

The Keyboard Transcriptions of J. S. Bach and J. G. Walther

Eleanor Selfridge-Field

During his Weimar years Johann Sebastian Bach was undoubtedly acquainted with his maternal second cousin, the organist Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748).¹ Both began making keyboard transcriptions early in their professional lives. For their initial efforts, both chose Italian instrumental pieces that were relatively new. Both conveyed a pioneer's knowledge of new approaches to genre, texture, and structural organization. Despite those similarities, a close comparison shows significant differences in detail and focus. Both composers' transcriptions come primarily from their tenures in Weimar. For Bach, in service to Duke Wilhelm Ernst, this limits the period under review from July 1708 to the early summer of 1717. Walther was the organist of Weimar's City Church of Sts. Peter and Paul (now the Herderkirche) from 1707 until his death.

Bach's original transcriptions do not survive. They are known through a core collection (BWV 972–987) in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 280),² which was the source for the *Bach-Gesellschaft-Ausgabe*.³ We do not know whether Bach transcribed most of the works in one concentrated effort or transcribed them over a few years. Walther's transcriptions, preserved in sequence in D-B, Mus. ms. 22541, are

1. My investigations of this topic, first aired at the joint meeting of the American Bach Society and Mozart Society of America at Stanford University in February 2020, have been kindly aided by Ray Heigemeir, Karl Heller, Jerry McBride, Laurent Pugin, Klaus Rettinghaus, Craig Stuart Sapp, Andrew Talle, Jennifer Ward, Steven Zohn, and Paul Cornelson. My interest originated in an extended discussion with Hans-Joachim Schulze many years ago. To all of them I extend my cordial thanks.

2. For details of further copies see Karl Heller, *NBA V/11 KB* and images in *Bach Digital* (<https://bachdigital.de>).

3. BG, vol. 42: *Clavierwerke*, Band 5, ed. Ernst Naumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894). This volume includes "XVI Konzerte nach verschiedenen Meistern" (BWV 972–987), hereafter referred to as BG XVI. The works are also published in *NBA V/xi*.

presented as a curated collection in DDT, but they suggest a random collection.⁴ The process by which German accretions found their way into both sets of transcriptions remains poorly understood, but some of its parameters are more fully documented than they were a generation ago.

In general Bach's keyboard transcriptions rely on concertos for violin, strings, and basso continuo as models, while Walther's emphasize concerti grossi. Bach's transcriptions follow their models more faithfully than Walther's. Many of Walther's pieces could have been transcribed a few years earlier than Bach's (that is, by 1710). Bach's original group skews slightly later (to around 1713). Walther's sources are variously Venetian, other Italian, French, and diffusely German.

Bach's transcriptions for organ are not closely considered here. BWV 593 and 596, based on Antonio Vivaldi's op. 3, nos. 8 and 11, differ from "keyboard" transcriptions in that they take advantage of Vivaldi's three-voice *concertino* (two violins and violoncello) to supply material for two manuals and a pedal (explicitly mentioned in BWV 593). This mechanism of textural transfer is not generally present in BG XVI (although Walther often employs it). BWV 594, based on Vivaldi's concerto for violin and strings nicknamed "Il Grosso Mogul" (RV 208), eventually appeared in print as op. 7, no. 11. It shares with BWV 592a and BWV 595 the use of concertos for solo violin and strings as models.⁵ BWV 592 (for organ) and BWV 592a (for cembalo) honored concertos for violin and strings by Prince Johann Ernst.⁶ BWV 1065 is based on Vivaldi's op. 3, no. 10, and is notable for its wholesale adaptation of four solo violin parts to four solo harpsichord parts set against strings and continuo. Bach also borrowed themes for organ fugues from the Venetian composers Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1751), Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), and Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–90).⁷

4. *Johann Gottlieb Walther: Gesammelte Werke für Orgel*, ed. Max Seiffert, DDT, 1st scr., vols. 26–27 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906).

5. A recent summary of Bach's debts to Vivaldi can be found in Bernhard Billeter, *Bachs Klavier- und Orgelmusik: Aufführungspraxis. Beschreibung sämtlicher Werke eingeschlossen Kammermusik und Konzerte: Einordnung in Bachs kompositorische Entwicklung mit Anregungen zur Interpretation* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2010), 377–91.

6. BWV 592 appears in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 280 as no. X (with the earlier VIII crossed out) but is excluded in the BG XVI; it is published in NBA IV/viii.

7. The fugues BWV 946, 949, 950, and 951 (951a) derive their themes from Albinoni, while the double fugue BWV 574 takes its subject(s) from Legrenzi's trio sonata op. 2, no. 11 (1655). See Robert Hill, "Die Herkunft von Bachs 'Thema Legrenzianum,'" *NJ* 72 (1986): 105–7. The "Fuga à vero Thema Albinonium elaboratum et ad Clavicembalum applicatum" (BWV 923), sometimes attributed to Johann Pachelbel (1685–1764), is preserved in sixteen European manuscript sources. A theme from Corelli's op. 3, no. 4, is found in BWV 579.

The Culture of Musical Transcription

Multiple forces contributed to the rise of musical transcription in the central provinces of Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century. One was the dearth of new music that resulted from the decline of music publishing in Italy shortly after 1700, despite a highly active two-century history. Another was the corresponding rise of the Huguenot refugee publisher Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, who found that his prints of Italian instrumental music found a bigger market than religious tracts and lexicons. A third was the growing practice of requiring serious music students to copy out scores to share with teachers and fellow students. Bach was a beneficiary and a preserver of unpublished music. For Walther, musical transcription was not an activity limited to his youth. He was still engaged in copying compositions by others for much of his life. Despite the latitude in his transcriptions, Walther is remembered today not only as an organist but also an incipient encyclopedist. His *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732) has proved a useful resource for his knowledge of repertoires of his time, although it also establishes the boundaries of that knowledge.

The rise of music editions in Amsterdam, chiefly those of Estienne Roger (c. 1665–1722), can be dated from around 1700, when he began to experiment with printing music. His first years as a music publisher were celebrated for quality and utility. The success of this new market led him in time to take more liberties with his prints, such that some were authorized by the composers themselves, while others consisted of Roger's culls from manuscripts in circulation. In Vivaldi's case, opuses 3, 4, 8, and 9 are considered to have been authorized but other opuses not so. We must therefore allow for a degree of nuance in interpreting what musical "matches" mean in these volatile repertoires. After the death of Roger and his elder daughter Jeanne (also 1722), the business passed to Roger's younger daughter Françoise and her husband, Michel-Charles Le Cène (c. 1684–1743). Their enterprise lasted for two more decades.⁸ Our interest here is predominately in the editions created under Roger's original imprint. Luigi Collarile's recent discovery that Roger may have been aided in starting his music-printing operation through an alliance with Giuseppe Sala (c. 1643–1727) in

8. The online catalog of the Roger firm by Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène*, is the best starting point for tracing titles by the Roger-Le Cène establishment, <https://roger.sites.uu.nl>. Rasch notes the importance of François Lesure's *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1969). Lesure was able to date most prints up to 1716, but Rasch has painstakingly collated music print numbers with datable nonmusical publications to define outer limits of dates. See Rudolf Rasch, "Estienne Roger's Foreign Composers," in *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. Gesa zur Nieden and Berthold Over (Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2016), 295–309.

Venice and Marino Silvani (1644–1710) in Bologna is pregnant with possibilities that could have played a role in Walther's collecting activities.⁹

Because of the decline of music-printing in Italy, the practice of making handwritten copies to meet present needs had a revival that was evident in the smallest churches and the most remote courts. Large churches and monastic institutions often employed in-house copyists. Musicians' families (e.g., Vivaldi's father, two of his sisters, and two nephews) devoted many years of their lives to copying music. Freelance copyists eventually flourished. Yet across the breadth of this shadowy terrain we must be content with a paucity of detail.

Within central Germany Bach and Walther both culled copies, some provided by students, others used pedagogically.¹⁰ Although Bach's music library (*Notenbibliothek*) now has a presence on Bach Digital, it appears that Walther, in common with Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767) and Christoph Graupner (1683–1760), was continuously searching for unfamiliar works in the libraries of his acquaintances.¹¹ In 1730 Walther traveled to Wolfenbüttel to make keyboard transcriptions from organ tablatures in the collection of Heinrich Bokemeyer, with whom he had recently begun a lengthy correspondence (1729–42).¹² Duchess Anna Amalia (1739–1807), princess and eventual regent of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, became a model of public access to literary, artistic, and musical expressions of the German Enlightenment, but the atmosphere in Bach's time was not so enlightened. Instrumental pieces by the Weimar court secretary

9. Luigi Collarile, "Estienne Roger, Marino Silvani, Giuseppe Sala: Prime ricognizioni intorno un'operazione editoriale complesso," in *Musicologia come pretesto: Scritti in memoria di Emilia Zanetti*, ed. Tiziana Affortinati (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2011), 103–18. Sala remained active until 1705. Some music was published from 1708 into the 1720s by Antonio Bortoli, who was mainly a book publisher. Collarile had recently compiled Paul Parstorffer's "Indice di tutte le Opere di Musica" (Munich, 1653), a reconstruction of the lost catalog of the Bavarian music publisher from which Walther gleaned many publication titles for his *Musicalisches Lexicon*. All but six of the catalog's 189 Italian listings cite prints from Venetian presses. See <http://inventories.rism-ch.org/libraries/51006874>.

10. Kirsten Beißwenger, "Erwerbsmethoden von Musikalien im frühen 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Johann Sebastian Bachs und Johann Gottfried Walthers," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 45 (1998): 237–49.

11. Also valuable is the commentary by Kirstin Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

12. See Wilhelm Jerger, "Ein unbekannter Brief Johann Gottfried Walthers an Heinrich Bokemeyer," *Die Musikforschung* 7 (1954): 205–7; Harald Kümmerling, *Catalog der Sammlung Bokemeyer* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970); *Johann Gottfried Walther: Briefe*, ed. Klaus Beckmann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1987); and *Zwischen Schütz und Bach: Georg Österreich und Heinrich Bokemeyer als Notensammler*, ed. Konrad Küstler (Stuttgart: Carus, 2015).

Johann Paul von Westhoff (1656–1705) and by Johann Ernst (1696–1715), the son of Duke Johann Ernst III (1664–1707), however, are preserved in her collection.¹³

Some copies of music traveled in the trunks of visitors and of diplomatic dispatches leaving Venice. Particularly during Carnival, those unable to be present personally sometimes asked for “souvenirs” from operas, typically arias and sinfonias. German visitors were especially prevalent in the years from 1708 to 1713. Among them we have been unable to confidently identify the “young prince of Eisenach” who arrived in Venice in December 1710.¹⁴

No one suggests that transcription was regarded as an art in its own right, but anyone who has reduced ensemble music for keyboard will acknowledge that in the process many musical choices must be made. Transcribers of Bach’s time usually had practical aims. Libraries of transcriptions could have varied uses, including availability for study.¹⁵ Access to sources of heterogeneous origin and quality might prevail over a single intended need. Transcriptions by pupils, pieces that were exchanged between friends, performing copies, and fair copies made for a single patron or library all existed in northern Germany. The identification of composers was not treated with the same significance as it is today, but currency in the musical language of the time was expected.

Transcriptions were made overwhelmingly by keyboard players, who were accustomed to integrating multiple voices into one coherent fabric. This process, then so appropriate to mundane needs, sometimes makes discovery of an original model today difficult. Bach is somewhat vague about instrumentation; the word *Clavier* could cover much ground. Walther is more specific in his terminology, designating all his transcriptions “appropriato all’organo.” Yet neither in his chorale settings nor in his transcriptions does Walther consistently provide a pedal part, leaving performers to make their own choices.

Manuscript circulation as we view it here is only one part of the wider practice of “borrowing” that was prevalent at the time, as we know especially from Handel studies.

13. In the wake of the devastating 2004 fire in the Amalienbibliothek, musical access was reduced to microform copies and a catalog prepared by Angelika von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff; see <https://haab.weimar-klassik.de/Musikalienkatalog/>.

14. I-Vnm, Cod. It. VI-485, 20 December 1710, fol. 2v: “È qui arrivato in questi giorni un giovane principe d’Eissenbach [Eisenach] della casa di Sassonia alloggiato in quest’ albergo dello Scudo di Francia.” Another German visitor of that season was Christian Ludwig, Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1650–1750* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 299–300.

15. Beißwenger, “Erwerbsmethoden,” 240–42.

Types of borrowing were more diverse than we realize. Piotr Wilk shows that many concertos by Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) took their inspiration from Italian opera and cantata arias.¹⁶ The energetic Bohemian Johann Adam (1678–1752), Count of Questenberg, assembled a lending library of recently composed works (often from Italy) in his Viennese townhouse, where he played chamber music with peers.¹⁷ This means of expanding playing repertory in Thuringia was simply one species in a fertile musical garden.

Bach's Clavier Transcriptions

Bach's sixteen keyboard transcriptions are itemized, together with their models, in table 1.1. His core transcriptions consist of BWV 972–82, nos. 1–11. These eleven works are all preserved in the hand of Johann Bernhard Bach (1676–1749), and except in the case of no. 10, his version is considered primary.¹⁸ Bernhard, a cousin of J. S. Bach, spent most of his life in Erfurt and Eisenach, where his tenure as a court cembalist overlapped Telemann's post as a court musician (1708–12). Bernhard and J. S. Bach were lifelong friends. Each was a godfather to one or more of the other's children. For Bach's no. 10, the copy in Walther's writing (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 801) is considered primary.¹⁹

The BG XVI transcriptions have long attracted interest because of the debts several of them owe to concertos by Vivaldi. At least seven works fall into this category. Of the seven known Vivaldi models, only three (BWV 972, 976, and 978), all from *L'Estro armónico*, op. 3, correspond to the versions found in Roger's original print of 1711. The latest addition to the Vivaldi roster is BWV 979, which is currently assigned to Vivaldi as RV 813.²⁰ Its alter ego (Passadore A.2.3.8) is attributed to Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709) in S-L, Saml. Wenster Lit. D No. 28. The confusion issues from a set of part books external to both, in A-Wn, E.M. 143, cataloged under Vivaldi's name

16. Piotr Wilk, "Poetical Mottos in Tartini's Concertos: The Latest Concordances and Questions," *Musica Iagellonica* 9 (2018): 81–99, is the most recent in a series reporting these discoveries and their subtle relationships to their sources. Both in this respect and in their era (1700–30) they may share an attitude found in transcription networks in Germany. As in Germany, Vivaldi and B. Marcello provide some of the models.

17. Jana Perutková, *Der glorreiche Nabmen Adami: Johann Adam Graf von Questenberg (1678–1752) als Förderer der italienischen Oper in Mähren* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2015). Several pertinent and parallel studies on this topic appear in Rasch, "Estienne Roger's Foreign Composers."

18. The group of twelve concertos includes BWV 592 (Bach's transcription of a string concerto by Prince Johann Ernst), which is also listed in the thematic index given on the final folio of D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 280, but it is excluded in publications of the BG XVI.

19. Heller, NBA V/11 KB, 99, notes Beißwenger's projected date of 1717 for the Walther copy.

20. In Peter Ryom, *Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis, Kleine Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974; rev. ed., 1977), it was listed as Anhang 10.

The Keyboard Transcriptions

Table 1.1. Concordances for Bach's Keyboard Transcriptions (BWV 972–987)

Item No.	BWV	Bach's Key	Composer: model or analogue ¹	Cat. No.	Shelf mark in D-B, Mus.	
					ms. Bach	Copyists ²
1	972	D Major	Vivaldi, op. 3, no. 9	rv 230	P 280 P 804	JBB unknown
2	973	G Major	Vivaldi, op. 7, no. 2*	rv 299	P 280 P 804	JBB unknown
3	974	D Minor	A. Marcello, Oboe Concerto*	SF D935	P 280 P 804	JBB JPK
4	975	G Minor	Vivaldi, op. 4, no. 6*	rv 316	P 280	JBB
5	976	C Major	Vivaldi, op. 3, no. 12	rv 265	P 280 P 804	JBB JPK
6	977	C Major	B. Marcello?	SF A490?	P 280 P 804	JBB WNM
7	978	F Major	Vivaldi, op. 3, no. 5	rv 310	P 280	JBB
8	979	B Minor	Vivaldi, Violin Concerto*	rv 813	P 280	JBB
9	980	G Major	Vivaldi, op. 4, no. 1*	rv 381	P 280	JBB
10	981	C Minor	B. Marcello, op. 1, no. 2	SF C788	P 280 P 801	JBB JGW
11	982	B-flat Major	Johann Ernst, op. 1, no. 1*		P 280	JBB
12	983	G Minor	[Telemann?]*		P 804	WNM
13	984	C Major	[Johann Ernst?]*		P 804	JR
14	985	G Minor	Telemann, Violin concerto in G Minor*	twv 51:g1	P 804	WNM
15	986	G Major	[Johann Ernst?]*		P 804	WNM
16	987	D Minor	[Telemann?]*		P 804	WNM
			Johann Ernst, op. 1, no. 4*		P 804	WNM

1. Items with asterisks identify titles for which a printed source appears not to have been the basis for Bach's transcription.

2. Sources given in Karl Heller, *NBA V/11 KB* (summary on p. 20) and in Bach Digital. JBB = Johann Bernhard Bach; JGW = Johann Gottfried Walther; JPK = Johann Philipp Kirnberger; JR = Johannes Ringk; WNM = Wolfgang Nicolaus Mey.

but including a violone part with "Torelli" written on it. The plot thickens with the observation that the sixth and final movement of rv 813 is also found in rv 522a, which is credited to Vivaldi only in a Schirmer edition of 1909.²¹ This philology shows how tenuous many manuscript (and some print) attributions can be.

21. Peter Ryom, *Répertoire des oeuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: Les compositions instrumentales* (Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødning, 1986), 110–11 and 234–35. Given the confusion, Heller, *NBA V/11 KB*, 90–94, remains a valuable anchor.

With respect to dating Bach's transcriptions, Hans-Joachim Schulze's studies of the 1970s and 1980s have worn well. In May 1713 Prince Johann Ernst was forced by deteriorating health to return from his studies in the Low Countries. Schulze deduced that the prince returned with some of Roger's recent publications of Italian music. Bach's access to this imagined trove would have been limited to the period between July 1713 and July 1714.²² Schulze had earlier established that Bach's concerto transcriptions must date from "after 1713."²³ He had explored the question of whether Bach's transcriptions were arrangements only or commissioned works.²⁴ His *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* evaluated more comprehensively the concerto transcriptions for organ and clavier.²⁵ He was now intent on pinning down which source Bach had used. This quest led to the discovery that Bach's transcriptions were not consistently based on prints. The content of Bach's arrangements of Vivaldi were shown to be from the printed op. 3, but those from op. 4 (*La Stravaganza*, 1716) and op. 7 (*Concerti a cinque strumenti*, 1716–17) must have relied on unpublished sources, for musical details in the German manuscripts differed and suggested earlier sources than the ones on which Roger's prints were based.

Tomasz Górný has now challenged Schulze's window for Bach's transcriptions in a documentary study of the firm of Adam Christoph Sellius, an agent of Estienne Roger in Halle and Leipzig. Vivaldi's op. 3 was listed in Sellius's catalog supplement of 1711.²⁶ Górný suggests that most music used in the Weimar court in Bach's time came from the Halle enterprise, although neither of these two possible scenarios (Schulze's and Górný's) produce proof for one or the other. Górný's research on correspondence in the Amsterdam Stadsarchief, however, adds a new chapter to the complex picture of circulating music. He dates the collaboration between Roger and Sellius as one that began in 1709 and continued through 1716.²⁷

22. Recent efforts to reimagine the path of these sources to Bach have included the possibility of their availability in Leipzig music shops by 1714, but arguments in favor of Schulze's scenario remain convincing.

23. Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Neue Ermittlungen zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Vivaldi-Bearbeitungen," in *Vivaldi Studien: Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Colloquiums mit einem Katalog der Dresdner Vivaldi-Handschriften und Frühdrucke* (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1981), 32–41.

24. Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Konzertbearbeitungen nach Vivaldi und anderen: Studien- oder Auftragswerke?" *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 18 (1973): 80–100.

25. Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Peters, 1984).

26. Tomasz Górný, "Estienne Roger and His Agent Adam Christoph Sellius: New Light on Italian and French Music in Bach's World," *Early Music* 47 (2019): 361–70 (esp. 362).

27. Górný, "Estienne Roger and His Agent Adam Christoph Sellius," 364.

Among the non-Vivaldi models found in the core Bach transcriptions, examples by the Marcello brothers, Alessandro (1669–1747) and Benedetto (1686–1739), are conspicuous. The relevant transcriptions are no. 3 (BWV 974), no. 6 (BWV 977), and no. 10 (BWV 981). Both men were highly active musically in Italy in the decade preceding 1715. The use of Alessandro Marcello's celebrated Oboe Concerto in D Minor (SF D935) in BWV 974 is not questioned, despite the fact that the version in C Minor in Schwerin (D-SW1, ms. 3530), attributed to J. S. Bach, still circulates. What is unclear is whether Bach encountered it in another circulating manuscript or as no. 2 in the lost Roger print no. 432 (1716).

Benedetto Marcello makes a secure appearance in BWV 981, where it is his violin concerto op. 1, no. 2 (Venice, 1708; SF C788) that provides the basis for the transcription.²⁸ The part for *Violino principale* is missing in the Venetian Conservatory manuscript for op. 1, but fragments of it survive in D-B, Mus. ms. 13548.²⁹ Although Bernhard Bach copied this piece, Walther's manuscript in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 801, may be closer to the source.

Out of the nearly five hundred secular vocal works composed by Benedetto Marcello, few appeared in print. The exceptions were the madrigals op. 4 (Venice, 1717) and, almost a decade earlier, his two comic madrigals debating the merits of the castrato voice (Venice, 1708), which bore the printed title *Capricci*. In the first, "No' che lassù ne' cori" (SF A489), the singers (STTB) deride the castrati, claiming they cannot enter Heaven. In the riposte "Si che laggiù nell'Erebo profondo" (SF A490), the castrati (SSAA) acknowledge the frivolous nature of what they are called on to sing and display their skills in chromaticism before launching into diminutions they claim to be able to sing for all eternity. (To underscore the point, this madrigal lacks a final cadence.) Dozens of manuscript copies of both pieces survive, most of them in Germany.

BWV 977 is not a true match for "Si che laggiù," but the similarity of rhythmic and melodic features reminds us how pervasive this configuration is throughout Marcello's repertory. It is found *inter alia* in his setting of Psalm 14 (Venice, 1724; SF B614).³⁰ In example 1.1 we see the opening melodies of BWV 977, an overture by George Frideric Handel, and the two Marcello pieces.

28. The subject of Marcello's second-movement fugue is echoed in Vivaldi's concerto op. 3, no. 11, which in turn was transcribed as BWV 596.

29. Similarly, the same part for the third movement of no. 4 (SF C789) and the first and second movements of no. 8 (SF C790) are found with it. Marcello's Sinfonia in A Major (SF C780b) is the first work in this manuscript.

30. "O Signor, chi sarà mai?" (SF B614) was circulated prior to publication by Marcello in order to solicit testimonials for his *L'estro poetico-armonico: parafrasi sopra li primi [e secondi] venticinque salmi di Davide*. The same opening is also found in Handel's Roman cantata *Clori, Tirsi, e Fileno* (HWV 96, 1707) but is not prevalent.

BWV 977
 HWV 96
 SF A490
 SF 614

Example 1.1. Similar openings in (a) *bwv 977*; (b) the overture to Handel's *Clori, Tirsi, e Fileno* (1707; *hwv 96*); (c) Marcello's comic madrigal "Si che laggiù" (1708; *sf A490*); and (d) Marcello's setting of Psalm 14 (Venice, 1724; *sf B614*).

"Si che laggiù" may seem out of character for Bach, but the date and likelihood of its availability, in addition to its general popularity in Germany, are difficult factors to ignore. In combination they fall into the class of composers' "signatures" that are discussed periodically in digital musicology and music theory.³¹ Properly, fingerprints recur over and over in the music of one composer but are rarely found in the works of others. In the absence of an exact match, should we pay attention to the occurrence of such fingerprints? This is a point on which historians and theorists often disagree. *bwv 977* illustrates a fingerprint of sorts but one more specific to Venice than to Marcello.

The wrapper, labeled "Zwolf Concerte von Vivaldi. Für die Orgel eingerichtet von Johann Sebastian Bach" in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 280, is followed by a title page that reads "XII. Concerte di Vivaldi elabor[at]o di J. S. Bach" and signed by "J. E. Bach Leipsiensis 1739" in the lower right corner.³² The normally accepted date for Bernhard Bach's copying is 1715. Approximate dates between 1727 and 1730 are sometimes given for subsequent numbers, with many later copies itemized by Heller and in *Bach Digital*.³³ Biographical dates for Wolfgang Nicolaus Mey (nos. 12, 14–16) are unknown, but he was an additional copyist of *bwv 977* who seems to have moved in Telemann's orbit. Johannes Ringk (1717–78) copied no. 13. The later transcriptions

31. David Cope, "Signatures and Earmarks: Computer Recognition of Patterns in Music," in *Melodic Comparison: Concepts, Procedures, and Applications*, ed. Walter B. Hewlett and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Computing in Musicology* 11 (1998): 129–38.

32. Johann Ernst Bach (1722–77), the son of J. B. Bach the Elder, went to Leipzig in 1739 to continue his studies. The preceding wrapper, which is on later paper, is by Carl Friedrich Zelter.

33. See Heller, *NBA V/11 KB*, 119.

are based on examples that are largely, perhaps even entirely, German. Prince Johann Ernst and Telemann may be the only composers present, although attributions for BWV 984 (no. 13), and BWV 986 (no. 15) remain uncertain.

BWV 982 (no. 11), the last work in Bernhard Bach's hand, is a hinge between the two sections in that it is based on the first violin concerto in Prince Johann Ernst's later op. 1 (1718) but is linked to the earlier numbers through the continuity of the hand. BWV 987 (no. 16) is the fourth violin concerto from the prince's set. He is sometimes suggested as the composer of BWV 984 (no. 13), which is reminiscent of the widely circulated counterpoint exercises of Francesco Gasparini, a recognized authority in Italy and Germany and, until 1713, Vivaldi's superior at the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice.³⁴

BWV 983 (no. 12), once claimed to resemble the sinfonia to *Herr Gott, der du uns hast von unsrer Jugend an* (TWV 1:742), does not duplicate the content of the manuscript source in Brussels.³⁵ BWV 985 (no. 14) is considered to be based on Telemann's Violin Concerto, TWV 5:1g1. The third movement of BWV 986 (no. 15) resembles a Telemann aria,³⁶ although Heller finds the movement suggestive of Johann Ernst.³⁷ BWV 985 shows similarities to late instrumental pieces by Albinoni, especially his Concerto op. 10, no. 4 (c. 1735). The basic contours of its opening theme were familiar a century earlier in the bowed-string sonatas of Dario Castello (1621, 1629). The movements in Bach's transcription seem oddly unrelated in overall style causing one to wonder whether the work could be a pastiche.

Johann Ernst was tutored by Bach during his years as an organist in Weimar (1708–11). The prince had developed a keen liking for the violin and showed precocious skill in playing it. He could have observed the composer's interest in Vivaldi, which was apparently based on the melodic vivacity of Vivaldi's violin writing and on the rhythmic patterns and overall structure of his fast movements. Yet in orchestral works Bach would avoid adopting forms built exclusively on solo-tutti contrasts, preferring to interleave multiple soloists in such a way as to reserve the dominant role for the full ensemble. Given his age, the prince is unlikely to have had full command of virtuosic skills, although his posthumously published concertos show his attempts to master

34. The melodic shape strongly resembles three of Francesco Gasparini's two-part counterpoint examples in D-B, Mus. ms. 7105. Ten of Gasparini's years as the *maestro di coro* at the Ospedale della Pietà, Venice (1701–13), overlapped Vivaldi's tenure as *maestro di violino* (1703–15).

35. B-Bc, 941/68: *Herr Gott, der du uns hast von unsrer Jugend an* (TWV 1:742), at https://telemann.omeka.net/exhibits/show/georg-philipp-telemann/tes-unicas/b_bc-941-n-68. My thanks to Stephen Zohn for calling my attention to this source.

36. The aria "Herr, der starken Himmelsheere" from Telemann's *Liebe die von Himmel stammet*, TWV 1:1044/3, employs a melodic contour similar to BWV 986/3.

37. Heller, NBA V/11 KB, 131.

some of them. Vivaldi was fond of violin figuration in which arpeggios “hung” from a virtual “treble” anchored on the e” string (effectively the inversion of a pedal point), but for plucked and bowed instruments this meant rapid alternation between the high note and lower tones outlining a chord.³⁸

Walther guided the prince’s tuition in music theory during the last nine months of 1707. He heaped praise on his pupil in the dedication (dated 13 March 1708) of his *Praecepta der musikalischen Composition* (1708), which was written during the organist’s first year at Weimar.³⁹ Walther assumed in the *Praecepta* a world generously endowed with violinists. He offered advice on articulation, word-painting, bariolage, phrasing, and other devices for improving the expressiveness of music. He addressed musical poetics, tuning systems, keys and clefs, consonance, dissonance, suspensions, four-part composition, imitation, modes, transposition, and various kinds of counterpoint.

The figure whose invisible presence connects the prince’s music to both Bach and Walther appears to be Telemann, who never lived in Weimar but worked in Eisenach from 1708 to 1712. Bernhard Bach was his colleague there, and Telemann was godfather to C. P. E. Bach and to Walther’s oldest son. Telemann also must have maintained a relationship with the prince during his time in Frankfurt (1712–21).⁴⁰ These two shared a common interest in the development of self-fashioned music-printing systems. The prince’s objective, carried on into his last days near Bad Homburg, was to replicate his own concertos on a copperplate engraving. Telemann’s efforts, begun soon after his marriage (1714), aimed at a simplified system for producing practical editions of sacred music.⁴¹

On 24 March 1715, less than five months before the prince’s death on 1 August, Telemann dedicated his own (self-published) *Six Sonates à Violon seul, accompagné par le Clavessin* to the prince. The title page was undecorated, the style of musical typesetting French. No printer’s insignia appears on the title page. No record of a personal

38. Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, “Interpretatorische Probleme bei Johann Sebastian Bachs Orgel-Transkription (BWV 594) des ‘Gross-Mogul’ Konzertes von Antonio Vivaldi (av 208),” in *Orgel, Orgelmusik und Orgelspiel: Festschrift Michael Schneider zum 75. Geburtstag* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), 11–24, called attention to a passage of this kind in BWV 594, where Bach also used contrast between the Oberwerke and the Ruckspositiv to simulate Vivaldi’s solo-tutti alternations. The adaptation of slow movements presented other challenges. The impressionistic Adagio was endowed with temperamental runs and clashing dissonances.

39. The two-volume treatise was edited by Peter Benary, and published in the *Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1955).

40. The prince’s mother, Charlotte Dorothea Sophia of Hesse-Homburg, was the second wife of Duke Johann Ernst III.

41. Described in detail in Steven Zohn, “Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher,” *JAMS* 58 (2005): 275–356. Zohn’s description of the decline of German music publishing brings a valuable perspective to the proliferation of manuscripts.

presentation exists, but such an event could have smoothed the path for Telemann to take custody of Johann Ernst's *Six Concerts: à un Violon concertant, deux Violons, une Taille, et Clavecin ou Basse de Viol*, published as the *Opera P[ri]ma/de . . . Prince Jean Erneste, Duc de Saxe-Weimar: Par les soins de Mr. G. P. Telemann* in Leipzig and Halle, under the imprint of Kloss & Sellius (1718). The title page is decorated with a design entwining coats-of-arms, trumpets, timpani, violins, and recorders.

Telemann's *Avertissement* conveys the idea that he was among the eighteen-year-old prince's greatest admirers.

To represent the extent and vivacity of his superior mind, I [cannot do better than to] offer you the beautiful moments of these concertos. [The prince's] life passed in only eighteen years. One must admire what he achieved in that time, especially in his understanding of the difficult art of music. . . . He mastered many instruments, above all the violin. The prince was attacked twenty-one months before his death [in May 1713] by a cruel and painful malady that eventually took his life. He never tired of composing; it was the best remedy for his illness. He did not have the pleasure of seeing the completion of this work before he died, but he made arrangements for its continuation . . . in a second volume that you will see shortly. [Oh,] that the Republic of Music may continue to hold in high regard his music and to honor the memory of this incomparable Prince! Not only did he delight us during his short life . . . but his works can bring us their felicities into perpetuity.⁴²

The statement that “[the prince] made arrangements for its continuation” leads us to wonder what happened to the pieces intended for the prince's second volume. They are not among surviving manuscripts in Rostock, where copies of the first four of the prince's six published concertos are held,⁴³ nor are they in Weimar.

42. Abridged translation by the author of the *Avertissement* appearing in Telemann's edition of the prince's *Six Concerts* (1718): “Pour L'entenduë et le feu de son génie supérieur, on ne sauroit vous les bien dépeindre. Vous en trouverez de belles étincelles dans ales Concerts qu'on vous offre. Sa vie n'a passé que de peu diëxhuit ans. . . . Elle jôioit en Maître de plusieurs instrumens, surtout du violon. Ce Prince fut attaqué vingt un mois avant sa mort de la cruelle et douloureuse maladie qui le mit dans le tombeau. Il ne laissa pas de composer; c'étoit là le meilleur remede dont il adouissoit ses maux; Il entreprit même de faire graver cet Ouvrage; il n'eut pas le plaisir d'en voir la fin; la mort vint le ravir, après qu'il eut donné ses ordres pour le continuer, et y joindre une seconde Partie, que vous verrez dans peu. Que la République de Musique rende donc des hommages à toujours durables à la mémoire de cet incomparable Prince. On finit en disant que comme 'Empereur Tite étoit apellé durant sa vie les délices du genre-humain; de même aussi notre Sere.n.me Prince n'en a pas seulement fait les delices [sic] le peu de temps qu'il a vécu, par les belles qualités du corps et de l'esprit qu'il possédoit dans un degré éminent: mais que par ses Ouvrages il en sera même après la mort, les perpétuelle délices” (dated “Frankfurt le 1 febr: 1718”). No evidence of a second volume is known.

43. The four concertos are found in D-ROu, Mus.Sacc.XVII:51:39a, 51:42(a), 61.7a, and 51:41. The first and third are attributed to Vivaldi (av Anhang 12 and 11) in D-ROu, Mus.Sacc.XVIII:61.7a and 7b.

Walther's Organ Transcriptions

In contrast to Bach, who sought out violin concertos as his transcription models, Walther was partial to trio textures, especially in concerti grossi. His interest happened to coincide with the peak years of that genre (1690–1710). He appreciated that any ensemble sonata involving two violins and basso continuo could provide the basis for a concerto grosso by selective doubling of certain passages. Walther showed that a reverse process, by which two violin parts could be transferred to organ manuals while the continuo migrated to the pedalboard, was equally viable. In practice Walther's transcriptions, like many of his chorale settings, vacillated between duo (manuals only) and trio (pedal added) presentations. The addition of the pedalboard could be a proxy for ripieno parts.

Walther's sources are more heterogeneous than Bach's and less consistently Italian. (See table 1.2 for a list of Walther's transcriptions.) They are also less closely observed than Bach's. Walther's aim was not (apparently) to replicate or enhance but instead to mine and recast musical ideas. The earliest print represented in his collection appeared in 1698. Where printed exemplars are known, they were available to Walther by 1708.

Walther's first two transcriptions are conventional and easily verified. Both come from the second book of Tomaso Albinoni's *Sinfonie e concerti a cinque, due violini, alto, tenore, violoncello, e basso ... opera seconda* (Venice: Sala, 1700). Walther's choices could have been based on Roger's print no. 7 (1702).⁴⁴ Both pieces evoke the celebratory spirit characteristic of Venetian string music at this time. Walther's third piece, offered as a "Concerto del Sig.r Blamr appropriato all'organo," which has long eluded identification, corresponds to an untitled six-movement suite for six instruments in a manuscript in D-ROu, Mus.Saec.XVII:51, which is preserved in the company of two works by Telemann. The mysterious Sig.r Blamr (an apparent misreading of Blamt.) proves to be François Collin de Blamont (1690–1760), a little-known but long-serving composer of court music at Versailles. His activity peaked in the 1720s, but Walther's source must have been earlier.

Walther's most familiar model (no. 4) comes from Corelli. The only sonata for violin and basso continuo (*violone e cimbalo*) used by Walther, his variations come from the opening *Preludio* of Corelli's op. 5, no. 11. Walther toyed with Corelli's initial material, ignoring subsequent movements. It is doubtful that he relied on a Roger print, for if he did, it would have been the publisher's no. 75 (1710), in which it is asserted that "purity has been re-established in its preparation,"⁴⁵ a point in which Walther clearly

44. Górný, "Estienne Roger and His Agent Adam Christoph Sellius," 366, cites Walther's Albinoni example, but the concerto numbers he uses do not correspond to mine, which come from Talbot.

45. Its loquacious title page reads that this is the "dernier édition gravée propre à la joindre à ses autres ouvrages le bien corrigée tout nouvellement avec la gravée en partition mais sans les agréments." This opus was widely circulated with all manner of ornamentation.

Table 1.2. Concordances for J. G. Walther's Organ Transcriptions (in D-B Mus. ms. 22541)

Item No.	Walther's Attribution ¹	Current attribution	Title of model (Catalog)	Print (City: publisher, date) or MS source (shelf mark)	key of model	key of
1	Concerto del Sign. ^r Tomaso Albinoni	Albinoni	<i>Concerto à 5</i> , op. 2, no. 8 (Talbot 2.8)	Venice: Sala, 1700; Amsterdam: Roger, no. 7, 1702 ²	G Major	F Major
2	Concerto del Sign. ^r Tomaso Albinoni	Albinoni	<i>Concerto à 5</i> , op. 2, no. 10 (Talbot 2.10)	Venice: Sala, 1700; Amsterdam: Roger, no. 7, 1702	C Major	B-flat Major
3	Blannr	François Collin de Blannont	[<i>Suite à 6</i>]	D-ROU, Mus. Sacc. XVII; 51 ³	A Major	A Major
4	Alcuni variazioni sopra un Basso Continuo del Sig. ^r Corelli	Corelli	<i>Sonata a violino solo</i> , op. 5, no. 11: Preludio ⁴	Rome: Author, 1700; Amsterdam: Roger, 1701 (no. 75); 1710 (no. 355)	E Major	E Major
5	Concerto del Sig. ^r Gentili	Giorgio Gentili?				A Major
6	Concerto del Sig. ^r Gregori	Giovanni Lorenzo Gregori	<i>Concerto grosso à più strumenti</i> , op. 2, no. 3 ⁵	Lucca: Bartolomeo Gregori, 1698	B-flat Major	B-flat Major
7	Concerto del Sig. ^r Mianzia	Luigi Mianzia	Sinfonia to the aria "Qui dove il fato rio lung'hì" ⁶	S-Uu, Inst. Mus. I hs 55:1	G Minor	G Minor
8	Concerto del Sign. ^r Meck	Vivaldi	<i>Concerto a chique</i> , no. 12 (rv 275; subsumes rv 430)	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger (nos. 432, 433) ⁷ 1: A-Wn, E.M. 148.e. 2: S-L, Engelhart N. 90 3: CH-Zz, AM G XIII 1072 4: D-DS, Mus. ms. 441/1 (copied by Graupner, with obbligato flute) 5: D-DS, Mus. ms. 470/94 (gww 918)	B Minor	E Minor
9	Concerto del Sig. ^r Megck ⁸	Vivaldi?	Concerto in D Major (Padua, 1712; rv 212)	1: I-Tn, Giordano 29, fols. 236-237; as rv 212, fols. 233-235 and 238-244 2: D-DI, Mus. 2389-O-74 (1716-17, copied by Pisendel, attributed to Vivaldi) 3: D-DS, Mus. ms. 411/21 (1745, gww 318)	D Major	G Major

Table 1.2. Continued

Item No.	Walther's Attribution ¹	Current attribution	Title of model (Catalog)	Print (City: publisher, date) or MS source (shelf mark)	key of model	key of
10	Concerto del Sign. ^f Taglietti	Giulio Taglietti	Concerto op. 11, no. 2, movement 2	Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger (no. 432)	B-flat Major	B-flat Major
11	Concerto del Sign. ^f Telemann	Telemann	Concerto for oboe, violin, strings, and basso continuo TWV 5:2:c1 (1708-14)	D-DS, Mus. ms. 2033/56a	C Minor	C Minor
12	Concerto del Sig. ^f Torelli	Torelli	<i>Concerto a 5</i> , op. 8, no. 7, movement 1 (Passadore A.3.3.8)	1: Bologna: M. Silvani, 1709 2: A-Wr, E.M. 149	D Minor	D Minor
13	Concerto del Sig. ^f Torelli	Torelli	Sonata for two violins (Passadore A.3.3.10)	3: D-Dl, Mus. 2035-O-5 D-Dl, Mus. 2035-Q-1	D Major	B-flat Major
14	Concerto del Sig. ^f Torelli	Torelli	<i>Concerto à 5</i> , op. 8, no. 8 (Passadore A.3.3.2)	1: copy by Eisenel, in D-Dl, Mus. 2035-O-6 2: copy by Albinoni, in I-Nc, Rari 1.6/D. 20/1-3 (incomplete) 3: anonymous copy, C minor, I-Nc Rari 1.6/D	G Minor, E Minor, C Minor	A Minor

1. All attributions except no. 4 conclude with the words "appropriato all' Organo."

2. Title in Roger no. 7: *Set sinfonie a 6, [sei] concerti à violino di concerto, due violini, alto viola, tenore viola, violoncello e basso continuo*. The numeration system was different in English editions.

3. Untitled, 6 movements, 6 instrumental parts (likely date: 1700-1710).

4. Walther discussed his "variations" on the bass of Corelli's opening bars in his letter to Heinrich Bokemeyer (6 February 1730).

5. Source identified in Max Seiffert's "Kritische Bemerkungen" in *Johann Gottlieb Walther: Gesammelte Werke für Orgel* (DPT, 1st set, vols. 26-27, 1906), xxiii-xxvii. Confirmed by author in 2020.

6. The sinfonia is scored for two violins, two oboes, two bassoons, and basso continuo.

7. *Concerti a cinque con violini, Oboe, Viola, Violoncello, e Basso Continuo, del signori G. Valentini, A. Vivaldi, T. Albinoni, F. M. Veracini, G. St. Martin, A. Marzello, G. Rampin, A. Predieri*. In book 1 (no. 432), the principal instrument is an oboe throughout, while in book 2 (no. 433), it is a violin. Concerto no. 2 in book 1 is "Alexandro" Marzello's Oboe Concerto in D Minor (the model for BWV 974). In book 2 (no. 433), nos. 8 and 12, in B-flat Major and E Minor, are attributed to Vivaldi.

8. The Roger firm's print nos. 486-487 (1721) contained Meck's *Concerti à 5*, op. 1, in which the final work (no. 12) was Taglietti's op. 8, no. 1.

The Keyboard Transcriptions

Adagio

Violino solo

Violone e Cimbalo

Example 1.2. Opening of the Preludio in Corelli's Sonata for violin and continuo op. 5, no. 11 (Rome, 1700).

Example 1.3. Opening of Walther's transcription of the same Preludio (D-B, Mus. ms. 22541).

had no interest. Corelli's op. 5 fueled a century of competitions over methods of embellishment, but Walther used it to exhibit his variation technique, treating Corelli's subject as if it were a chorale melody. Walther's modifications to Corelli's prelude in no. 11 are shown in examples 1.2 and 1.3.

The sources for the next three works (nos. 5–7) are more obscure. Walther's no. 5, a "Concerto del Sig.^r Gentili appropriato all'organo," cannot be directly linked to a surviving work by the Venetian violinist Giorgio Gentili (c. 1669–1737?). In a corpus of six opuses (most missing one or more part books), no match for Walther's transcription has been found in the five currently available.⁴⁶ Walther cited the *Concerti a quattro e cinque*, op. 2 (1703) and op. 5 (1708) in his *Lexicon*. Roger reissued Gentili's *Sonate*, op. 1, and *Capricci da camera*, op. 3, in his prints no. 268 (1702) and no. 299 (1706). The *Concerti à quattro e cinque*, op. 4, round out the list. The music-box-like opening theme

46. The five are op. 1 (1701): *Sonate à tre, due violini, violoncello, e basso continuo* (Roger no. 268); op. 4 (1707): same wording, with the continuo specification *violoncello o arcileato con basso per l'organo* (Bortoli, op. 4, 1707). Op. 2 (1703) and op. 5 (1708) are both entitled *Concerti a quattro e cinque*; op. 3 (1708) is entitled *Capricci: XII sonate à violino e violoncello* (incomplete unicum in I-Ve damaged in flood of 12 November 2019); op. 6 (1716) known only from the presentation copy *Concerti a quattro*, dedicated to Friedrich August, Prince of Saxony, probably made for the prince's visit to Venice in 1716–17, in D-DI, Mus.2164-O-1.

of Walther's transcription is not characteristic of Gentili, who emphasized repeated-note sequences and arpeggiated figures. A rough analogue to the opening melody of no. 5 can be found, however, in numerous eighteenth-century manuscript copies of an anonymous *balletto*.⁴⁷

Walther's no. 6 comes from a concerto grosso by the violinist Giovanni Lorenzo Gregori (1663–1745), who was little known outside his native Lucca. Gregori's music is notable for its fluid treatment of genre, not only in the ten *Concerti grossi à più strumenti*, op. 2 (from which no. 3 is Walther's no. 6), but also in his thirty-six *Arie in stile francese a 1 e 2 voci*, which take the form of minuetts, bourrées, and galliards. Both publications were issued in Lucca in 1698 by Bartolomeo Gregori.

Luigi Mancina (c. 1665–1708) created the model for Walther's no. 7, but it is not known how Walther became acquainted with it. Mancina's source is preserved today only as the sinfonia to a vocal work, "Qui dove il fatto rio lungo," in S-Uu, Inst. Mus. I hs 55:1. Born in Brescia, Mancina moved between Germany and Italy at intervals. After an apprenticeship in Hanover (1680s), he resettled in Rome (1690s). His last-known appearances were in Venice (1706–8), where German ties were still evident: his setting of the opera *Alessandro in Susa* (San Giovanni Grisostomo, 28 January 1708) was dedicated to Karl Alexander, Duke of Wittenberg.⁴⁸

Walther leads us astray in nos. 8 and 9 with attributions to Joseph Meck (1690–1758), a Bavarian composer who studied in Italy from around 1708 to 1711, then joined the court in Eichstätt as a violinist in 1712 and remained there all his life, serving as kapellmeister from 1720. But these two transcriptions are not based on Meck's compositions.⁴⁹ Nos. 8 and 9 derive principally from Vivaldi, who has not previously been associated with Walther. Neither lineage is straightforward, partly because Graupner was involved in the transmission chain. The sometimes porous boundary between Graupner and Vivaldi can be difficult to delineate. Graupner was an impeccable copyist with a penchant for adding wind and brass parts to the works he copied. (In these endeavors his work ran parallel to Johann Pisendel's in Dresden, for the Saxon was prone to add oboe parts to Italian string concertos.) Both Graupner and Vivaldi en-

47. See D-Tü, Balletto, anonymous, Mk 12 [RISM ID: 455017974] and D-LÜh, Mus. N 1861a [RISM ID: 452012382]. Roughly a dozen loosely analogous examples can be found elsewhere in the RISM OPAC.

48. The music is attributed to Mancina, the libretto to Roberto Frigimelica-Roberti. The electress of Bavaria, Theresa Kunegunda Sobieska, was probably present at the opening performance. For context and details, see Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 283–84.

49. Jeanne Roger published Meck's *Concerti grossi* op. 1 (nos. 486–87) in 1721. Citing Robert Eitner's *Quellenlexikon* as its source, RISM (2020) gives Meck as the composer. Klaus Beckmann, *Joseph Meck (1690–1758): Leben und Werk des Eichstäetter Hofkapellmeisters* (Bochum: Ruhr Universität, 1975), offers background.

joyed the patronage of the landgraves of Hesse-Darmstadt: Graupner (from 1709) as kapellmeister to the elder landgrave Ernst Ludwig (1667–1739) and Vivaldi (officially 1718–20 but informally for a much longer time) as *maestro di camera* to Landgrave Philipp (1671–1736). Philipp was dispatched to Mantua as imperial governor after the collapse of the Gonzaga duchy. Several singers who appeared at Sant'Angelo, where Vivaldi was active intermittently for years, secured long-term patronage from German noblemen in the 1710s. Vivaldi remained in close touch with Prince Philipp, who made periodic trips to Venice, until the nobleman's death.

Walther's no. 8 is credited to Vivaldi (as RV 275) in Jeanne Roger's print no. 433. Among four manuscript copies it is attributed to Vivaldi in three and to Graupner in one (as GWV 918; RV 275a). This transcription reminds us of the caveat that some Roger anthologies were publishers' miscellanies and direct proof of authorship in cases like this one is ultimately lacking. In no. 9 the second and third movements correspond to the first two in Vivaldi's concerto for "La Festa della Lingua di Sant'Antonio" (RV 212), which was composed for the eponymous feast in the 1712 at Padua's cathedral. The source of Walther's short introductory movement is unknown. It could be an improvisation of his own.⁵⁰ Pisendel's copy in C major (attributed to Vivaldi in D-DI, Mus. 2389-O-74) was made in 1716 or 1717. Its elaborate cadenzas do not appear in Walther's transcription. A different slow movement appears in the Turin autograph, in which some ripieno parts are omitted.⁵¹ The Darmstadt source (D-DS, Mus. ms. 411/21), with added flute (credited to Graupner as GWV 318), is dated 1745 and similarly cannot have been Walther's model.

Walther's alphabetical ordering becomes clear in the last five transcriptions (nos. 10–14), said to be by Taglietti, Telemann, and Torelli. The Brescian priest Giulio Taglietti (c. 1660–1718) was a violin teacher and a composer at the Jesuit College in his native city. No. 10 utilizes the second movement of his Concerto op. 11, no. 2. Walther could have encountered the model in Roger's reprint no. 422 (*Concerti a quattro con i suoi rinforzi*, c. 1717), but because his transcription deviates substantially from the print, it seems likely that he worked from a manuscript or freely invented some of the content.

Like Bach and Graupner, Telemann had received a classical education. While still in Magdeburg, he became a proficient player of violin, transverse flute, and keyboard, and learned to play additional instruments in adolescence. In his entry for Telemann in the *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Walther stressed the diversity of Telemann's works, his

50. The third movement finds its closest match in an anonymous English piece, Finney MS 41, in US-AUS [RISM ID: 1000115572].

51. Walther cannot have seen the Turin source, which resided in the home of Vivaldi's unwed sisters into the 1760s.

contributions to pedagogy, his portfolio of evangelical pieces, and his multiple appointments in Hamburg. Walther's no. 11 leads a curious path to a firm identity. Its model is ostensibly Telemann's Oboe Concerto in C Minor, *rwv* 52:c1. Its four movements as given by Walther correspond to the surviving parts in Lund (S-L, Saml. Engelhart No. 370), which are attributed to "Wivald" [Vivaldi]. In his provisional catalog of 1974 Peter Ryom rejected the Vivaldi attribution, and the work retains its position as Anh. 17 in *rv2*.⁵² While there is nothing distinctively Vivaldian about the music, the absence of an early Telemann source should be noted. Another entanglement between Telemann and Vivaldi occurs in a "Concerto per la Chiesa" transcribed by Walther,⁵³ but here Telemann's authorship is not confirmed; the music matches an anonymous aria, "Erleuchte mich, du wahres Licht" (*rwv* 33: Anh. 2).

Walther's last three transcriptions (nos. 12–14) come from late works by Torelli.⁵⁴ Relative to his other transcriptions, the sources are easily verified. No. 12 corresponds to Torelli's op. 8, no. 7 (Passadore A.3.2.8).⁵⁵ Nos. 13 and 14 (Passadore A.3.3.10 and A.2.3.2) are based on D-DI, Mus. 2035-Q-1 and Mus. 2035-O-6. The latter, found in the hand of Pisendel in D-DI, is also found in Albinoni's incomplete copy in I-Nc, Rari 1.6/D.20/1–3.

Walther's tendency to deviate in both text and musical content is not news but it is nonetheless striking. Apart from his study of Bach's debts (in *bwv* 594) to Vivaldi's "Grosso Mogul" Concerto (*rv* 208), which found its way into print as op. 7, no. 11,⁵⁶ Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini emphasized the independence of Walther's transcriptions of Albinoni (in nos. 1 and 2) and Gregori (in no. 6).⁵⁷ Walther's treatment of Corelli and Taglietti merits a similar verdict.

52. Ryom, *Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis, Kleine Ausgabe*, 139. Ryom retains the attribution on the basis of its inclusion under Telemann's name in the first supplement to *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements, 1762–1787*, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Dover, 1966).

53. US-NH, Ma21.Y11.T23 (LM 4794). A later copy was made by Rincks's son, Johann Christian Heinrich (1770–1846).

54. Walther's admiration for Torelli is expressed in the two columns he accorded him in the *Musicalisches Lexicon*. He reported his admission to the Academia Filarmonica, Bologna, his position as a violinist at San Petronio, and his appointment as concertmaster in Ansbach (in "1703," although the actual date was earlier). Walther also praised the varied instrumentation and textures of Torelli's instrumental works.

55. From the "Concerti grossi con pastorale per il santissimo Natale" (Bologna, 1709). Three of the performing parts for this work in A-Wn, E.M. 149, are attributed to Vivaldi.

56. As *rv* 208a, signifying a variant second movement.

57. Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, "Johann Gottfried Walther trascrittore," *Analecta Musicologica* 7 (1969): 112–19.

Bach, in contrast, was a careful examiner and an attentive transcriber. He might enhance or adapt but he did not violate the integrity of preexisting material as nonchalantly as Walther did. Where Walther abridged, interpolated, elaborated, or omitted, Bach's modifications were musically motivated. In his organ adaptations of Vivaldi, Bach necessarily modified the upper register to suit the Weimar organ, which did not reach beyond c^{'''}. Bach increased the activity in inner voices to create virtual textures of four or more voices within the scope of one actual instrument. Walther demonstrated the same tendency when adapting works that were originally for solo voice, such as Corelli's Sonata op. 5, no. 11. Both continuously projected a sense of constant, metered motion in fast and moderate tempos. Bach selectively "completed" some of Vivaldi's harmonies, especially where the Italian was inclined to emphasize treble and bass while ignoring interior voices. (In later years Vivaldi often failed to fill in viola parts in his manuscripts.)

Many accounts note the extent to which Bach's use of the ritornello evolved in both his instrumental works and his cantata sinfonias. Such currents are evident in thematic extensions and the structures they sometimes impose. Yet Bach did not seek to imitate the block structure of early concerto allegro movements: he did not strictly segregate soloists from ripienists with the same rigor as many Italians did. He also did not scaffold timbres by piling them up to increase volume. Bach's Brandenburgs and especially his orchestral suites usually employ an integral approach rotating from one soloist to the next.

Mood may also figure in a comparison between Bach and his models. Vivaldi's cheerful demeanor should have brought a sense of relief to the often gloomy world of Lutheran church music. Many commentators cite Bach's interest in injecting a sense of spiritual joy into his music, and it is fair to allow that this was spontaneous, but Vivaldi offered novel ways in which Bach might achieve balance in his repertory. Cesare Fertonani detects a clash between mood and message in Bach's quotation of "La Primavera" (op. 8, no. 1) in BWV 27, *Wir weiß, wie nahe mir mein Ende*.⁵⁸ A broader enquiry awaits investigation.

We know that Walther valued Bach's transcriptions highly, although the possible role that Prince Johann Ernst played is unknown. In a letter to Bokemeyer (September 1740) the composer reported his decision to sell his transcriptions, which he regarded as "his most cherished possession," because of financial need, and in his autobiographical notes prepared for Johann Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Eeben-Pforte*, Walther mentioned transcribing seventy-eight instrumental works for keyboard.⁵⁹ The

58. Cesare Fertonani, "Ancora su Vivaldi e Bach," in *"Fulgeat sol frontis decorae": Studi in onore di Michael Talbot* (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2016), 115–28.

59. In *Grundlage einer Eeben-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 389. Walther's list of works concludes: "von mir aufs Clavier applicirte Stücke, 78 an der Zahl."

number matches that linked to an earlier claim by the prince to possess a collection of seventy-eight keyboard transcriptions.⁶⁰ Were the collections one and the same? Walther could have transcribed some of these works for the prince prior to the latter's journey to Utrecht, but he could also have transcribed more after the prince's return.

Finally, we must note that keyboard transcriptions of Bach and Walther's era floated on a broad tide of adaptation and allusion that swelled periodically from their time to ours. In the case of Vivaldi's op. 3, for example, nos. 5, 7, 9, and 12 were transcribed for clavichord by an otherwise unknown Englishwoman, Anne Dawson.⁶¹ Perhaps working from Walsh reprints, she also adapted eight concertos from Vivaldi's op. 4 and pieces by other (mainly Italian) contemporaries.⁶² By comparison to both Bach's and Walther's efforts her textures are thinner and an impression of perpetual motion absent, but a thickening of the bass register (often with doubled octaves) is conspicuous. French transcriptions and arrangements of both concertos and sonatas by Vivaldi were imaginatively refashioned as everything from pastoral suites with optional hurdy-gurdy to *grands motets*. Quotations from Marcello's works were in subsequent generations threaded through sacred vocal music in England, counterpoint exercises in France, and grand opera in Italy but rarely, if ever, used in keyboard music. In contrast, Bach and Walther shared similar conceptualizations of their tasks, even when their works were elaborated differently. Neither composer trivialized nor aggrandized his models. They simply embedded them in idioms familiar to their immediate listeners.

60. Billeter, *Bachs Klavier- und Orgelmusik*, 377: "Johann Ernst habe 78 Concerti aufs Clavier applicirt" (no source given).

61. See GB-Mp, Rm710.5Cr71. The four Dawson transcriptions from Vivaldi's op. 3 are hyperlinked to <http://vivaldi-op3.ccarh.org>.

62. Her heavily ornamented renderings of op. 4, nos. 1 and 6 find rough parallels in BWV 980 and BWV 975.