the hand of Johann Heinrich Bach, D-LEb, Thomana 129

³⁶ The same can be found in other manuscripts in which Heinrich Bach was the copyist (e.g. D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 44, St 93, St 98, St 52 etc.). Although Heinrich first wrote the words and then the music in several recitative movements (e.g. in the alto part of BWV 207 St 93, movement 6), the general manner of his writing is smooth and typical of the copying process.

His parts of BWV 193 on the other hand show his non-calligraphic musical writing with particularly irregular spaces between the notes and extensive corrections, showing how difficult it was to create and write out a parody (Figure 20).

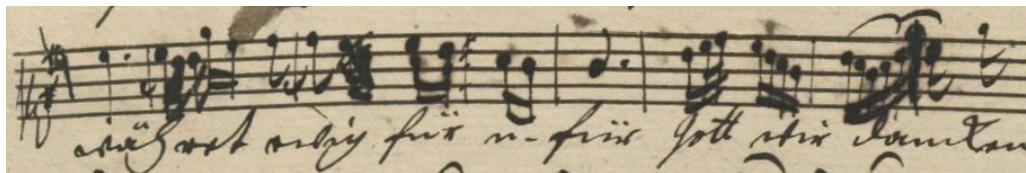


Figure 20: Soprano part of BWV 193, movement 3, bb. 49–55, St 62

The adjustment of music to the written words 'währet ewig für u. für' in Figure 20 shows that J. H. Bach's first attempt was unsuccessful, and that by the end of bar 51 after the first word 'für' he had realised his error and returned to the beginning of the bar to correct the entire passage and to remove the erroneous bar-line. Similar corrections are also visible in bars 50 and 54.

The few corrections in J. S. Bach's hand are mainly later revisions, improving the prosody. His crossing out of the syllable '-sen' at the end of bars 13 and 19 suggests that he disliked Heinrich's underlay of 'wachsen u. erhalten' (Figures 16c and 16d). The darker ink and the composer's hand in the original clearly show that he corrected it by moving it to the next bars: see Figure 16d for the corrected underlay of 'u. er-hal-' in bar 20, with its slanting lines and division of the group of four semiquavers into two sections. The slurs in these bars were evidently corrected and added by J. S. Bach.³⁷ Figures 16b and 16e show other insertions by the composer. All these revisions must have been made in St 62 after the text and music had been completely written out.

The corrections made during the process of writing the vocal parts of St 62, however, are all in the hand of the copyist, which suggests that Johann Heinrich Bach prepared the parody of the vocal parts of BWV 193 in movements 1, 3 and 5, and that J. S. Bach later checked his work and corrected any faulty prosody.³⁸

It seems that individuals approached the parody process differently. In the case of the parts of BWV 34a, Meißner and Heinrich Bach sometimes worked alone and sometimes together.

Heinrich Bach's manuscript of *Ihr Tore zu Zion* raises several questions about the nature of recitatives in the parody process. Unlike the arias, recitatives were written into St 62 without any visible corrections. The rejected alto recitative 'O Leipziger Jerusalem' shows that Heinrich Bach wrote into the part the words of the entire recitative before he began to write out the music. In this instance, he

³⁷ J. S. Bach could not have introduced the erroneous underlay of the words to music in these fragments in their first readings, *ante correcturam*.

³⁸ J. S. Bach's insertions into St 62 are carefully listed in *NBA KB I/32.1*, 115–21, where it is also stated that he did not take part in preparation of these parts ('Johann Sebastian Bach ist an der Anfertigung der erhaltenen Stimmen nicht beteiligt', *ibid*, 115). It is nonetheless difficult to agree that the score of BWV 193 must have existed—it is listed among the 'lost sources' of BWV 193 (*ibid*, 121). Heinrich's corrections in St 62 and his lack of normal musical writing in vocal parts suggest that the adjustment of music to new words in the parody movements of BWV 193 was made in the process of preparation of the vocal parts of this cantata.

stopped writing after bar 5 (Figure 21). According to Friedrich Smend the scribe here had erroneously copied the notes of the first five bars from the score of BWV 193a (Example 1).³⁹



Figure 21: The first version of the recitative 'O Leipziger Jerusalem' from BWV 193, St 62

a)

Wie bin ich doch er-götzt, daß Sach-sens Wunsch und Pflicht nun der Er-hör-ung wert-ge-schätzt. Das uns er-freu-te Licht er-regt im Lan-de Ju-bel - lie - der

b)

O Leip-zi-ger Je - ru - sa-lem Vergnü-ge dich an dei-nem Fe-ste, der Friede ist noch in dei-nen Mau - ren es stehn an-noch die Stüh-le zum Ge-richt

Example 1: Musical examples from the book by Friedrich Smend: a) the recitative of alto 'Wie bin ich doch ergötzt' from BWV 193a (see Smend, *Bach in Köthen*, 53); b) the recitative of alto 'O Leipziger Jerusalem' from BWV 193 (ibid, 52)

³⁹ Smend, *Bach in Köthen*, 52-3.

Although this is a reasonable supposition, it is not possible to verify it as no musical sources of BWV 193a have survived, only its text. It seems rather that the text for this movement was written first into St 62, but that its music had not yet been composed. We can see from the first bar that the words 'O Leipziger' were written without due regard to the crochet and quaver rests (Figure 21). The quaver rest was written above and slightly to the right of the 'O', and the crotchet rest was squeezed between the time signature and the quaver rest. Although we have long known from evidence in his composing scores how Bach worked when he wrote the text and music of recitative movements,⁴⁰ a similar process can be seen from the evidence in some of the parts written by his copyists.

The intensive involvement of his copyists in preparing Bach's vocal works in Leipzig, especially in the 1720s, is also well known. For example, on many pages in the score of the first movement of *Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte* BWV 174 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 115) the copyist (Anonymous IVa) wrote the lower staves (unchanged string parts of the third Brandenburg Concerto BWV 1048) and the composer the upper staves.⁴¹ In this case Bach used the scribe's work only for mechanical copying.

John Eliot Gardiner has painted a vivid picture of Bach with his copyists in his *Componirstube*, where there was 'frenetic' copying, passing from one copyist to another, 'manic activity' full of errors and faults on the part of the copyists, who received 'sharp smacks' from the master, 'not dissimilar to the backstage activities on a TV or film set today'.⁴² Meanwhile, as our discussion has shown so far, the copyists were not responsible only for the mechanical procedures. In the second half of the 1720s, J. S. Bach felt able to entrust some of them with more independent and creative tasks.

Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten BWV 207a

One of the most peculiar examples to illustrate the parody process from the 1730s is found in the original parts of *Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten* BWV 207a (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 347, supposedly written in 1735).⁴³ All the arias and chorus movements as well as one recitative ('Ihr Fröhlichen, herbei!') were

⁴⁰ See the recitatives in BWV 56, 133, 135, 211, 248 and many composing scores of Bach's cantatas of the Leipzig period. As Marshall noted, 'in view of the singularly dependent nature of its musical elements, it should not be surprising that Bach eventually adopted the practice, when composing either a secco or accompanied recitative, of writing down the complete text in a naturally spaced, legible hand after he had set up the systems for the movement but before he had composed the first note, a procedure totally different from the one we have already observed in the four-part chorales and from the one we shall observe in the arias and choruses... Bach wrote only as many words beneath a staff as could be fitted without crowding the text. No regard was paid at the moment to the future musical rendition of the text'. Robert Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works* (Princeton University Press, 1972), vol. 1, 91.

⁴¹ NBA IX/3, 124–5.

⁴² John Eliot Gardiner, *Music in the Castle of Heaven: A Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 231–5, especially 235.

⁴³ See NBA KB I/37, 16–20; NBA IX/3, 152, 202.

parodied from *Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten* BWV 207. The parts were prepared jointly by J. S. Bach and his scribe Rudolph Straube.⁴⁴

Many corrections are typical of the parody process, such as those shown in Figure 22 which strongly indicate that the parts were made without any new score from which to copy.



Figure 22: Corrections in the parts of BWV 207a, St 347: a) alto, movement 1, b. 28; b) alto, movement 7, bb. 38–40; c) alto, movement 7, bb. 54–7; d) alto, movement 7, bb. 76–8; e) bass, movement 1, bb. 106–7⁴⁵

It is important to understand that both the music and text of the first and fifth movements of the soprano part were entirely written out by Straube. Note that in bar 33 of the first movement he wrote erroneously 'rollenden' instead of 'donnernden' ('donnernden Pauken'), which is the text of BWV 207 instead of BWV 207a.

⁴⁴ Rudolph Straube (1717–about 1785) was a pupil at St Thomas' school from 14 January 1733 until 1740, and a student of Leipzig University from 27 February 1740. He was active as J. S. Bach's copyist in 1734–36 and as his main scribe from 5 October 1734 until 6 January 1735. Identified by Hans-Joachim Schulze in "'Das Stück in Goldpapier": Ermittlungen zu einigen Bach-Abschriften des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 64 (1978), 19–42; and later in Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung*, 120–1; NBA IX/3, 151.

⁴⁵ There are many other corrections of the same kind in St 347 (see NBA KB I/37, 16–21, 24–9).

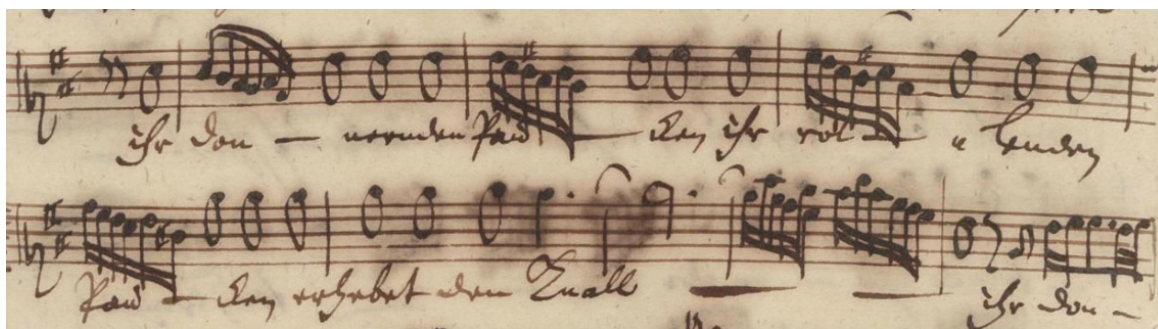


Figure 23: BWV 207a, soprano, movement 1, bb. 30–8, St 347

Figure 23 shows that the task of the scribe here was to copy the music of 'Vereinigte Zwietracht' from the soprano part of BWV 207 and to combine it with the new text 'Auf, schmetternde Töne', which could be either printed or handwritten.⁴⁶ This is another example of one of Bach's copyists making a parody. However, in the following movements, Bach took over from the scribe and finished the work himself. For the remaining parody movements Straube wrote only the music, and Bach wrote out the words and any corrections to the musical setting. The parts of BWV 207a (St 347) show the copyist attempting to make a parody on the composer's task. The composer then takes over the parody process, instructing the scribe to return to mechanical copying, as was his practice in 1724 from the original parts of BWV 184 and 134.

***Die Freude reget sich* BWV 36b**

Another example from the 1730s in which parts were made by Bach and his copyists is *Die Freude reget sich* BWV 36b (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 15). This comes from a group of compositions (BWV 36 in two versions, BWV 36a (music is lost), and BWV 36b) originating from the 1725 version of *Schwingt freudig euch empor* BWV 36c. The loss of many musical sources means it is very hard to determine exactly the model on which BWV 36b was based. However, it was obviously composed by the parody means and evolved into BWV 36b, as did other works from this group.⁴⁷

Although the original parts of *Die Freude reget sich* were prepared by Bach and his scribes (Anonymous Vj, Anonymous L111 and Anonymous L112), the vocal parts were written entirely by Bach himself. The copyists were limited to writing out the instrumental parts, which they sometimes wrote out entirely, and sometimes only partially. For example in the parts for violin 2 and viola, copyist Anonymous Vj wrote the first movement, while the composer completed the remaining movements.⁴⁸

The majority of the vocal parts in Bach's hand have very few corrections and look like his fair copies; but a few of them strongly suggest that he was making a parody while he was writing out the parts (Figure 24).

⁴⁶ I would like to express my thanks to Hans-Joachim Schulze who kindly shared this example in private correspondence. See also *NBA KB I/37*, 24.

⁴⁷ See *NBA KB I/38* (1960), 149–50, 163.

⁴⁸ *NBA IX/2*, 193; *NBA IX/3*, 158, 162, 191.



Figure 24: a) BWV 36c, alto, movement 1, bb. 29–31, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 43 adn. 1; b) BWV 36b, alto, movement 1, bb. 29–31, St 15; c) BWV 36c, soprano, movement 9, bb. 40–3, P 43 adn. 1; d) BWV 36b, soprano, movement 8, bb. 41–4, St 15⁴⁹

Bach's copyists were engaged in parody procedures from 1724, until as late as the 1730s, participating most actively in the manuscripts of the second half of the 1720s. Although Bach could have given this task to his copyists as he did in the late 1720s, he clearly preferred to do the work himself.

It has been suggested that Bach's parodies were made when a new composition had to be produced in a short time,⁵⁰ even though checking and correcting a written text was time-consuming and costly. One explanation for the number of Bach's parodies from the second half of the 1720s may be that he considered this to be work that he could pass on to his copyists. In the 1730s and 1740s, however, most of the parodies were made by Bach himself, and the copyists participated little or not at all in the process. Table 1 presents the evidence from surviving original manuscripts chronologically, showing some clear trends.⁵¹

Not all the original manuscripts of Bach's parodies have survived. Nevertheless, some observations can be made on the basis of those that have.

The first known parody appeared in 1723, at the beginning of Bach's Leipzig period, during an extremely productive phase of cantata composition. It is not known if Bach used parody methods in Weimar and Cöthen as none has survived. From the second half of the 1720s, changes in Bach's attitude to parody production and the growing role of his copyists in the process can be observed. From the end of the 1720s or beginning of the 1730s onwards, Bach's interest in parody seems to have increased, along with his aspiration to revise his previously composed music more intensively. The climax of this development can be seen in his score of the Mass in B minor (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 180). The final phase of writing out this manuscript (beginning with *Symbolum Nicenum*) shows Bach's

⁴⁹ See also similar corrections in the alto part (movement 1, bar 57), bass part (movement 8, bar 55) and some others in St 15.

⁵⁰ As Hans-Joachim Schulze wrote, 'saving of time, saving of labor' belong even to 'a number of catch phrases' often used in the literature on Bach's parody process (Schulze, 'The Parody Process in Bach's Music', 18).

⁵¹ This table includes only original manuscripts of Bach's parody works (see explanation of a definition 'Originalhandschrift' in NBA IX/3, xix), mainly those that were written during the parody process; where they are lost, the earliest surviving copies are given. Manuscripts of model works are not included in the table; revisions of instrumental pieces in cantatas movements are not listed either. The scores and parts which reflect the parody process are shown with an asterisk.

hard work, without the help of a copyist, in spite of his poor health. As scholars have recently shown, the main reasons for Bach's frequent use of parody may have been to explore 'the rich potential for elaboration inherent in many of his musical ideas',⁵² and to improve extant material. Citing Eugene Delacroix – 'The essence of a genius, or better of his influence, lies not in his new ideas, but rather in the conviction that everything that had been done by others before him was not good enough' – Schulze states that 'Bach's parody process must also be seen in this light'.⁵³ The observations in this article may help to develop these ideas further and show that the composer's attitude to parodying evolved during his Leipzig years.

On remaining questions

Why are there no corrections in the recitative parts made by Bach's copyists when the new movements were newly composed, such as in BWV 193? The same question is relevant to more complex parodied movements. Did the composer dictate them to his copyists or write them first on a separate sheet of paper? It is impossible to know about the process of dictation, but I suspect the manuscripts may contain clues to help shed light on what was going on. For example, Figures 25a–c show a fragment of BWV 207a in which Bach wrote new recitatives on a separate bifolio inserted into the performance parts St 347.

Although defined as a basso continuo part (with vocal lines),⁵⁴ it is clearly something different.⁵⁵ This fragment is a composing score of the newly composed recitatives, which were to be added to a manuscript with parodied arias.⁵⁶ It even contains the numbering for the recitative movements (Figures 25a–c). Evidently Bach or his scribes would copy such movements and add them to the whole manuscript of the new piece. This could explain why the parody arias and choruses in a number of manuscripts written by Bach's copyists contain corrections typical of the parody process, while the new recitatives and the most complicated movements do not.

Returning to the rejected recitative from *Ihr Tore zu Zion* (Figure 21), we can assume that the copyist made a parody in the arias but for the recitatives he first wrote only words, leaving the empty space for music. That is why the new recitative 'O Leipziger Jerusalem' was written not directly after the rejected fragment, but after the following movements, at the end of the part (Figures 26a–b).

⁵² Gesa Kordes, 'Self-parody and the "Hunting-cantata," BWV 208: An Aspect of Bach's Compositional Process', *Bach*, 22/2 (1991), 35–57, especially 35.

⁵³ Schulze, 'The Parody Process in Bach's Music', 20.

⁵⁴ *NBA IX/2*, 204.

⁵⁵ As a rule the manuscript basso continuo parts for Bach's cantatas contain all the movements (arias and recitatives); when they contain a vocal line for a recitative, however, it is usually written without any words, with instrumental beaming (e.g. in St 93, St 459 etc.).

⁵⁶ *NBA KB I/37*, 16, 18–20.

Table 1: List of Bach's parody works and their models shown together with the original manuscripts and their scribes arranged in chronological order

Year of parody	Parody (BWV)	Model (BWV)	Original parody manuscript	Scribes of parody manuscripts ⁵⁷
1723	194	194a	P 43 adn. 2*	JSB
1724	134 (1st version)	134a	St 18 (2nd group of parts)*	JAK, JCL, CGM, Anon. Io, Ip, JSB ⁵⁸
1724	184	184a	St 24 (2nd group of parts)*	JAK, CGM, JSB
1725	249	249a	St 355 (1st group of parts)*	JSB, JAK, CGM, Anon. L 17
1725	74/2	59/4	St 103	JSB, JAK, WFB, CGM, JHB, Anon. Iie, IIf, L 19, L 20
1725	68/2, 4	208/13, 7	D-LEb, Thomana 68	JSB, JAK, CGM
1725	110/5	243a/D	P 153*	JSB
1726/7	34a	34 or <i>deest</i>	St 73*	JHB, CGM, WFB, Anon. IId, JSB
1727	173	173a	P 74*	CGM
1727	193	193a or <i>deest</i>	St 62*	JHB, WFB, Anon. IIf, IIIa, IIIh, L 45, JSB
1728	216/3	204/8	J-Tk (o. Sign.)	CGM
1728	216/7	205/13	J-Tk (o. Sign.)	CGM
1728/31	216a	216	P 613 (Text)*	CGM
c.1729 (1736/7)	171/4	205/9	US-NYpm, Lehman Collection	JSB
1729?	120a	<i>deest</i> (common source for 120, 120a and 232 ^{II} /9?)	P 670 (fragment)* St 43	JSB SGH, JLK, JLD, Anon. L 58, JSB
1733	232 ^I /7	29/2 or its model	P 180*	JSB
1733	232 ^I /9	46/1	P 180*	JSB
1733	213/13	184a/6	P 125*	JSB
1734	215/1	Anh. 11/1	P 139*	JSB
1734	248/1, 8, 15, 24	214/1, 7, 5, 9	P 32*	JSB

⁵⁷ The following abbreviations are used:

JSB—Johann Sebastian Bach; JAK—Johann Andreas Kuhnau; CGM—Christian Gottlob Meißner; JHB—Johann Heinrich Bach; AMB—Anna Magdalena Bach; WFB—Wilhelm Friedemann Bach; JCL—Johann Christian Lindner; SGH—Samuel Gottlieb Heder; JLK—Johann Ludwig Krebs; JLD—Johann Ludwig Dietel; JFA—Johann Friedrich Agricola; RS—Rudolph Straube; Anon. Iie etc. — anonymous copyists.

⁵⁸ Besides the parts there is a fragment of the score in the hands of C. G. Meißner and J. S. Bach D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 1138 (movements 1, 2 until bar 144 and movement 3 until bar 26). As it was written without any text and does not contain a parody itself, it is not included into the table, though it is of interest for the study of parody making of BWV 134. It can present some preparing material for the parody, which was made already in the parts St 18.

Year of parody	Parody (BWV)	Model (BWV)	Original parody manuscript	Scribes of parody manuscripts ⁵⁷
1734	248/4, 19, 29, 36, 39, 41	213/9, 3, 11, 1, 5, 7	P 32*	JSB
1734	248/45	247/39b	P 32*	JSB
1734	248/47	215/7	P 32*	JSB
1734	248/54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 64	248 VIa/1-7	P 32*	JSB
1735	11/1	Anh. 18/1	P 44 adn. 4*	JSB
1735	11/4, 8	Anh. 196/3, 5	P 44 adn. 4*	JSB
1735	207a	207	St 347*	JSB, RS
c.1735	36b	36c	St 15*	JSB, Anon.Vj, L111, L112
1736/7	197/6, 8	197a/4, 6	P 91*	JSB
c.1738	30	30a	P 44 [Nr. 1]*	JSB
c.1738	234/2	67/6	D-DS, Mus. ms. 971*	JSB
c.1738	234/4	179/5	D-DS, Mus. ms. 971*	JSB
c.1738	234/5	79/2	D-DS, Mus. ms. 971*	JSB
c.1738	234/6	136/1	D-DS, Mus. ms. 971*	JSB
1738/9	236/1, 5	179/1, 3	D-DS, Mus. ms. 972*	JSB
1738/9	236/2, 4	79/1, 5	D-DS, Mus. ms. 972*	JSB
1738/9	236/3	138/4	D-DS, Mus. ms. 972*	JSB
1738/9	236/6	17/1	D-DS, Mus. ms. 972*	JSB
1738/41	210	210a?	St 76	JSB, JFA
1742	212/14	Anh. 11/9	P 167*	JSB
1742	212/20	201/7	P 167*	JSB
1743/6	191	232 ^I /4, 5, 8, 12	P 1145*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{II} /2	171/1 or its model	P 180*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{II} /3	<i>deest</i> (discarded model for 213/11)	P 180*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{II} /5	12/2	P 180*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{II} /9	<i>deest</i> (see 120a, 120)	P 180*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{IV} /1	Anh. 11/1 (215/1?)	P 180*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{IV} /4	Anh. 196/3 (11/4?)	P 180*	JSB
1748/9	232 ^{IV} /5	232 ^I /7	P 180*	JSB

After making the parody of the arias, Bach would then compose new recitatives (perhaps on a separate sheet of paper as for BWV 207a), which the scribe then copied into the manuscript. The rejected fragment (Figure 21) shown above might reveal either an unsuccessful attempt by the copyist to prepare this movement, or his misunderstanding of Bach's intentions. After bar 5 Bach

decided to reject it because the declamation was unsuccessful. He then composed a new recitative, which was copied by Heinrich Bach.⁵⁹

As for the sixth movement of BWV 173 (the chorus revised from the duet of BWV 173a, see p. 18 above) Bach could have asked Meißner to write the soprano part and all the instrumental parts from the Cöthen cantata, as they contain no changes. This would account for why Meißner began to write the word 'glücklich' in the soprano part, inadvertently copied from BWV 173a. But the alto, tenor and bass parts could have been written by Bach on a separate sheet of paper and been added by Meißner into the whole score without any corrections.

In the manuscripts of the late 1720s there is evidence that Bach and his copyists worked very closely together on parody production. Some original manuscripts have corrections, which show that these parodies could have been made almost entirely by Bach's copyists. Meißner can be considered as one of the best such scribes, and Bach apparently entrusted him with the parodies not only in music, but also in the text and in other musical arrangements. Johann Heinrich Bach may also have made some parodies under Bach's supervision, but he presumably was less experienced and less successful than Meißner. Rudolph Straube may also be added to the list of scribes entrusted with the parody task, although we have fewer examples of his work.

It seems that Bach was careful whom he invited to collaborate in the process. Many copyists from this period, including Anna Magdalena Bach, were excluded. As Yo Tomita has demonstrated, Anna Magdalena did mechanical copying work and Bach evidently 'did not really expect a professional level of accuracy and consistency from her'.⁶⁰ Many of Bach's other copyists of those years also fulfilled the task of simple copying.⁶¹ It seems that by 1726/7, Meißner and Heinrich Bach were experienced and efficient enough for J. S. Bach to allocate them a role in parody production. Although we do not have any evidence that they were Bach's composition students, they were both pupils at St Thomas' school (and therefore Bach's pupils) and later became cantors, Meißner in Geithain and Heinrich in Öhringen.⁶² Obviously Bach regarded them more highly than ordinary scribes entrusting them with more creative work.

⁵⁹ It is important to consider Friedrich Smend's explanation of this rejection (see p. 24). At any rate, Heinrich Bach began to copy the music for this recitative by referring to a wrong exemplar, even after he had written all the arias. Why J. S. Bach did not write the new recitative himself as he did in other similar manuscripts but instead gave Heinrich Bach another chance to copy this movement at the end of the part in St 62 (especially after seeing what a mess Heinrich had made of it) is an interesting question.

⁶⁰ Yo Tomita, 'Anna Magdalena as Bach's Copyist', *Understanding Bach*, 2 (2007), 59–76, especially 71. Anna Magdalena's manuscripts show that although 'the quality of Anna's copies varies' (ibid, 66), 'her lack of knowledge about the vertical alignment of notes in polyphonic texture, or ranging' was one of the main weaknesses of her work as Bach's copyist (ibid, 68–9). Tomita rightly noted, 'one may wonder if Anna ever attempted to play from her own scores, for, naturally, she should have realised how important it was to keep the vertical alignment sorted' (ibid, 69). Supposedly the deficiencies in her musical training could be one of the reasons why J. S. Bach did not give her a more difficult task than simple copying.

⁶¹ These were numerous anonymous copyists during these years (see *NBA IX/3*, 51–85, 94–140). Peculiarities of the copies made by Bach's students, such as Johann Christoph Altnickol, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and others, are not considered in this article because they raise different problems. These will be valuable to explore in the future.

⁶² See note 6.

Recit. 6. 11-5) [57]

Die hille Fleiße hielt mit ihrem Thunm Volley. Das grüne Uffro
 dufft ist geyßan. uer Krafft und Durekthimmung. Das grüne Uffro
 und Thunm Invol und Fleiße. Das blühet uer an zu sein Blüme sich selbst
 zur Flora großer Thunm sich sein Fleiße in die geyßan. Die den Vayßlan
 geyßan. Das hallet solches geyßan sich in Thunm und Thunm zu veyßan,
 die geyßan Thunm Linder, die Thunm geyßan sich und Thunm, und Thunm sich
 dort bey unsern Linder, und Thunm? Das Augenschein, dort ist die Thunm geyßan.

Figure 25a: Recitative movements of BWV 207a, St 347, f.1r

Handwritten musical score for BWV 207a, St 347, f.1v. The page contains ten systems of music, each with a vocal line and a lute line. The lyrics are in German and describe the story of the Holy Family's flight to Egypt. The notation is in a historical style with various clefs and ornaments.

Handwritten lyrics (German):

Hand gefunden; dem diefer Key bringt alleu Zeit; der in der Paffen
Droht Gott dieu Lieb am allerstärksten fort. *Adieu*
Augustus Wollt dieu brünn lassen Wollt er; Augustus dem
sich der lassen grünnen dieu dieu selber nicht dem Land man mit
erweisen; dieu Geist sprach und flor stellt und Augustus fliehe vor
Unertthum also an jedem Ort ihr Wollt er; der Mavens aller
und alle Linder freiten um sein vor allem Unglück zu bewahren derin
ist auch der Mercur mit seiner Wollt er und hat sich dieu freiten

Figure 25b: Recitative movements of BWV 207a, St 347, f.1v

Handwritten musical score for BWV 207a, St 347, f. 2r. The page contains eight systems of music, each with a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are in German and describe a scene of a man and a woman in a forest. The music is written in a cursive hand with various ornaments and dynamics. The lyrics are as follows:

Wachung der ersten goldenen Zeiten. Augustus mocht das Kind
 Treuen Lobes wird uns loben; Die Linden Holz, hier grünet, das
 Jung mit dem Hor, bei dem Leben, was man sag zu dir. Reut
 Augustus sieht die hohen, hohen, Augustus liebt die grünen Wälder
 Wenn sein erhabener Mutz in Jagd ermahlt oder wist, bis der ein
 Sinn gefüllt. Der Landman ist mit Lust auf dem Berg, der
 Aachen. Hoffen ist nicht Wohlstand, die kleinen Jagd in der Aachen,
 Aachen. Hoffen ist nicht Wohlstand, die kleinen Jagd in der Aachen,
 Aachen. Hoffen ist nicht Wohlstand, die kleinen Jagd in der Aachen,

Figure 25c: Recitative movements of BWV 207a, St 347, f.2r

8

ich Horch zu Zion ich hörmüßigen Jacobs heimkehr
 ich Horch zu Zion ich hörmüßigen Jacobs ich Höre zu Zion
 ich hörmüßigen Jacobs heimkehr, ich Horch zu Zion ich
 hörmüßigen Jacobs, ich Horch zu Zion ich hörmüßigen Jacobs
 heimkehr heimkehr
 ich Horch zu Zion ich hörmüßigen Jacobs heimkehr
~~Recitativo *Al. f. 2. 3. 4.* *And. 2. 3. 4.* *Al. f. 2. 3. 4.*
 Einziges Jerusalem Hörmüßigen dich andern
 Kopf, der Fund ist noch in dem Meer, ob Kopf anony
 die Klöße zum Joch, in die Jochstiel mit bester die
 Kallöste, gef. bitter, der Selam Hüfen in. Licht, als ob
 ständig möge Hüfen. *Al. f. 2. 3. 4.*
 Ambr Gorr Gorr Ambr Gorr den Hüfen
 mi laß die auf - *Al. f. 2. 3. 4.*~~

Figure 26a: Alto part of BWV 193, St 62, f.1v

9

Ich danke dir, Herr Gott, mein König,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast,
weil du mich nicht verlassen hast.

O Jerusalem, Königin der Städte,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast,
die dich nicht verlassen hast.

Figure 26b: Alto part of BWV 193, St 62, f.2r

This new perspective on the role of the copyists in compiling Bach's cantata repertoire, and the assistance the copyists gave him during his intensive cantata production of the first Leipzig years, begs a number of further questions. Did Bach involve his sons and other composition students in such work? The ability to make a parody was a skill required of poets and composers at the time.⁶³ Was it also part of his compositional teaching method? Or was it a job he trusted only to professional scribes? And what degree of freedom might Bach's copyists have had in such a task? Although these questions remain unanswered, it is clear that the study of the revisions in the original manuscripts of Bach's parodies can enrich our knowledge of the activities around the composer's desk, and shed light on the collaborative efforts that went into producing these cantatas.

⁶³ Such sources and documents are discussed in detail in the article by Schulze, 'The Parody Process in Bach's Music', 11-14.