

**Problematic Sources, Problematic Transmission:
An Outline of the Edition History of the Solo Cello Suites**

by J. S. Bach

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment
of requirements for the degree of
PhD in Music (Musicology)

Sydney Conservatorium of Music
The University of Sydney

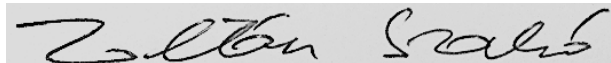
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Declaration

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Date: 15 July 2016

Acknowledgments

This thesis was instigated by four decades of continuous exploration, practising, learning, performing and teaching of the Bach Cello Suites; the last four years of researching and collecting the editions and writing the dissertation was an added bonus. These four years have never ceased to be pleasurable and astonishing in their discoveries about myself, about the Master: Johann Sebastian, about how to read fast and write carefully, about how to conduct academic research and about learning a new style of thinking. I would have stumbled constantly on this road, had I not received professional and personal help from so many people.

Librarians played a chief role in guiding me through the maze of confusing catalogues, books in storage and many intricate details of how to track down and obtain a source that may or may not even exist. Ludwig Sugiri and his colleagues at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music never grew tired of giving me time and attention or getting hold of yet another source, book or rare edition. Stacey Krim, curator of the Cello Music Collection and University Archives at The University of North Carolina in Greensboro, North Carolina, USA, was constantly ready to discuss problematic questions while I was researching that incredible collection over several weeks in 2013, and has provided me with a myriad of useful information ever since. During the same trip, I was privileged to spend a month at Baldwin Wallace University in Berea, Ohio, where Dr. Melvin Unger, the director of the famed Riemenschneider Bach Institute, gave me access not only to the marvellous manuscript and early edition collection of the Institute but also to his vast experience. On a research trip to Switzerland a year later, the chief librarian of the Geneva Conservatory of Music's library, Jacques Tchamkerten, made it possible for me to view and study the vast music collection of Dimitry Markevitch and offered his time and expertise generously. Although a cellist by trade, not a librarian, Alfred Richter is the owner of one of the largest collections of cello music in the world; he helped me with photocopies of rare and out of print editions, expert advice and enlightening conversations during my stay in Lugano on the same trip.

My early attempts to verbalise the results of my research at conferences and publications were patiently guided, and corrected with gentle kindness by some of the great Bach scholars of our

day. Professor Yo Tomita and Dr Ruth Tatlow, the *rectores magnifici* of the Bach Network UK engaged with my work and responded to my many email enquiries immediately over several years; they also welcomed me at their Dialogue Meeting in 2015 at Cambridge, where Chapter 5 of this thesis was presented to a scholarly audience for the first time. I am also indebted to Professor Christoph Wolff who showed interest towards my work (and listened to an early version of what became Chapter 3) in 2014 at a conference in his honour in Melbourne, Australia, and gave me his time and expertise freely afterwards.

Furthermore, this dissertation was continuously supported by numerous colleagues and friends at the University of Sydney. I would like to extend special thanks for inspiring conversations and help in other areas to Dr Anna Reid, who first encouraged me to embark on this project, to Dr Goetz Richter, who invited me to write my first academic paper (much of which has been used for Chapter 2) and to Stephen Yates for printing and binding innumerable editions of the Suites. Other musician friends who have spent countless hours reading and commenting on various chapters of this work and who have boosted my fading energies with strong coffees and the occasional glass of wine over stimulating discussions of the thesis include Dorit Herskovits, Dr Jane Hardie and Dr Stephen Mould.

This project would never have succeeded without my ideal team of supervisors. Dr David Larkin's extensive musicological knowledge, unfailingly solid judgement in matters of logic, content, style and syntax, coupled with his never-ceasing exuberance helped me through many hurdles of this work. I could not have wished for a better Chief Supervisor, than Dr Alan Maddox. The combination of his professional expertise and personal empathy assisted me on countless occasions. I was repeatedly humbled by his omnipresent attention to detail, his boundless interest in my thesis and his readiness to respond to my enquiries in lengthy personal discussions and in emails composed at all hours of the day.

Finally, I'm eternally grateful to my wife and children, Erzsi, Ádám, Anna and Beáta who readily accepted my greatly changed life and its challenges, were prepared to read and discuss drafts, listened to my endless ramblings about primary parameters and secondary sources, about lost manuscripts and newly found editions; boosted my faltering confidence when needed, took me for walks, made me meals and occasionally but firmly sent me to bed when it was too late – or even later. This thesis has taught me much about music and history, but perhaps even more about the care and value of many people around me. Thank you all!

Abstract

Over one hundred editions (excluding reprints) have been prepared of the Solo Cello Suites of J. S. Bach, and the reasons for this extraordinary number have never been properly investigated; nor have these editions ever been collated, catalogued and analysed. Due to the lack of a surviving autograph we have to rely on four highly problematic manuscript sources which have over time been interpreted in a myriad of ways. This may be in part the explanation for the multiplicity of editions spanning almost two centuries.

The first half of this thesis reviews the source history of the Suites. Not many cellists or scholars would argue with the view that Anna Magdalena Bach's copy is considered to be the most trustworthy of these manuscript copies, despite its numerous copying errors. This study, however, provides evidence proposing that the very first copy of the Suites, made by Johann Peter Kellner, might have been based on a revised autograph, which could be of a higher quality than the model of any of the other copies. This evidence suggests that a significant number of previously accepted primary parameters (pitches and rhythms) in the Suites have to be revisited, and the alternatives transmitted through Kellner's copy newly considered.

Changes to the musical text in various editions are often due to changing editorial methodologies. The diverse approaches can be best observed through a transparent categorisation system, which can place any edition into its appropriate place within the temporal and editorial spectrum. One of the most important categories, that of the critical editions, seems to be defined historically in loose and somewhat contradictory terms; in order to assist this investigation, a robust definition for a critical edition is provided.

The wide range of alternative readings in all areas of the musical text is apparent in most categories. To demonstrate this, the second half of the thesis analyses a number of detailed examples from the various categories. The surveyed examples suggest that repeating the efforts of the past with minor differences will not produce a single 'ideal' edition. In the concluding chapter I propose a completely different editorial approach: a digital edition, collating the existing sources and selected editions, in which the discrepancies are transparently overlaid, and easily identified, could offer an educated choice to future readers.

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List of Abbreviations

AmZ	Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
BWV	Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis
SBB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz
NBA	Neue Bach-Ausgabe
BGA	Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe
inst. (in Appendix B.)	instead of

Chapter 1

Introduction

The first copy I owned of Johann Sebastian Bach's Six Suites for solo cello, BWV 1007-1012, was the carefully marked if somewhat pedantic Becker edition, recommended and later heavily annotated in three different colours by my cello teacher.¹ During my formative teenage years, constantly hungry for new knowledge, I obtained two further editions: a laughably cheap Soviet edition, printed on a brittle and atrociously greyish paper, with Cyrillic letters and an excess of bowing markings and overstated dynamic instructions; and the Fournier edition, then newly published, with its striking blue cover.² Before long, I came to the realisation that I purchased these copies for a variety of non-musical reasons: I was told to use them, or they were cheap, or they had a colourful cover. My feelings of unease were further exacerbated by the recognition that the editions disagreed with each other in many and significant ways. Not only did the fingerings or bowings follow diverse philosophies but there were also a number of notes and rhythms which did not match when I compared one edition with another. It also puzzled me that while it is practically impossible to play unusual, 'wrong' notes in a Beethoven string quartet or Brahms sonata without being chided by the cognoscenti, variant readings may be accepted with impunity if one performs the Bach Cello Suites, and listeners invariably seem to be sympathetic and tolerant. As I obtained further copies of the Suites in the following years, the unresolved questions regarding the variant notes developed into a profound sense of dissatisfaction, and eventually into what became the problem for this examination: there is a significant

¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Becker, Hugo, "Sechs Suiten (Sonaten) für Violoncello Solo BWV 1007-1012," (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1890).

² J. S. Bach, ed: Fournier, Pierre, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (New York: International Music Co., 1972).

number of discrepancies in pitch and rhythm, as well as slurs and other articulation signs, between the large number of editions of the Cello Suites.

The editions

During the process of collecting and analysing editions of the Suites, I came to the realisation that while some of these editions cover the traditional approaches, such as producing critical or performing editions, others employed unusual and innovative ideas to entice the reader's attention. Some used distinctive colours in the musical text (Thomas-Mifune, 1997), or employed a visually striking, graphic concept to express 'poetic structure' (Bitsch, 1984); others included self-advertising openly by way of replacing critical notes of the editor with a biography of the same (Bailey, 2010), or else, verbose commentary longer than the actual musical text (von Tobel, 2004).

As I practiced, performed and taught the cycle continuously, and purchased and examined more and more editions, I became particularly interested in the divergent pitches and rhythms, which are more perceptible for the listener than the differences in articulation, slurring, fingerings and so on.³ I was also encouraged by the apparent lacunae in scholarly interest in this area. Trends and directions have not been established; the stemma of the editions was waiting to be drawn up. While there had been sporadic efforts to do this work, these were invariably part of a larger endeavour of building substantial assemblies of cello music.⁴

My initial objective was to assemble as many editions of the Suites as possible and to analyse their complicated inter-relationships and lines of filiation. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the editions of the Bach Suites have never been collected in one place, nor have they been systematically catalogued, juxtaposed or assessed. The more I progressed

³ Nevertheless, the problems of articulation and slurs will still come up occasionally in the discussion of certain editions.

⁴ The two largest collections of cello music and other related material that I have encountered owe their existence to two professional cellists, Dimitri Markevitch and Alfred Richter. Markevitch claimed to re-discover two of the manuscript copies of the Suits (1962) and subsequently produced an edition (1964). His substantial collection of cello music is held by the library of Conservatoire de Musique in Geneva. Alfred Richter is an avid collector of cello music and related literature; he lives in Lugano, Switzerland.

in these areas, the more obvious it became that what initially seemed like a major goal – useful as it was – merely provided a map, or possibly a framework, helpful for further research. The act of collating editions yielded some fascinating results and became part of this thesis, but it also provoked additional enquiries pertinent to the understanding of their history and the relevance of their future; evidently, with such a range of editions, there is room for a vast scope of extremely divergent views. Through the in-depth survey of these editions, the following questions evolved:

- Why have there been such an extraordinary number of editions of the Bach Suites?
- What is the reason for so many discrepancies in pitch and rhythm in particular and how can these discrepancies be resolved?
- After so many attempts to achieve excellence, what does the future hold for edition making of the Bach Suites; can there be any possible benefit in producing new versions of the score even today?

Despite the ever-increasing availability of online sources, it has been necessary to make several trips to personally check, scan and copy hard-to-find editions long since out of publication. Shortly after researching the Markevitch and Richter collections (see footnote 4), I gained invaluable access to sources in two specialist libraries in the United States: the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, a well-known research centre with an impressive number of early and rarely available editions at the Baldwin Wallace University in Berea, Ohio; and the Special Collections Division of Jackson Library at The University of North Carolina in Greensboro, which houses an enormous cello music collection, donated by various great cellists of the last century. A number of librarians from Berlin, Budapest and Washington have also provided me with advice, numerous scans and photocopies.

Working my way through this steadily increasing assortment, it was a rewarding experience to see certain editorial trends take shape; at the same time, their multifaceted relationships created new challenges. These trends were easier to understand once I established a system of categorisation and sorted the editions according to their editorial approaches and dominant features.

As I examined previously unrecognised or, at least, undocumented discrepancies between the editions, it became apparent that in many of them, a considerable amount of artistic

licence had been applied as far as the treatment of the musical text was concerned. It was also obvious that the disagreements between various editions are not only due to different editorial goals and standards, but also to diverse aesthetic values and priorities, which had to be taken into account during the investigation of the editions.

Nevertheless, it was clear from the beginning that due to the lack of a surviving autograph, the edition history of the Suites cannot be surveyed without the re-examination of the original sources, and this unexpectedly produced one of the major findings of the thesis. My research revealed evidence to suggest that Johann Peter Kellner's manuscript copy (or Source B) – largely dismissed in the past as being unreliable – was based on a later version of the autograph than the one(s) available to the copyists of the other sources. Kellner's copy thus appears to mirror a revised, more developed authorial source. Notwithstanding that, the overwhelming majority of editions have been founded directly or indirectly on Anna Magdalena Bach's manuscript (Source A, copied later than Kellner's). I therefore argue that practically all editors have been working from a false premise.

This false premise creates tensions and even contradictions between editorial policy and practice in the editions of the Suites on several levels.⁵ First of all, nearly all editions that are based on Anna Magdalena's copy still take over suggestions from Kellner, usually without acknowledging them. Secondly, the editorial interpretation of the ambiguous pitches, rhythms and slurs of Anna Magdalena's copy results in a broad range of variants; the absence of an autograph combined with her copying errors seems to have been used as a licence for later editors to express an opinion freely on the creation of an 'ideal' edition. It also has to be noted that there is no established consensus regarding what a critical edition of the Bach Suites is and what it should accomplish. As a result, the existing critical editions set different objectives and frequently fail to be consistent in achieving them. Finally, even the most rigorous critical edition can only be as dependable as its source. If a consistent critical edition of the Suites had been created, based only on a single source – whether Source A or any of the other eighteenth-century manuscript copies – it

⁵ For the purposes of this dissertation, an 'edition of the Bach Cello Suites' refers to a newly prepared publication in its first edition only.

would still remain only a critical edition of that defective copy of the Suites; therefore, its practical value would be diminished considerably.

Overview of the thesis

Over one hundred editions of the same compositions in less than two centuries is an extraordinary number, which can only partly be explained by the fact that no autograph of the Suites survives in the composer's hand – not at all unusual in the history of eighteenth-century European art music. We know frustratingly little about the circumstances of their genesis. It is not known what happened to the authorial script, exactly how and when it was written, or when the Suites were performed for the first time. Bach may well have been inspired by the excellent technical abilities of local musicians, for example, the cellist, Carl Bernhard Lienicke, and/or the gamba player, Christian Ferdinand Abel of the Cöthen Court Capelle, but there is no surviving evidence proving that either of them knew or played the Suites – even if it seems likely that at least one of them did.⁶

We know, of course, a lot more about the life and work of Bach, and of another protagonist of this dissertation, his second wife, Anna Magdalena.⁷ There is also a wealth of literature analysing the manuscripts of both husband and wife.⁸ While these books clarify and refine many details, biographical particulars provide only a backdrop to this thesis, and for the lack of an autograph of the Cello Suites, manuscripts studies of Bach's hand writing are also of limited relevance. Hans-Joachim Schulze's chapter on Anna Magdalena's copy of the string solos is still germane to the study of her hand writing and formed, for example, the basis of the relevant research of Kirsten Beißwenger, whose edition of the Suites is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193.

⁷ Just a few samples from the literature in English and German: Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*; Peter Williams, *J.S. Bach: a life in music*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007; Maria Hübner, *Anna Magdalena Bach: ein Leben in Dokumenten und Bildern*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005 and Johann Sebastian Bach, *Bach-Dokumente. Herausgegeben vom Bach-Archiv Leipzig*. Kassel, New York: Barenreiter, 1963.

⁸ For example, Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Peters, 1984, 95-101; Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek*. Trossingen: Hohner, 1958.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation analyses the known circumstances of the primary sources, the four surviving eighteenth-century manuscript copies and the first edition. Their examination demonstrates that although they all transmit the same set of movements in the same set of Suites (notwithstanding a few omissions in various sources of short sections and one movement), they are strikingly different in many details. Some but not all of these discrepancies can be explained as copying errors. The main – and in the past often overlooked – problem is that there is no way of establishing exactly what these sources are copies of.⁹ A twofold problem thus arises: on the one hand, the level of accuracy with which the four scribes transmitted their unknown models, and which, despite the absence of an autograph, can still be surmised from internal evidence, has to be investigated; on the other hand, the authorship/origin and the chronology of their models has to be examined and the question of hypothesised filiation between the lost sources has to be clarified. The accuracy of the scribes and the quality of the sources that they have used impacts on the quality and dependability of their copies far more than previously thought. Although several attempts have been made to list the discrepancies between the four manuscript primary sources, none of these have been comprehensive, and with the single exception of Beißwenger's edition,¹⁰ all of them have mixed the various elements of the musical text (pitches/rhythms and articulations/bowings) freely. In order to keep the argument as clear and manageable as possible, this dissertation focuses mostly on the differences of the primary parameters (pitches and rhythms). There are several reasons for this: in the first place, these alternatives are far more noticeable for the listener than various secondary parameters (for example, divergent slurs, articulations or dynamics).¹¹ Equally importantly, this area has been consistently underrated in academic writings, whereas a lot of valuable work has been done regarding the articulation markings in the Suites in various scholarly articles and books.¹² Finally, the analysis of alternative pitches

⁹ Hans Eppstein's hypothesis and my own proposed possible reconstruction of what may have served as the model of the individual copies is detailed in Chapter 3.

¹⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000).

¹¹ The terms of primary and secondary parameters are used in this thesis to distinguish between notes/pitches and slurs/dynamics/articulations as outlined in J. S. Bach, ed: Voss, Egon & Ginzel, Reiner, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (München: G. Henle, 2000), Preface, VII.

¹² To name but a few: John Butt, *Bach interpretation: articulation marks in primary sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Clive Brown, *Classical and romantic performing practice, 1750-1900* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); David Ledbetter,

and rhythms leads to suggestive results, whereas the sources diverge so much in articulation that it's effectively impossible to draw any meaningful conclusions about what the authorial articulation may have been.

A detailed comparison of the four manuscript copies demonstrates in excess of six hundred discrepancies in the primary parameters only, and this number increases even further if the first edition – usually considered as an indispensable source – of the Suites is also taken into account.¹³ As will be shown, each and every manuscript copy may have used a different authorial script as its exemplar; alternatively, each could be a second-generation copy of what Bach had written, based on a lost intervening copy (or copies). To put it differently, it is theoretically possible that all of the primary sources were copied from different autograph versions of the score – or that none of them were. Bach may well have revised the work himself – as was often his habit – and/or allowed copies to be made from different autograph versions. Extending this line of argument *ad absurdum*, even Anna Magdalena, his second wife and regular copyist, might have worked from 1727 onwards¹⁴ from a copy made by someone else during the approximately seven years since the creation of the Suites. In short, the possibility of any of the available primary sources being one or more generations removed from the original, lost autograph(s) has to be considered. The absence of an autograph coupled with serious problems of dependability in the surviving sources is one of the greatest hurdles any editor of the Suites has to face. Although under such circumstances the four manuscript copies could be called the primary sources of the Suites, due to the fact that they are all copies at least one removed from the lost autograph but also, because of the numerous though different errors to be found in every one of them, henceforth they will be referred to as the *original sources* in this thesis.

Chapter 3 argues that there must have been several versions of the autograph, and probably not of equal authority. This chapter also addresses the issue of possible exemplars, proposes a different hypothesis from the one published in the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (or NBA) about the stemmatic filiation of the sources and provides evidence

Unaccompanied Bach: performing the solo works (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Allen Winold, *Bach's cello suites: analyses and explorations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

¹³ J. S. Bach, ed: Norblin, Louis-Pierre "Six Sonates ou Etudes pour le Violoncelle Solo," (Paris: Janet et Cotelie, 1824).

¹⁴ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 77.

regarding their level of reliability.¹⁵ A thorough examination and comparison of the two copies made in Bach's lifetime (by Anna Magdalena Bach and Johann Peter Kellner) has revealed significant new information about the hitherto undervalued importance of Kellner's copy and its probable model.

The assessment of the original sources is followed by an overview of editorial methodologies and the editions themselves in Chapter 4. The problems of taxonomy are investigated using existing systems of categorisation by Georg Feder, James Grier and others. As will be shown, the editions of the Cello Suites can be divided into two large groups, depending on their principal motivation: a substantial number of editions have as their declared primary purpose an accurate reproduction of the text of the original sources (thus essentially focused on the past), while the chief motivation of others is to provide practical solutions for forthcoming performances (therefore, concentrating on the future), even if this involves intentional modification of the original text. The boundary lines between these groups are not rigid, and cannot always be clearly discerned. Performing editions could not be created without original sources and are (perhaps several steps removed) ultimately founded on them; conversely, critical editions, their scholarly intent notwithstanding, still offer music for future performances. Despite these inevitable overlaps, the approach of these groups is fundamentally different. The groups can be further divided into a number of categories. Chapters 5 and 6 will look at editions based directly on original sources, using representative case studies. Chapter 5 begins with a survey of some of the commonly used definitions of a critical edition. This will be followed by the examination of three case studies (Wenzinger, 1950; Beißwenger, 2000; Leisinger, 2000) bearing characteristic marks for what are usually considered to be critical editions. Chapter 6 will introduce some further categories of editions that are based directly on original sources; first facsimile editions, followed by shorter analyses of characteristic editions which are replicas of an original source (Stogorsky, 1957; Bylsma, 1988; Kurtz,

¹⁵ Hans Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2 (Bärenreiter, 1990).

1984; Grümmer 1945) and unmarked editions (Kurth, 1921; Vandersall, 1970, Anastasio, 1998; and Ko, 2000).¹⁶

The next two chapters introduce categories of the editions focusing on questions of interpretation for future performance, again using some distinctive examples as case studies. In Chapter 7 the interpretative editions will be analysed with their most influential sub-categories, the pedagogical editions (Dotzauer, 1826; and Sturzenegger, 1950/1957) and the performing editions (Grützmacher's infamous *Konzert Fassung* from 1866 and du Pré, 1981). The review of individual editions will finish in Chapter 8 with a summary of the analytical editions (exemplified by Alexanian 1929 edition) and a general overview of the transcriptions and arrangements. Finally, Chapter 9 presents the conclusions of the thesis and offers a possible direction for the creation of a new kind of edition that might facilitate the understanding of the Suites and their sources easier in the future.

The current state of research

Most of the relevant scholarly literature is discussed as it arises throughout the thesis; nonetheless, an overview of some of the key sources which provide a context for this study as a whole should be useful here. Although particular editions of the Suites and the editorial directions they represent have not received much scholarly attention in the past, several specific aspects of the cycle have been the subject of animated and revealing discourse. The recent works of David Ledbetter and Allen Winold mentioned earlier both examine the Suites from an analytical point of view.¹⁷ Eric Soblin's essay was aimed more for a general audience with useful but not overly technical information about the Suites and their background,¹⁸ while Martin W. B. Jarvis' PhD dissertation and subsequent book published in 2011 divided readers, and scholars perhaps even more, with its controversial

¹⁶ Often and erroneously called 'unedited', these publications offer only the primary parameters without any articulation or dynamic markings.

¹⁷ Ledbetter, *Unaccompanied Bach: performing the solo works*; Winold, *Bach's cello suites: analyses and explorations*.

¹⁸ Eric Soblin, *The cello suites: J.S. Bach, Pablo Casals, and the search for a Baroque masterpiece* (Toronto: Anansi, 2010).

and ultimately unproved, as well as unprovable proposition as to the authorship of the Bach Suites.¹⁹ A firmly worded rebuttal to his hypothesis²⁰ was penned and published only after a 2015 BBC documentary aired internationally created significant publicity.

I received somewhat unexpected benefits from the conclusions of two scholarly works dealing exclusively with performance issues not of the Cello Suites but of the unaccompanied Violin Sonatas and Partitas (BWV 1001-1006). Though Joel Lester's book is centred around one single composition (the Sonata in G minor, BWV 1001), its opening chapters clarify a number of vitally important questions of how performance practice of our days could and indeed should interpret various markings of early eighteenth-century manuscripts.²¹ Similarly, the practical suggestions of the highly regarded early music specialist and violinist, Jaap Schröder, based on his many years of experience reinforce and expand on these ideas, offer guidance that can be taken almost verbatim by any inquiring cellists working on the Suites.²²

Baroque performance practice and specifically how Bach should be played was approached from a completely different angle in the uncompromising, quirky study of Anner Bylsma. His book inspired many, although it was criticised for its overly individual approach. As it also includes an edition of the first three Suites, it will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.²³

A number of books offered specific assistance during the preparation for individual chapters of this thesis. Hans Eppstein prepared the edition of the Suites for the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* and he also authored the Critical Report for the same volume.²⁴ His learned summary of the genealogy of the Suites was written a quarter of a century ago but remains an indispensable, though in some details debatable source (more details on that issue are provided in Chapter 3). In that same chapter as well as in the chapter discussing the critical editions, I repeatedly turned to the conclusions of the critical notes of the four scholarly

¹⁹ Martin W.B. Jarvis, *Written by Mrs Bach*, (Pymble, N.S.W.: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011).

²⁰ Ruth Tatlow, "A Missed Opportunity: Reflections on *Written by Mrs Bach*," *Understanding Bach* <http://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/understanding-bach/ub10/> (2015). Accessed on 22 Nov 2015.

²¹ Joel Lester, *Bach's works for solo violin: style, structure, performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

²² Jaap Schröder, *Bach's solo violin works: a performer's guide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

²³ Anner Bylsma, *Bach, the fencing master: reading aloud from the first three cello suites*, trans. Gé Bartman (Amsterdam; Basel: Bylsma's Fencing Mail, 1998).

²⁴ Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*.

editions (Bärenreiter, Henle, Wiener Urtext and Breitkopf) from the commemorative year of 2000.²⁵

Chapter 3 deals largely with the intriguing copying work of Johann Peter Kellner. Although the events of his life are not directly relevant to this thesis, his printed autobiography reveals much about his musical activities.²⁶ Russel Stinson's scholarship on Kellner is, on the other hand, pertinent to the deductions of this Chapter Kellner's name has occasionally been referred to in various volumes of the NBA,²⁷ nonetheless, his contribution to the dissemination of Bach's works was largely if not completely overlooked until Stinson drew attention to it in his writings.²⁸ Although this book focuses mainly on Kellner's copies of Bach's organ and keyboard compositions, a substantial chapter is devoted to his copy of the unaccompanied Violin Sonatas and Partitas and includes a brief discussion of Kellner's fascinating copy of the Cello Suites as well. Stinson's examination of Kellner's contribution to the dissemination of Bach's works was inspiring and challenging at the same time; ultimately, though, the results of my research led me to different conclusions.

A number of questions regarding critical editions are of paramount importance to this thesis, therefore James Grier's detailed account of this subject was an indispensable tool.²⁹ Chapter 4, the introduction to the survey of the editions and the following chapter (discussing critical editions) were written with constant consultation of his monograph. *'The critical editing of music'* examines the fundamental problems of textual criticism and the benefits of the common error principle, borrowed from classical philology, with an amazing range of musical illustrations from the twelfth-century Aquitanian *uersaria* to Verdi's *Don Carlo*. According to the author's argument, the technique of stemmatic filiation

²⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer, Bettina; Woodfull-Harris, Douglas, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2000); J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012."; J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 2000). J. S. Bach, ed: Voss & Ginzl, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012."

²⁶ „Lebensläuffe verschiedener lebenden Tonkünstler... Hr. Joh. Peter Kellners Cantoris zu Graefenrode, Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen,“ in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*. vol. I/5, Berlin 1755, 439–445.

²⁷ In particular, NBA IV/5–6 and 7 by Dietrich Kilian.

²⁸ Russell Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); Russell Stinson, "The Bach Manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his Circle" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1985); Russell Stinson, "J.P. Kellner's Copy of Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo," *Early Music* 13, no. 2 (1985).

²⁹ James Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

and its usefulness in musical editing is an indispensable part of the critical appraisal in general – and this is particularly true in the case of the editions of the Suites. Coincidentally, Grier even cites relevant examples from the Suites and – as an unexpected bonus – my own response to Epstein's work was reinforced by his comments on the same subject.

Georg Feder's seminal monograph on the philology of music devotes a whole chapter to the problems of taxonomy in editions and to what he calls 'editorial techniques'.³⁰ Even if certain aspects of his categorisation may have been revised during the last three decades (not least by Grier), his exhaustively defined network of categories still offers an excellent starting point for a consideration of the complex problems of classification.³¹

The 'stematic study of sources' also featured in the title of the doctoral thesis by Bradley James Knobel, concentrating on the early history of the editions of the Suites.³² Knobel's dissertation was of great significance for my work as it is one of the very few sources dealing in meticulous detail with the nineteenth-century editions, leading up to Alfred Dörffel's landmark publication as part of the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (or BGA) in 1879. I also learnt a lot from and was humbled by the scrupulous research in three doctoral dissertations by Anna Scholz, Laura Elisabeth Kramer and Ingrid Fuchs.³³

As the interpretation of 'old music' by 'modern performers' has inspired so many editions, I have used several books concerned with performance practice. Robert Donington's exhaustive treatise, *The interpretation of early music*, has been a staple source of information for a long time, yet many of his observations are just as valid today as they were four decades ago.³⁴ The extensive knowledge in the books of Mary Cyr, Judy Tarling and Valerie Walden offered invaluable information about a whole range of technicalities

³⁰ Georg Feder, *Musikphilologie : eine Einführung in die musikalische Textkritik, Hermeneutik und Editionstechnik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987).

³¹ The literature on editing as it is relevant to the Suites, as well as the problems of classification will be detailed further in Chapter 4.

³² Bradley James Knobel, "Bach Cello Suites with Piano Accompaniment and Nineteenth-Century Bach Discovery: A Stematic Study of Sources" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2006).

³³ Anna Scholz, "J. S. Bach: Six Suites for Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012), Performance, Articulation" (PhD diss., Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2008), in Hungarian; Laura Elisabeth Kramer, "Articulation in Johann Sebastian Bach's Six Suites for Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012): History, analysis and performance" (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1998); Ingrid Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1981).

³⁴ Robert Donington, *The interpretation of early music* (London: Faber, 1974).

regarding the performance of baroque music.³⁵ Finally, I found the background, development and musical representation of various baroque dances most informative in *Dance and the music of J.S. Bach*, a book co-authored by Natalie Jenne and Meredith Little.³⁶

The publication history of the Suites started with the first edition (1824, Paris, Janet et Cotell)³⁷ and the never-ceasing, almost naive enthusiasm to create the ideal edition and to solve the problems that any number of previous eors were unable to solve has lost none of its buoyancy to this day. So much so, that the second decade of our century alone has so far seen at least five new editions, curiously all originating in different countries of the world.

It is therefore understandable that the creation of yet another edition was not my objective. Naturally, I do have a personal preference; a version, finely tuned to my musical taste and matured over many years of experience. However, my annotations are lightly pencilled rather than printed and are modified frequently, whenever I have the time and occasion to revisit them. According to Heraclitus, one cannot step twice into the same river, and the phrasing, the rhetorical directions of the notes coupled with the physical directions of the bowings, the additional embellishments, trills, mordents, appoggiaturas, the characters and tempi of the dance movements and other details will always change, as they should, even if the basic interpretation of each movement may remain largely unchanged. Notating the free-flowing artistic freedom and inspiration of performance into detailed technical and articulation markings may offer a snapshot of a famous musician's musical concept at a particular time, yet it did not appeal to all great artists. For example, Pablo Casals refused to be identified with one exact set of instructions, arguing that his performance would never be the same twice. For lack of a surviving autograph, even those editions which are based on original sources can only have limited success at arriving at a 'definitive' text. Many musicians would agree with the argument of Casals; therefore, at

³⁵ Mary Cyr, *Performing baroque music*, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1992); Judy Tarling, *Baroque string playing for ingenious learners* (St. Albans, Hertfordshire United Kingdom: Corda Music, 2000); Valerie. Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: A History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

³⁶ Natalie Jenne and Meredith Little, *Dance and the music of J.S. Bach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

³⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Norblin, "Six Sonates ou Etudes pour le Violoncelle Solo".

the conclusion of this thesis a new format will be suggested in which editions may harvest the benefit of both editorial directions: while using the most authentic sources that are available to us, they can also offer unexceptionable performing choices to the reader. These choices can make use of the suggestions taken from previous editions or express the reader's individual creativity.

Chapter 2

The surviving primary sources

The edition history of J. S. Bach's Solo Cello Suites stretches over two centuries, following a path with frequent and unpredictable turns. Parts of this path – some individual editions, and even certain geographical or chronological areas – have been mapped out, but never its entirety. The gaps between the already assessed sections are often considerable and without more complete data it is difficult to separate genuine trends from false tracks, to distinguish between the influential and the irrelevant.

The edition history can be strongly and directly influenced by the quality and availability of its sources, whether primary or secondary. In a historical investigation, one of the major challenges is to identify and locate valuable sources from the distant past. Through online resources, a lot of essential data regarding printed music up until the nineteenth century has been made available, and specifically the research of primary sources and other documents in Bach scholarship have been made far easier through websites like Leipzig's Bach Digital¹ or the Bach Bibliography database developed by Yo Tomita, which aims 'to make available to scholars free access to the most up-to-date and most comprehensive bibliography for Bach studies'.² Specific details can still be hard to acquire or appear to be missing.³ According to a recent article by Tomita:

...Bach scholars have been blessed with an online bibliography database since 1997 and a database of manuscript sources since 2002. However, there was no equivalent

¹ Bach Digital, <http://bachdigital.uni-leipzig.de/content/index.xed>, accessed on 15 March 2016.

² Bach Bibliography, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/~tomita/bachbib/>, accessed on 2 April 2016.

³ For example, see the discussion of identifying the date of publication of Friedrich Grützmacher's second edition of the Suites in Chapter 7.

resource for printed music, apart from RISM, the records of which stop with the year 1850.⁴

It is still intriguing that an analysis of the edition history of such iconic works as Bach's Cello Suites has been largely overlooked by researchers. There is a wealth of information to be drawn purely from examination and juxtaposition of various editions. Not unlike the genetic qualities in a family, certain traits of particular editions are passed on (musical) generation after generation, while others lose their shine gradually over time or fade into oblivion. The artistic and technical suggestions of some highly regarded editions have noticeably influenced performers, teachers and their students, and even subsequent editors across several borders and over many decades. Some editions became commonly known and were immensely popular. Others, though not necessarily inferior, did not generate much interest and were forgotten soon enough. Artistic fashion – which could be used as an alias for performance practice – associated broadly with a certain era or geographical place affected several publications, whilst others carried the strong personal and musical mark of their editor.⁵ Important choices have been made regarding the individual concept and the extent to which it was influenced by previously seen tempo markings or metronome numbers, questionable notes or rhythms, dynamics, ways of articulation, technical and even personal comments. These choices reflect not only the editor's taste but also the artistic approaches and traditions of the time.

As the reception history⁶ of the editions is inherently linked to (and to a certain degree derived from) the available principal sources, any comprehensive investigation would have to start with a thorough assessment of these sources. This is particularly true and unavoidable with the complicated source history of the Cello Suites. Their genesis (unlike the history of the editions) is well-documented and has been covered in scholarly books and articles.⁷ Editorial

⁴ Yo Tomita, "Veiled Aspects of Bach Reception in the long Nineteenth Century Exposed through a Macro-examination of Printed Music: with Particular Focus on The Well-Tempered Clavier.," *Understanding Bach* Vol. 7 (2012). http://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/ub7/UB7_Tomita.pdf, accessed on 18 March 2015.

⁵ There is also useful information to be gleaned from each one of these editions; even their physical attributes (paper type, fonts, typesetting and so on) disclose much of the era and environment in which they were created.

⁶ Reception history or *Rezeptionsgeschichte* is defined broadly as "the study of artworks as reflected in the response of critics, audiences and artists", *The Harvard dictionary of music*, ed. Don Michael Randel (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 706.

⁷ For example, in great detail: Hans Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2 (Bärenreiter, 1990).

prefaces and recording sleeve notes also often include elucidating commentaries of varying length and depth. Nonetheless, it is necessary to revisit here what is known of the primary sources, since their particular circumstances are a main reason for the existence of so many and varied editions.⁸

The lineage, as is so often the case with Bach's vast compositional legacy, does not start with an authorial script. Instead, the score of the Suites has been transmitted to us by way of four handwritten copies; two made during Bach's lifetime and two from the second half of the eighteenth century. It follows therefore that, without exception, all editions of the last nearly two hundred years have drawn directly or indirectly from one or more of these manuscripts. The reliance of transmission on hand-made copies is not altogether surprising. Before the technique of printing, important documents of any kind could only be preserved and circulated by the customary method of hand-made copies, produced in mostly in the *scriptoria* of monasteries and royal courts until the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg (1398-1468) in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁹ Even thereafter, for economic reasons, as much as for technological ones, vocal and instrumental music was 'prepared for sale in this way until the beginning of the nineteenth century.'¹⁰ Few composers were lucky enough in the eighteenth century to have any of their work printed, as publishing was expensive and more the exception than the norm.¹¹ Copying, therefore, was the widely accepted way of disseminating one's compositions; moreover, it also formed an integral part in music education. At a time when printed tutors were scarce and hard to obtain, studious musicians often had no other option than to write out the works they wanted to learn. As later many of these pupils became teachers themselves, their copies were copied further, creating generations of copies.

This situation created a need for professional copyists. Bach had one at his disposal on full salary at the Cöthen Court Capelle,¹² and from the Leipzig period of his life, his constant efforts

⁸ Full details of the five primary sources are listed in *Sources of Score Examples Used in the Figures* on page 260.

⁹ Music printing began somewhat later, in the early sixteenth century.

¹⁰ Donald William Krummel and Stanley Sadie, *Music printing and publishing* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 3.

¹¹ Only a handful of Bach's compositions were published in his lifetime, including the four volumes of *Clavier-Übung*, *Das Musikalische Opfer*, and *Die Kunst der Fuge*.

¹² Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193. However, apart from the salaried copyists, there were others copying for Bach in Cöthen, see Yoshitake

to oversee the accuracy of their work are well documented.¹³ The copyists were most often employed to make fair copies from hard-to-read drafts and to write out the parts from a full score, generally working against a tight deadline, such as making sure that the cantata or the mass was ready to be performed on the following Sunday. In the NBA a whole volume is devoted to the list of 259 known copyists of Bach's work.¹⁴

When professional copyists were not at hand, the services of friends, members of the family, students and devoted colleagues were called upon.¹⁵ Their work was usually unpaid and done out of love, respect or devotion; yet in many instances, were it not for the work of these, often unnamed amateur copyists, many important Bach compositions would have been lost for ever. In the case of the Cello Suites, we only know the names of the two scribes who made the earliest surviving copies (Johann Peter Kellner and Anna Magdalena Bach), and that they were not professional copyists; far less is known about the later pair.

The genesis of the Suites

Writing for unaccompanied instruments (other than keyboard) creates a particular challenge for the composer. No matter how striking a melody line may be, it needs harmonic support, if only by implication. For strings, unlike wind or brass instruments, it is possible, in fact quite common to play double stops or even full four-note chords in harmonic support of the melody. The addition of vertical harmonies to a horizontal melody (when playing on an essentially single-voice instrument) requires sophisticated skills from the performer.

Composers experimented with writing for unaccompanied violin or cello relatively rarely before Bach's time.¹⁶ The best-known examples included works for solo violin by Heinrich Biber, Johann Paul von Westhoff and others. Even smaller is the repertoire for solo cello

Kobayashi and Kirsten Beisswenger. *Die Kopisten Johann Sebastian Bachs: Katalog und Dokumentation*. (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2007), 11-26.

¹³ John Butt, *Bach interpretation: articulation marks in primary sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 78-90.

¹⁴ Yoshitake Kobayashi and Kirsten Beisswenger, *Die Kopisten Johann Sebastian Bachs: Katalog und Dokumentation*, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Serie IX, Addenda, Bd. 3 (New York: Bärenreiter, 2007).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ The viol or viola da gamba on the other hand, had a remarkable repertoire written by composers such as Johann Schenck, Georg Philipp Telemann, Antoine Forqueray, Marin Marais and others.

before the eighteenth century, with rare examples such as the respective series of *Ricercari* by Gianbattista degli Antonii (c.1640-after 1696) and Domenico Gabrielli (1651 or 1659-1690). Considering the lack of significant models, both Bach cycles, the Violin Sonatas and Partitas and the Cello Suites, represent an enormous leap in the development of this repertoire; an achievement that is unlikely to be matched, let alone surpassed in the centuries to come.

Whether Bach composed the Violin Solos or the Cello Suites first is a moot point. Ironically, convincing and thought-provoking theories can be found arguing both sides, without any of the opinions corroborated by convincing evidence. According to the critical report to the NBA volume of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas,

In the question of priority, precedence must be given to the [cello] suites for stylistic reasons, since they do not stretch and burst the bonds of their form as do the violin sonatas through their paired combination with the partitas.¹⁷

Conversely, one could also argue that Bach may have started with repertoire for the more popular instrument, one that he also played, before exploring uncharted waters and composing for solo cello. Either way, unless new information can be unearthed, the debate cannot be decided for certain; however, the obviously close relationship between the two cycles, their structure, innovative musical language and artistic significance appears to be clear. They are identified together in Bach's Obituary (*Musicalische Bibliothek*, 1750, published 1754),¹⁸ and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach also mentioned them together in a letter addressed to Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818), Bach's first biographer:

He [J. S. Bach] had a complete grasp of the possibilities of every member of the violin family. This is abundantly evident in his solos for violin and cello without bass.¹⁹

By the early eighteenth century the cello, as a solo instrument, gained some popularity in Italy, as evidenced by concertos and accompanied sonatas by Marcello, Vivaldi and others. In the German territories and in France, however, it was seldom considered suitable for anything

¹⁷J. S. Bach, ed: Günter Hausswald, Rudolf Gerber, "Drei Sonaten und drei Partiten für Violine allein, BWV 1001-1006," (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 1958), 62. – cited from J. S. Bach, ed: Voss, Egon & Ginzler, Reiner, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (München: G. Henle, 2000), VII.

¹⁸ Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, *The new Bach reader: a life of Johann Sebastian Bach in letters and documents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 297.

¹⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer, Bettina; Woodfull-Harris, Douglas, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2000), Text volume, 6.

other than to provide the bass line in orchestral or chamber music pieces or to play continuo. According to Hubert Le Blanc's witty pamphlet, published in 1740, the cello at that time attempted to

... emerge from the still shapeless mass of the primitive orchestras, and began to develop, so to speak, its own personality, and free itself from the humble conditions under which it would suffer for many decades of the eighteenth century: that of assistant to the harpsichord and servant of the solo instrumentalist or singer.²⁰

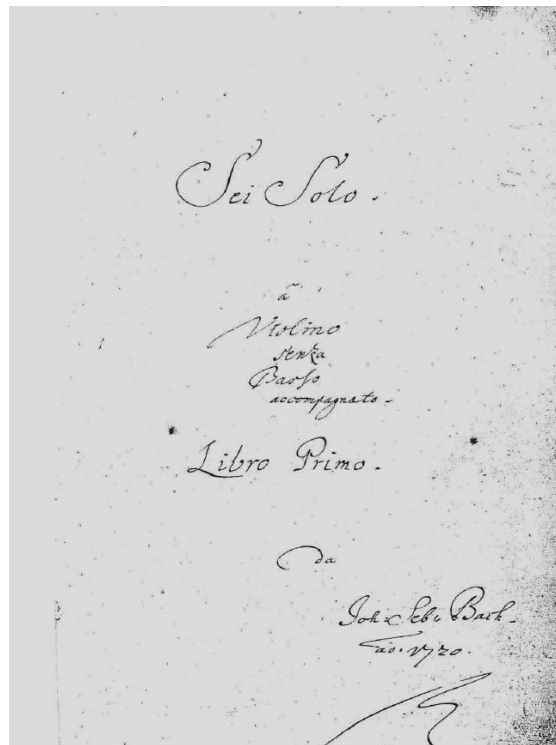
The cello thus 'began to develop its own personality' but was still not generally thought of, let alone acknowledged, as a solo instrument. In the early part of the eighteenth century, a certain amount of artistic courage was needed to write solo compositions for it. In contrast to Bach's Violin Solos, all the Suites follow the same pattern: a quasi-improvisational Prélude followed by a preordained set of dance movements. In their final order (which may not have been the order of composition), the Suites become increasingly longer and musically more complicated. They also pose progressively higher technical demands on the player.

In the more experimental Violin Solos (written for a generally recognised 'virtuoso' instrument), Italian style four movement *sonate da chiesa* alternate with dance-based partitas and Bach here ventures further into the realm of technical and musical challenges on the violin than perhaps any composer before. The autograph of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas, one of the most elegantly penned manuscripts Bach ever wrote, is kept in the Berlin State Library (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, or *SBB-PK*, *Signatur: Mus. ms. Bach P 967*). The title page reveals the year (1720) in which the composer compiled the cycle and made the fair copy, though some or all of the compositional process may have taken place earlier. Remarkably, it not only states '*Sei Solo*' first, but also emphasises the unusual nature of these works by adding '*senza Basso accompagnato*' – presumably thought to be a necessary qualification in the 'age of the thoroughbass'.²¹

²⁰ Hubert Le Blanc, *Défense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncelle* (Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1975). – cited from the sleeve notes of the CD *Ricercate sopra il Violoncello*, <http://tactus.it/products-page/primobarocco/tc630401-giovanni-battista-degli-antonii-ricercate-sopra-il-violoncello-alessandro-palmeri/>, accessed on 11 January 2014.

²¹ Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Interpreting Bach's Well-tempered clavier: a performer's discourse of method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 89.

Figure 2.1: Facsimile of the title page of Bach's autograph of BWV 1001-1006²²



From the reference to 'Libro Primo' on the title page we can assume the existence or at the very least the plan of a 'Libro Secondo'. Since the composition of the two cycles occupied Bach around the same time, this is usually understood to be a reference to the other set, the Cello Suites,²³ although, based on proportional parallelisms, Ruth Tatlow has suggested in her recent book (*Bach's numbers: compositional proportion and significance*) that the 'Libro Secondo' may have been the set of Six unaccompanied Violin Sonatas, BWV 1014-1019.²⁴ In any case, while the exact time of composition of the Cello Suites cannot be established beyond doubt, it seems probable that it was not later than 1720.²⁵ Indeed, some movements or even whole works may have been written even earlier, before the Cöthen years (1717-1723).²⁶

²² https://www.bach-digital.de/rsc/viewer/BachDigitalSource_derivate_00005334/db_bachp0967_page001r.jpg

²³ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer, Bettina; Woodfull-Harris, Douglas, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," Text volume, 9.

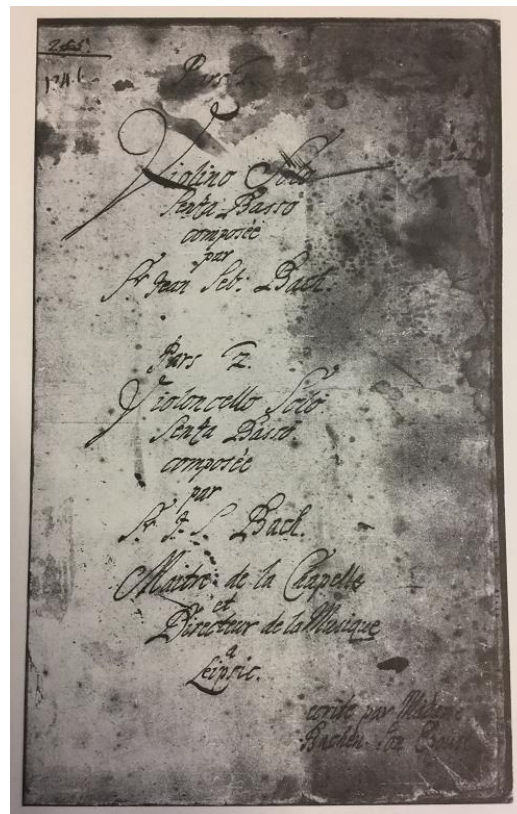
²⁴ Ruth Tatlow, *Bach's numbers: compositional proportion and significance* (Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 2015), 140.

²⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer; Woodfull-Harris, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," Text Volume, 9.

²⁶ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000), 76.

According to the evidence of watermarks and other graphological studies,²⁷ it was sometime between 1727 and 1731 when Anna Magdalena, Bach's second wife (1701-1760), prepared her own copy of both the violin and the cello solos (SBB-PK, *Signatur: Mus. ms. Bach P 268 & 269*)²⁸, probably for the collection of Georg Heinrich Ludwig Schwanberg (1696-1774). The title page of this manuscript was added by Schwanberg, a pupil of Bach, and it refers to both cycles included in the same volume.²⁹

Figure 2.2 The title page of Anna Magdalena's copy of the string solos, in G. H. L. Schwanberg's hand writing³⁰



Pars 1. | Violino Solo | Senza Basso / Composée | par | Sr. Jean Seb: Bach. |

Pars 2. | Violoncello Solo. | Senza Basso. | composée | par | Sr. J. S. Bach. | Maître de la Chapelle | et | Directeur de la Musique | a | Leipsic. | écrite par Madame | Bach. Son Epouse.

²⁷ Eppstein, Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht, 12

²⁸ Anna Magdalena's copy of the two set of solo works got separated later, hence the different catalogue numbers.

²⁹ Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*. (Leipzig u.a.: Peters, 1984), 95-101

³⁰ https://www.bach-digital.de/rsc/viewer/BachDigitalSource_derivate_00004004/db_bachp0268_ante003.jpg.

This page with the somewhat long-winded description later became the cover page for only the Violin Sonatas and Partitas; however, it does transmit some interesting information which may be significant for the history of the Cello Suites. Apart from the liberal use of words from four different languages (Italian, Latin, French and, just for the spelling the name of Leipzig, old English),³¹ it suggests a certain level of intimacy between Schwanberg and the Bach couple. It also delivers one of the decisive arguments against a recent proposition, that Anna Magdalena could have written the Cello Suites.³² Schwanberg, who visited Leipzig in 1727 and knew Anna Magdalena, made the distinction between '*composée*' and '*écrite*' crystal clear.

Anna Magdalena Wilcke [Wülcken], a protagonist among the contributors to the transmission of the Suites, came from a musical family. Both her father and maternal grandfather were professional musicians and she was educated to become a singer. Exactly when she met Johann Sebastian for the first time is not known, but it is certainly possible that Bach may have heard her sing years before she gained employment in Cöthen. She was barely twenty years of age when they got married on December 3, 1721 (almost a year and a half after Maria Barbara, Johann Sebastian's first wife had passed away). From June of the same year she was employed as 'princely court singer', the first female full-time member of the Cöthen Court. It is apparent that she was held in high esteem, as her salary was the second highest (after Bach's income) in the Capelle.³³ She performed regularly with her husband in Cöthen and elsewhere. Marriage to the *Capellmeister* may have increased her professional work but it also meant that she immediately became an extremely busy housewife. She had to look after the Bach household and that included the duties of being a stepmother to Bach's four young children from his first marriage. She also gave birth to ten children between 1723 and 1733 (and subsequently to three more). As a consequence – and this fact is seldom mentioned or appreciated in the biographies – for the overwhelming majority of those years she was pregnant. For the few months when she was not, she had to nurse newborn babies. To make

³¹ <http://www.worldlibrary.org/article/whebn0000530711/leipsic>, accessed on 19 Apr 2016.

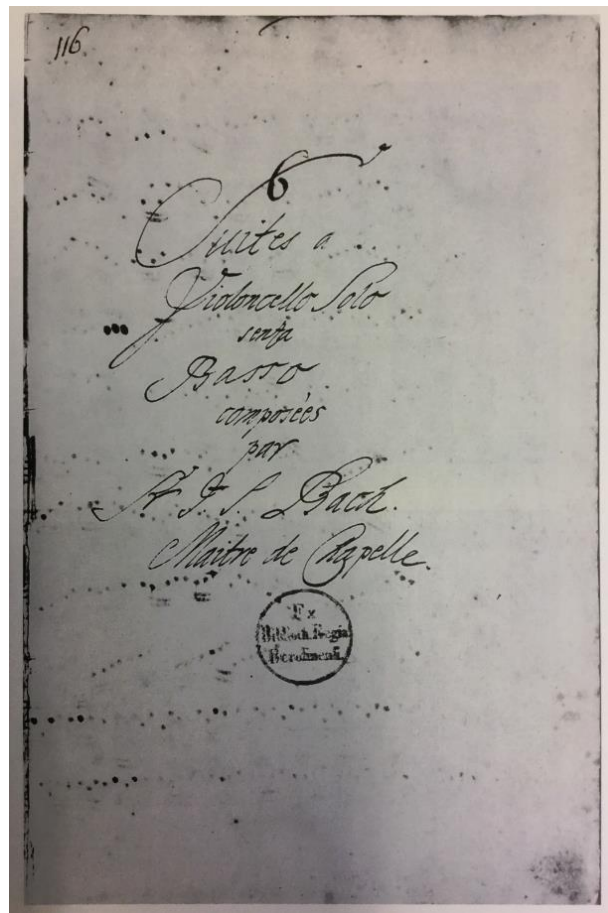
³² As outlined in Martin Jarvis's book: Martin W.B. Jarvis, *Written by Mrs Bach*, (Pymble, N.S.W.: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011).

³³ Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, 205.

this extremely challenging period of her life even harder, seven of her children died during those eleven years.

These were the same years when she copied many of her husband's compositions: large sections of the first volume of The Well-Tempered Clavier (BWV 846-869), the six Trio Sonatas for organ (BWV 525–530), a number of cantatas as well as the string solos.³⁴ Her manuscript of the Cello Suites (among the original sources this is referred to as Source A) was bound together with a new title page in Schwanberg's handwriting, once he had separated the Violin Solos from the Cello Suites.³⁵

Figure 2.3: The front page of Anna Magdalena Bach's copy of the Cello Suites, in the hand of Schwanberg³⁶



This manuscript subsequently was passed through several hands: first it was obtained by Forkel, later it went to the library of Georg Poelchau (1773-1836), an avid music collector,

³⁴ All extant copies in Anna Magdalena's hand of her husband's compositions are listed in Kobayashi and Beisswenger, *Die Kopisten Johann Sebastian Bachs: Katalog und Dokumentation*, 20-25.

³⁵ Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, 95-101

³⁶ Bach, J. S., ed: Schwemer; Woodfull-Harris. "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," Source A, title page.

where the cover page was stamped ('Ex Bibliotheca Poelchaviana'). From Poelchau's estate, the manuscript was acquired by the Berlin Royal Library (*Königliche Bibliothek*, now *SBB-PK*) in 1841 and stayed there undiscovered until Alfred Dörffel (1821-1905), one of the editors of the first Bach Complete Edition (*Bach-Gesellschaft Gesamtausgabe* or BGA, 1879), recognised its significance and rescued it from obscurity.

However, Anna Magdalena Bach was *not* the first person to copy the Suites. Johann Peter Kellner (1705-1772), an organist and admirer of Bach, copied a significant body of his works (of which a total of forty-six manuscripts survive),³⁷ including the Violin Sonatas and Partitas and the Cello Suites. Kellner, barely twenty years of age at the time, secured a position for himself as the organist and cantor in Frankenhain, some 160 km north-east of Leipzig.³⁸ The precise nature of his relationship to Bach remains unclear. It is very likely that the two knew each other³⁹ and it would make sense if Kellner, the young, eager cantor, had asked Bach for organ or counterpoint lessons.⁴⁰ Neither of these suppositions is proven though; in fact, even the evidence suggesting that they actually met is only circumstantial. According to a note about Bach in Kellner's autobiography, written in 1754: 'I longed for the acquaintance of this excellent man. And I was, in fact, fortunate enough to enjoy the same.'⁴¹ In any case, without some level of trust and personal relationship existing between him and Bach, it seems highly unlikely that Kellner could have had knowledge of, and become the first known person to be given access to a copy of a number of substantial Bach works, including the Cello Suites – which may never have even been performed at the time. It is also significant that there is at least one Bach composition, the Prelude and Fugue in E minor BWV 548, that survived in a manuscript jointly copied by the composer and Kellner.⁴²

³⁷ Russell Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 23-24.

³⁸ Although other events of his life are not directly relevant to this thesis, his printed autobiography reveals much about his musical activities. See „Lebensläuffe verschiedener lebenden Tonkünstler... Hr. Joh. Peter Kellners Cantoris zu Graefenrode, Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen,“ in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*. vol. I/5, (Berlin, 1755), 439–445.

³⁹ In fact, Egon Voss, one of the editors of the Suites, stated that in a recent article. Voss, Egon "Fast die Quadratur des Kreises – Zur Edition der Suiten für Violoncello solo von Johann Sebastian Bach BWV 1007–1012." In *Schrift - Text - Edition, Hans Walter Gabler zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed: Christiane Henkes, Walter Hettche, Gabriele Radecke and Elke Senne (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2003), 305.

⁴⁰ Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history*, 3.

⁴¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 14.

⁴² Malcolm Boyd, and John Butt. *J.S. Bach. Oxford composer companions*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 253.

Assuming they were acquainted, Kellner is likely to have visited Bach in Leipzig, possibly more than once. Whatever the case, Kellner did have access to a number of Bach works in sources that are no longer available to us.⁴³ Over the years, he became one of the most important copyists of Bach's works, especially of those for organ and solo instruments. As he was an accomplished organist, it would be reasonable to suggest that he was keen to obtain a copy of as many of the admired Bach organ works as possible. Through the sheer process of writing the works out, he was able to understand the elements of Bach's compositional technique; once he had the copies, he was able to practise and perform those works and also to use them as teaching material. Indeed, he and the circle of his students (Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Johannes Ringk and others) became significant contributors to the eighteenth-century *Bach-Überlieferung* first in Thuringia and later, as they gradually moved further afield, as far as Berlin and Hamburg.⁴⁴

It makes perfect sense that a young organist would make copies of his famous idol's organ works for his own use and enjoyment, but it is intriguing that Kellner also spent a substantial amount of time and energy writing out solo pieces for violin or cello, compositions that, to our knowledge, were not publicly known at the time. He may have made copies of the string solos out of sheer admiration for Bach or for his own reference; however, it is equally possible that his intention was to perform some of these pieces on keyboard at a later stage.⁴⁵ After all, transcriptions were a frequent and viable way of popularising one's own and others' compositions. Bach himself prepared keyboard arrangements, for example, of the A minor (BWV 1003) and the C major (BWV 1005) violin Solo Sonatas⁴⁶ and used the Preludio of the E major Partita (BWV 1006) in two different cantatas.⁴⁷ Further evidence of the existence of

⁴³ Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history*, 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-12.

⁴⁵ If a transcription was Kellner's ultimate purpose, it could explain why he didn't copy the C minor Cello Suite in its original version with scordatura (according to Bach's instructions the A string has to be tuned down a whole tone to G throughout the Suite) but transcribed it – and often not too well – as it would sound, making it playable on clavier. It would also provide a plausible explanation to the absence of the whole Sarabande and most of the Gigue of the same Suite. Those movements have the least chords in the whole cycle – in fact, the Sarabande is one of only three movements in the six Suites with none whatsoever. Finally, this suggestion is further supported by the fact that on occasion Kellner extended final chords of movements by an extra note, thus rendering them unplayable on the cello, while at the same time, making them sound richer on keyboard.

⁴⁶ BWV 1003 became BWV 964, the opening movement of BWV 1005 became BWV 968.

⁴⁷ *Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir*, BWV 29 and *Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge*, BWV 120a.

these transcriptions is provided by Johann Friedrich Agricola, a Bach student, composer and later co-author of the Obituary:

Their author often played them [the Sonatas and Partitas] himself on the Clavichord and added so much harmony as he deemed necessary.⁴⁸

Kellner's copy of the Cello Suites (known as Source B) and his incomplete copy of the Violin Solos (both to be discussed in detail in Chapter 3) are kept in the same miscellany (now housed in *SBB-PK, Signatur: Mus. ms. Bach P 804*). According to handwriting studies, both sets stem from the same period.⁴⁹ The first page of his copy of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas bears the following inscription: '*Scrips. / Johann Peter Kellner / Anno 1726. / Frankenhayn*', providing authentic evidence about when and where his work was completed.⁵⁰ The title page of the Cello Suites was added later with the wording: '*Sechs Suonaten / Pour le Viola de Basso. / par Jean Sebastian Bach: // pos. / Johann Peter Kellner*'.⁵¹ After his death in 1772, the copy stayed with his family for some years before being acquired for the private collection of Ferdinand August Roitzsch (1805-1889) in Leipzig.⁵² Its existence and location had to be public knowledge, otherwise some of the early editors, like Dotzauer or Dörffel would not have been able to use and refer to it (see Chapter 7). It was not until 1889 that Kellner's extensive collection of handwritten copies was given to the *Königliche Bibliothek* in Berlin.

Considerably less is known about the provenance of the last two copies. They were made after the composer's death, apparently from a manuscript – now lost - that probably served also as the basis of the first printed edition in 1824.⁵³ Both of these copies were prepared by scribes whose names are not known to us.⁵⁴ The first of these was part of the inheritance of J. C. Westphal, explaining why this copy (Source C) is often referred to as the 'Westphal copy'. After his death, this manuscript with the title: '*Suiten und Preluden / für das Violoncello / von*

⁴⁸ Leipzig Bach-Archiv, *Bach-Dokumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), no. 808.

⁴⁹ Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history*, 23.

⁵⁰ Russel Stinson, "J.P. Kellner's Copy of Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo." *Early Music* 13, no. 2 (1985): 199.

⁵¹ Kellner was the first to call the Suites as 'Sonatas' or 'Suonaten', a name that was kept by editors well into the twentieth century. J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 77.

⁵² Anna Scholz, "J. S. Bach: Six Suites for Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012), Performance, Articulation" (PhD diss, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2008), 32.

⁵³ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 78.

⁵⁴ Source D will be discussed later in this chapter.

/ *Joh. Seb. Bach*’ was auctioned off in 1830,⁵⁵ and was acquired for the library of Count Otto Karl Friedrich von Voß-Buch, a keen collector of musical manuscripts.⁵⁶

The Westphal case

Here we should take a brief detour to clarify some of the widespread confusion, hitherto only partly acknowledged, regarding the mysterious J. C. Westphal in Bach scholarship. Admittedly, Westphal’s significance is not on par with that of Anna Magdalena or Johann Peter Kellner. He was not a copyist but had collected Bach manuscripts and played a pivotal role in the transmission of one important manuscript. It is therefore rather odd to be confronted with so much incorrect information about him. Part of the reason is understandable: ‘Westphal’ was a relatively common family name in the eighteenth-nineteenth century in the German speaking parts of Europe, and at least three people with that name had strong connections with the Bach family.

The confusion about members of the Westphal family and their first or second names was probably initiated in Gerber’s widely read music lexicon (1814).⁵⁷ Therein two separate entries inform the reader about two Johann Christoph Westphals, father and son, one a music dealer and publisher, the other an organist. Gerber’s information, based on his established authority, was taken over without questioning by a number of later sources. One of them was François-Joseph Fétis’s (1784–1871) *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (published between 1835–1844), where the author again gave separate headings to two Jean-Christophe (French for Johann Christoph) Westphals, father and son.⁵⁸ To make things worse, he also devoted a few lines to another person in the family, a (first-)nameless second son of Westphal senior,

⁵⁵ Ulrich Leisinger disputes, without offering an alternative, the commonly accepted suggestion that Source C would have come from the Westphal collection. J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 2000), 5.

⁵⁶ Bettina Faulstich, *Die Musikaliensammlung der Familie von Voss: ein Beitrag zur Berliner Musikgeschichte um 1800*. (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter), 1997.

⁵⁷ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler: welches nachrichten von dem Leben und Werken musikalischer Schriftsteller, berühmter Componisten, Sänger ... enthält*, (Zug, Switzerland Inter Documentation Co, 1970), <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00008094/images/>, 558-60. Accessed on 20 May 2014.

⁵⁸ François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Belgium 1835).

who – according to Fétis – was an organist in Mecklenburg and an ‘*admirateur passionné*’ of Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach. Robert Eitner replicated the same information in his *Quellenlexicon* (1900 to 1904), still without a first name, though he proposed that the Mecklenburg organist was probably one Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal.⁵⁹ That much is indeed true, though J. J. H. Westphal (1756-1825) was no relation to the Hamburg Westphals and the years given for his birth and death in Fétis’s article are also wrong.⁶⁰ (Fétis should have known better since around 1838 he successfully acquired J. J. H. Westphal’s collection for his own library, thus becoming the proud owner of a significant selection of over thirty original works of Phillip Emanuel Bach.)⁶¹

The confusion or correct understanding regarding Westphal’s identity can be traced through the use of his name in later editions. The first cellist and editor of the Bach Suites to mention Westphal’s name was Robert Hausmann. The Preface to his edition (1898) lists his sources with Teutonic precision and includes, correctly, ‘the copy of the Hamburg organist, Westphal’. This information was accessible to Hausmann as the Westphal copy (*SBB-PK, Signatur: Mus. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 289, Faszikel 10*) was obtained by the Berlin Royal Library in 1851 (according to a note on the inside of the title page),⁶² and was therefore easily available to anyone who cared to look. Thus Hausmann became the first known editor to make use of Source C.⁶³

In the twentieth century, Dimitry Markevitch claimed the rediscovery of the Westphal copy, although he was unable to identify Westphal’s Christian name(s) in his first edition (1964).⁶⁴ In a different Preface published as part of a later reprint of the same edition, Markevitch

⁵⁹ Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellenlexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1900). Vol. 10, 245.

⁶⁰ Miriam Terry, "C. P. E. Bach and J. J. H. Westphal--A Clarification," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22, no. 1 (1969): 106-115.

⁶¹ Ulrich Leisinger, "The Collection of Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal: An Indispensable Source for a History of Protestant Church Music in 18th-Century Germany," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 50 (1996): 167-68.

⁶² J. S. Bach, ed: Eppstein, Hans, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo: BWV 1007-1012," in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2 (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter BA 5068, 1988, 15.

⁶³ As mentioned before, the final member of the *Königliche Bibliothek*’s triumvirate of the Suites’ manuscripts, the Kellner copy had joined its brethren in 1889 in the collection of the library.

⁶⁴ J. S. Bach, ed: Markevitch, Dimitry (1st edition), "Six Suites for Solo Cello, BWV 1007-1012," (Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010, USA: Presser, 1964).

mixed up the Hamburg Westphal with Johann Jacob Heinrich who lived in Schwerin.⁶⁵ The same mistake also surfaced in a 2004 PhD dissertation and elsewhere.⁶⁶

Westphal junior's real second name was reinstated only after Miriam Terry, researching for a 1969 article,⁶⁷ personally checked the Westphal family record in the Hamburg *Staatsarchiv* as well as the archives in Schwerin. (In the middle of the Cold War, Schwerin was an East German provincial town and therefore probably not an easy research field.) Her article revealed that the Hamburg music dealer and impresario Johann Christoph Westphal (1727-1799) had one son and three daughters. He established his firm (Westphal & Co.) in 1770, offering a wide spectrum of works, amongst them an extensive collection of compositions and other manuscripts from father and son, Johann Sebastian and Philipp Emanuel Bach in prominent place. Westphal's interest in accumulating a large collection is demonstrated by the firm's 1782 catalogue which contained no less than 287 pages.⁶⁸ A number of contemporary sources praised his activities.⁶⁹ Indeed, the dealership was so highly regarded that its assistance was sought on several occasions to provide the British royal family with manuscripts of J. S. Bach⁷⁰.

Johann Christoph's son, called Johann *Christian*⁷¹ (1773-1829) – the third manuscript copy, Source C refers to this Westphal – became organist of the St Nikolai church in Hamburg in 1803. After his father passed away, Johann Christian inherited his collection but decided not to continue his business. After his own death, the manuscript copy of the Cello Suites was offered for sale at an auction of his estate in 1830: *1550 Bach, J. S. 6 Suites p. Violoncello solo. Geschr.*⁷² Whether Westphal *junior* acquired the precious manuscript from his father or obtained it on his own, we do not know. The auction catalogue only refers to 'Herrn Joh.

⁶⁵ J.S. Bach, ed: Markevitch, Dimitry (3rd edition), "Six suites for solo cello, BWV 1007-1012," (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 19010, USA: Presser, 1985).

⁶⁶ Jungmook Lim, "A performance guide to J. S. Bach's Suite No. 5 for violoncello solo: The interpretation of the ornaments, rhythm, bowing and phrasing, and polyphonic texture" (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2004).

⁶⁷ Miriam Terry, "C. P. E. Bach and J. J. H. Westphal, A Clarification," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22, no. 1 (1969).

⁶⁸ Hans Lenneberg, *The dissemination of music: studies in the history of music publishing*, vol. 14. (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 29.

⁶⁹ For example, Peter Williams, "Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, tercentenary essays," (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 71.

⁷⁰ Yo Tomita, "The Dawn of the English Bach Awakening Manifested in the Sources of the "48"," in *The English Bach awakening: knowledge of J.S. Bach and his music in England, 1750-1830*, ed. Michael Kassler (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004), 110.

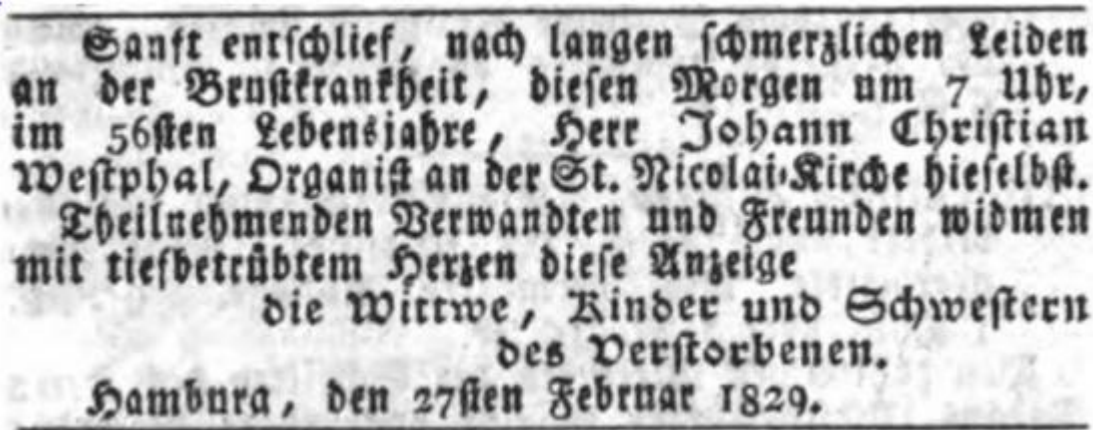
⁷¹ Terry, "C. P. E. Bach and J. J. H. Westphal--A Clarification," 111.

⁷² Eppstein, Hans, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2.* (Bärenreiter, 1990), 15.

Christ. Westphal,⁷³ which could refer to either *Christian* or *Christoph*. This, however, should not be the source of misunderstanding, given the proximity between the auction and Johann Christian's death.⁷⁴

The year of his death has been given unanimously as 1828, even by some of the most reputable sources,⁷⁵ until Klaus Rettinghaus's recent article revealed his death notice published on 28 February 1829 in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*. According to this evidence, Westphal died on the previous day, on 27 February – but a year later than previously thought.⁷⁶

Figure 2.4: Westphal's death notice in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*⁷⁷



⁷³ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 15.

⁷⁴ I'd like to thank Tanja Kovačević for her generous assistance in obtaining and sharing some of the data regarding the Westphal mysteries.

⁷⁵ For example in the commentary to Breitkopf Urtext's new series of Bach's Complete Organ Works, volume 1 (https://www.breitkopf.com/assets/pdf/15004_EB8801_PDF_EB8801_commentary.pdf) or in a recent article published in *Bach Perspectives, Volume 10: Bach and the Organ*, edited by Matthew Dirst (University of Illinois Press, 2016), 47.

⁷⁶ "Sanft entschlief, nach langen schmerzlichen Leiden an der Brustkrankheit, diesen Morgen um 7 Uhr, im 56sten Lebensjahr, Herr Johann Christian Westphal, Organist an der St. Nicolai Kirche hieselbst. Theilnehmended Verwandten und Freuden widmen mit tiefbetrübten Herzen viele Anzeige die Witwe, Kinder and Schwestern des Verstorbenes. Hamburg, den 29sten Februar 1829." (This morning at 7 am, after a longlasting and painful illness of the chest, Herr Johann Christian Westphal, the organist of the St Nikolai Church passed away. His family and friends offer their condolences with this notice to his widow, children and sisters. Hamburg, 17 February 1829.)

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101066872688;view=1up;seq=356>. I am grateful for Christine Blanken and Klaus Rettinghaus for sharing this information with me. Klaus Rettinghaus, "Biographische Notizen zu verschiedenen Bach-Schreibern des 19. Jahrhunderts" in *Bach-Jahrbuch*. Vol. 99, (Leipzig: Neue Bachgesellschaft Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2013), 381-385.

⁷⁷ http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10485694_00005.html.

The confusion of the Hamburg and Schwerin Westphals continued well into the twentieth century. The 1968 printing of the largest German music encyclopaedia, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*⁷⁸ uncritically repeats Eitner's by then nearly seventy-year-old information and names Johann Jacob Heinrich with incorrect years of birth and death (1760-1835) as Johann Christoph Westphal's son.⁷⁹ Similarly, on page 661 in the revised and expanded 1990 edition of the *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis*,⁸⁰ the provenance of the first known source of BWV 898 is attributed to Johann Jacob Heinrich instead of Johann Christian Westphal, while in the same year, Hans Eppstein's *Kritischer Bericht* for the New Bach Edition (NBA Serie VI, Band 2) also credited Johann *Christoph* Westphal for the acquisition of Source C.⁸¹

The comedy of errors reached its climax in 2000 when the Bärenreiter edition granted Johann Christian his father's forename and details, naming him as Johann Christoph Westphal, the "Hamburg organist, printer and music dealer" who lived "from 1727 to 1799".⁸² (This would again assume that an auction of his possessions would have taken place 31 years after his death.) David Starkweather, one of the recent editors of the Suites, borrowed the phrase verbatim a few years later, thus blending the persona of the 'printer and music dealer' father with that of his organist son.⁸³ Another cellist published programme notes online for his own recording in 2010 which included a similar sentence.⁸⁴

Needless to say, Johann Christian Westphal's name is correctly shown in other places, including in the NBA volume IV/5–6 dating from 1979, and later, in the Göttinger Bach-Katalog and in Bach Digital (both online).⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the hitherto accepted information regarding

⁷⁸ *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 21 vols Kassel; Basel [u.a.]: Bärenreiter, 1968, vol. XIV, cols. 527-528

⁷⁹ In the 2007 new edition of MGG, Peter Wollny categorically states that: "...verwandschaftliche Beziehungen zu dem Hamburger Musikalienhandler J.Ch.W bestehen offenbar nicht." *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Kassel; Basel [u.a.]: Bärenreiter, 2007.

⁸⁰ Or BWV, *Schmieder's Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach*.

⁸¹ Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*, 11.

⁸² J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer; Woodfull-Harris, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," 5.

⁸³ David Starkweather, "Examining Pitch Conflicts in the Bach Cello Suites online: <http://www.allthingsstrings.com>," (2011). Accessed on 20 January 2014.

⁸⁴ Ovidiu Marinescu, "J. S Bach - Six Suites for Cello Solo, a complete recording by Ovidiu Marinescu online: <http://www.kickstarter.com>," (2010). Accessed on 20 January 2014.

⁸⁵ Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie IV/5-6. Bärenreiter, 1979; [http://gwdu64.gwdg.de/pls/bach/qu\\$quellen.QueryViewByKey?P_QSL=dbp0289:10&Z_CHK=61094](http://gwdu64.gwdg.de/pls/bach/qu$quellen.QueryViewByKey?P_QSL=dbp0289:10&Z_CHK=61094); and http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001281.

Source C is ripe for review. Not only did a recent check of the contemporary death notice reveal a different year of death for Westphal than previously thought, but the Hamburg and the Schwerin organists have been confused in various publications, and quite recently – on grounds of the common name and city of residence, a pardonable mistake perhaps – Westphal senior and Westphal junior have been conflated into one person by a traditionally reliable publisher, before this incorrect information was uncritically taken over by other sources. Notice has to be taken that despite the worldwide strength of Bach scholarship, significant areas of confusion are still waiting to be resolved.

The Westphal and Traeg copies

Returning to the provenance of the Westphal copy (Source C), this transcription is the only one prepared by not one but two copyists. The first of them was an experienced Bach-scribe,⁸⁶ a member of Johann Philipp Kirnberger's circle (Kirnberger had in turn, been a member of Kellner's circle), and was active in Berlin. Several of his (or her) other copies are to be found in the Amalienbibliothek in Berlin and although for a long time this scribe was identified by scholars as 'Anonymous 402', recent research has revealed slightly more: he went by the name of Schober.⁸⁷ For reasons unknown, he abruptly stopped his work halfway through the Bourrée I of the C major Suite, at bar 12. The change in handwriting is clearly noticeable here, marking the place where the second, completely unknown copyist took over. Ulrich Leisinger concludes from the way the key signatures are written that this second scribe was more likely a member of the Hamburg sphere.⁸⁸ If this hypothesis is correct, both the exemplar manuscript and the unfinished copy must have been transported almost 300 km, from Leipzig to the Hamburg area (possibly via Berlin).

The Westphal copy is by far the easiest to read of the four and has the fewest clear errors as well. Throughout the C minor Suite, the scordatura caused many an error in the other

⁸⁶ Scribe: a person who writes a manuscript

http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic453618.files/Central/editions/art_of_editing.html, accessed on 25 January 2014.

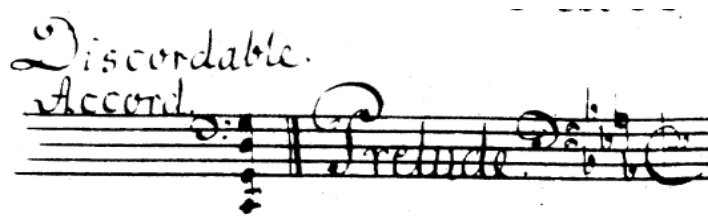
⁸⁷ https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001281, accessed 28 September 2016.

⁸⁸ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, Commentary," (Wien: Wiener Urtext Edition, 2000), 5.

manuscripts and later editions. In Source C (Westphal), the copyist used a resourceful way to indicate that the highest open string is a sounding G (and not a G^b), but the note above it is still an A^b, whereas Anna Magdalena's copy in the same place uses a confusing marking with a total of five flats – reading this literally would mean G^b being played throughout instead of the G open string.⁸⁹

Figure 2.5: The marking of the key signature in the C minor Suite, *Prélude* in Sources C and A⁹⁰

Source C:



Source A:



Following the logic of the key signatures in Source C, the written E (sounding D) on the top string should also have a natural sign marked at the beginning of each line; evidently both copyists took that reading for granted.

We have even less information about the final copy, or Source D. This is the only manuscript not held on German territory. It was offered for sale as part of a larger lot in 1799 by a Viennese art dealer by the name of Johann Traeg (hence the common reference to it as the 'Traeg copy') and it is now held in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna ('Stammhandschrift' A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5007). The 'Anonymous' nomenclature notwithstanding, this copyist is now known in Bach scholarship as *Kopist Traeg-Bach 34*.⁹¹ The watermarks on

⁸⁹ Kellner's copy does not use the scordatura, source D on the other hand just uses the ordinary three flat signature, appropriate for C minor.

⁹⁰ Source information for all the primary sources is given in 'Sources of Score Examples Used in the Figures' on page 260.

⁹¹ Christine Blanken and Marko Motnik. *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich: Katalog*. Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung. Vol. 10, (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2011), 363-364.

the paper used in Source D suggest a northern or central German origin, adding further evidence to the hypothesis that Sources C and D share a common model.⁹² The title page of the Traeg copy reads: '6. Suite. / a / Violoncello Solo / Del Sigl: Joh: Bach'. According to a possible but unproven proposition, the manuscript might have been taken to Vienna with other Bach manuscripts by the diplomat, librarian and amateur musician Gottfried van Swieten (1733-1803), who introduced Mozart to many compositions of Bach.⁹³

The research of Kirsten Beißwenger published in Breitkopf's critical edition in 2000 suggests that this copy 'had been obviously commissioned by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's widow. By that we may limit its place and date of origin to Hamburg after 1788 (C. P. E. Bach's death).'⁹⁴ She does, however, not specify the source of her information, making it impossible to verify this conclusion. Ulrich Leisinger also associates this script with the oldest Bach son, albeit in a different way. According to him it is 'highly likely' that the manuscript copy once in C. P. E. Bach's possession and mentioned in the inventory of his estate represents an authentic text and that this script was used as the exemplar for Sources C and D and the first edition (Source E).⁹⁵ The distinction is subtle but significant: Beißwenger firmly believes Source D to have been commissioned and owned by Philipp Emanuel, whereas Leisinger proposes that the score of the Suites listed in Philipp Emanuel's *Nachlass* was an autograph that served as *the model* for Sources C, D and E.⁹⁶

A common model, as suggested by Leisinger's hypothesis, could explain the remarkable similarities between the musical text of C and D, even if they were made independently of each other. These two copies share considerably more ornaments and appoggiaturas than sources A and B, suggesting that they were copied from an already embellished model. Such a richly ornate model may reflect changing tastes evident toward the end of Bach's life and later, fulfilling the post-baroque stylistic requirements of *Empfindsamkeit*. Whether these embellishments were the result of an authorial revision or written into the common model by another person (for example, a performer of the Suites), we will probably never know. At

⁹² Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*, 16.

⁹³ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," Commentary, 13.

⁹⁴ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 78.

⁹⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012: Commentary," 14-15.

⁹⁶ *Verzeichnis des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/ihis/loc.natlib.ihis.200212334/default.html>.

any rate, Beißwenger suggested that Source D was based ‘most probably, even almost certainly [on] the lost manuscript owned by C. P. E. Bach’, which ‘therefore must have been directly or indirectly also the source of C.’⁹⁷ While this is theoretically possible, it is unsubstantiated in Beißwenger’s Afterword.⁹⁸

As the authors of the Text Volume to Bärenreiter’s 2000 edition point out, Sources C and D are less closely related to the putative autograph than the contemporaneous copies: ‘Because of their temporal distance from A and B, not to mention our ignorance as to the scribes of C and D, these ... manuscripts must be considered inferior to the others as sources of Bach’s original text.’⁹⁹ While the readings of Sources C and D are most interesting from the point of view of historical performance practice, their significantly richer ornamentation suggests editorial interference, and thus, they are less important for information about the exact contents of their source.

The first edition

The final item on the list of primary sources is not a manuscript copy but a score that in many cases *can* decide intricate questions of authenticity: the first edition. In the case of the Bach Suites, however, this edition cannot be called upon as a true print representation of the lost manuscript exemplar. It is an irony of music history that the Bach Cello Suites were first published in France and not in Germany. The timing is equally remarkable: barely 11 years after one of the bloodiest combats ever between French and German troops at the Battle of the Nations, times were not ripe for cordial Franco-German relationships. And yet, while Napoleon may have lost on the battle-field at Leipzig, a small Parisian firm, Janet et Cotelle, won a major coup in 1824 by printing the Cello Suites for the first time – even if the editor may not have been aware of the significance of his enterprise.

⁹⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 78.

⁹⁸ My conclusions regarding the possible models of the four manuscripts are detailed in Chapter 3.

⁹⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer; Woodfull-Harris, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," Text volume, 7.

Figure 2.6: The title page of the Janet & Cotelle edition (1824)¹⁰⁰

The editorial work on the '*Sonates ou Etudes*' was handed most probably to Louis-Pierre Norblin (1781-1854), a cello professor of some repute at the Conservatoire in Paris who had taught Offenbach and played chamber music with the sixteen-year-old Félix Mendelssohn. During his travels in Germany, Norblin came across a manuscript of the Bach Suites and, recognising its artistic significance before anyone in the German speaking countries, actively contributed to its publication in 1824. Although Norblin is not credited anywhere with his editorial work, his name is the only one mentioned in the Preface, the '*Avis des Editeurs*', according to which:

... [Bach] has composed the Etudes specifically for the cello; but as this work was never printed, it has been difficult even to find. After much research in Germany, Mr.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Source E, title page.

Norblin, of the King's music, first cellist of the Royal Academy of Music, has finally gathered the fruits of his perseverance ...¹⁰¹

Alas, the fame didn't last for long. The next year, and by then on German soil, Heinrich Probst (1791-1846) reprinted the Janet et Cotellet edition in an almost identical format¹⁰² which was republished (again, with only minor and inconsequential alterations) by Friedrich Kistner in 1831, when the latter expanded his publishing company and bought Probst out. Two further editions appeared also in print in the intermediate years: Dotzauer's influential version (1824, detailed in Chapter 7) and the yet-to-be found Richter edition from St Petersburg (1827).¹⁰³ The first edition was probably printed in very few copies, and the only known exemplar today is to be found in Sweden.¹⁰⁴ In fact, for over 160 years, Probst's reprint was universally acknowledged as the earliest printed edition. The existence of the Janet et Cotellet edition (Source E) is an astonishingly recent discovery, first documented in Dimitry Markevitch's book, *The Solo Cello* (1989).¹⁰⁵ As recently as in 1988, Hans Eppstein still alluded to Probst as the first edition in the notes ('*Zur Edition*') to the NBA VI/2 volume, but corrected the mistake two years later in the Critical Comments to the same volume (1990).

The musical text of Norblin's editorial work shows a definite kinship with Sources C and D, seen, for instance, in consistent similarities in the use of trills, appoggiaturas and various articulation marks. At the same time, C and D share many common notes and ornaments which are not to be found in E (as in Figure 2.6), suggesting the hypothesis that Norblin's exemplar was not one of these late-eighteenth-century manuscript copies. Instead, it seems more likely that the '*précieux manuscript*' (as he called it) might also have served several decades earlier as the model for Sources C and D.

¹⁰¹ Translation by Bradley James Knobel in an appendix of his doctoral thesis: B. J. Knobel, "Bach Cello Suites with Piano Accompaniment and Nineteenth-Century Bach Discovery: A Stemmatic Study of Sources" (PhD diss, Florida State University, 2006).

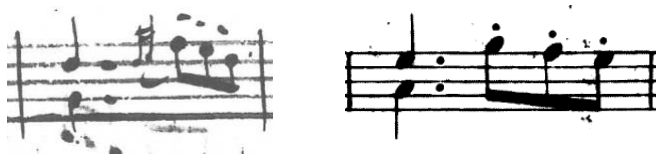
¹⁰² Probst's reprint (it seems that copyright laws at the time were not very efficient) came out probably with considerably more copies. Original Probst copies are still available every now and then, whereas there is only one known copy of the Janet et Cotellet edition available, held in Stockholm, in the *Statens Musikbibliothek*.

¹⁰³ See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁴ Stockholm, Statens Musikbibliothek.

¹⁰⁵ Dimitry Markevitch, *The solo cello: a bibliography of the unaccompanied violoncello literature* (Berkeley, Calif: Fallen Leaf Press, 1989), 82.

Figure 2.7: D major Suite, Gigue, bar 29 in Source D and the first edition. Sources C and D provide the appoggiatura, Source E omits it.



Norblin's edition, despite many similarities to the two, late eighteenth-century copies (C and D), clearly bears the marks of editorial intervention enough to make it unique, indeed rather unreliable, as an accurate representation of the lost exemplar. He changed the title from 'Suites' to '*Sonates ou Etudes*', possibly to make the edition look more modern and appeal for students. This alteration is however not explained anywhere, and nor is the revision of names for several movements. Not only did the originally French Courantes become Italian '*Correntes*' in his version but also, for no obvious reason, he renamed the Bourrées of the C major and E^b major Suites as '*Loures*'. He added his own tempo markings to all the movements. Other extensive changes such as bowings and other articulation markings are not particularly helpful or logical from a cellist's point of view. To 'facilitate' playing in the D Major Suite, he reduced Bach's writing of chords dramatically by randomly cutting out notes, but what is even more important (though an obvious mistake) is that he left out five bars of that Suite's Prélude altogether.

The lack of an autograph and its consequences

Following the history of the editions of the Bach Suites offers new insights into contemporary performance practice and different methodologies by cellists, scholars and other musicians. The substantial changes from edition to edition and the underlying reasons are, however, impossible to trace without a comprehensive understanding of the history of the sources, which are, without exception, imperfect replications of the lost authorial script(s). The four manuscript copies are significantly and consistently different in terms of both the primary (notes and rhythms) and the secondary parameters (legatos, dynamics, trills and other articulation signs) of the score. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the possibility of one of them being an accurate replication of the lost original, while the others contain all the significant errors and deviations, can be excluded. The merits of the fifth principal source, the

first edition, are greatly undermined due to its extreme editorial liberties and its delayed appearance over a century after the work was written.

That leaves us with three possibilities:

1. The principal sources transmit different stages of the compositional process (drafts, fine copies etc).
2. They are not mere copies following their model faithfully but include a significant number of scribal emendments. These emendments can be unintentional and consist of errors, or intentional when interpretational suggestions are added by the copyists, perhaps based on advice from early performers.
3. The third possibility is a mixture of the first two and it is the most likely. Since no authorial script of the Suites survives, this investigation faces a particularly challenging situation: instead of starting from some solid, well established ground, its foundation is based on careful scrutiny of the sources and on educated guesses.

The absence of definite information about various aspects of the genesis of the Suites is at the core of all significant problems regarding their later editions. The inquisitive performer, teacher or researcher has to weigh up the various possibilities and rely on circumstantial evidence in order to establish the source(s) that are to be used. As I will argue in the next chapter, the evidence suggests that the five principal sources were based on more than one model. These models consisted probably of a combination of draft and fine copies, some of which may not have been written in Bach's hand. While this was most probably the case, not even that scenario is founded on direct documentary evidence. Unlikely as it might be, it is possible that not one of the four copies is based on a manuscript by the composer himself, but on copies of one or more authorial scripts. Further, if by some miracle, any of the lost autographs were to resurface, would it conclusively decide the issue of primacy? Not necessarily, if it was, for example, an authorial draft, as it would be compared with at least one copy that can be argued convincingly to have been made of a revised autograph (see Chapter 3). Any autograph would help to establish the hierarchy between the manuscript copies, but even if several authorial copies of the cycle were to be found, the chronology and the hierarchy between those versions would have to be established. In that case the key

question would still arise: which variant could be considered to transmit the composer's ultimate thoughts? Which one could be credited as the *Fassung letzter Hand*?¹⁰⁶

So many unknown factors mean that the foundation is extremely slippery for such a mighty edifice as the nearly 200-year-old editorial history of the Bach Cello Suites.

The questions that have to be asked before a hypothetical ideal edition can even be contemplated are numerous and some of them may never be answered. The lack of a genuine *Ur-Text* (literally: original text) has served as a perceived licence for a myriad of artistic propositions ever since the first edition was published. Some editors have attempted to create an amalgamation between the four manuscript sources, an unhappy truce at best. Others sought to find the remaining silhouettes of the lost original transmitted through one single manuscript. Others still, considered their own musical concepts more important, expressing themselves occasionally through musical ideas never seen before in a Bach score. A careful re-examination of the manuscript sources might help to find answers to some of these questions.

¹⁰⁶ A recent article by Christopher Hogwood questions even the supremacy of the *Fassung letzter Hand* concept, arguing that on numerous occasions external circumstances required the composer to change his original concept and as a result the later version of the composition did not necessarily gain from these changes. Christopher Hogwood, "Urtext, que me veux-tu?," *Early Music* 41, no. 1 (2013), 123-127.

Chapter 3

The Kellner case

The editorial history of the Suites begins with a curious situation: in the century after the Suites were composed there is no record of them ever having been performed, despite sporadic references to the existence of the works¹. This helps to explain the self-congratulatory comment in the preface of the first edition, published by Janet et Cotelte, claiming that Louis-Pierre Norblin 'after much research in Germany' managed to find a manuscript of Bach's 'Etudes specifically for the cello'. As was suggested in the previous chapter, it is likely that this manuscript – which may have been either an autograph, or a copy of it; lost in any case – was identical with the model of Sources C and D. Norblin's heavily edited version and its two nearly verbatim German reprints² became understandably the most commonly used editions for a long time, influential even in the twenty-first century.³ The only other known principal source in the first half of the nineteenth century, available to assist in correcting the faults and editorial liberties of the first edition, was Johann Peter Kellner's manuscript (or a copy of it).⁴ We can deduce this information from Friedrich Dotzauer's contemporary edition (1826), which shows in more than a dozen cases notes and rhythms identical to Kellner's manuscript, without those appearing in either of the previous

¹ As mentioned in the previous Chapter, C. P. E. Bach owned a hitherto unidentified copy of the Suites, which was listed as part of his Estate (*Nachlass*) J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 2000), 7.

² The Probst (1825) and Kistner (1831) reprints are almost identical. Apart from the different prices printed in different currencies – Janet et Cotelte: 12 f; Probst: 1 Rth. 16 Gr.; Kistner: 1 Thlr. 20 Ngr – on the title page, there are only a few minute differences in the musical text between them and the first edition.

³ Norblin's odd syncopation slurs in the Gigue of the G major Suite are taken over as recently as by the editions of Valdettaro (1987) and von Tobel (2004).

⁴ There is no evidence suggesting that Norblin would have used or even known about it.

two editions (See Chapter 7 for more details).⁵ This alone makes Dotzauer's edition a most important part of the editorial stemma.⁶

Figure 3.1: Chronology of the editions of the Suites (including reprints and transcriptions) up until Alfred Dörffel's BGA edition

Year	City	Editor	Publisher
1824	Paris	Louis-Pierre Norblin	Janet et Cotellet
1825	Leipzig	reprint of Norblin	Heinrich Probst
1826	Leipzig	J.J.Friedrich Dotzauer	Breitkopf & Härtel
1827	St Petersburg		Richter?
1831	Leipzig	reprint of Probst	Fr. Kistner
1853	Wiesbaden	R. Schumann for vc + pno, only C major Suite survived	Breitkopf & Härtel
1864	Leipzig	Friedrich Wilhelm Stade for vc + pno	Gustav Heinze
1866	Leipzig	Friedrich Grützmacher	Edition Peters
1866	Leipzig	Ferdinand David for violin	Breitkopf & Härtel
1870	Leipzig	Joachim Raff for piano	J. Rieter-Biedermann
1871	Hamburg	Carl Grädener for vc + pno	Hugo Pohle
1871	Leipzig	Friedrich Wilhelm Stade for vc + pno, revised	Edition Peters
1879	Leipzig	Alfred Dörffel for BGA	Breitkopf & Härtel

Interestingly, we do not know anything about the fate of the '*précieux manuscript*' that Norblin had found and based his edition on, nor do we have any details regarding Dotzauer having had access to Kellner's copy. Inferences to the existence of their sources can only be made from the evidence from the editions of 1824 and 1826 respectively. For lack of any other known reference source for the Suites, it was not until Alfred Dörffel's (1821-1905) ground-breaking publication for the first Bach Complete Edition that the choice between various editorial possibilities became a known option. Dörffel came upon Anna Magdalena Bach's manuscript of the Suites in the Berlin Königliche Bibliothek. (Although Anna Magdalena's copy had been obtained by the library in 1841, no previous editors had made use of it, simply because it was not known to them.) In his preface to the 27th volume of the BGA, containing the Violin Sonatas and Partitas and the Cello Suites, Dörffel named the manuscript copies of Anna Magdalena Bach and Kellner as well as three previously published editions (Probst 1825, Dotzauer

⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Dotzauer, J.J. Friedrich, "Sechs Sonaten das Violoncell," (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1826).

⁶ Detailed description of Dotzauer's edition will follow in Chapter 7.

1826 and Stade 1864) as his sources.⁷ In the next paragraph though, he ranked their order of importance, suggesting that

The first manuscript has to be regarded as the original source [Originalvorlage]. It is not in Bach's own hand, but was written by his second wife, Anna Magdalena.⁸

In these two sentences Anna Magdalena's superiority over her copyist colleagues is stated unequivocally for the first time – it was not going to be the last. Anna Magdalena's manuscript was henceforth announced as *primus inter pares*, as the pre-eminent source. All later editors were obliged to pay attention to it, although not everyone agreed on its reliability and authenticity. By referring to her script as the *Originalvorlage*, Dörffel may have confused several editors well into the twentieth century who wrongly assumed that 'Original' signified an autograph. This was most certainly not Dörffel's fault: he clearly specified that the manuscript in question was written by Anna Magdalena, and yet, Paul Grümmer in 1944⁹ and Alexander Stogorsky in 1957¹⁰ still insisted on the wife's script being the husband's. In fact, as recently as 1977, Kazimierz Wilkomirski posited in the Foreword of his edition of the Suites that

...recent research has shown that [Anna Magdalena's] manuscript of the Suites is no copy, but the original. I share this view; the extracts from manuscripts by Bach and his wife which are reproduced in the edition by the Soviet cellist Alexand[e]r Stogorsky remove for me all doubts as to the authorship of the manuscript of the Suites.¹¹

Although clearly misunderstood by generations of later editors, the use of the word *Originalvorlage* authoritatively established the primacy of Source A for many years to come.¹²

⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Dörffel, Alfred, "6 Suiten für Violoncello in: J. S. Bachs Kammermusik. Sechster Band. Solowerke für Violine. Solowerke für Violoncello, Bd XXVII/1," in *Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, ed. Alfred Dörffel (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1879), XXX.

⁸ "Die eine Handschrift ist als Originalvorlage anzusehen. Sie ist kein Autograph Bach's selbst, doch aber ein Autograph seiner zweiten Frau Anna Magdalena."

⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: Grümmer, Paul, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello allein, BWV 1007-1012," ed. Müller von Asow Paul Grümmer, Erich Hermann (Wien: Doblinger, 1944).

¹⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Stogorsky, Alexander, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello sollo [sic!]," (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1957).

¹¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Wilkomirski, Kazimierz, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso," (Krakow: PWM Edition, 1977), 4.

¹² Curiously, a very similar misattribution occurred in Ferdinand David's edition of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas (1843). Its title page refers to "der Original-Text" but could only have meant either a copy in Anna Magdalena's hand or one prepared by an unknown copyist. Bach's autograph of the Violin Solos was not recognised as his script until the end of the nineteenth century, Bach, J. S., ed: David, H. F. Ferdinand "Sechs Suiten: für die Violine solo." (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1866).

Dörffel's edition therefore, through presenting a newly discovered source and emphasising its primacy, represented a turning point in the editions of the Bach Suites. The ostensible authority of a *Gesamtausgabe* may also have diminished scholarly interest in scrutinising any alternative sources. In this context it is striking that by the end of the nineteenth century three of the four surviving manuscript copies (Sources A, B and C) had found their way into the Berlin Royal Library (1841: Anna Magdalena Bach, 1851: Westphal, 1889: Kellner). They were available to anyone who cared to look. Not that it made much difference: later editors took their cue from Dörffel and – with exceptions few and far between – followed the road (pock)marked by Anna Magdalena's erratic legatos and other markings.¹³ Apart from the two Hausmann editions (1898, substantially revised by Walter Schulz in 1935), not a single editor – including, curiously, Dörffel, to whom it was available in Berlin – seemed to care about, or take note of the existence of Source C at all until Dimitry Markevitch published his edition and commented on the Westphal copy in 1964.¹⁴ Kellner's copy received slightly better treatment: a few of the editorial Prefaces comment, albeit somewhat condescendingly, on the fact that his version can be used 'as supporting evidence in cases of doubt'.¹⁵ Remarkably, Source D was not mentioned in scholarly writings until the last decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶

Since Anna Magdalena also copied the Violin Partitas and Sonatas, of which there is a surviving and meticulously marked autograph in Bach's hand available, a simple comparison of the two manuscripts will assist in determining the dependability of her copying work. As the following Figure demonstrates, her legato lines frequently lack clarity or more egregiously, simply deviate from her husband's slur notations.

¹³ There are numerous examples for that, for instance, Mainardi (1941) followed Anna Magdalena unique divergent notes from other sources or editions more than once, as in bar 27 of the C Major Suite's Prélude, where Anna Magdalena's script notes an F instead of E. The only other editor taking over this note uncritically was Stogorsky (1957).

¹⁴ Dörffel's ignorance of Source C is intriguing at the least, however it is possible that the Westphal copy had not yet been identified or catalogued at the time when he searched the shelves.

¹⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Pratt, George, "Six Suites for solo cello," (Stainer & Bell, 1979), iii.

¹⁶ Hans Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2* (Bärenreiter, 1990).

Figure 3.2: G minor Sonata for solo violin (BWV 1001), Presto, bars 25-30 first in Bach's autograph, then in Anna Magdalena's copy



It has often been stated that her transcriptions of her husband's work were not always reliable.¹⁷ Her persistent if not entirely efficacious efforts to make an accurate copy reveal a lack of understanding regarding some basic principles of string playing. The inconsistent legatos and other copying errors are characteristic throughout her copy of the Violin Solos. Undoubtedly, she was a diligent copyist, following the obvious features of the authorial script faithfully, for instance, changing staves and pages as did her exemplar. However, being a singer rather than a string player, it would not be surprising if she did not fully understand the significance of the legato as a *bowing* instruction. As a result, her script by and large fails to observe the widely accepted '*Abstrichregel*', or the 'rule of the down-bow', according to which 'The first note in a bar, starting without a rest (i.e. exactly on the beat) should be played with a down-bow, whereby its value is of no importance'.¹⁸ This is often in stark contrast with Bach's own bowing instructions in the Violin Sonatas and Partitas which ably demonstrate his expertise on a string instrument and mostly adhere to the '*Abstrichregel*'.

There are also obvious and frequent mistakes in other aspects of the notation, most importantly in the pitches and rhythms of her copy of the Cello Suites. These scribal errors notwithstanding, when discussing the merits of her contribution, scholars have tended to

¹⁷ For example, J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000), 77.

¹⁸ Georg Muffat, "*Florilegium primum*." 1695 (Augsburg). Also mentioned in detail in the Preface of "*Florilegium secundum*." 1698, and further discussed by Leopold Mozart half a century later in his treatise. Georg Muffat, and David Wilson, *Georg Muffat on performance practice: the texts from Florilegium primum, Florilegium secundum, and Auserlesene Instrumentalmusik: a new translation with commentary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. Leopold Mozart, *A treatise on the fundamental principles of violin playing*, vol. 6. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 74.

focus on discrepancies of the articulation marks, pointing out that the prodigal bowings in her script could not possibly have followed the original truthfully as they simply did not work. Another explanation for her inaccurate copying could be that it was, in fact, truthful but made from a lesser quality exemplar, perhaps a hard-to-read early version of the autograph – a scenario first proposed by Yo Tomita.¹⁹

For publishers of a new, scholarly edition, nominating one of four reasonable competing sources as *the* one to be followed is a decision not without risks. The discomfort is evident in the Commentary of the recent Henle publication where the editor, Egon Voss, names Anna Magdalena's copy as the only possible source for an 'Urtext' edition in a somewhat self-contradictory way within the same sentence:

...the sole source capable of serving as the basis of an urtext [sic] edition is A, notwithstanding all its shortcomings.²⁰

Despite its commonly acknowledged 'shortcomings', most editors of the last century have agreed that Anna Magdalena's script is to be primarily trusted as the most authoritative musical text. As it was succinctly worded in the Preface of an edition of the highest reputation,

There can be no question that [Anna Magdalena Bach's manuscript] is the principal source for the cello suites, if only because of its copyist's close temporal and physical proximity to the composer.²¹

Were they alive to read this, the scribes of the other three manuscripts could rightly claim discrimination based on the 'copyist's close temporal and physical proximity to the composer', at least when this is presented as an erudite and sound scientific argument. Sharing the same domestic environment with J. S. Bach would, it is true, have offered unlimited opportunities to check any questionable details about the copied work.²² However,

¹⁹ Yo Tomita, "Anna Magdalena as Bach's Copyist," *Understanding Bach* Vol. 7 (2007), 60, <http://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/understanding-bach/ub7/>, accessed 22 May 2013.

²⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Voss, Egon & Ginzl, Reiner, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (München: G. Henle, 2000), IX.

²¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer, Bettina; Woodfull-Harris, Douglas, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2000), 6.

²² This domestic environment would have been extremely demanding in the years 1726-1731. It is quite astounding that while establishing a new life and home in Leipzig, and giving birth almost every year to Bach's children, Anna Magdalena somehow managed to find the time and strength to copy any of her husband's works at all.

this advantageous circumstance in itself cannot be assumed to automatically elevate either the quality of Anna Magdalena's professional assistance or its outcome above the other copyists' work. The value of Frau Bach's copies ought to be judged on merit rather than on her marital status.²³

Evidently, a meaningful judgement about the qualities of the various sources can only be made after the careful comparison of the four eighteenth-century copies. A twofold problem now arises: not only does the dependability of these original sources need to be investigated (to what extent are they faithful to their source?), but the question of filiation also has to be clarified (what text do they transmit?). As mentioned before, each and every manuscript copy may have used a different authorial script as its exemplar (in which case there would have to have been *several* versions of the autograph, probably not of equal ranking) – or a second generation copy of what Bach had written. Therefore, the possibility of any of the available principal sources being one or more generations removed from the original, lost autograph(s) has to be considered.

The genealogical relationship between the various primary and secondary sources can be clarified to some extent through the method that in classical philology is called the principle of common error.²⁴ Identifying mistakes that are shared between several sources can help to establish levels of filiation. If the same error appears in more than one source, it is usually safe to assume that they either used the same model or one of them copied the other truthfully, including its errors. The more often this phenomenon occurs, the higher the degree of confidence about the relationship. This method has its own inherent problems, though, since the scribe may have used more than one source (referred to as 'contamination' by philologists), or may have presented an independent reading for reasons of his/her own. (In this thesis, for the sake of simplicity, the unspecified editor will be henceforth referred to as 'he'.) Some allowances also have to be made for the possibility of two scribes arriving at the same error independently from each other, although this could be expected to arise only in isolated instances and therefore should be easy to distinguish from the usual shared errors.

²³ As will be shown later, the primacy of Anna Magdalena's copy can be questioned for other and more significant reasons than misplaced articulation markings or some erroneous notes.

²⁴ The principles of classical philology as applied to musicology summarised here are largely derived from those outlined in Chapter 3 in the book of James Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

These potential problems notwithstanding, the investigation of shared errors (or, often in the case of the Bach Suites, shared alternative readings) will greatly assist in understanding the chain of transmission even if it cannot lead to a complete reconstruction of the original text.

Notes versus articulation

In order to establish filiation, the reliability of the primary sources has to be clarified first. The quest to ascertain the level of that reliability can involve focussing on two different aspects of the score. The vast majority of scholarly attention of the last half a century or so regarding the original sources of the Cello Suites was turned towards the first of these: to the matters of articulation. This area is, indeed, a minefield where artistic freedom, slipshod copying, misunderstood traditions, ambiguous pen strokes, feeble candle light, faulty goose pens and the like cause a myriad of mostly unresolved and perhaps unresolvable problems. Georg von Dadelsen's ground breaking article in 1978 offered useful editorial and practical observations regarding matters of Bachian articulation generally.²⁵ In its wake followed Ingrid Fuch's excellent PhD thesis (not translated into English),²⁶ discussing various questions of performance practice, and Laura Kramer's dissertation,²⁷ devoted to articulation problems in the Cello Suites. These and other writings have sparked a great deal of academic interest in attempting to explain a phenomenon that seldom allows logical clarification: the extraordinary number of divergent articulation markings between the original sources. The following example demonstrates this rather anarchic state of affairs through the comparison of a single bar from the Prélude of the G major Suite, showing completely different articulations in the four manuscripts.²⁸

²⁵ Georg von Dadelsen, "Die Crux der Nebensache - Editorische und praktische Bemerkungen zu Bachs Artikulation," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1978. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1978.

²⁶ Ingrid Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1981).

²⁷ Laura Elizabeth Kramer, "Articulation in Johann Sebastian Bach's Six Suites for Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012): History, analysis and performance" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1998).

²⁸ There are many similar examples.

Figure 3.3: G major Suite, Prélude, bar 28, in the four manuscripts

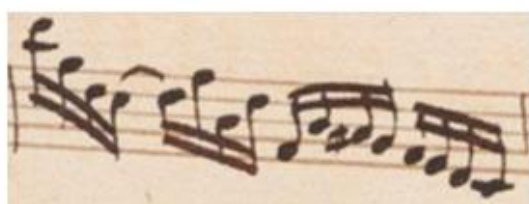
Source A (A. M. Bach)



Source B (J. P. Kellner)



Source C (Westphal)



Source D (Traeg)



The obvious disagreement regarding slurs, staccatos and other marks of expression between the four original sources in this and many further examples encouraged later editors to deal with these issues with considerable freedom. Since none of the copyists were known to be string players, the significance of precise slurring may have escaped them altogether.²⁹ The resulting large number of discrepancies between the articulation markings in the manuscripts diminishes the trustworthiness of these markings considerably.

Apart from matters of articulation, there is another important area though, that has to be investigated in order to make meaningful decisions regarding both the filiation and the dependability of the original sources. Inconsistencies of pitch and rhythm have often been dismissed by scholars as not particularly problematic. Even Hans Eppstein, in the Critical Comments to the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* volume of the Cello Suites, regarded the textual variances 'insignificant'.³⁰ Egon Voss, the editor of the Henle publication, took a similar view when he opined:

²⁹ While the legatos for keyboard and wind instruments refer only to articulation, in the case of stringed instruments, the slurs are a direct indication of a physical movement, that is, the bowing. Therefore, in the discussion of the Suites, 'slurring' and 'bowing' are used as more or less interchangeable terms.

³⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Eppstein, Hans, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo: BWV 1007-1012," in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2* (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter BA 5068, 1988), 36.

With regard to the ‘primary parameters’ of the musical text (i.e. the pitch and the duration of the notes), these four manuscripts are largely identical.³¹

However, the differences between Sources A, B, C, and D regarding the pitch and the duration of the notes are not at all negligible. Remarkably, these often small but nevertheless significant variances have met with considerably less academic attention, yet they have cast a long-lasting shadow on later editions. The full extent of this influence can only be demonstrated through a detailed and systematic comparison of all of the discrepancies, for there is a wealth of information to be found through the thorough comparison of every bar and every note between these four sources.³² Interestingly, this type of all-inclusive, methodical analysis is yet to appear in print. Partial efforts in past publications have brought some valuable information to the surface, but invariably presented an incomplete and therefore distorted picture. A number of editors have provided some sort of a catalogue detailing the divergent notes in Sources A, B, C and D. These can appear attached to the musical text directly (either in smaller fonts below or above the notes or in footnotes) and more often in separate Critical Commentaries. What is more important though is that none of these commentaries claims to, nor do they succeed in presenting a *complete* list of all notational discrepancies between the four manuscripts.

The most notable attempts at such a list so far appeared in the five recent critical editions of the Cello Suites – two by Bärenreiter (1991, 2000), and one each by Henle, Wiener Urtext and Breitkopf & Härtel (all in 2000). Each of these editions includes an extremely detailed Critical Commentary, yet their lists are by no means identical regarding the questionable pitches or rhythms, still less the secondary parameters such as articulation, dynamics etc. In my own study, I have attempted to compile a comprehensive index of all divergences of the primary parameters between the four manuscripts and the first edition. This index is more extensive than any similar compilations printed in the past. Not counting any disagreements of articulation, it lists around five hundred and fifty variants between the four manuscripts with regard to pitch and rhythm alone, and this number increases to over seven hundred, once the

³¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Voss, Egon & Ginzl, Reiner, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (München: G. Henle, 2007), VII.

³² Arguably, the fifth primary source, the first edition, should also be part of this comparison.

unique divergences of the first edition are also included.³³ As a comparison, the ‘Detailed Notes’ of the 2000 Wiener Urtext edition identify less than four hundred discrepancies between Sources A, B, C, D and E, a difference of over forty percent – and a large number of them refer to divergent *articulation* markings. As the bowings especially are to such an extent inconsistent and unclear that they are hardly of any value in establishing filiation, my index of variants includes only the incongruities between the original sources (the four manuscripts and the first edition), providing a comprehensive study of alternative pitches and rhythms for the first time, that serves a robust basis on which to assess the question of filiation.

There might not be as many variations in the primary parameters as those affecting articulation, but they are substantially more noticeable. Articulation marks are after all *auxiliary* instructions, ‘whose observance affects the quality of the performance but not the identity of the work’.³⁴ A misplaced slur will modify the interpretation and the technical execution of a passage but is likely to remain undetected by most listeners. Occasions of additional notes, altered pitch and rhythm would be immediately obvious to all with relatively trained ears; less they may be in number, less important they certainly are not.

A detailed comparison of pitch and rhythm is therefore imperative to clarify the stemma of the surviving sources for the Cello Suites, and will reveal the number and nature of their shared errors, their degree of alignment (or lack of it) and, ultimately, their dependability. Without this crucial step the base of the *stemma codicum*, the ‘trunk’ of the family tree, from which all later generations of editions got their fundamental information, cannot be identified. Following the trail of the shared variants (chiefly the errors), a number of branches can be recognised which could spread in different directions with competing but reasonable readings, introducing hitherto never seen additions to the musical text. These scribal modifications can then be categorised, their merits ascertained, their influence on future editions (and, consequently, on future performance practice) evaluated.

³³ With the established list of divergent notes and rhythms, this catalogue now forms the framework for a considerably larger, freely expandable index. The inventory in the extended version demonstrates a) how those original incongruities influenced later editions, b) which scribal error or emendation was taken over, that is, met the approval of later editors, and c) to what extent those errors and emendations were influential over the next centuries. This work is in progress in preparation of a forthcoming publication.

³⁴ Nelson Goodman, *Languages of art: an approach to a theory of symbols*, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1976), 117.

As noted above, there are over seven hundred discrepancies of pitch and/or duration within the original sources of the Cello Suites.³⁵ The textual variances listed in the index may be classified into the following categories:

1. Individual scribal error
2. Shared error or variant
3. Reasonable textual variation, valid alternative
 - 3.1. without later editorial acceptance
 - 3.2. with partial later editorial acceptance
 - 3.3. with complete or near-complete later editorial acceptance

1. Upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that – as can be expected with handwritten copies – in many cases one and only one source disagrees with all the others. The ‘odd’ note – looking and sounding equally odd in the context – can on most occasions be safely dismissed as an error, typically as the result of inaccurate copying. All four copyists are sporadically guilty of simple mistakes, reinforcing the view that none of them relates a completely accurate picture of the authorial text. For instance, in Menuet I of the G major Suite, the sequential logic of bar 21 repeated a note higher in the following bar is denied in Anna Magdalena’s script.

Figure 3.5: G Major Suite, Menuet, I bars 21-22 as given in Sources A and D (identical with B and C)

A - incorrect:



D (also B and C) - correct:



As one might expect, this category contains the largest number of errors, spread reasonably evenly between our sources. Fortunately, these mistakes are rarely repeated in later editions with the recurring exception of some overenthusiastic editors (for example Stogorsky in 1957 or Kurtz in 1984), whose idolisation of Anna Magdalena’s work frequently includes blind transmission of even the most blatant mistakes, such as her inclusion of an incomplete bar which is not reproduced in the other original sources. Figure 3.6 shows an

³⁵ To create a complete survey of the original sources, Source E, the first edition (Janet et Cotelle, 1824 Paris) has also been included in my comparative investigation, however, for the sake of transparency, only the four manuscript copies are taken into account in this dissertation.

example for a clear copying error in Source A, its uncritical printed version in Stogorsky's edition and for its familiar version in the first edition (1824).

Figure 3.6: G Major Suite, Gigue, bars 31-32 in Source A, Stogorsky's edition and in Source E³⁶



2. By contrast, common errors (and in some cases, variant readings), which appear in more than one source, offer strong evidence in determining filiation. In the following example from the *Prélude* of the D Minor Suite, one single note decides whether the first beat of bar 19 would present the notes of a C major or A minor triad. The penultimate note and the following bars clearly indicate the latter, shown here in Kellner's copy; however, the other three manuscripts, Sources A, C and D, have the apparently incorrect C major triad in common, suggesting that they share a common source.³⁷ The C major triad appears apart from the manuscripts A, C and D also in Stogorsky's edition.³⁸

³⁶ Source information for all the cited editions is given in 'Sources of Score Examples Used in the Figures' on pages 260-264.

³⁷ Two further examples for copies A, C and D sharing a probable common error: C Major Suite, Gigue, bar 24 last note E versus Kellner's musically more consistent D; E^b Major Suite, *Prélude*, bar 60 first note with a D in the tenor voice of the chord, whilst Kellner copied a B^b.

³⁸ All other editions follow Source B here, on most occasions without acknowledging it.

Figure 3.7: D Minor Suite, Prélude, bar 19 in Source C (identical with A and D – incorrect) and Source B (correct)

Westphal copy (C)



Kellner copy (B)



3. With the third category, we arrive at the essence of our examination. The plausible alternatives offer another important set of evidence about how the surviving sources were related to each other; this in turn allows us to view the reception history of Bach's Cello Suites from a unique perspective, as seen through the eyes of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century editors who chose to reproduce or reject individual variants in their editions. These variants may have been derived directly from any of the original sources or through the transmission of intermediary editions which had previously printed them. These instances often help to ascertain which editions were popular at a particular time or in a certain geographical area. This category is *defined* by the manuscripts themselves, but its sub-categories are further *refined* by the reception and transmission of these manuscripts by future editors.

3.1 There are occasions when after careful scrutiny, one can be forgiven for having doubts as to which variant might be the 'correct' one: when the disparate voice is perhaps not a mistake; when it is worth paying attention to that single source carrying a contradicting variation of a couple of notes or even bars. This unique variant, which adds depth and colour to the musical texture, may not have gained the widespread approval of later editors, thus remaining practically unknown; however, despite its lack of acceptance, it suggests valuable alternative material that may mirror the putative original.³⁹ A particularly striking example of a variant of this kind which has rarely, if ever been taken up by subsequent editors is to be found in Menuet I of the D minor Suite (see Figure 3.8); the reading provided in the solitary

³⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that any one of the four copyists would have deliberately added any material to the original.

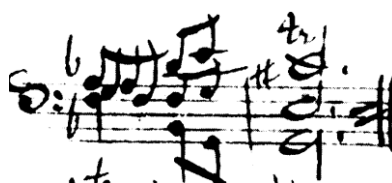
source is far more elegant, even virtuosic, than the alternative, somewhat pedestrian cadence:

Figure 3.8: D Minor Suite, Menuet I, bars 7-8 in Sources A (also C and D) and B

Anna Magdalena's copy [A]



Kellner's copy [B]



Another example for this category is to be found in the C minor Suite's Prélude, bar 193, where the third note is written as a G in Sources A, C and D (and most later editions); however Source B – as well as BWV 995, the authorial lute transcription of the Suite – notates it as an A natural.

3.2 In a number of other cases, the solitary variant, or the 'Minority Report' – to borrow the title from Stephen Spielberg's famous film – presents a valid substitute, and often a richer, more challenging and more exciting version than the accepted one. As with the previous category, both readings appear plausible; however – unlike in the case of the D minor Menuet discussed above (Figure 3.8) – these variant propositions have sometimes been adopted by later editions. For lack of an autograph, which would provide indisputable evidence, it is simply not possible to confirm the authenticity of either version; however, these perfectly good sounding, competing readings assist greatly in establishing the genealogy of later editions. For reasons that are not always apparent, some editors favoured particular variants, whereas others rejected them outright. The opinions are forever divided. There is no consensus, there cannot be; in this category, the quest for authenticity is transformed – or perhaps elevated? – into a matter of individual artistic preference.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ A few further examples to demonstrate this category: D minor Suite, Courante, bar 21 first note a double stop in Source B, single A in Sources A, C and D; C major Suite, Bourrée II, bar 4 where the eighth note is an A natural according to Sources A, C and D whereas copy B shows an A^b there; also E^b major Suite, Prélude, bar 16 with two Ds in Sources A, C and D, but twice D^b in Kellner's script.

Figure 3.9: D major Suite, Gigue, bars 16-18 in Sources A (also C and D) and B

Anna Magdalena's copy [A]

Kellner's copy [B]



It is prudent to emphasise once again that in this category we are examining altered notes, rhythms or chords demonstrating a *reasonable, alternative reading*. This reading does not sound “odd” or outright “wrong” as with the examples in category 1 but rather fits convincingly into the movement’s harmonic and melodic structure, providing a valid alternative.

Upon closer examination, a trend becomes apparent in these examples: almost without exception it is the unique reading that carries the more interesting texture, or announces *that* remarkable extra note in the chord. Its modification may or may not have met with the agreement of later editors; however, the remarkable extra note might create a harmony where there was only a melodic line before (in Schenkerian terms, it might be referred to as a compound melody). This is of particular importance as it could indicate that the copy’s exemplar might have been a revised, that is, a superior autograph. This is a possibility not to be lightly dismissed, as Bach rarely made a fair copy of one of his works without continuing the editing and composing process. The possibility of one of the scribes tampering with the musical text of his or her own accord cannot be excluded, but we have to remember that not one of the copyists was known to be a cellist, or even a string player, and all of them thus appear to have lacked the necessary motivation to deliberately change the musical text for the better.

3.3 Taking one final step in the same direction, there are numerous cases, in which the unique version seems to make more musical sense than the version shared by the other three sources, thus captivating the ears and attention of most future editors *unequivocally*. There are about a dozen examples in which the vast majority of editions follow the unique suggestion in preference to the others. In Figure 3.10, only Source B divulges the provocative diminished fifth in the third beat, making the interrupted cadence explicit, rather than merely implied, and it is this more distinctive version which has been universally adopted in published

editions.⁴¹ Very few editions have followed Sources A, C and D by adopting the single note in the third beat of bar 9.⁴²

Figure 3.10: D minor Suite, Allemande, bar 9 in Sources C (also A and D) and B



In these cases, a reading supported by only one source proved to be more convincing for editors of the future than the unanimous suggestion of the other three manuscripts. In other words, were we ignorant of this source, our perception of the musical text of the Bach Cello Suites would be significantly different.

All but one of the examples in 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 point towards the same single source out of the four as being the one which provides the more convincing reading when the manuscripts disagree: this is Source B, Johann Peter Kellner's script. The converse of this statement is equally true: with only one exception, none of the other manuscripts can claim to contain unique alterations to notes and rhythms which have been validated by the consensus of later generations, as being the most musically convincing readings. Not one of them, not even Anna Magdalena's much idolised copy, has had an impact comparable to Kellner's on how we read and play the Cello Suites today. The contradiction is somewhat ironic: most of the editors who claimed to respect and follow Anna Magdalena's script, actually followed numerous suggestions from Kellner's manuscript, mostly without identifying it as their source.⁴³ This is particularly pertinent regarding the reception history of the manuscripts, since it suggests that many of those editors may have followed Dörffel's script without making their own

⁴¹ Some further examples: C major Prélude bar 30 the first four notes repeated in the second beat in Kellner's script, following the pattern of the previous bars; D major Prélude bar 91 last note an A in Source B, similar to the previous bar; also D major Prélude bar 95 second last note an A in Source B, again following the already established sequence, see also Figures 12 and 13.

⁴² Amongst the editions that did so are the first edition, later Bazelaire, Stogorsky, Kurtz and, as the only representative of the critical editions, Voss.

⁴³ One of the possible reasons for this is that they only looked at intervening sources which did use it.

assessment of the sources and therefore realising which material originated from which principal source. It appears therefore that, in light of the Anna Magdalena copy's assumed but never factually established superiority, the significance of Kellner's copy has been historically severely undervalued.

The ramifications of this evidence have serious consequences. It would follow then – referring to Nelson Goodman's expression once again⁴⁴ – that numerous further questions regarding the primary parameters of the Suites would have to be revisited. Where did Kellner's unique version originate from? Are there any indications to suggest that it may transmit a more dependable authorial version than the other three manuscripts? The results of this inquiry demand the re-examination of Kellner's copy in order to establish which of his alternative notes or rhythms are due to copying errors, and which might correctly reflect authorial revisions.

Shared errors/variants

Kellner's copy therefore might reveal relevant and hitherto underestimated information regarding the genealogy of the sources. The above examination suggests that he may have been working from a revised and/or corrected autograph version, which was of better quality than any of the other three copyists' exemplars. In support of this hypothesis, we can arrive to reassuringly similar results from an altogether different angle by applying what philologists call the common errors principle.

The principle of common error (or variant) was utilised extensively by Hans Eppstein to scrutinise the Cello Suites in the Critical Comments to the relevant volume of the NBA.⁴⁵ Eppstein's argument was that the Suites' ancestry can be derived from three different sources. The scribes of Source A (Anna Magdalena) and B (Kellner) could not have copied each other's versions, nor could they stem from the same autograph for the simple reason that

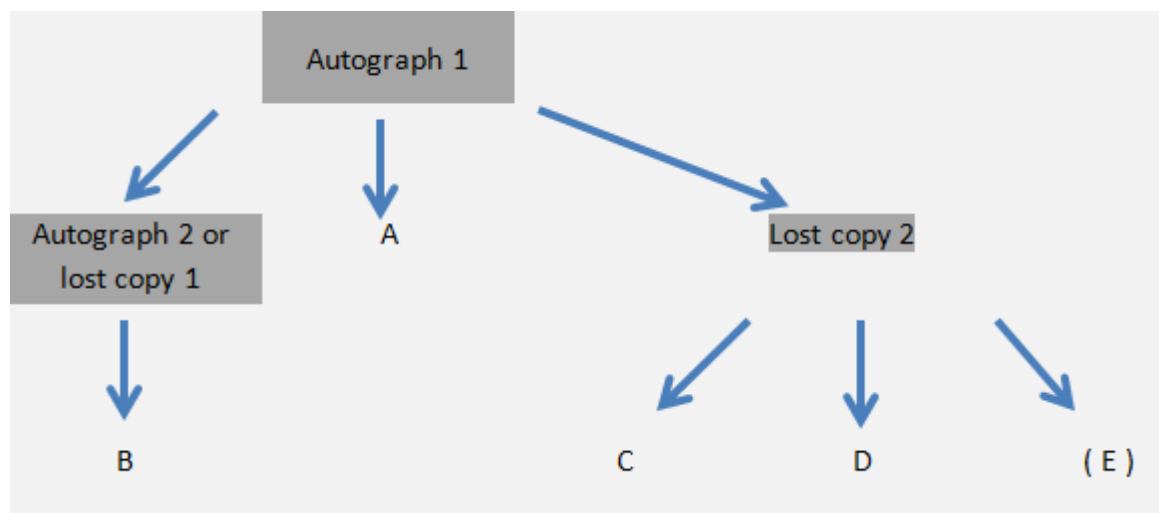
⁴⁴ Goodman, *Languages of art: an approach to a theory of symbols*.

⁴⁵ Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*.

their respective errors are significant in number and practically never shared. This reinforces the generally held view that A and B were copied from different sources.

Eppstein further postulated that C, D and E (the first edition from 1824), cannot be copies of each other either; however, they probably shared the same ancestor. This ancestor could not have been A, since there are several passages in the Suites where A is not complete and notes are missing. These notes appear fully in C, D and E, proving that the late eighteenth-century copies and the first edition were not made directly from A. Similarly, the complete lack of shared errors proves that C, D and E were not copied from B, or B's model either. It follows therefore that A and B as well as C, D and E stemmed from different sources. In other words, none of the five derives from any of the others directly. Eppstein proposes one original autograph from which three original source materials would have derived independent from each other: A (the assumption of primacy is not evidenced, but presumably based on Anna Magdalena's domestic situation), a hypothetical second autograph (or lost copy) as the model of B, and finally, the hypothetical common exemplar of C, D and E.⁴⁶

Figure 3.11: Reconstruction of Eppstein's tripartite stemma, based on his Critical Comments



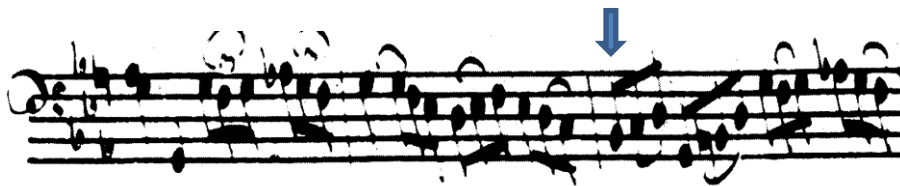
Moving further ahead in the complex web of filiation, A and the group comprising C, D and E may not have had the same model (as shown in Figure 3.11), yet they share a substantial number of errors.⁴⁷ These common errors prove their shared ancestry. Eppstein listed eleven

⁴⁶ Ibid. 23-25.

⁴⁷ Although Eppstein's argument includes E as well, the first edition is tainted to such an extent with Norblin's additional textual contribution that in the following discussion only the four manuscript copies will be taken into consideration.

common errors between A and C/D⁴⁸ – actually, this number is almost twice as large. The crucially important question here is: what exactly constitutes an error? How does one decide which one of two or more different readings is the correct one? Are we always able to tell the right reading from the wrong? Reassuring as it would be, the answer has to be in the negative. Despite many unequivocally obvious errors, deviant notes cannot *always* be declared as mistakes when the authorial manuscript is lost. However, the commonly acknowledged traditions of baroque and, specifically, Bachian harmony and voice leading allow us to make certain deductions: a case in point is found in Gavotte II of the C minor Suite:

Figure 3.12: C minor Suite, Gavotte II, bars 8-10, Source C (the notes are the same in A and D)



We are at a section in this C minor movement where the first eight bars of the movement return verbatim, with the leading note marked correctly in Kellner's version, but the natural sign missing before the first note of bar 10 in Sources A, C and D. Common (harmonic) sense would immediately reveal that a B^b at the beginning of bar 10 can only be wrong, otherwise the leading note is missing; this is further supported by the exact repeat of the first four bars of the Gavotte from the upbeat to bar 9.

The following Figure demonstrates another example of the erroneous nature of A, C and D's common reading of a passage; this time in a passage from Gavotte I of the C minor Suite:

⁴⁸ or 'A' and 'G' in his terminology, since he refers to the common source of C, D and E as G. As a slight contradiction, when reversing this relationship, G does not always include E in his Comments.

Figure 3.13: C minor Suite, Gavotte I, bars 10-13, Anna Magdalena's copy (same in Sources C and D)






The leap of a minor ninth (sounding octave) up and down in bar 13 – as shown in A, C and D's script – between E natural and a *written* F (this Suite is to be read with scordatura) an octave higher would be highly unusual for Bach's voice leading. It would also create a distinctly 'unvocal' melody which is nearly unplayable on the cello as well. The correct note, 'D' – found in Kellner's version, and through him transmitted in virtually all later editions – also makes a lot more sense, since it occurs in exactly the same context in the following two bars, by then copied consistently by all sources.

Kellner is not entirely on his own with his version in these two examples. The C Minor Suite had been transcribed by Bach for lute sometime between 1727 and 1732,⁴⁹ around the same time Anna Magdalena prepared her script of all the Suites. There is no doubt about the chronological proximity between these two manuscripts as the same batch of paper with identical watermarks was used for both of them.⁵⁰ The autograph of this transcription survives and allows us a rare glimpse into the workings of the composer's mind. Significantly, it also helps to clarify the question of dependability for Kellner's reading. The manuscript of the Lute Suite (BWV 995, in G minor) agrees with Kellner's copy – and therefore disagrees with A, C and D – not only in the aforementioned two cases, but also in numerous other instances, several of which are of considerable importance.

⁴⁹ Yoshitake Kobayashi, *Die Notenschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs: Dokumentation ihrer Entwicklung*, Ser. 9, Bd. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), 100.

⁵⁰ Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*, 17.

Table 3.1: Further examples in the C minor Suite, in which Kellner's copy is in agreement with BWV 995, and differs from Sources A, C and D

Suite, movement	Bar and (.) beat	Note	Kellner & BWV 995	A, C, D
Prelude	193.2	3	A	G
Allemande	25.2	4–6		
Courante	3.1	1	E ^b	C
Courante	5.6	9	D	E ^b
Courante	11.4	6–7		

Therefore, all of these variant readings in Kellner's copy appear to be the result of authorial corrections. Since Bach's lute version postdates the preparation of Kellner's manuscript, it can safely be assumed that Kellner's script is – at least as far as these examples are concerned – a copy of the same lost original on which Bach himself based the Lute Suite.⁵¹ Furthermore, if Kellner's model in the case of the C minor Suite were a revised autograph, then it follows that he would be likely to have worked from the same autograph not just for the purpose of copying one Suite but for the whole cycle.⁵²

Having established earlier with a high degree of certainty that the exemplar used by Kellner in his copying of the Cello Suites was different from the one at Anna Magdalena's disposal, the long-standing fundamental (at times almost *fundamentalist*) belief that her script is the best surviving copy of the lost original has to be reviewed. Anna Magdalena's work as that of a diligent if inconsistent copyist had been noted, her role as an indisputably devoted wife emphasised and praised over and over again – and these claims are without doubt true. But it would be spurious and misleading to mix her intimate knowledge of her husband's activities, her domestic situation or the *quality of her work* with the *quality of the source* that she had available. The time-honoured tradition of debating which of the four scribes prepared the best and most trustworthy copy (while it is widely accepted that none of them worked to the standard of a contemporary professional copyist) has to give way to consideration of a more basic problem: which of them had the best exemplar at his or her disposal? Albeit the

⁵¹ Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice*, 85.

⁵² According to the usual binding practice, the six Suites in the lost autograph were likely to have been bound in one volume.

evidence is mostly circumstantial – and in all probability will remain so as long as an autograph copy does not surface – it points consistently in the same direction. His sometimes erratic copying standard aside, we have to look at Kellner's reading with renewed interest as it appears likely to have been based on a more mature version of the Suites than any to which the other copyists had access. If this is correct, it would throw a different light on other variations specific to Kellner's manuscript that have hitherto been customarily dismissed. Amongst the obvious (and sometimes not so obvious) copying errors, there are some variants which provide reasonable alternative readings that may have mirrored the composer's intentions.

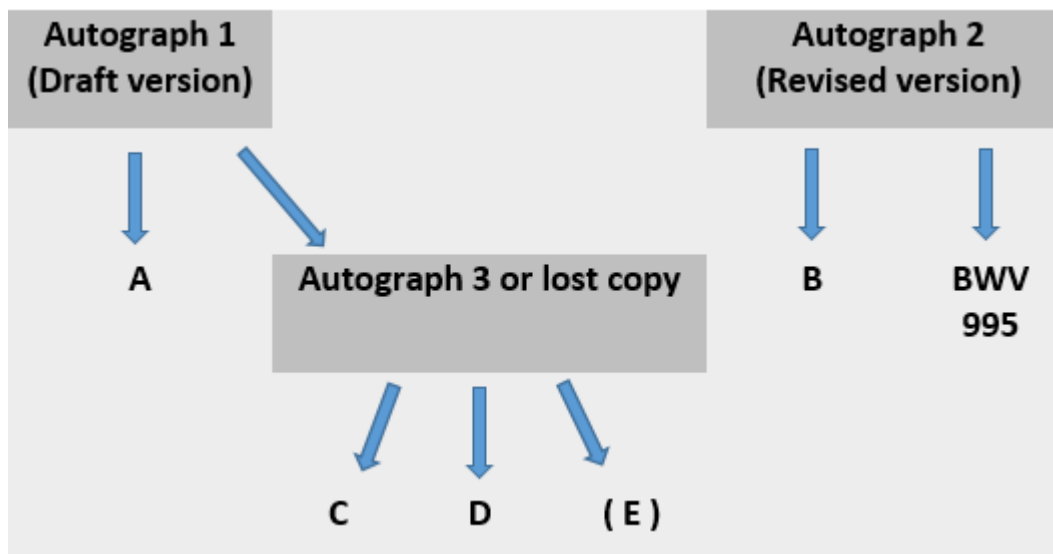
This does not by any means disqualify Anna Magdalena's work. It is still likely to be a copy of an autograph; however, it appears that the ancestor of her copy contained a substantial number of errors (also inherited faithfully by C and D) and is therefore more likely to have been a draft or less mature version.

Hans Eppstein's often debated solution to provide a *Text A* and *Text B* of the Cello Suites in the NBA may have merits after all, albeit in a rearranged grouping. Instead of amalgamating the fundamentally different Sources A & B into *Text A* (as Eppstein proposed, combining then Sources C & D into *Text B*), they could provide valid alternatives in different groups (B contrasted with the related Sources A, C and D).⁵³

Accordingly, the stemmatic filiation suggested, though never graphically drawn by Hans Eppstein (Figure 3.11), would have to be revised. It is very likely that the patrimony of the Bach Suites goes back to not one or three but to two main sources.

⁵³ A similar solution has already been applied in the NBA print of the French Suites in 1980 (Serie V, Vol. 8), which offers the clavier Suites in two versions: first, in Johann Christoph Altnickol's (1720–59) copy, and second, in a "*Jüngere Gestalt, verzierte Fassung*" (later, ornamented version), taken from various later sources.

Figure 3.14: Bach Cello Suites, revised stemma



In this scenario, Bach would have written the Suites in a draft or earlier version, as was often his habit, and then copied them out himself or had a professional copy made, into which he entered amendments, to have a clean and possibly revised form.⁵⁴ To the best of our knowledge, both of these, and any possible intermediate copies may have stayed on his shelf untouched for approximately six years, until he decided to allow Kellner, the *first* person as far as we know to have access to the score, to copy the Suites in or around 1726. Under the circumstances it seems logical that he would have lent the fair copy rather than a draft to the enthusiastic cantor of Frankenhain.⁵⁵ This hypothesis presents a conundrum for which there is no provable explanation, while at the same time, there is also no plausible way for accounting for the rest of the evidence: why would Anna Magdalena have had to resort to a lesser quality version for her copy? It is conceivable that the fair copy that Kellner was given had not been returned (for any number of reasons) to the Bach household in Leipzig by the time she started her work. Another plausible explanation could be that the autograph had

⁵⁴ It is intriguing to consider why at that stage he did not use professional help readily at his disposal to prepare a playing copy, as he did in the case of the Violin Solos where the earliest surviving copy was prepared by a local copyist. After all, as mentioned above, a salaried copyist was constantly employed by the Cöthen Court Capelle during his tenure and there were others to help with the copying work. Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193; Yoshitake Kobayashi and Kirsten Beisswenger. *Die Kopisten Johann Sebastian Bachs: Katalog und Dokumentation*. (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2007), 11-26.

⁵⁵ This hypothesis is strengthened further by the similarities between Kellner's manuscript and the autograph of BWV 995, detailed above.

been returned safely to Bach's possession, only to be 'reserved' by the composer who wanted to prepare the lute transcription of the C minor Suite.⁵⁶

The evidence for this hypothesis is not strong enough to warrant sweeping assertions; there are some details that we simply do not know and probably never will. For instance, it cannot be fully excluded that the manuscript Kellner had access to, was an already edited, therefore not entirely authentic version of a fine copy, making his version contaminated before he even started.⁵⁷ However such an intermediate (now lost) copy, another step in the filiation between any autograph and the surviving sources, is more likely in the case of the much later manuscripts C and D. The evidence of common errors suggests that their ancestor was probably the same exemplar that Anna Magdalena used;⁵⁸ however their readings, with their significantly increased number of appoggiaturas and other ornaments, show the stylistic signs of a later period. These alterations may have been the result of a later revision by Bach, or perhaps someone else, sensitive to the aesthetic demands of the new stylistic direction (often associated with Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach), the *empfindsamer Stil*. This hypothetical intermediate copy, shown in Figure 3.14 as 'Autograph 3 or lost copy', could have been the one owned by the oldest Bach son and mentioned in his Testament (*Nachlass*) in 1790.⁵⁹ It might also have been identical with the '*précieux manuscript*' that Louis-Pierre Norblin came across during his travels in Germany and on which he based his edition.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Anna Magdalena's uncorrected copying errors – although not in the scope of this investigation – present us with a similar anomaly. How did her consistently imprecise articulation escape Johann Sebastian's supervision? It is possible that during the extremely difficult period of 1727 to the early 1730s – marred by Bach's struggles with the authorities in Leipzig, their children being born (and some of them dying) in practically every year and so on – he simply did not have time and energy to check the quality of her work.

⁵⁷ The possibility of one of Bach's pupils or a professional cellist in Cöthen having made an even earlier copy cannot be fully excluded. Christian Ferdinand Abel and Carl Bernhard Lienicke were notable cello and gamba players employed by the princely court and their names are often mentioned as potential sources of inspiration for Bach. They could have used and indeed copied any autograph – as there are surviving copies of the Violin Solos made by contemporary professional violinists – and if that would have been the case, their copy could have been used by any of the later copyists, including Kellner. However, there is no indication whatever to support this hypothesis.

⁵⁸ As demonstrated by more than a dozen instances of unambiguous 'common error' cases, shared by A, C and D, for instance: C Major Suite, Prelude, bar 30, 6th note.

⁵⁹ *Verzeichnis des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Hamburg, 1790), 67, <http://www.cpebach.org/pdfs/resources/NV-1790.pdf>, accessed 23 May 2013.

⁶⁰ That would explain a significant number of shared errors between A, C, D and E.

The reception history of Kellner's copy

As demonstrated above (see Figures 3.7, 3.9, 3.10, 3.12 and 3.13) Johann Peter Kellner's copy has in several instances exerted some (mostly unacknowledged) influence on later editions, and therefore on our perception of the Bach Suites. For this reason alone, it is worth tracing the extent to which it was known and recognised during the colourful history of the Suites' editions.

Despite its early date and apparent close connection with the composer, it is surprising how little use has been acknowledged of the Kellner copy. The first published edition (Janet et Cotellet, 1824) was based on a manuscript discovered by Norblin, which was plainly different from Kellner's manuscript. However, during the rest of the nineteenth century, the Kellner copy was periodically mentioned and/or used in various publications (for example Dotzauer 1826, Dörffel 1879, Hausmann 1898). Since 1889, it has been kept by the *Königliche Bibliothek* [now *Staatsbibliothek*] in Berlin along with the Anna Magdalena and Westphal copies. Despite its obvious availability, no editor in the first half of the twentieth century appears to have consulted it or used it in preparing an edition. Wenzinger (without ever seeing the Kellner manuscript) made a reference to it in his Preface (1950) in relation to the Dörffel edition,⁶¹ but Markevitch was the first editor in the twentieth century to claim to have seen and made use of it (1964).⁶²

Kellner was undoubtedly one of the most prolific copyists of Bach's instrumental compositions, particularly the repertoire for keyboard instruments. With only four exceptions, all his surviving Bach copies were of organ and clavier music.⁶³ This significant volume notwithstanding, the name and work of the Thuringian cantor with sporadic exceptions eluded the academic limelight for a long time. Kellner (unlike for instance Johann Christoph Altnickol) was not acknowledged in a separate entry in the major nineteenth-

⁶¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Wenzinger, August, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950), Unpaginated Preface.

⁶² J. S. Bach, ed: Markevitch, Dimitry (1st edition), "Six Suites for Solo Cello, BWV 1007-1012," (Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010, USA: Presser, 1964).

⁶³ Russell Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 3.

century music dictionaries of Gerber⁶⁴ or Fétis.⁶⁵ His copies of the String Solos were not referred to as sources until Alfred Dörffel discussed them in his edition for the *Bach Gesellschaft* published in 1879,⁶⁶ and even thereafter, for another hundred years or so, they were seldom mentioned. As a rare exception, Andreas Moser, Joseph Joachim's co-editor on the Violin Solos, brought up Kellner's name, but only in the context of trying to explain the absence of certain movements in his copy.⁶⁷ The festivities of the *Johann-Peter-Kellner-Festwoche* on the 250th anniversary of his birth in 1955⁶⁸ were perhaps the first time his accomplishments were celebrated, but no extensive evaluation of his work took place until 1985, when Helmut Braunlich's article discussed Kellner's copy of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas in some detail and suggested that they may have been based on an early draft by the composer.⁶⁹

Within months of the publication of Braunlich's article, a doctoral thesis attracted further attention to Kellner, and the copying activities of himself and his circle.⁷⁰ Russell Stinson continued his research into Kellner's prolific copying output with a detailed analysis devoted exclusively to his transmission of the Violin Solos,⁷¹ and summed it all up in a book five years later.⁷² His exhaustive study discusses most aspects of Kellner's work before focusing in greater detail on his copies of a relatively small number of Bach compositions, amongst them the Violin Solos but not the Cello Suites. While Stinson accepts that Kellner 'is without a doubt one of the most important copyists represented in Bach sources', he describes him as an 'unquestionably ... exceedingly careless scribe', whose 'carelessness is plainly evident in his copies of the violin works'.⁷³ Stinson's conclusions are less convincing as far as the copy of the

⁶⁴ Erst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches lexikon der tonkünstler, welches nachrichten von dem leben und den werken musikalischer schriftsteller, berühmter komponisten, sänger ... enthält*, (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1812–14).

⁶⁵ François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Bruxelles 1835).

⁶⁶ BGA XXVIII/1, xvi.

⁶⁷ Andreas Moser, 'Zu Joh. Seb. Bachs Sonaten und Partiten für Violine allein', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 17 (1920), 35.

⁶⁸ The celebrations took place in Gräfenroda 25 September – 2 October 1955.

⁶⁹ Helmut Braunlich, 'Johann Peter Kellner's Copy of the Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo by J. S. Bach', *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* vol. 12, no. 2, 1981, 2–10.

⁷⁰ Russell Stinson, "The Bach Manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his Circle" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1985).

⁷¹ Russell Stinson, "J.P. Kellner's Copy of Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo," *Early Music* 13, no. 2 (1985).

⁷² Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history*.

⁷³ Stinson, "J.P. Kellner's Copy of Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo," 200.

Cello Suites is concerned, as this subject merits less than a page in his whole book. The case of the Cello Suites is fundamentally different from that of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas, and that in itself should warrant a reassessment of Kellner's version of the Suites. The examination of both copies together allows a better understanding of their similarities and differences.

Kellner's copy of the Violin Solos

Kellner's copy of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas shows a very different picture from that of the Cello Suites. Not only are the works given in a different order from the sequence of Sonatas alternating with Partitas as manifested in Bach's autograph fair copy, but more importantly, the set does not contain all of the movements found in the other sources. Kellner started with the three complete Sonatas in their familiar order, followed by with some, but not all movements of the E major and D minor Partitas without stating the number in the title; finally, the B minor Partita is missing altogether.

Table 3.2: Comparison of the order of the Violin Solos in Bach's autograph and Kellner's copy

J. S Bach	J. P. Kellner
Sonata I G minor	Sonata I G minor
Partita I B minor	Sonata II A minor
Sonata II A minor	Sonata III C major
Partita II D minor	Partita III E major Loure, 2nd Menuet, Bourrée, Gigue
Sonata III C major	Partita IV D minor Allemande, Courante
Partita III E major	Partita I B minor

Three movements, the D minor Partita's Chaconne and the Fugues of the G minor and C major Sonatas, are presented in versions substantially shorter than those in Bach's autograph.

Table 3.3: Sections missing in Kellner's copy

Partita II D minor Chaconne	Bars 21-24; 89-120; 126-140; 177-216; 241-244
Sonata I G minor Fuga	Bars 35-41
Sonata III C major Fuga	Bars 188-200; 256-270; 277-286

Significantly, there are also a number of smaller sections in the Bach autograph that are absent or slightly altered in Kellner's copy. These intriguing sections could be explained in more than one way. Stinson's suggestion that Kellner deliberately tampered with the length and even the content of his exemplars during the copying process⁷⁴ may well be true in the case of works written for his own instruments, organ and clavier (alterations that he was able to try out and modify immediately); however, it seems less likely that he would have attempted to venture into re-composition while copying for violin or cello. Undoubtedly though, the differences between his copy and Bach's clear and beautifully penned autograph are substantial. In Kellner's version, incorrect notes and rhythms occur with some frequency; there are incomplete bars and worse still, incomplete or missing movements. But the explanation offered for these variances is also not without its problems. Stinson acknowledges that Kellner's copy is 'the collection's second most important source ... evidently representing an authentic early version' of Bach's music,⁷⁵ yet he also maintains that 'Kellner seems to wilfully deviate from his exemplar' as 'he appears to replace readings with material of his own composition'.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle*, 65.

⁷⁵ This appears to contradict Stinson's criticism of Braunlich for a very similar suggestion. *Ibid.*, 56.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 57, 66.

While these propositions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, should the first conjecture turn out to be correct, it would call into question the validity of the second. If Kellner's model was indeed an authentic first version of the cycle, that would increase the significance of his copy and it would automatically become the best available representation of an early draft, giving us a rare insight into Bach's compositional practice. In turn, this could provide a logical explanation for the different length and order of the movements, and even for some of the minor changes of harmonies or notes. Certainly, the differences between Bach's known autograph and Kellner's copy of the Violin Solos are of such magnitude that they make it most improbable that Kellner's is a direct copy of this autograph. It seems more likely that Kellner modelled his script on a *different* authorial script, probably an earlier draft which itself could have undergone significant revisions by the composer at a later stage.⁷⁷ This draft may not have been fully composed (which is quite different from movements 'missing' or 'omitted') or else, if written on single pages, some sheets may have been damaged or lost while passed back and forth between composer and copyist. It is also worth noting that – disregarding the problem of the 'truncated' or 'missing' movements – Kellner's writing is easily readable and tidy, with some, but not many, clear copying errors, and that in the complete movements of the Violin Solos, there is no evidence whatever of him tampering with his exemplar. The consistent if not perfect copying standard in the completed movements suggests that Kellner copied these movements to the best of his abilities. It seems unlikely therefore that he would have applied radical cuts and other changes in only three movements and arbitrarily eradicated many more.

The Chaconne

Of all the movements of the Violin Solos, Kellner's copy of the Chaconne differs the most from the surviving autograph version of this crowning movement of the Partita in D minor. In Kellner's transmission, the Chaconne is ninety-six bars, or close to forty percent shorter than its familiar version (see Table 3.3). Finding an adequate explanation for these absent sections (particularly in the Chaconne but also in the other two, earlier mentioned fugues) has been

⁷⁷ This concept has been flagged before (see Braunlich, 'Johann Peter Kellner's Copy of the Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo by J. S. Bach') but for a lack of enough supporting arguments, never gained recognition.

one of the most often debated subjects in the otherwise underexplored field of Kellner's copying activities. Andreas Moser postulated that the reason for the 'unauthorised excisions' was to make the 'Study' (as he called the Chaconne) technically easier to play on the violin:

This enforced process of crafting an easier version could hardly have taken place with Bach's agreement. It is much more likely to be the result of an arbitrary intervention by Kellner, for whom the Study in its original form evidently proved to be too difficult.⁷⁸

Another possibility proposed by Stinson is that the copy may have been intended to assist with the preparation of a keyboard transcription⁷⁹ and when certain sections proved not to be easily adaptable, they were arbitrarily removed by the copyist. Then, having explored and discarded this idea, Stinson found it more likely that Kellner's deliberate cuts to the Chaconne were simply due to its excessive length.⁸⁰ While all of these suggestions are possible in principle, they are not supported by any direct evidence.

Most of the research done on this area has approached the subject from the same direction: looking through the incomplete, broken-up prism of Kellner's copy, the well-known, final version of the Chaconne can only be recognised as its model if we accept that the copy was severely mutilated. Viewed this way, Kellner's copy became damaged goods, leading to the deduction that 'the source is thus irrelevant'. We might arrive at a quite different conclusion with an approach coming from the opposite direction, looking at Kellner's script as an imperfect but essentially true copy of a putative (now lost) autograph. Is it possible that he did not seek to 'improve' Johann Sebastian's solo violin compositions by repeatedly cutting substantial chunks out of them, but rather that his source was a considerably shorter one, suggesting an earlier draft evidenced through Kellner's copy? Contemplating the problem from this angle, new questions have to be asked, most importantly: which variants in Kellner's

⁷⁸ Da es bei diesem Erleichterungsverfahren nicht ohne Gewaltsamkeiten abging, ist kaum anzunehmen, dass Bach es gebilligt hat. Wir werden es vielmehr als eine Eigenmächtigkeit Kellners zu buchen haben, dem das Etud in seiner ungekuertzen Fassung technisch wohl zu schwer gewesen ist. Andreas Moser, "Zu Joh. Seb. Bachs Sonaten und Partiten für Violine allein," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 17 (1920), 38.

⁷⁹ This challenge remained unfulfilled by Kellner but was taken up by a number of composers in the years to come, amongst them Brahms, Busoni and Joachim Raff.

⁸⁰ Stinson, *The Bach manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his circle: a case study in reception history*, 65.

copy are not merely mistakes, but could be considered as an earlier authorial alternative, discarded during a subsequent revision?

A small but characteristic example to illustrate the importance of this last question is the appearance of the so-called French violin clef.⁸¹ In the autograph of the Violin Solos, Bach always puts the French clef at the beginning of a bar with the exception of one single case: in bar 85 of the Chaconne, the switch to the French clef takes place after the third quaver, not only mid-bar but not even before a full beat. If Kellner's copy represents an earlier version of the movement, it might offer an explanation for this anomaly. In Kellner's transmission, bars 84-88 (corresponding to bars 85-86 in Bach's autograph) are twice as slow as the familiar version (semiquavers instead of demi-semiquavers, following the pace of the previous bars), thus lasting for four full bars, and the French clef, being written at the identical place, is therefore positioned on a bar line. If Bach revised the Chaconne from Kellner's model, that is, his own earlier draft, he may have decided to write down the bars in question at double speed without bothering to change the position of the French clef.

Figure 3.15: D minor Chaconne, bars 84-89 in Kellner's augmented copy (7 ½ bars). The French clef is written at the beginning of the second line and on a bar line, changing back to treble clef three bars later.




In all, there are almost forty differences between Kellner's copy and the autograph of the Chaconne; some small, affecting only 1-2 notes, some as extensive as the later added section between bars 177-216. Over half of these variants are probably the result of simple copying errors, however, the outstandingly challenging and fascinating feature of Kellner's script is the relatively large number of plausible textual alternatives: harmonically adequate versions,

⁸¹ When the notes remain high for a long period of time, Bach occasionally uses a treble clef starting on the first line of the staff (named 'French' as it was often used by French composers at the time) Joel Lester, *Bach's works for solo violin: style, structure, performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 12.

which sound perfectly acceptable but different from the known musical text. If indeed authentic, they must have been revised thoroughly before the fine copy was written out.

Table 3.4: Textual variants in the Chaconne in Kellner's copy

Bar and (.) beat	Note	Textual variants in Kellner's copy
16.1	1	A, E  in chord
21-24		Missing
47.1	3-4	B ^b , D instead of A, A ^b
85-86		written at half speed
89-120		Missing
152.1	1	chord missing (A, E)
152.2	7	A instead of G
159.2	7-8	F, D instead of D, F
169.2	8	A instead of F
170.2	8	A instead of E
177-216		Missing
228.2	9	extra A
232.1	1	C instead of A
241-244		Missing
256.2	3	tr

While these alternatives of the musical text in a draft version are perfectly adequate, their later authorial revision is a possibility not to be lightly dismissed.

This hypothesis of an early draft version addresses most of the supposed 'cuts' as well. The extreme length of the Chaconne (with a duration of 13 to 15 minutes in most performances, one of the longest movements Bach ever wrote for a solo instrument) is out of proportion to the rest of the Partita, whereas in a shorter version it may have fitted more easily into the structure of the work.⁸² The absence of four of the five 'cut' sections is hardly noticeable when Kellner's copy is played: helped by the stable D minor/major tonality, the transition is seamless. The fifth 'cut', however, cannot be explained as a valid alternative: with bars 126-140 not present, the listener misses out on one of the most extraordinary musical moments

⁸² Philipp Spitta evidently felt that the length of the Chaconne needed some explanation when he wrote: '[The Chaconne] is longer than all the rest of the suite put together, and must not be considered as the last movement of it, but as an appended piece; the suite proper concludes with the gigue.' Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach, his work and influence on the music of Germany, 1685-1750*. (London; New York: Novello; Dover Publications, 1951), 74.

of the Chaconne: the cathartic transition from D minor to D major. Equally importantly, this is the only absent section that does not adhere to the movement's continuous chain of four-bar variations; bar 125 is the first bar of a variation which is implausibly followed in Kellner's script by bar 141, another 'first bar'. The hypothetical Bach autograph may have been incompletely, but surely not incompetently written, suggesting that this represents a clear copying error on Kellner's part. Kellner may have accidentally skipped two musical lines but again, it is unlikely and without precedent elsewhere in this copy; it is conceivable, though, that spilled ink, a torn page or similar accidental damage may have prevented him from copying the missing fifteen bars. In any case, the clear structure of multiples of four bars in the other cases of missing bars makes an error of some sort more likely than deliberate alteration of the text. If the latter was the case, why would Kellner's cut be so clumsy, why would he excise the arrival to, in Spitta's hauntingly beautiful wording, '...the devotional beauty of D major where the evening sun sets in the peaceful valley'?⁸³

Even if in a draft form, the Chaconne was conceived as an extraordinary movement right from the outset. That could also explain why in the order that appears in Kellner's transmission, the D minor Partita is the final piece of the whole set, with the unsurpassable Chaconne at the very end of the manuscript.⁸⁴

Parallel traits between the two Kellner copies

Kellner's copies of the two sets of string solos and their models are well worth investigating as both their similarities and differences suggest some intriguing conclusions. In both cases, these revolutionary sets of six, multi-movement solo string works were composed in or before 1720; in both cases, in or before 1726 a manuscript of these compositions was given to and copied by Kellner. Both original models appear to have been lost, leaving as our single source for each of them the only known copy prepared by the enthusiastic organist. Without the copies, we would not even know that these models ever existed (though in both cases, it makes perfect sense that they did). In both cases we appear to be working with remaining

⁸³ Ibid., 76.

⁸⁴ Three decades later, Bach's oldest son, Carl Philipp Emanuel concluded his 6 Keyboard Sonatas, Wq.63 with another robustly unique and voluminous movement, the C minor Fantasia – a remarkable parallel.

silhouettes of objects – probably authorial manuscripts – that have disappeared a long time ago.⁸⁵

The extent to which these copies reflect authorial originals is potentially clouded by two factors:

1. Kellner's unintentional copying errors;
2. The supposition, often made in scholarly writings, that Kellner made intentional and arbitrary amendments to his model.

These two factors represent distinctly different professional or human behaviour even if they may not always be separable in practice.

The unintentional copying errors are frequent and plainly evident in both sets.⁸⁶ In most cases, they are easy to recognise as the notes or rhythms copied incorrectly are different from the version given in other, known sources, and look or sound odd in the musical texture (for instance, they add an extra beat to the bar, break an existing musical sequence etc). However, in a number of cases, divergent notes or rhythms in Kellner's copies present a valid alternative which may reflect his original source.

The discrepancies between Kellner's version and the autograph of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas have generally been assumed to constitute evidence of deliberate corruption of the original. But significantly, there is practically no evidence of him deliberately altering the musical text in his transmission of the Cello Suites (save where he added an extra note to the last tonic chord of three movements), thus it seems most unlikely that he would have changed his professional behaviour radically when copying very similar works by the same composer at a very similar time. We therefore have to consider the other alternative: that he copied, to the best of his ability, exactly what was in front of him. His model may well have been a different (and to us unknown) version, probably an earlier and incomplete draft. This would

⁸⁵ It is theoretically possible that either or both (lost) autographs had been copied by a third party and that Kellner had access only to those (similarly lost) copies. There is however no evidence to support this remote possibility.

⁸⁶ The work of Anna Magdalena is marred by similar errors.

help to explain the previously listed differences between his copy and the surviving Bach autograph, which he may never have seen.

The degree to which Kellner's copy of the Violin Solos differs from other contemporaneous manuscript copies of the same set is incomparably greater than in the analogous case of the Cello Solos.⁸⁷ It therefore seems plausible to conclude that there must have been significant differences between his exemplars. The chronological order of events may explain this seeming anomaly. At least two other persons copied the Violin Solos before Kellner obtained the score. First, a copyist in Cöthen made a manuscript copy in or around 1720 (*D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 968*) and BWV 1001-1005 was also copied by an unknown scribe, probably sometime between 1723 and 1726 (*D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 267*).⁸⁸ On the other hand, Kellner was the first, as far as we know, to gain access to the score of the Cello Suites in or around 1726, probably several years before Anna Magdalena made her own copy. It seems logical that in the case of the Violin Solos where he practically had to 'stand in line', he did not receive the fair copy autograph but an earlier, unrevised version, whereas the autograph of the Cello Suites that he had copied, may have been the same, apparently revised version of the Suites that Bach himself used during the compositional work of the Lute Suite BWV 995.

In Kellner's script of the Cello Suites there are almost no cuts or exclusions within movements, no hints of arbitrary changes of movements, no works in disjunct order – all of which can be seen in the case of the Violin Solos. While we will probably never know the reason for this with any degree of certainty, it seems likely that whereas the model of the Violin Solos was probably an early (draft) version of the autograph, Kellner appears to have used a far better quality exemplar in the case of the Cello Solos.

If Stinson's assessment of Kellner as a copyist is less than complimentary, he was not alone. Elsewhere, in various prefaces of editions of the Cello Suites, there is many a disdainful comment about Kellner's work being sloppy and incomplete, with too many mistakes to be

⁸⁷ To date, over thirty manuscript copies of the Violin Solos from the eighteenth and nineteenth century – some extant, others lost – are known. Tanja Kovacevic, "Trailing the sources" (PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2013), 9-10.

⁸⁸ Sources E and C respectively; see J. S. Bach, ed: Hausswald, Günter; Wollny, Peter, "Drei Sonaten und drei Partiten für Violine solo: Three sonatas and three partitas for solo violin, BWV 1001-1006," (New York, N.Y: Bärenreiter, 2001), x - xi.

taken seriously.⁸⁹ And all of that is undeniably true. However, based on the examples shown earlier and many others similar to them, it can be strongly argued that Kellner's model for the Cello Suites was a different and probably superior one to any of the others that his fellow copyists or the first editor used. The assumption that Bach would have given him a draft, that is, an earlier version if he had a revised copy at hand, hardly seems to make any sense. Kellner's exemplar – it could be a revised version or a fine copy – shows distinct signs of a more mature version of the primary parameters, frequently contradicting the versions evident in all of the other sources.

Kellner's copies of the String Solos may reveal evidence of these important Bach autographs that have not survived and to which, to the best of our knowledge, no other later copyist had access. The concurrent examination of the two copies offers considerably more than recognising the hallmarks of an 'exceedingly careless scribe'.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ For instance, "Kellner's copy ... is the most unreliable transmission carrier of the cello suites." in J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 77.

⁹⁰ Stinson, "J.P. Kellner's Copy of Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo," 200.

Chapter 4

Introduction to the editions

The re-evaluation of the original sources of the Suites, which is the first major objective of this thesis, reveals multiple problems in these conflicting sources. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, it appears that not one of the four eighteenth-century manuscripts is completely dependable, due to their copying errors, unclear articulations and, perhaps most importantly, the frequent deviations between them regarding pitches and rhythms. This lack of agreement has been interpreted in a number of ways in the editions, illuminating some of the reasons behind the numerous textual discrepancies between them.

The introduction to the main editorial philosophies of the Suites' editions will lead directly to the second objective of this thesis, the examination of how the differences between the original sources have been interpreted by and filtered through generations of editions. At this stage, it is important to contextualise the historical significance of the editor's role, which constitutes a mediating presence between the composition and the performance of a musical work. This is a crucially important step, as more often than not, due to a geographical and/or temporal distance between the two, the composer and the performer seldom meet in person.¹ But it is more than just mediation. As Walter Emery announced almost sixty years ago,

...unless the editing is done properly, the composer's intentions will be misrepresented. Performers will play notes that the composer did not mean, and false conclusions will be arrived at by analysts and theorists of all kind, not to mention music critics in the ordinary sense of that term.²

¹ Exceptionally, the composer may double as the performer of his own work, so the two roles might meet. Alternatively, many famous composer-performer relationships (Johannes Brahms with Joseph Joachim, Béla Bartók with Joseph Szigeti and so on) proved mutually inspiring, particularly when the composer was writing for something other than his own instrument. In such cases, the performance will integrate the artistic intentions of both parties.

² Walter Emery, *Editions and musicians* (London: Novello and Co, 1957), 5.

This chapter examines the historical principles of edition-making in Western art music, in particular in cases with a problematic source history. It then goes on to introduce a classification system, which will help to clarify the distinctions between the aims and objectives of different editors. A new system of classification of categories seems necessary, as both the content and the actual description of the various categories vary considerably in the examined historical sources. The established categories are based on the characteristics arising from these editions whenever possible and thus are particularly apposite to the Suites; their analysis will take place in the following chapters.

Edition making

Performers and musicologists typically approach any given piece using a variety of methodologies, but both aim at an accurate reading of the composer's score, before interpreting it in meaningful ways, through either performance or analysis/critical commentary.³

As one of the areas of overlap between the two domains, the making of a music edition and its many related questions bring the practical experiences of a performer into synthesis with the analytical enquiry of a music scholar. As a professional cellist examining the edition history of the Suites, my method is an amalgamation of the musicological and the performing approaches. An essential part of my analytical work has been to play through the editions, identifying not only doubtful pitches and rhythms but problems that might not be visible on the page to a non-cellist, for example, where one reading introduces unidiomatic fingerings or bowings.

For a non-musician, the visual appearance of a composition on paper is likely to be meaningless. In itself the notated form does not constitute a distinct musical experience; its enigmatic content is understandable only by experts with a specialist education. Without a

³ The relationship between the two methodologies should be open and dialectic, even if performance and musicology departments so often inhabit completely different parts of university campuses, or belong to entirely separate institutions.

decoding medium (a performance) it will not be commonly comprehensible as a source of artistic enjoyment. As Roman Ingarden postulates:

...one can become acquainted with a work without the aid of a performance by simply reading the score, although one cannot in this manner attain the fullness and concretion of acquaintance that are possible when attending a performance.⁴

This is a momentous transformation: what was before this point a quintessentially hermetic and insular activity (the composer conveying his artistic ideas on paper) will be converted into a public, aural experience by the equally creative contribution of the performer, thus becoming enjoyable by a wide range of people. This procedure involves a change in the format, and as a result, the composition will go through a process of socialisation. A feature specific to acoustic art forms (such as music, plays, poems, and even prose when being read aloud) is the possibility, indeed, necessity of *interpretation*, which will enrich the performance with a further layer of ideas. These unique details will reflect the performer's own personal feelings and artistic thoughts about the artwork in question. As part of the creative process, the interpretation acts as an ever-changing prism through which the composition takes on a slightly different appearance every time it is performed. Interpretation in itself does not guarantee excellence. Nor does it alter the quality of the original composition. Rather, the performer's individual approach is a form of review; it will bring out, at times even excessively, certain features of the music and stay neutral regarding others, or perhaps choose to diminish their effect. The mixture of these decisions will ultimately decide the way the performance will sound and affect its audience.

At least three crucial elements are therefore necessary to the aesthetic appreciation of Western musical works: firstly, a composition in its physical manifestation (traditionally on paper), ideally preserving the most authentic available version by the composer (however that ideal of authenticity is understood)⁵ and secondly, a performance thereof as a representation of the performer's personal interpretation. Neither can succeed without the other, as composition in itself is a process resulting in a non-auditory artistic entity.

⁴ Roman Ingarden, *The work of music and the problem of its identity*, trans. Adam Czerniawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 18.

⁵ Which 'the most authentic available version' might be, is an often debated and extremely problematic question. See Christopher Hogwood, "Urtext, que me veux-tu?," *Early Music* 41, no. 1 (2013), 123-127.

Acoustically it will only be enjoyable, when enabled through another, different and independent authority, that of the performer. Thirdly, in published Western art music, the symbiosis of these two elements is made possible with the input of an editor whose work mediates between the composer and performer.⁶ As this chapter examines the principles of edition making, it is necessary to consider the role of the editor and the particular challenges and demands his work entails, especially in relation to such problematic sources as those for the Suites.⁷

An edition is usually created for the purpose of future performances.⁸ It can be prepared either from a manuscript (either autograph or a copy of that by another hand), or from earlier edition(s) of the same work. On occasion a combination of the two can also be used. During the editorial process, the score – whatever version of the notated composition is being used – will undergo numerous, often extremely subtle alterations. Such changes are typically reflective of contemporaneous performance practice as well as the editor's interpretation of the chosen source(s). The editorial work is therefore both critical and interpretative, irrespective of how its audience will receive it.

In principle, an edition should be based on the final authorised version, the '*Fassung letzter Hand*', of the composer.⁹ However, if such a version (mostly an autograph) did not survive, as is frequently the case, succeeding generations have to rely on other models: sketches, copies (made by professional copyists, friends, pupils or disciples), the first edition and so on. If the

⁶ The editorial role is made redundant only in those relatively rare cases where the performer plays from a manuscript score.

⁷ While my primary purpose is to investigate the workings of the middle part in this triumvirate, the topic will inevitably touch on some philosophical issues to do with the nature of music, adequate treatment of which is obviously impossible within the scope of this thesis. For practical reasons, therefore, I have chosen to follow the line of argument laid out in Lydia Goehr, *The imaginary museum of musical works: an essay in the philosophy of music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). and Roman Ingarden, *The work of music and the problem of its identity*. Further discussion can also be found in Michael Krausz, *The Interpretation of music: philosophical essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). as well as in two recent PhD dissertations: John Dyck, "Did Bach Compose Musical Works? An Evaluation of Goehr's Watershed Thesis" (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, 2010). & John Kenneth Lutterman, "Works in progress: J. S. Bach's Suites for Solo Cello as artifacts of improvisatory practices" (PhD diss., University of California, 2006).

⁸ Usually, but not always, as there are historical precedents for editions made primarily with academic study in mind, for example Ernst Kurth's 1921 publication of the Suites, see J. S. Bach, ed: Kurth, Ernst, "Sechs Sonaten und sechs Suiten für Violine und Violoncello Solo," (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1921). The miniscule format of this edition makes it almost impossible for performance, as the actual staves occupy only 9x13 centimetres on every page.

⁹ Hogwood presents a number of examples for the opposite, demonstrating that exceptions can occur with some frequency. Christopher Hogwood, "Urtext, que me veux-tu?".

composer is unable to confirm the degree of dependability of these models (if only for the simple reason of not being alive any more), educated decisions are needed to ascertain how reliably they convey the composer's intentions. This problem is exacerbated further when two or more sources are based on the lost autograph. Invariably, differences are found between them, some of which may be only minute, while others might be of grave importance. The various readings have to be assessed and possibly collated, and the result of that activity, believed to transmit the notation of the lost original as accurately as possible, has to be presented to the performer, and ultimately to the audience. If, for scholarly reasons, the editor chooses to collate the readings of various sources, this should be clearly explained in the critical notes.

The editor's critical evaluation of the available sources will influence performers and their future audiences immensely. Editing, as James Grier states in his seminal book on the topic, 'consists of [a] series of choices, educated, critically informed choices; in short, the act of interpretation'.¹⁰ The adjective 'critically' seems to appear almost casually in that sentence, yet it refers to another powerful component in the expertise necessary. The editor has to form judgements when facing the problem of divergences between the sources: which exemplar can be trusted the most, which note, articulation, rhythm or dynamic instruction should be played? All available sources have to be evaluated with a critical eye, before the editor chooses from amongst them to the best of his existing knowledge, so that the performer, reading an unambiguous, printed version, can add personal imagination, mastery, artistic insight, in short: interpretation. The editor will be elevated to a powerful position to become a curator, if not a creator; the musical credibility of the published composition will become his or her unique responsibility. All later work relaying on that edition, whether musical or musicological, is based and dependent on these efforts.

This task can be relatively simple: editing a composition from a clearly written manuscript diminishes the challenges of that intermediate role. Editorial decisions will play a far less crucial role in a Brahms sonata or Shostakovich string quartet where the surviving autograph is meticulously marked and little can be questioned regarding the musical text or its

¹⁰ James Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.

articulation – even though the interpretation of many seemingly clearly written scores still provokes heated debates amongst scholars and performers alike.

The responsibilities of the editorial role are of far greater magnitude when the primary sources are multiple, ambiguous or missing. In such cases, the editor becomes a necessary if not equal member of the artistic alliance. His conclusions will have vital consequences: the editor will often have to interpret several competing readings, side with one of them and, if not satisfied with its suppositions, introduce changes to it. This can only be done competently with an understanding of the historical style and in the context of the extant sources. The editorial interventions might include replacing manifest corruptions or even outright re-composition of sections missing in past editions, perhaps completing them with feasible readings. It might also involve modernising the score in order to meet the notational conventions of the day. Evidently, these decisions will be of significant importance and they will reveal a certain bias on the part of the editor, who is presenting a subjective interpretation of the sources. This is both unavoidable and reasonable, as long as the editorial intervention is based on a critical examination of the work and its sources, and is explained in clear terms as part of the edition.¹¹ This illuminates at least one main reason behind the seemingly never-ending succession of editions of the Cello Suites: the temptation of creating the ‘ideal’ edition has proved irresistible for musicians (mostly, but not exclusively, cellists) of the last two hundred years.¹²

¹¹ Ibid., 8.

¹² Every new edition is unique in some ways, serving specific interpretational purposes and/or aiming to be superior to all previous ones. While the first part of this statement is unequivocally true in the case of the Suites (apart from facsimiles in their pure form, there are no two editions with identical musical text), there are some exceptions to the second claim: for instance, in a few cases the main purpose of the edition may have been to make the Suites available in a country where foreign editions were hard to obtain (for example, the Russian Evgeni Malmgren’s edition of 1914 mirrors Hugo Becker’s c1890 publication closely, including its metronome and tempo markings, dynamics and physical layout, differing only occasionally in some bowings and fingerings). Although such editions still contain some unique changes to the musical text, they mostly replicate a pre-existing edition, typically with the addition of an introduction in a new language – cf. practically every Dover edition.

The editorial decisions

Apart from deciding on the future edition's physical appearance, the editor is responsible for decisions in four major areas:

1. Choice of source material
2. Form and extent of editorial notes
3. Choice of pitches and rhythms (the primary parameters of the musical text)
4. Performing instructions: articulation, slurs, dynamics, ornamentation, additional notes, and so on (the secondary parameters of the musical text)

1. One of the first decisions an editor has to make involves choosing which of the available source(s) to base the proposed edition upon. These sources may be one or more of the original sources (in the particular case of the Suites, this can involve the four eighteenth-century copies, the first edition) and/or one or more pre-existing editions.¹³ The nature of the new edition will be influenced by the level of care and thoroughness with which the selected sources are assessed, their hierarchy understood, variants from them chosen and the care with which these results are explained. In editions with scholarly pretensions, the genesis and provenance of the sources should also be discussed.

Critical editions disclose the sources they use as a matter of course, while in other editions such references to relevant information are often missing. When available, this detail can help to establish filiation and influence from an earlier to later generations of editions. Apart from the four manuscript copies, certain nineteenth-century editions have commonly provided the model for various later editions. For instance, the first edition (Janet et Cotellet, 1824) had a number of glaring errors, many of which were repeated uncritically in several subsequent editions well into the twentieth century. Dotzauer, whose edition was published two years later in 1826, was familiar with the first edition, but he seemed to be unaware of the existence of Anna Magdalena's manuscript copy (or Source A).¹⁴ His edition served as the model for generations of later editions, some of which were notably dissimilar from one another.

¹³ Critical editions are normally founded on primary sources, whereas performing editions are based usually on pre-existing editions.

¹⁴ His unique choice of exemplars will be discussed in Chapter 7.

On the other hand, the various critical editions of the Suites, including the Urtext editions published in 2000 (Breitkopf & Härtel, Henle, Wiener Urtext and Bärenreiter), are consistently founded on the original sources, yet their dissimilarities are striking and not just in minor matters of a missing accent or a typographic error. As it is detailed in Chapter 5, the editors' reading and interpretation of particular problematic examples in the musical text often varies significantly. Despite their commitment to a scholarly approach and the fact that they all had access to the same sources, the judgments of these editors are still individual and subjective. The philology of music is far from being an exact science. New historical discoveries are perhaps rarer nowadays than back in the nineteenth century when manuscripts were only becoming objects of interest, but new approaches, small details, perhaps overlooked by others, might gain significance and influence editorial decisions. 'No edition is definitive': James Grier's sobering statement is a warning to those who are seeking the flawless, true-for-all-time version of the Bach Suites' editions.¹⁵

2. Editions are regularly printed without any editorial notes at all. This, in itself, does not diminish the perceived value of the publication for many players, particularly if there is no suggestion that the edition aspires to scholarly status. Conversely, of course, the presence of a preface and/or critical notes does not of itself guarantee that it will provide further value to the edition. Nevertheless, whether in the form of a preface, footnotes, critical comments, ossia's or anything else, annotations are particularly useful when the editor wants to provide supplementary information regarding various aspects of the edition. The editorial notes can be superficially short or extremely detailed; as mundane – and self-promotional – as a biography of the editor, or essential assistance, like detailed comments on sources, a list of possible errors, or a description of the analytical method employed. A commentary can also be valuable in explaining the editor's guiding principles during the creation of the edition. In the history of the Suites' editions, such commentary appeared only once before the 1950s (in Dörffel's 1879 BGA edition), although brief editorial notes have disclosed some valuable information occasionally, even in performing editions (for example, Hausmann, 1898; Pollain, 1918; Forino, 1923)

¹⁵ Grier, James. "editing." *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2186>, accessed June 5 2016.

3. The editor has to decide which and how many of the sources will determine the musical text in the proposed edition and in what way each will be taken into account. If there are mistakes in any of the sources, they have to be identified, based on textual comparison, musical style, and performance practice. If the readings from multiple sources are collated, then not only the alternatives have to be identified, but also their sources and the role they play in the edition. An edition can conceivably work as a summary of several sources; however, if it is made with scholarly ambitions, it should identify the origin of every variant. In principle, this is a generally accepted condition; however, in practice it often seems to be applied selectively or not at all, as it can lead to an overly convoluted score and/or accompanying notes.

As the examples discussed in Chapter 3 suggest, there is a surprisingly wide variety of alternative notes and rhythms in the original sources of the Bach Suites.¹⁶ Identifying these and their provenance should be one of the principal subjects of any investigation into the Bach Suites' editions. In most of the cases when two (and sometimes even more) alternative notes are available in the sources, even the most unlikely possibilities can surface in some later edition.¹⁷ To make things worse and despite an overwhelmingly high level of editorial care, inexplicable wrong notes without any previous history turn up with alarming frequency.¹⁸ These are not always due to an error. On occasion the editor may purposefully introduce never previously written notes (mostly without any explanation): for example, a B instead of an F in bar 30 of the C major Prélude for the ninth note is completely without precedent – yet, this is what was printed in Jacqueline du Pré's edition:¹⁹

¹⁶ This phenomenon is by no means unique to the Suites.

¹⁷ Stogorsky (1957) famously took over almost without exception the numerous mistakes in Anna Magdalena's copy; Stade (1864) in a similarly uncritical way copied many errors of the first edition.

¹⁸ Bärenreiter's critically acclaimed critical edition in 2000 contains four unexplained wrong or missing notes, pointing to inadequate proofreading.

¹⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: du Pré, Jacqueline, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1981), 15.

Figure 4.1: C major Suite, Prélude, bars 29-30 in Jacqueline du Pré's edition



4. The addition of performance annotations and instructions is a fundamental issue to contemplate when a new edition is created. The editor's artistic contribution could include changes to, or the addition of instructions about any of the secondary parameters, such as dynamics, tempo and metronome markings, various signs of articulation etc. The articulation markings are of particular importance as they inevitably impact on the phrasing of the music. For string players in particular, the placement of legato lines affects physical movement directly, as they dictate the sequence of up- and down-bows. In the baroque era, slurs were sometimes but not always included in the final product. Alfred Dörffel freely admitted in the Preface of the volume 27 of the BGA, containing the Violin and Cello Solos, that

It is a good thing that for Bach the bowings and other markings referring to the art of performance are only of secondary importance. Bach was never pedantic towards the performer: he allowed him, his insight and his artistic sense the most complete freedom and therefore provided him with as few instructions as possible.²⁰

Bach may have trusted the 'performer's insight and artistic sense', particularly as he most often participated in the performance of his own pieces and had a direct and personal influence over the technical details such as bowings.²¹ Nonetheless, whether pedantic or not, he was not prepared to give up authorial control: we know that he regularly went through his copyists' work, correcting possible errors and adding articulation.²² The impeccably marked

²⁰ 'Es ist gut mit diesen Stricharten und sonstigen Bezeichnungen, welche die Kunst der Ausführung betreffen, nur ein nebensächlicher Punkt bei Bach berührt wird. Denn Bach war dem ausführenden Künstler gegenüber nie peinlich: er liess ihm, seiner Einsicht und seinem Kunstsinn, die vollste Freiheit und gab ihm deshalb so wenig als möglich Vorschriften.' J. S. Bach, ed: Dörffel, Alfred, "6 Suiten für Violoncello in: J. S. Bachs Kammermusik. Sechster Band. Solowerke für Violine. Solowerke für Violoncello, Bd XXVII/1," in *Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, ed. Alfred Dörffel (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1879), XIV.

²¹ Naturally, at the time when Dörffel was writing this, there was little knowledge of Bach's actual work habits, therefore these sentences may mirror a late nineteenth-century view of a much earlier performance practice.

²² John Butt, *Bach interpretation: articulation marks in primary sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 90.

autograph of the Violin Solos also proves that he was not only concerned with but, in fact, quite meticulous about notating articulation instructions, including bowings, when he had the opportunity. In the case of the Cello Suites, judging from the constant variance of legato lines between the four manuscript sources, it seems likely that some of their models had not been finalised fully. Bach may have been simply too busy to check the respective models of Sources A and B in the late 1720s when on top of his normal workload, he had all kinds of difficulties with the Leipzig bureaucracy.²³ On the other hand, when Sources C and D were copied he was not alive anymore and thus unable to check them. The slurring discrepancies between the original sources are indeed bewildering and none of them appears to be trustworthy enough to be chosen as the one to be followed. It would not be flippant to say that the only thing they agree upon regarding articulations is that they seldom agree.²⁴

These inconsistencies might explain why many later editors took extensive liberties regarding the articulation. Even in cases where different editors were aiming ostensibly to achieve the exact same result, the number and range of performing instructions can be very different; for example, the editions of Paul Grümmer (1944), Edmund Kurtz (1984), Kirsten Beißwenger (2000) and Hans-Christian Schweiker (2001) each claimed to provide a true transcription of Anna Magdalena's legato markings, yet the results differ considerably (see, for example, Figures 6.1 and 6.13).

The editor's primary commitment to teaching or performing, interest in scholarly investigations, interpretation of the chosen sources, artistic ambitions and so forth form an important but seldom discussed factor in the transmission of any music, but in particular, of the Suites. These decisions vary greatly depending on the habitus and the aims of the editor, but usually follow one of two directions. They tend to reveal a certain bias either by turning back in time to the original sources (the editor then prepares the most accurate representation of the composition) or by looking ahead, focusing on future performances (in which case the editor attempts to assist in an effective – if subjective – reading of the score).

²³ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 242-250.

²⁴ The bewilderingly divergent legato lines in the primary sources have been extensively discussed in the past, for example, Ingrid Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1981); Laura Elizabeth Kramer, "Articulation in Johann Sebastian Bach's Six Suites for Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012): History, analysis and performance" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1998).

One of these biases is commonly recognisable in the final product; notwithstanding intermittent attempts to accommodate the expectations of both directions (such attempts are seldom successful in fulfilling both expectations equally), the majority of editions satisfy different needs amongst the users of the score.

In an *edition based directly on original sources*, the editorial focus is likely to appeal more to scholars and those students and performers who want to make up their own mind about the subtleties of the performance using a dependable reading of a primary source. Naturally, the ultimate objective of such an edition is still a future performance of the composition, but its approach is distinctive as it purports to convey the text of the original sources accurately.

Others might prefer more emphasis on artistic and technical instructions regarding the fine details of the work, as recorded in the editions of experienced cellists. These instructions may emphasise in varying degrees certain performing, pedagogical or analytical traditions but they all agree in the interpretative nature of their work, aiming at future performances. Ultimately, these editions are also founded on the primary sources, though often several editorial generations removed. Some editors belonging to this second group may be indeed interested in including original sources or their critical evaluation of them in these editions.²⁵ However, the extent of text criticism is usually hard to judge, as it is often difficult to distinguish editorial intervention from any readings taken from an original source. The editor's attention in such publications is primarily turned towards the stimulating and influencing effect of the final product with detailed advice to the performer; these are therefore *editions focusing on performance*.²⁶

Figure 4.2: The main editorial directions



²⁵ The edition of Markevitch (1964) is a prime example for this phenomenon.

²⁶ Performance is taken here in a broad sense: anyone devoting time, money and energy to learn the Suites and subsequently playing them to a friend or teacher or a paying audience, is participating in a performance.

These groups share a common, fundamental objective: both would like the Bach Suites to be played, and played well. Importantly, both of them consider – as they have to – the original sources and there is even a certain amount of overlap between them. However, their perspectives reflect a vastly different level of engagement with the original sources, as the editions focusing on performance tend to take those sources into account through the prism of layers and layers of intermediary editions, rather than directly. The two groups approach their objective in largely dissimilar ways: editions based directly on original sources are invariably founded on musicological research, whereas editions focusing on performance rely much more on aesthetics and musicianship. The main reasons behind their dividing differences are twofold: firstly, the way they choose and deal with the sources and secondly, the level and direction of their editorial intervention to the musical text.

All of the editions can be put into one or other of these two large groups. Due to their size further categorisation is needed; editions with similar characteristics can be collected together and thus categories can be set up. The recognition of the salient characteristics, their possible origins, future influence and their similarity can assist in the formation of categories. This is particularly valuable when such enormous number of editions have to be sorted and analysed.²⁷

In the largest and perhaps most easily recognisable category within the source-based group, the editors aim to replicate the composed work in a format resembling the ‘original’ as closely as possible. In that case, they would ‘collect the sources of the work in question, evaluate them, and collate them to create a version that most closely reflects the composer's intentions,’²⁸ therefore the focus of the editorial work is primarily the interpretation of the sources and the historical evidence and the editor is preparing a *critical edition* (to be discussed in detail in Chapter 5).

²⁷ Categories with readily recognisable features serve as a splendid tool for a researcher; however, paradoxically therein lies one of the main problems of taxonomy. The more similarities between various editions within one category can be demonstrated, the greater the danger of oversimplifying. The temptation is there to blur distinctions and exaggerate differences in an attempt to strengthen an argument, yet scholarly integrity both assumes and demands the acceptance of the caveat that assistance from categorisation might be limited.

²⁸ Grier, James. "editing." The Oxford Companion to Music. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2186>, accessed 5 June 2016.

On the other hand, the editor may elect to follow a different path from the one advised by James Grier and give priority to a ‘personalised edition’ by adding his individual artistic suggestions. Some of these suggestions can be idiosyncratic in the extreme musically, while others tend to be visually undistinguished from the composer’s text as they are mixed in with other editorial markings. For the reader, it can be hard to see what originated from Bach and what was derived from the editor’s creative imagination. Annotations given with a colourful performance in mind are common. Admittedly, most musicians mark special fingerings, slurs, dynamics and so on during their practice; teachers also write in their students’ scores, if for no other reason but to jog their memory. However, these ideas are mostly notated in the music in pencil and they can be changed at any time. Once the annotations appear in print, they become part of the musical text, as intended, and consequently have equal status to the rest of the music. Such editions are based on individual artists’ individual musical recommendations (after all, this is the main reason for their existence) and, as can be expected, there is a striking variety in their method and execution. The complexity of these musical suggestions can be one of the main distinguishing traits of these editions. These annotations reflect not only the editor’s own belief in the most appropriate ways to play the composition but also the performing traditions of his own temporal and geographical environment. In such a case, the editor’s focus is on presenting a convincing case supporting his artistic ideas to future performers (rather than reproducing the sources of the past in a contemporary version), and he is preparing a *performing edition* (to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7),²⁹ the most common category within the large group of performance-focused editions.

Systems of categorisation in the last forty years

Apart from the critical and performing editions several further categories have to be considered, as the range and ambitions of the Bach Suites’ editions is far greater than what could be encapsulated in the two categories mentioned so far. A great deal of musicological

²⁹ This type of edition is known by a number of other names, including, by slightly confusingly shifting the apostrophe, the *performers’* or *performer’s edition*, as well as *instructive*, *interpretative*, *practical* or *performance edition*.

thought has gone into defining different categories of editions that clarify the relationship between a source and its printed form. As opinions regarding the necessary types and numbers of categories differ considerably, it will be valuable to survey some of the most important classification systems of the recent past.

Ingrid Fuchs, in her wide-ranging PhD dissertation on the Cello Suites (1981), discussed this relationship in its historical context but found it useful for establishing categories of the editions of the twentieth century only.³⁰ The listed categories in her essay are:

- Critical edition
- Analytical edition
- Practical edition

Fuchs gives a helpful summary of these categories before discussing them in detail. According to her assessment, critical editions are publications that are 'based on the manuscript sources' (or often, as Fuchs admits, only on Anna Magdalena's copy) and 'attempt to establish what ... the composer intended.'³¹ The second category contains any editions that include some form of analysis of the works on the musical text itself. An interesting caveat posited here by Fuchs is, that although these are analytical editions, they may be, concurrently, critical or even practical in their approach. The third category includes all editions with a broad range of technical and artistic instructions assisting an individual performance. (This category is synonymous with that of the performing editions described before.)

Georg Feder, the author of the most comprehensive monograph on musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique, *Musikphilologie* (1987), described the use of categories in music publishing as an 'editorial technique'.³² In the chapter of his book that analyses such techniques, he discussed the publication of all musical genres together, in

³⁰ Ingrid Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte," (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1981), 805-858.

³¹ Ibid., 805.

³² Georg Feder, *Musikphilologie : eine Einführung in die musikalische Textkritik, Hermeneutik und Editionstechnik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987). This book will be quoted from its English translation, published in 2011. The English translation contains only minor revisions by the author.

general terms. For this purpose, he recommended not fewer than eight categories, each of them dealing with a different set of conditions:³³

- Facsimile
- Diplomatic print
- Edition of the corrected text
- Critical edition
- Historical and critical edition
- 'Scholarly and practical' edition
- 'Urtext edition'
- Edition based on the history of the work's transmissions³⁴

Feder makes the interesting distinction between critical and scholarly editions (mostly used as interchangeable terms today), proposing that there are 'unscholarly forms of musical criticism'.³⁵ Nonetheless, his definition for a critical edition appears to cover the requirements of a scholarly edition as well (see Chapter 5). It is also worth mentioning that in Feder's opinion, the performing, or 'practical', edition is actually a scholarly edition that the editor adapts to 'an obviously recognisable interpretation ... to meet their [the readers'] presumed practical needs'.³⁶ The Urtext editions in Feder's view are 'editions of the corrected text ... or more or less critical editions ... with a much reduced critical commentary and especially with performance help like fingerings, bowings'³⁷ – an opinion that would be difficult to maintain without a clear distinction between editorial suggestion and the composer's text.

James Grier, in *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice* (1996),³⁸ agrees with Feder about the importance of the perceived needs of the audience. He argues that due to the ageing process the audience is changing constantly, and for sociological, economic and cultural reasons, their expectations would change as well. It follows then that the editions

³³ Georg Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, ed. Societies American Council of Learned (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2011). 137-159.

³⁴ These categories will be discussed in some detail in the following chapters.

³⁵ Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*: 149.

³⁶ This opinion does not account for the apparently un-scholarly performing editions, for example Du Pré or Bailey. Ibid., 152-153.

³⁷ Ibid., 154.

³⁸ Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice*, 145.

strongly reflect, while at the same time, influence the performing traditions of their times and places. Grier, though grounding much of his work on Feder's research, found some of his categories dispensable, and reduced the number of necessary types of editions to four. His list does include the interpretative edition, here detached from any expectations of being scholarly.

- Photographic facsimile
- An edited print that replicates the original notation
- Critical edition
- Interpretative edition

Grier acknowledges the existence of the diplomatic edition (in as much as claiming that his second category is *not* identical with a diplomatic edition) but – unlike Feder – does not consider it significant enough to name it a separate category. While diplomatic transcriptions only help with legibility, Grier's second category

...not only permits the same enhancement of legibility, but also allows editors the opportunity to revise and correct the text according to their critical investigation of the work and its sources.³⁹

This category thus strongly resembles Feder's 'Edition of the corrected text' with one essential difference: Feder finds the use of his category justifiable only where there is a single surviving principal source.⁴⁰ Grier's distinction between his second and third categories is also slightly problematic as he considers an edited print that replicates the original notation to be a critical edition, yet not part of the category of critical editions.⁴¹ (See Chapter 6 for more detail.)

Urtext editions, on the other hand, belong to the critical editions in Grier's structure (rather than being considered a separate category, as in Feder's system); his argument regarding the much-debated inherent problems of the 'Urtext' concept is particularly pertinent and clearly articulated.⁴² The differences between performing and critical editions are also addressed:

³⁹ Ibid., 148.

⁴⁰ This is more a statement rather than a justified argument on Feder's side and in a slight contradiction with the following sentence that implies that multiple sources are permissible as long as they are thoroughly examined by the editor. Georg Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, 141.

⁴¹ Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice*, 148.

⁴² Ibid., 10-13.

the performing editions record valuable oral traditions as they include many nuances of the interpretation of the work in a given era.⁴³

The possible listings of categories can be further extended with another one, compiled specifically for the publications of the Cello Suites. In the year Grier's book was published, the American cellist and music writer, Jeffrey Solow proposed his view on how the categories should be organised:⁴⁴

- facsimiles of the manuscripts
- scholarly or critical editions
- unedited editions
- performance editions [another alias for performing editions]

Although Solow, similarly to Feder and Grier, considers facsimile editions important enough to grant them their separate category, it has to acknowledged that in the specialised case of the Suites as there are only two purely facsimile editions⁴⁵ (in another nine editions, facsimiles are reproduced as an appendix to the edited version). At the same time, in his categorization there is no allocated place for the substantial number of editions transcribed from original sources – the equivalent of Feder's third category and Grier's second. The suggestion of introducing a separate category for 'unedited editions' is on the other hand worthy of further exploration, even if the validity of the term can be questioned, as the name itself suggests an oxymoron.

The lack of agreement between the number, naming and definition of the various categories listed here is surprising. It appears that while Fuchs, Feder, Grier and Solow ostensibly have the same objective, they apply diverse editorial techniques to achieve those goals. As a result, the methods suggested for setting up such categories and organising such a quantity of editions within them is far from unequivocal. Although the categories themselves are explained in detail in the books of both Feder and Grier, as well as in the thesis of Fuchs,⁴⁶

⁴³ Grier's thoughts on the definition of a critical edition will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey Solow, "Cello Forum: Bach's Cello Suites - A Guide for the Editionally Perplexed," *American String Teacher* 46, no. 1 (1996): 81.

⁴⁵ Peters/Reinhardt (1950) and Bärenreiter (1988).

⁴⁶ Solow's article is informative, but as 'A Guide for the Editionally Perplexed', it states rather than validates its conclusions.

their descriptions do not necessarily clarify what conditions various editions should pass in order to fit into any of the mentioned categories. Nor do the major English-language music dictionaries offer a clear definition of even the most important categories.⁴⁷ The confusion starts with the actual names of the categories, as several conflicting terms are commonly used in various parts of the world and often even in the same country, ostensibly describing identical types of editions. Not even such a fundamental distinction is exempt from nebulous definition, as the difference – if any – between scholarly and critical edition, and the proliferation of Urtext editions since the nineteen-fifties complicates the clear understanding of both the term and its meaning even further.⁴⁸ The multifarious pseudonyms of performing editions have been mentioned above and will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

Proposed categorisation of the Cello Suites

These ambiguities suggest that, rather than setting rigid guidelines, a level of flexibility is needed when categorising editions. Indeed, it appears that setting up a universally applicable set of categories may be impossible as such categories may not work in all cases. While it might be an attractive idea to create apt definitions for categories and then fill them with the available number of editions, a better solution could be to approach the problem from the opposite end: having analysed all the editions (in this, or any other repertoire), the appropriate type and number of categories can be constructed to cover the whole range, including any nonconforming, perhaps even extreme varieties. Given the diverse characteristics of the Western art music repertoire, the categories should not be regarded as absolute, fixed entities, but rather as an apposite framework generated and defined according to the demands of a specific repertoire. Approaching any pool of editions with a preordained grouping would be ineffective, as in such a case some editions may not concur with the requirements of any of the pre-set categories. On the other hand, if the categories are carefully enough defined they could account for all possibilities; therefore, they should observe and summarise the basic characteristics of the works to be published.

⁴⁷ For this purpose, Grove Music Online, The Oxford Dictionary of Music, and The Oxford Companion to Music were checked.

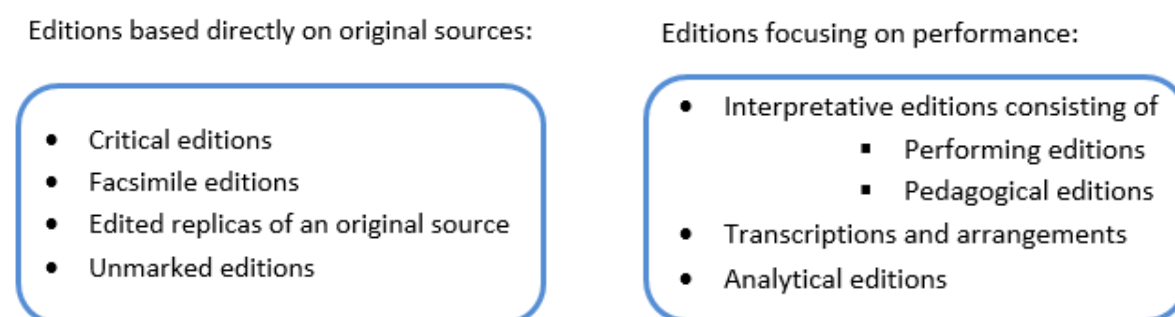
⁴⁸ Solow's hesitation is apparent when he is using two different terms to describe his second category.

The survey of the Suites' editions reveals that in most cases they are either based on original sources, or they focus on future performances.⁴⁹ Within both of these groups one large and several smaller categories can be formulated and setting up some sub-categories is also necessary. (Because of their shared features, these sub-categories are best classified as part of their respective main categories, even if the editions within each sub-category are substantial in their number and demonstrate strongly individual characteristics.)

Upon careful investigation of the wide range of editions of the Cello Suites, it seems apparent that neither an uncritical acceptance of one of the pre-existing sets of categories, nor, by extension of any one of those sets, the formation of a universal, cover-all range of categories would be a pragmatic way to analyse and classify them.⁵⁰ Rather, a set of categories taking into account the principles set out by Feder, Grier, Fuchs and others but designed to accommodate the specific issues arising with the Bach Cello Suites will offer the necessary flexibility while allowing editions that share similar fundamental features to be grouped together.⁵¹

The exploration of the main editorial philosophies of the Suites' editions will become easier if they are organised with the help of the following categories:

Figure 4.3: Categorisation of the Cello Suites



Deciding the best category under which to classify an edition can be very simple but that is not always the case. A common phenomenon, typical of the Cello Suites, is that one edition

⁴⁹ As mentioned before, a few editions attempt to satisfy the needs of both groups. As these needs are largely opposing each other, these efforts have had only limited success.

⁵⁰ Neither of the previously introduced sets of categories covers all the existing editions of the Suites, whereas the range of a generic cover-all set of categories would likely to be overly extensive.

⁵¹ While these categories would be custom-made for the requirements of the Cello Suites, they may need only minor adjustments when the edition history of other works is examined (the Violin Sonatas and Partitas come immediately to mind, sharing obvious parallels with the Suites).

can belong in two or more categories depending on what characteristics are taken more into consideration. For instance, Diran Alexanian (1929), Kazimierz Wiłkomirski (1958), Edmund Kurtz (1984) and others have provided a facsimile of Anna Magdalena's manuscript as well as their own edition, effectively providing two versions of the score in the same volume. An obvious example of an edition fitting into multiple categories is the Schwemer/Woodfull-Harris edition (Bärenreiter, 2000). With its seven separate volumes, it represents the compound publication *par excellence*. It shows the hallmarks of a critical edition, while being the only publication that includes facsimiles of all the four eighteenth-century manuscripts and the first edition, as well as providing an 'unedited' version of the Suites.

A further interesting, though by no means unusual problem has to be taken into account when the taxonomy of the editions is considered: a number of editions, despite demonstrating certain signs of fitting into one of the categories, in fact fail to meet some of the important conditions. For the purposes of this dissertation as well as for the sake of clarity, any editions where the editor's aspiration to be included in one of the categories seems to be clear will therefore be discussed under the rubrics of that category, whether these aspirations are eventually fulfilled or not.

The problematic taxonomy of critical editions will be introduced with case studies in Chapter 5, whereas the discussion of the other three categories in the first group is the subject of Chapter 6. The performance-focused group is similarly presented over two chapters. Chapter 7 elaborates on the differences and similarities between the two sub-categories of what I have called interpretative editions; while the performing and the pedagogical editions share some fundamental characteristics, they are still separated by their editorial approach. Chapter 8 surveys the extensive category of transcriptions and arrangements (neglected in most discussions of the editorial history of the Suites) and another, seldom discussed category, that of the analytical editions.⁵²

Thus, over the next four chapters, a network of categories is created based on the editions of the Bach Cello Suites. From each category, distinctive case studies will be presented and analysed. These examples were chosen with the objective of not only demonstrating defining characteristics of each group, but also some outliers and certain specific features that help to

⁵² A term found in Fuch's analysis.

form our historical understanding of the Suites. A certain amount of personal as well as professional preference has to be admitted here: although I selected the case studies so as to draw a comprehensive map of the editorial methodologies, not all of them will be treated exactly the same way. Some editions will be presented only briefly or perhaps as part of a larger group, whereas others and their editors will be introduced in greater detail, as their history and characteristics offer a particular indication of their contemporaneous performance practice. The choice of these examples mostly but not always follows a chronological sequence.

Chapter 5

Editions based directly on original sources I – Critical editions

Defining the term ‘critical edition’

Critical editions are normally understood to reflect a carefully considered scholarly approach to edition making, yet interestingly, while the characteristics of other categories, for example, facsimile or unmarked or interpretative editions are reasonably clearly established, a widely accepted and comprehensive description of a critical edition remains elusive. Therefore, before it can be decided which editions of the Suites might be described as ‘critical’, the term itself has to be defined. To achieve that, some of the already available scholarly definitions will be surveyed first. It is also essential to examine the connection between critical editions and the materials on which they are dependent, the available sources. Regarding Bach’s music, there have been recent attempts to summarise how original sources (with particular reference to manuscripts in the hand of J. S. Bach and his family, friends and students) should be classified, analysed and transmitted. Yo Tomita, for instance, notes that

As a result of this varied nature of manuscripts arose the idea of a critical edition, an attempt to produce a definitive engraved version of the music, accompanied by a critical commentary that explains the reasons behind the choice of a particular version or versions and lists alternative readings.¹

There are also some useful summaries in editorial notes explaining certain practical decisions, such as Peter Wollny’s introduction to the 1999 edition of the Toccatas BWV 910-916:

Apart from the title of the work, all editorial additions are indicated as such: letters by italics, slurs by broken lines, and other signs by smaller or narrow engraving. All

¹ Yo Tomita, "Manuscripts," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to J. S. Bach*, ed. Robin Leaver (Ashgate Publishing, 2016). Proposed date of publication: November 2016.

alphabetical makings taken from the source (f, p, etc) therefore appear in normal type. Accidentals have been placed in accordance with modern rules. Further accidentals supplied by the editor at his discretion (i.e. those not rendered necessary by the application of modern rules) appear in small print.²

Despite such technical explanations, and despite numerous excellent critical editions being in circulation, a clear statement of the precise conditions an edition would have to fulfil in order to be regarded as 'critical' is hard to find.³ There is a broad consensus about the outlines of the criteria; however, for such a frequently used *terminus technicus*, musicians and scholars often have startlingly diverse understandings of its exact meaning. The 'industry standard' does not appear to have been set (perhaps due to different publishers having different expectations in this regard), and thus there is a need for a set of more vigorous, flexible and workable criteria to which an edition should have to conform in order to justify the term 'critical edition'.⁴

Before launching into this investigation however, a slight problem with terminology has to be noted: 'Editing is [by definition] critical' says James Grier's often quoted aphorism but, while acknowledging the merits of his argument, a 'critical edition' is something altogether different from editorial criticism in general.⁵ It also appears that a certain marketing value has been attached to this term, which does not have much to do with scholarly concerns. But even leaving mercantile considerations aside, the concept of a critical edition is not merely a matter for academic discussion. While the critical comments for the Suites take up typically ten to fifteen pages, in several publications the same fits on less than one page.⁶ Both cannot be right, if measured against the same set of criteria. Therefore, preparing and providing such editions becomes not solely a professional but also an ethical issue. The users of critical editions are led to believe that they are getting access to the most accurate score possible with the appropriate explanatory notes. The problem is that since 'critical editions' are not

² J. S. Bach, ed: Wollny, Peter, "Toccaten: BWV 910-916," (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999).

³ For instance, a check of the complete works editions of Bach, Brahms and Schoenberg reveals no specific editorial guidelines. While these may have been provided to the editors of individual volumes, they are not made transparent in the published editions.

⁴ While I am using editions of the Suites as a case study, a broader application of these criteria might also prove to be useful.

⁵ James Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8.

⁶ Very short notes appearing to be critical commentaries are included in the Pratt (1979) and the Schweiker (2001) editions.

defined clearly, it is also hard to specify what the ‘appropriate explanatory notes’ should include.⁷

The clarification and subsequent application of this term is even more important when investigating compositions with complicated ancestry, such as those without a surviving autograph score, or those with competing original sources, as in the case of the Cello Suites. With over seven hundred discrepancies between the original sources regarding the primary parameters (the pitch and rhythm of the musical text only), and many hundreds more, if we also consider the differences of articulation, a definitive critical edition is all but impossible to create. These discrepancies would not only have to be listed, but also interpreted in such editions. As can be expected in humanistic research, it is highly unlikely that any two editors would agree in every instance regarding the interpretation of such varied historical evidence. Indeed, it would be a serious mistake to expect that we can deduce the composer’s definitive thoughts in every case. However, a ‘best text’ version (a term often used by philologists, referring to the best of several reasonable alternative versions),⁸ based on editorial expertise and text criticism, can usually be chosen from the competing variants.⁹ That version, accompanied by a thorough critical commentary elucidating the reason(s) behind the various editorial decisions, may offer a clear understanding to a modern audience (of students, performers, and scholars alike) of the filiation of every variant. The scholarly nature of a critical edition demands that alternative readings can be traced back to their origin. Given this choice, it will then be up to the reader of the score to choose the most suitable option for his or her needs.

An examination of some of the widely accepted classification systems of critical editions revealed them to be somewhat inconsistent in their methodologies and definitions, and often imprecise when differentiating between critical and other types of editions. The problem is that on the one hand, there is an only vaguely identified group of editions, for which the coveted adjective ‘critical’ might apply; whereas on the other hand, there is a similarly unclear definition determining what the term should actually mean. If the ambiguity of either one of

⁷ What is ‘appropriate’ might also vary from publisher to publisher.

⁸ E.g. French scholar Joseph Bédier, see: James Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice*, 64.

⁹ Ibid., 65.

the two sides could be clarified, it would then be a help in recognising the exact outlines of the other. Although most of (what seem to be) the essential criteria have been detailed in various scholarly works (see the following examples), none of them uses all of the criteria that I propose as being essential.¹⁰

Beginning with the definition of Georg Feder, in the chapter on editorial technique in his ground-breaking survey of music philology,

... an edition is "critical" if it uses the critical method to determine the original text from extant texts, and it includes a critical apparatus.¹¹

Feder suggests editorial emendation, which he describes as 'correction based on conjecture', as well as 'collation or precise comparison of the sources with each other' as one of the applicable methodologies.¹² This latter idea is reinforced by Harvard University's webpage on *The Art and Craft of Editing: An Introduction* which firmly states that

Critical editions require collation of the different manuscript witnesses, and the construction of a reading text out of the results of that collation.¹³

Neither source, however, explains the specific way in which the identifying and choosing from variants should take place, or the exact process of establishing what the original text is, when it is not an autograph copy or a single remaining copy of the work. It is also of crucial importance to make the distinction between the terms 'collation' and 'conflation'. Collation is usually used in philology when critical comparison of various sources is necessary with a view to recognising and resolving their divergences, to establish their dependability and their stemmatic filiation. Conflation, on the other hand, refers to the (often unidentified) fusion of various sources, creating a composite whole, with the loss of individual differences. In Yo Tomita's succinct wording, it 'is considered a violation of editorial rules, as it creates a new

¹⁰ Apart from the ones introduced briefly here, there are also numerous other scholarly writings discussing the role and definition of a critical edition, for example in Grove and Oxford dictionary or in German by Georg von Dadelsen and Carl Dahlhaus.

¹¹ Georg Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, ed. Societies American Council of Learned (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2011), 142.

¹² Ibid., 142-168.

¹³ "The Art and Craft of Editing: An Introduction," Harvard University, http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic453618.files/Central/editions/edition_types.html#critical_editions, accessed on 16 May 2015.

“hybrid” version of the text, which the composer probably never considered.’¹⁴ These two expressions are not interchangeable; in fact, there should be no room for conflation in a critical edition. Unfortunately, as will be demonstrated, this is not always the case.

A more direct proposition is found in James Grier’s suggestion that

... the purpose of a critical edition is quite simple: to transmit the text that best represents the historical evidence of the sources.¹⁵

Naturally, this representation of the historical evidence assumes consideration of all the relevant original sources. In agreement with this, the Harvard webpage starts the section on critical editions with this sentence:

Any edition that attempts to construct a text of a work using all the available evidence is "critical," whatever its methodology.¹⁶

While another important contribution to our list is made (all of the available evidence has to be considered), this sentence unjustifiably simplifies the problem by making the ‘critical’ label dependent on one condition only. An all-encompassing definition seems to be difficult to find in these sources – although each of them adds other useful but less essential refinements when describing a critical edition. As a summary of the salient points mentioned in the literature so far, the following can be deduced:

- Critical editions should include a critical apparatus (Feder)
- Critical editions require collation of the different manuscript witnesses (Harvard)
- Critical editions transmit the text that best represents the historical evidence, upon consideration of all the available original sources (Grier & Harvard)
- Critical editions do not allow conflation of sources (Tomita)

The validity of these points can be tested quite simply by checking them against existing critical editions. This can be useful in two ways: it helps to determine whether any individual edition (based on these criteria) is appropriate to be called ‘critical’. Equally, the question can

¹⁴ Tomita, "Manuscripts."

¹⁵ Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice*, 156.

¹⁶ "The Art and Craft of Editing: An Introduction".

also be approached from the angle of those editions which are marketed as critical. If several of them share characteristics that are not covered by the above summary, the criteria might have to be revised and possibly extended.

The scholarly principles guiding the work of the editor are usually identified within the critical apparatus, an expression ordinarily used as a collective term covering a range of supplementary material accompanying an edition as a basis of its critical study, such as various types of preface/foreword, editorial guidelines, critical commentary, illustrative samples from facsimiles of primary sources, footnotes, ossias, diacritical marks and so forth. Most publishers aiming to produce a critical edition include some of the above material, although very few would consider it necessary to include all of them.¹⁷ Many editions of the Suites have useful and thought-provoking introductions to the musical text that would in most cases qualify as part of the critical apparatus.¹⁸ On close inspection though, some of these writings turn out to contain little of scholarly value. A critical commentary on the other hand examines the integrity of the chosen source and the reasons behind that choice. As it identifies alternative versions and lists relevant variations from a text-critical and philological point of view, it becomes the one indispensable element of the apparatus without which a modern critical edition cannot be called complete.

Understandably, the expectations of the critical apparatus have changed over time: for example, the critical commentary in some of the older critical editions (for example Dörffel, 1879 and Wenzinger, 1950) is far less exhaustive than that in the more recent editions. The question of collation was also treated differently in the historical critical editions. For example, Dörffel in BGA relied on five sources, only two of which were original manuscripts. A truly interesting interpretation of collation is presented in the Preface of Wenzinger's edition: he only refers to Anna Magdalena's copy and Dörffel's edition, while two other primary sources were also known and available (Source B since 1889 and Source C at least since 1898). Further, Wenzinger claims not to have had access to Peter Kellner's manuscript, yet in the critical notes he regularly refers to it, often erroneously. It seems apparent that the

¹⁷ James Grier, "Editing." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08550>, accessed 28 May 2016.

¹⁸ They even include substantial essays on various details occasionally, for example in the Mueser/Gerschefski (Chez harmonique, 1996) or the Schwemer/ Woodfull-Harris (Bärenreiter, 2000) editions.

philosophy of, and the expectation from a critical edition is constantly changing and we have to recognise the historical position of the earlier editions, rather than dismissing them for perceived shortcomings.

Once the origins, chronology and filiation of all the extant original sources have been considered, the 'best text' can be chosen and followed. This may not be the same in every case, as different editors may identify different sources as the 'best' one. Amongst the four so-called Urtext editions in 2000, Beißwenger, Voss and the Bärenreiter editors selected Anna Magdalena Bach's copy as the 'best text', while according to Leisinger's conclusions, the combination of the two late eighteenth-century copies (which are very similar to each other but differ greatly from both Sources A and B)¹⁹ was the most pragmatic one to follow.²⁰ This creates fundamental, indeed, irreconcilable differences between his edition and the other three publications but still, as all four editors considered the available original sources, all of them pass this criterion. This raises another important point: whatever criteria are chosen, they can only create a framework to help the reader to assess, and ultimately, use the edition in question. When a critical edition is prepared, various editorial approaches are possible and they can be valid concurrently, as long as the methodology is clearly identified and adhered to. Therefore, different scholars might arrive at significantly different results.²¹ As James Grier postulates,

The text of any critical edition ... is strictly the editor's. So long as editors inform their audience of their policies and procedures, and apply their system consistently, they cannot seriously be accused of misleading.²²

¹⁹ Sensibly, Leisinger avoids referring to his choice as 'best text', as that method presupposes the nomination of one text being the best.

²⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Voss, Egon & Ginzel, Reiner, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (München: G. Henle, 2000); J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer, Bettina; Woodfull-Harris, Douglas, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2000); J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000); J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 2000).

²¹ For instance, despite the fact that the B minor Mass (BWV 232) was available already in two critical editions by Joshua Rifkin (Breitkopf, 2006) and Uwe Wolf (Bärenreiter, 2010), a third version was recently prepared by Ulrich Leisinger (Carus, 2014), offering another critical alternative.

²² Grier, "Editing."

Refining the term ‘critical edition’

In my investigation of the Suites’ critical editions, I have found problems in three areas that the above summary does not cover in its current form. The first is the lack of relevant explanatory comments when the editorial choice between two conflicting sources is not adequately explained. Merging different variants dissolves their identity (a process philologists call *contaminatio*), leading to conflation. An example to demonstrate this is from the Coda of the D minor Sarabande, which in Anna Magdalena’s copy contains a probable copying error (taken over by only three later editions). Dörffel (correctly) follows his other sources but fails to mention this in the Critical Report and thus the reader would be unaware that Source A has not been followed in that instance.

Figure 5.1: D minor Suite, Sarabande, bar 25 in Anna Magdalena’s copy and Dörffel’s edition



The error of not clarifying the source of an alternative reading, while perhaps not very frequent, still regularly occurs not only in the historical but also in the modern editions. As it was mentioned in Chapter 3, dozens of variants from Peter Kellner’s manuscript have been silently taken over by most later editors, despite their openly stated disregard for the authority of Kellner’s copy. This type of missing information can be seriously misleading in a critical edition.

Equally important is the second area: editorial emendations may be made for scholarly reasons, but how clearly are they marked? A typical example might be when the editor alters slurs, perhaps even some notes or rhythms on ‘logical grounds’ (to quote Wenzinger), for example in parallel passages.²³ With alarming frequency, the articulation in Anna

²³ Béla Bartók regularly added similar suggestions when preparing the critical edition of the complete Mozart piano sonatas in 1910-12. In his edition, though, Bartók made his editorial additions distinct by using a smaller font. The same cannot be said unequivocally about the modern critical editions of the Suites.

Magdalena's copy is freely corrected, despite the claim, voiced in several publications, that the printed 'phrasing [that] is as authentic as possible'.²⁴ In the various 2000 Urtext editions (it is perhaps significant that none of them was prepared by a cellist), while many of the suggested slurs are distinguished from the perceived original by a dotted line, some are not. Furthermore, in many instances some editorial emendations are explained in the critical notes but not marked in the main text, making them unnoticeable for most practicing musicians. This requires a lot of additional work on the player's part, even if it may be argued, of course, that if someone is truly interested in the details, that person will make the effort to turn backwards and forwards.²⁵ While such editorial emendations based on a critical examination of the source(s) offer significant help, referencing them only in the commentary is not enough. For reasons of clarity and transparency, the printed musical text should clearly differentiate between editorial additions and what the editor considers the original source.

Finally, simple errors not picked up on proofreading provoke questions about the edition's reliability. The 2000 Bärenreiter edition was printed with at least four such mistakes, more than most nineteenth-century editions.²⁶ Additionally, while this edition competently collates all five primary sources, it notes the alternative readings in three different ways: some as small print *ossias* on the same page, others in the critical comments in the back of the volume, and a significant number of them not at all - without providing any clear explanation for how these choices were made. It is also worth mentioning that the number of critical comments varies considerably between the various critical editions of the Suites. Ulrich Leisinger identifies the most discrepancies between the sources, just under four hundred (almost half of which relate to the secondary parameters), which is still less than two thirds of the more than seven hundred that I have identified in preparation for this thesis.

The absence of a generally accepted scholarly agreement regarding the definition of a critical edition can result in multiple and significantly different 'critical' editions of the same works

²⁴ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 79.

²⁵ From the point of view of a concerned, but at the same time, very busy player, this argument is untenable. If a scholarly article or book would not be accepted when thoroughly referenced but without the helpful pointers of footnotes, why would a musician not be offered the same standard of assistance? Such allusions do not need be intrusive or distracting; a simple asterisk mark with a reference number would suffice.

²⁶ These errors in the musical text appear in no other edition and they are not referenced as a proposed alternative reading: C major Suite, Gigue, bar 10, note 1: C instead of E; D major Prélude, bar 90, note 6: D instead of C#; D major Allemande, bar 13, note 17: C# instead of D; D major Gavotte II, bar 12, note 2: D in lower voice missing.

by the same publisher. For instance, Wenzinger's 1950 edition of the Suites is still regularly reprinted by Bärenreiter. The same company published the 1988 *Neue Bach Ausgabe* volume of the Suites, edited by Hans Eppstein, as well as the 2000 Urtext edition. As the latter will be published very soon in a revised version, before long we will have four different Bärenreiter critical editions of the Bach Suites to choose from.

It is clear that the approaches taken in some of the existing critical editions vary. This may be due to the level of rigour applied by the editors, but also to some extent due to their application of several parallel (though similar) definitions of what a 'critical edition' should be. Unlike any of the other categories proposed in Chapter 4, the critical editions of the Suites do not adhere to a clear definition, as their editors/publishers may have had different understandings of how that term should be qualified. The absence of an unambiguous description of what a critical edition should mean may be one of the reasons for the diversity of the aspirations of those editors, who created editions of the Suites that appear to be critical. Thus, individual editions also occasionally share characteristics of more than one type of category – some, for instance, include a facsimile or incorporate expressive performing annotations – and such overlaps complicate categorisation further. It can therefore be argued that establishing which editions of the Suites qualify as 'critical' is helped as much by pragmatic heuristics as by following strict rules of classification.

Considered on this basis, more than a dozen editions are advertised as critical or appear to be critical, as they provide some sort of critical commentary outlining their editorial principles and fulfil one or more of the conditions summarised above. Given, however, the multiple editorial philosophies in the preparation of critical editions, this heuristic 'bottom-up' approach can result only in a vaguely identified category, the definition of which would change slightly every time when a new edition is considered.²⁷ The 'bottom-up' method works especially well when the basic characteristics of the examined editions are commonly understood (for example, in the case of facsimile editions) and, based on their fundamental similarities, those editions can be grouped together in a category which can then be described by those identified qualities.

²⁷ This predicament is unique, as other commonly accepted categories in music editing (interpretative, analytical or facsimile edition and so on) seem to have clearly defined outlines, although the earlier mentioned overlaps can still make identifying a category difficult.

In the case of the critical editions, however, these qualities can be difficult to define clearly, as they tend to vary from edition to edition. The heuristic approach results in multiple, if similar, proposed definitions, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter and as a result, the classification of one of the most influential categories remains indistinct. This is a unique situation; the characteristics of all the other, commonly used categories are generally easy to recognise, even if individual editions within any one category differ significantly from each other on occasion. These differences notwithstanding, few would argue, for example, with the basic description of a facsimile or an analytical edition.

The blurred outlines of the definition of a 'critical edition' necessitate a deliberate change in the approach (making it 'top-down'),²⁸ and the establishment of a more rigorous description of ostensibly ideal criteria against which all 'critical editions' can be measured. The purpose of this is, naturally, not to set a quixotically high standard but one that offers help with the analysis of the editions of the Suites. Through the *post facto* prism of these criteria, all editions can be evaluated that exhibit at the least an aspiration to apply a critical approach seriously. Naturally, these conditions cannot be expected to be followed, as the editors never agreed to abide by them. Nonetheless, it is worth examining, to what extent critical editions of the Suites would comply with such criteria.

In order to gain a better understanding of which editions could be regarded as critical, the earlier listed criteria need to be revised. Based on and extending the conclusions of Fuchs, Feder, Grier and others, I propose the following four conditions that modern editions would need to meet in order to qualify as 'critical':

- #1. A modern critical edition will consider all of the reasonably available primary sources.
- #2. If the edition is based on more than one source, a principal source may be identified and any changes derived from the other source(s) have to be clearly marked.

²⁸ Each of these two methodologies has a useful, but different function in establishing questions of taxonomy.

#3. Based on a critical examination of the source(s), such an edition might suggest variants or other emendations; however, it would clearly differentiate between editorial additions and what the editor considers to be the original of the primary source.

#4. Such an edition will provide a critical commentary.

The application of these conditions creates a singular situation for the category of the critical editions: for the purposes of this examination, the characteristics of various editions that appear to be critical will not be *a priori* accepted, but checked against these criteria. For this reason, the consistent use of these conditions will call into question the status²⁹ of a disconcertingly large proportion of editions of the Bach Suites that claim or seem to be critical, and at the same time offer some guidance regarding the status of these editions. Consistency is needed in naming and applying these four conditions, as the lack of consistency can lead to a somewhat haphazard and unjustified selection of critical editions.³⁰ As will be demonstrated in the following three case studies, the conditions mentioned earlier – reasonable as they seem to be – set a standard which is surprisingly difficult to meet in practice. The evaluation of various editions is complicated further by the possibility of any one of the conditions being only partially fulfilled. Such cases and their ramifications can only be judged individually.

My reasons for selecting the following three case studies were partly that they come from different historical eras and illustrate diverse musicological aspirations, and partly that their editorial methodologies are clearly described in the critical apparatus.

²⁹ There are numerous editions, including the four earlier mentioned editions from the year of 2000, that carry the words 'Urtext', 'critical' or 'text critical' already on the front page of the publication. There are also several editions (for example: Markevitch, 1964) that appear to be 'critical' by presenting some of the characteristics shown above, without actually claiming so.

³⁰ For example, Solow proposes a list of 13 editions that he considers critical, relying on his 'own instincts and common sense' but without specifying his reasons to do so. Jeffrey Solow, "Paper Chase: Bach Cello Suites: The Critical Editions," *Strings Vol. 16, No. 7* (2002): 70-75.

Critical editions, case study 1: Wenzinger's edition (Bärenreiter, 1950)

The versatile Swiss cellist and gamba player, August Wenzinger was born in 1905 (in the same year as his compatriot cellist-editor of the Suites, Richard Sturzenegger) and died in 1996. He took private lessons from Emanuel Feuermann in Berlin but studied predominantly with Paul Grümmer (another Bach Suites editor) in Cologne and, through him, became interested in baroque cello and viola da gamba – the latter was considered an obsolete instrument at the time – and Baroque music in general. In 1933, he started to teach in his hometown, Basel, at the newly founded *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis*.³¹ He became a sought-after teacher, orchestral musician and performer; worked as Principal Cellist in major orchestras, first in Bremen and later in Basel and, among other achievements, premiered Paul Hindemith's Cello Concerto in Europe. His interest in historical performance practice set him apart from many of his contemporaries and influenced his work throughout his life. Apart from teaching and performing, he also conducted one of the first recordings on original instruments of the six Brandenburg Concertos (BWV 1046–1051) in 1949,³² and established his own viol consort with which he made numerous recordings.

Wenzinger's edition of the Suites was printed in 1950 by Bärenreiter, which by the mid-twentieth century was established as a specialist publisher for scholarly and critical editions. This in itself is suggestive, and Wenzinger provides a *Revisionsbericht* ('report on the revisions' or critical commentary) to suggest further that this is a critical edition, even if the term is not mentioned *per se*. His Preface and Critical Commentary represent the first scholarly accompanying notes in an edition of the Suites since Alfred Dörffel's 1879 BGA publication. In his comments, like Dörffel, Wenzinger names Probst as the publisher of the first edition.³³ Wenzinger's Preface begins with the list of 18 previous editions and the editor's reasons for adding yet another to them. The implication is that this is a complete list, although it leaves at least seven previous publications unmentioned.³⁴ There are also some other erroneous

³¹ One of his most successful students was Jordi Savall, who later became his successor at the *Schola*.

³² He also conducted the first recording of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* in 1955.

³³ This is an understandable error as Janet et Cotellet's 1924 edition was not known until Dmitry Markevitch identified it in 1989.

³⁴ Grützmacher's second edition (c1869), Loëb (1900), Malmgren (1914), Malkin (1918), Such (1919), Gaillard (1939) and Kosolupov (1947) as well as several transcriptions.

claims in this Preface, such as the suggestion that *all* earlier editions are based mainly on Anna Magdalena's copy. This is manifestly incorrect, since no one had access to Source A until Alfred Dörffel found it in preparation for his 1879 edition. This means that all earlier solo cello editions and at least three transcriptions for cello and piano,³⁵ Ferdinand David's transcription for solo violin (1866) and Joachim Raff's piano arrangement (1870-1871) must have been based on models other than Source A.³⁶

Wenzinger creates his edition on the premise that

The earlier editors used the inaccuracies of the copy [Source A] as an excuse for an extremely free interpretation according to their own tastes and style of playing, often altering the text without comment, and allowing scarcely anything of the original articulation to be divined. But in the editing of our text the first question has always been: What did the copyist's material, that is to say, Bach's autograph, look like?³⁷

This is the question which so many editors attempted in vain to answer; a question so futile that it is hardly worth asking.³⁸ Wenzinger also critiques Dörffel's edition as 'it is silent on what is to us today of consuming interest – the articulation and bowing', and to rectify that, he suggests that 'it was necessary to revise the text accurately and to mention all variants and conjectures in a Critical Report' – a claim only partially fulfilled. Further criticism is offered of 'K.[sic] Kurth' (his initial is incorrect in the English translation, although correctly given in the German original as E[rnst]) who according to Wenzinger should not have neglected articulation, and of 'so many editors and performers' who 'do violence to it.'³⁹

This firm judgement is followed by the editor's proposition for a solution which is

...to follow the manuscript as far as possible, that is to say, as far as the musical phrase and the bowing marks agree. ... All additions – not only those which prove unquestionably necessary on logical grounds and from parallel passages, but also

³⁵ Robert Schumann, unpublished at the time, 1853; Friedrich Wilhelm Städe 1864, rev. 1871; Carl Grädener 1871.

³⁶ See Appendix A.

³⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Wenzinger, August, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950), unpaginated Preface.

³⁸ This is at least partly due to the less than correct translation. The German original sounds less arrogant as it asks: 'Wie kann die Vorlage ... beschaffen gewesen sein?' Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

those which recommend themselves on practical grounds, and those which rather arise from personal taste, – are shown by dotted slurs.⁴⁰

This argument sounds arbitrary from a twenty-first-century point of view, in fact, it is doubtful if so many assumptions would have passed scholarly scrutiny even in the mid-twentieth century. Editorial decisions can be made on logical grounds and indeed, parallel passages often offer useful assistance, but who would determine when such conjectures become ‘unquestionably necessary’, and how? Making a judgement based on personal taste takes the editor even further into the distinctly unscholarly realm of speculation. Naturally, there is nothing wrong with the consideration of such parameters, but they would form part of a performing edition. (According to Condition #3, emendation would have to be based on critical examination of the work which is rather different from practical grounds or personal taste.)

Interestingly, Paul Grümmer’s edition (1944) preceded that of his star student, Wenzinger by a mere six years. In his brief Preface, Grümmer also encourages his readers to return to the ‘original bowings’ but does not offer further explanation of his editorial decisions. Comparing Anna Magdalena Bach’s manuscript with the editions of Grümmer and Wenzinger helps to clarify which of them followed their chosen source more closely.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Figure 5.2: G major Suite, Prélude, bars 1-2 in Anna Magdalena's copy



in the edition of Grümmer



in the edition of Wenzinger



From this and many other similar examples, it becomes clear that while Grümmer follows the articulation of his source meticulously, Wenzinger creates a sensible, generic but essentially untrue transcription, justifying his decisions here and elsewhere, for example, with parallel passages from the Violin Solos and the aria '*Mein gläubiges Herze*' from Cantata BWV 68.⁴¹

The legato line is again more precisely followed by Grümmer than Wenzinger in the next example; what is of more interest though is the mordent sign [w] in the latter version (Figure 5.3). Notwithstanding the fact that the mordent is placed in square brackets, it is not accounted for in the commentary, and also, the mordent is completely unprecedented in any of the earlier editions. There are a few examples for a trill on the first note (Grützmacher, Becker, Klengel etc) but the mordent is Wenzinger's own contribution, and as such, arises from personal taste.⁴²

⁴¹ Ibid., 64.

⁴² Although this is not stated anywhere in the Preface, the square brackets in this edition usually (but not without exception) indicate alterations that do not have a provenance in one of Wenzinger's proffered models. Somewhat confusingly, at times they refer to Wenzinger own initiative for the ornamentation of a particular note and are thus without precedent in any source.

Figure 5.3: D minor Suite, Menuet II, bar 9 in Anna Magdalena's copy, Grümmer's and Wenzinger's edition



There are a number of similar cases, some even more daring in their individual interpretation of what 'Bach's autograph [may] look like'. A scholarly approach – at least from a twenty-first century point of view – gives way to personal preferences, text criticism to text interpretation. In the following example, neither Source A nor Dörffel suggest ornamentation; Source B is illegible but possibly has a trill on the first note. Wenzinger's solution is unique again and closest to Stade's version from 1864:

Figure 5.4: G major Suite, Courante, bar 26 in the edition of Stade and Wenzinger



Wenzinger's decision to alter pitch clearly marked differently in his sources is often based on other, uncredited editions. The four A naturals in Figure 5.5 have been used by many editors before him (including Dotzauer, Becker, Klengel and Grümmer), but not in Sources A and B or Dörffel's edition which notate A^b in all those cases.

Figure 5.5: E flat major Suite, Allemande, bars 23-24 in Wenzinger's edition



Wenzinger's Critical Commentary is detailed, open-minded and accumulates substantial amounts of useful information. Unfortunately, it is also marred by problems of 'selective compilation'. In dozens of cases, information is missing or erroneous. The mistakes can be divided into two types. In some cases, his emendations to Anna Magdalena's copy make perfect sense but are not noted in the comments. At other times, he simply neglects to note

alternatives in any of his sources. A few typical examples of missing information are presented here:

- Changing the first note of bar 18 in Menuet I of the G major Suite from an F[#] to an F (according to contemporary performance practice in Bach's time, it would have been played as an F).
- In bar 8 of the C major Suite's Bourrée II, the reader is informed in the commentary that Source A has no trill on that note and Dörffel writes '(tr)' on it, but there is no mention of the fact that Source B has the trill clearly marked. At other times, the opposite happens: Kellner's marking is noted and Dörffel's is not (D minor Suite, Allemande, bar 8, note 9).
- Bar 219 in the C minor Suite's Prélude has various alternatives, correctly identified by Wenzinger in the commentary. What is missing though is the fact that his proposed version, while different from the historical sources, was common in, and based on various nineteenth-century editions, for example Dotzauer, Grützmacher, Becker etc.

In summary, while there is a lot of valuable information in Wenzinger's edition and his stated methodology could have produced excellent results, his editorial work is often negligent, even by the standards of his day. He could have had access to Kellner's manuscript but was satisfied with secondary knowledge of it, gained through Dörffel's commentary.⁴³ Although he declares Anna Magdalena Bach's copy to be the principal source, for various reasons – some clearly identified, others not at all – he often deviates from this model. While many of his editorial emendations are unambiguously marked, this is not consistent either, making the identification of altered notes, ornaments, time signatures and so on difficult, even with the assistance of his critical report. Therefore, the claim stated in the Preface 'to mention all variants and conjectures in a Critical Report' was not satisfactorily achieved.

From the practical point of view of a cellist though, this edition is easy to use. It is clearly laid out, with some, but not many, mostly helpful fingerings (all of them are editorial additions and as such, cause no problems for the scholar-reader). It is worth noting that these fingerings

⁴³ Others and decades earlier were acquainted with Source B. Percy Such repeatedly refers to the Kellner copy in his 1919 edition, as does Andreas Moser in his article, see Andreas Moser, "Zu Joh. Seb. Bachs Sonaten und Partiten für Violine allein," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 17 (1920).

offer an insight into Wenzinger's own, mid-twentieth-century performing practice, rather than attempting to offer historical technical advice. His interpretation of Anna Magdalena's ambiguous slurs is often overly simplified but clear and understandable (see Figure 5.2). His additional legatos are those of an experienced cellist, and unfailingly practical and suitable for the instrument.

This edition does not satisfy the first two conditions mentioned earlier and only partially complies with the third one. While it is commonly understood to be a critical edition, it would better fit into the category of 'Edited replicas of an original source', while at the same time being edited with enough practical considerations to be used as a 'Performing edition'.

Critical editions, case study 2: Beißwenger's edition (Breitkopf, 2000)

The anniversary year of 2000, two hundred and fifty years after the composer's death, brought a significant re-appraisal of J. S. Bach's music, expressed (amongst other ways), in an enormous outpouring of new editions of his music. There was a certain amount of cultural pressure on the main publishing houses to present the results of the latest academic research in the form of newly produced critical editions. In that year alone, no fewer than seven editions of the Suites were published, all but two prepared with a scholarly interest; four of them in German speaking countries, the rest – a sign of the forthcoming digital revolution – online.⁴⁴ As a curious sign of the times and certainly no accident, none of the four 'mainstream' publications (brought out by Wiener Urtext, Breitkopf, Bärenreiter and Henle) was prepared by a cellist, and every one of them has the word 'Urtext' firmly attached to them. This is made explicit on the title page of the Wiener Urtext and the Bärenreiter Urtext editions. Beißwenger's edition is advertised in the 'Breitkopf Urtext' series, although the editorial notes avoid addressing the Urtext problem altogether. Finally, according to the often announced motto of Henle publications '*Urtext und Henle sind Synonyme*' (Urtext and Henle

⁴⁴ The editors are Leisinger (Wiener Urtext), Beißwenger (Breitkopf), Schwemer/Woodfull-Harris (Bärenreiter), Voss (Henle), Bengtsson (in a privately published edition) in print and unnamed editors of Ko's Music Edition and Novato Music Press online.

are synonymous) and a number of short articles elaborating on various aspects of the 'Urtext' philosophy on the Henle website confirm the publisher's commitment to it.

Kirsten Beißwenger belongs to the highly respected inner core of German Bach scholarship of the second half of the twentieth century. She completed her studies in Kassel and Göttingen and since 1993 has lived in Japan, where she worked at Dokkyo University in Soka bei Tokyo. With her husband, Yoshitake Kobayashi, she co-authored significant scholarly works, including *The copyists of Johann Sebastian Bach* (NBA Serie IX, Bd. 3); on her own, she wrote *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Bärenreiter, 1992) and edited the Cello Suites.⁴⁵

Her edition begins not with an editorial preface but, unusually, with a cellist's input. Jaap ter Linden's Introduction reflects upon various aspects of eighteenth-century performance practice; it presents a beneficial if not particularly original summary of fingerings, articulation, rubato etc. Its most interesting feature is what it does *not* discuss: the introduction is completely devoid of any direct allusion to the edition itself or even to the Suites in general. This seems somewhat counter-intuitive and a missed opportunity to get the insight of a well-known performer of the Suites, for it is most unusual to abandon the familiar scholarly format written by a musicologist or taken from a textbook for the sake of specific, practical observations by one of the foremost experts of Baroque cello playing.

The editor's own commentary can be found at the end of the volume: first in an extensive Afterword, written with thorough scholarly care, and then in the Critical Report, discussing detailed editorial decisions about the individual movements. Regarding Kellner's copy, she confirms that its model 'was certainly not the autograph from which A[nn]a M[agdalena] B[ach] made her copy', while she also opines that Source B 'is the most unreliable transmission carrier of the cello suites.'⁴⁶ (It may seem that the academic consensus agreed about Kellner's sloppiness. This is not so; for example, Arthur Mendel's opinion about Kellner's work is that 'his copies invariably rank among the most accurate.'⁴⁷)

Beißwenger's editorial approach is outlined very soon; unfortunately, she takes a highly contentious basic standpoint. In a few succinct sentences the editor announces that her chief

⁴⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012."

⁴⁶ Ibid., 77.

⁴⁷ Hans T. David, Mendel, Arthur, *The Bach reader: a life of Johann Sebastian Bach in letters and documents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 390.

interest is notating the ‘notable divergences among all four copies [that] are found in the ornamentation and articulation’, in other words, the secondary parameters, while the substantial number of conflicting notes and rhythms (the primary parameters) between the principal sources receive not even a passing mention here. One of the few references to any possible problems regarding the discrepancies of pitches and rhythms between the four manuscript sources comes several pages later. There Beißwenger postulates, without elaborating on her reasons, that ‘since [...] it can be assumed that A[nna] M[agdalena] B[ach]’s copy is a reliable transmission of the musical text, we have based our edition exclusively on [Source] A.’⁴⁸ Accordingly, in her opinion, ‘the main editorial challenge consists in establishing a phrasing that is as authentic as possible’ and therefore, ‘the best way to obtain this is by basing this edition exclusively on A[nna] M[agdalena] B[ach]’s copy’.⁴⁹ As it turns out, this is not always the case.

Despite Beißwenger’s longstanding background in Bach scholarship and her insightful observations delivered with sharp logic elsewhere in the commentary, this premise seems to be misguided and places her edition on questionable foundations. No critical discussion of the Suites’ primary sources can bypass the extraordinarily high number of alternative notes and rhythms between the original sources which, as we have seen already, influenced later editions in myriad ways. On the other hand, her commitment to achieve authentic phrasing can be only partially fulfilled. In one meaning of the term, ‘authentic’ can be defined as following principles of contemporary performance practice by way of deducing ideas from Bach’s string writing in general; ‘authentic phrasing’ however must not be confused with ‘authorial phrasing’. The efforts of over one hundred editors and the vast differences between their editions demonstrate that, for lack of dependable original surviving sources, no authorial phrasing can be established. The wide variety of slurring between the four manuscript copies has resulted in a range of articulation at times approaching absurd levels due to their sheer numbers in later editions. To illustrate this, Figure 5.6 demonstrates a sample of eighteen different articulations of one single bar taken from the Prélude of the G major Suite in the four manuscript sources and fourteen later editions.

⁴⁸ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 78.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 76.

Figure 5.6: G major Suite, Prélude, bar 28 in four manuscript sources and fourteen later editions.

A - Anna Magdalena 1727

C - late 18th cent.

E - Norblin 1824

Stade - 1864

Loeb - 1900

Bazelaire - 1920

Mainardi - 1941

Wilkomirski - 1958

Leisinger - 2000

B - J. P. Kellner 1726

D - late 18th cent.

Dotzauer 1826

Grützmacher - 1885

Pollain - 1918

Liégeois - 1920

Wenzinger - 1950 *sf*

Gendron - 1982

von Tobel - 2004

The Afterword of Beißwenger's edition also lists and discusses a number of issues pertinent to her editorial concept. They include an introduction to the four manuscript sources, an explanation of the scoring of the D major Suite, her reasons for choosing Source A as the basis of her edition and finally, an analysis of Anna Magdalena's slurring habits. Among many perceptive observations however, she makes a couple of assumptions which can be misleading due to the lack of substantiation. On the topic of variants in Kellner's copy Beißwenger states that they 'can be interpreted as the interpretation marks of a cello player.'⁵⁰ While this is an interesting possibility, it is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, as was mentioned in Chapter 3, there is no proof of Kellner ever having played the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 78.

cello. A few paragraphs later, Beißwenger claims that ‘the carelessness in Kellner’s readings makes it difficult to consider them as authoritative’, yet she accepts a very similar level of carelessness in Anna Magdalena’s copy without raising the question of credibility.

Beißwenger in fact devotes a whole subsection of the Afterword to the slurring problems in Anna Magdalena’s copy, identifying eight types of peculiar characteristics of her writing, based on her copy of the Violin Solos. This systematic and thorough categorisation takes into account all perceived idiosyncrasies of Anna Magdalena’s slurring, yet it expands the existing knowledge only in very few cases. The borderline between the eight categories is often perilously narrow and there are numerous examples of overlap between categories. There is simply no way of knowing the extent to which Anna Magdalena (or for that matter, any of the other three copyists) followed their model reliably, or of deciding how many notes a legato, which is notated too high or shifted sideways, would refer to. As will be demonstrated, Beißwenger’s reading is ultimately only one possible interpretation of the inattentively and inconsistently placed legatos to be found in Source A. It follows therefore, that her version regularly disagrees with all of the other editions (which, in turn, disagree with each other) that have been created with the expressed intention of meticulously emulating Anna Magdalena’s articulation (for example, Kurtz, Grümmer, Wenzinger, Schweiker and so on).

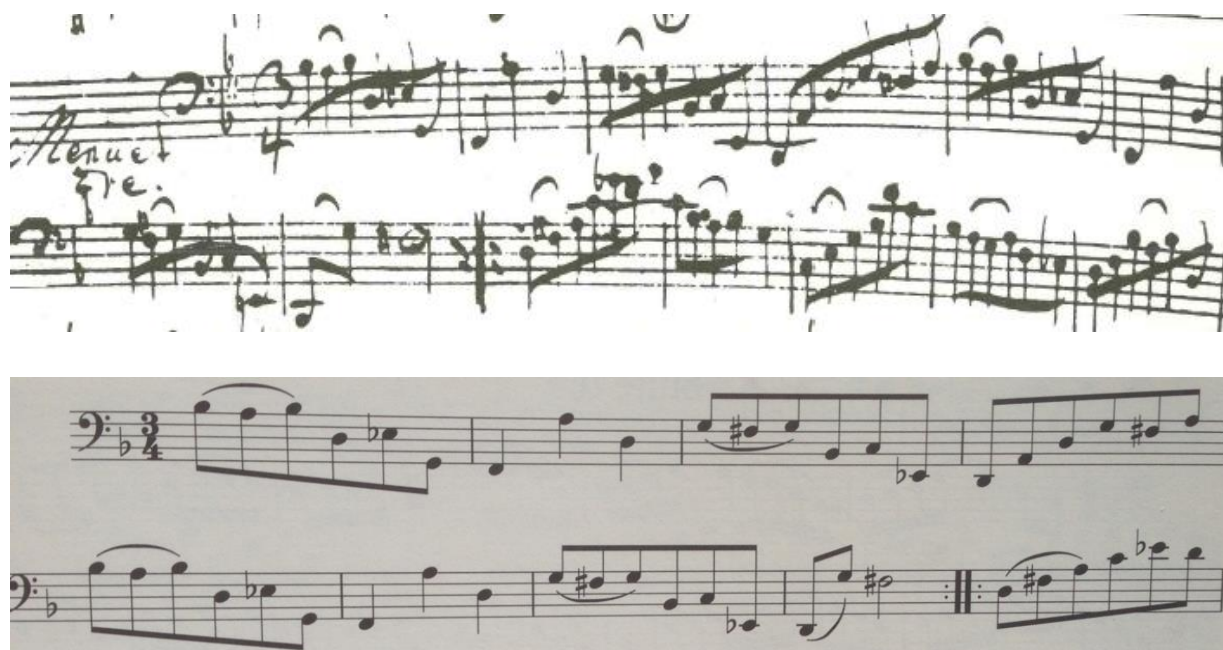
The Breitkopf Urtext edition is thus based ‘exclusively’ on Anna Magdalena’s copy. Yet, according to the Critical Report, in case of a ‘clearly corrupted or false reading in the text [...]’, references are made to corrections based on the other sources only when the chosen reading is found in only one or two of these sources.⁵¹ It is not explained to the reader why the act of referencing a correction would depend on how many other sources carry the alternative.

What makes this statement vulnerable from a scholarly point of view – contradicting Condition #2 outlined earlier and therefore endangering the ‘critical’ status of Beißwenger’s edition – is the fact that references to changes derived from other sources are inconsistent and at times, simply missing. For instance, in the G major Suite’s Menuet II (Figure 5.7), Bach used the somewhat old-fashioned Dorian mode and thus the key signature is one flat while the tonality of the movement is G minor. In bars 1 & 5, the D steps up a semitone to E^b which

⁵¹ Ibid., 82. On several occasions, the editor follows unanimous variants to be found in Sources B, C and D, in all the other primary sources but still lists the correction, despite her claim that references are made only if they are based on one or two sources only.

is then reversed in both cases two bars later (bars 3 & 7) by the E^b stepping down to D (thus emphasising the arrival to the dominant with a double appearance of an upper neighbour note on the (E^b →)D and the third of the chord, the (G →)F[#]. At least, is it so revealed in Kellner's copy and Source D among the original sources in the first case (bar 3) and only in Kellner's version in the second (bar 7). Interestingly enough, their version of the E^b in bar 3 was taken over by more than half of later editions, whereas the E^b in bar 7 (that is, Kellner's version) is reproduced only in a handful of editions, amongst them Gerschefski, Eppstein, Icking, Voss – and, somewhat surprisingly, Beißwenger. Whether the divergent E naturals in these two bars in Anna Magdalena's copy should qualify as a 'corrupted reading', is a matter of opinion; after all, they are notated differently: bar 3 shows an unindicated E, whereas in bar 7, the E natural is positively marked. However, the reader cannot find out about this correction either from the musical text, or from the Critical Commentary, and therefore could not be blamed for assuming this to be Anna Magdalena's account.

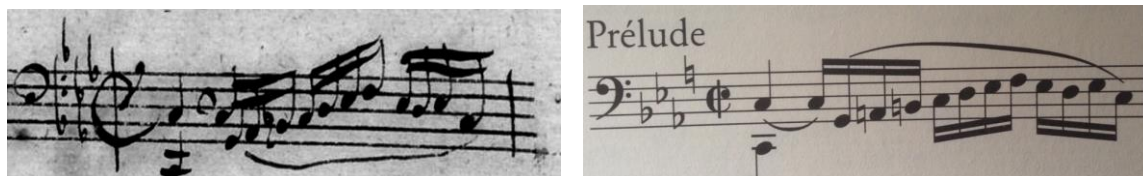
Figure 5.7: G major Suite, Menuet II, bars 1-14 in Anna Magdalena's copy and bars 1-9 in Beißwenger's edition.



Editorial emendations are also left unexplained on occasion (in contravention of Condition #3); for example, at the very beginning of the C minor Suite's Prélude, where the Critical Commentary informs the reader that the natural sign to the fourth note, A, is missing, see Figure 5.8. In fact, it is 'missing' (or rather, none of the manuscripts show it to have ever been present) in all of the four manuscript copies which leaves Beißwenger's editorial decision

somewhat vulnerable without supporting evidence. To be fair, the natural sign is present in Bach's own transcription for lute, BWV 995; however, this information is not provided in the editor's Commentary.

Figure 5.8: C minor Suite, Prélude, bar 1 in Anna Magdalena's copy and Beißwenger's edition

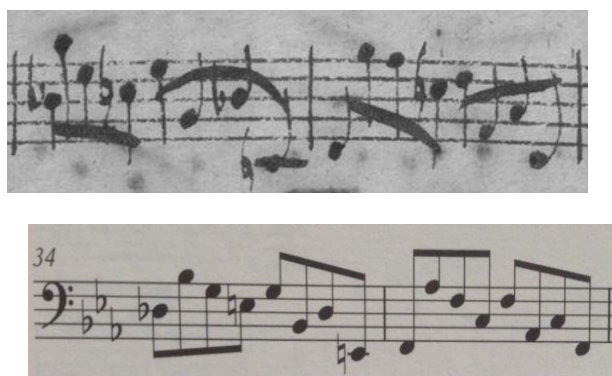


There is also a different type of editorial emendation in Beißwenger's edition: in the first half of bar 35 of the E^b major Suite's Prélude (Figure 5.9), notes are given in a severely different form from the familiar notes in any of the primary sources and from all but one previous edition: in Eppstein's 1988 NBA volume.⁵² Curiously, the correct notes (as per the sources and most editions) are presented in Beißwenger's Commentary without any explanation proffered for this anomaly.

In the case of multi-voiced works, it is not uncommon for the same melodic line to appear with slight alterations in different parts. Such discrepancies can show errors and create an editorial dilemma: should the discrepancies caused by the altered pitches/rhythms be 'ironed out' and the melody lines made the same, or is there merit in keeping them different and thus following the sources exactly? While there is a valid argument to keep, for example, unisono voices played by different instruments identical, the same is less convincing in the case of a monodic work. Eppstein, followed by Beißwenger, applied regularisation in these particular parallel passages. Given that the familiar sequence of notes appears in all of the primary sources, I believe such correction of Bach's compositorial 'anomaly' to be unwarranted, particularly, when this change is not clearly noted in Beißwenger's critical notes.

⁵² J. S. Bach, ed: Eppstein, Hans, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo: BWV 1007-1012," in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2 (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter BA 5068, 1988).

Figure 5.9: E^b major Suite, Prélude, bars 34-35 first in Anna Magdalena's copy, then in Beißwenger's edition



Eppstein justified the re-composition of this bar with 'analogue' cases (in bars 11, 15, 19 and 45) and suggested – without offering any evidence for this – that the lost autograph *may* have included an unclear correction.⁵³ In the absence of a clearly articulated justification for this editorial decision, it is surprising that this conjecture passed Beißwenger's professional scrutiny but the fact remains that the hypothetical notes are unique to these two editions.⁵⁴

The C minor Suite has often proven to be the greatest challenge to editors. It is one of the longest Suites (the Prélude is in fact the longest movement in the cycle, at least as far as bar numbers are concerned with a total of 223, even discounting Anna Magdalena's incorrect repeat sign at the end of the movement) and the interpretation of the authorial scordatura creates further problems. Beißwenger's critical notes of this Prélude expose various problems in the commentary. Of the twelve corrections made in relation to this movement, one is erroneous (the earlier discussed A natural of the third played note, see Figure 5.8), and the following one has a wrong bar number printed (bar 3 instead of 4). For almost every one of her accurate corrections there is one that – based on the same editorial principles – should have been made but is absent.⁵⁵

In all, there are about three dozen cases where the Critical Commentary in this edition neglects to inform the reader about essential editorial decisions, that is, where alternative

⁵³ Hans Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2 (Bärenreiter, 1990), 68.

⁵⁴ There is another strong connecting bond between the editions of Beißwenger and Eppstein. Following Eppstein's unique example, Beißwenger also divided her Critical Commentary into two sections; the notes about every movement start with the corrections of the primary parameters and follow then in a separate section with comments relating to articulation.

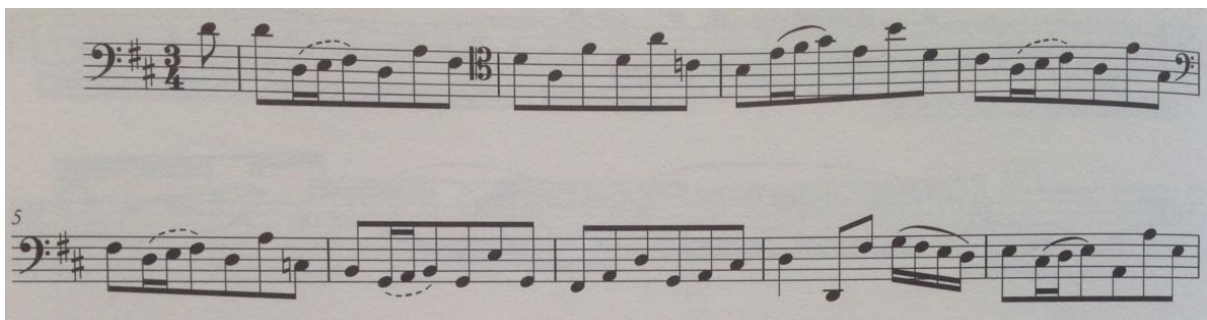
⁵⁵ In the score corrected but in the Critical Commentary unmentioned errors appear in bars 19 (two corrections), 30, 42, 78, 85, 165 and 182 (two corrections again).

versions are included in the musical text (replacing the notation of Source A) without being listed in the notes.⁵⁶ Although a few cases are ambiguous and subject to interpretation, this is still a very high number as the reader is led to believe that in these instances the printed notes are the ones transmitted by Anna Magdalena – which is not the case.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to consider the problems of articulation in the Suites more generally, an assessment of the Beißwenger edition cannot be complete without at least a brief reflection upon its treatment of articulation. Having elaborated on the eight groups of slurring inconsistencies in Anna Magdalena's manuscript, the editor's professed intention is to follow the articulation of Source A as closely as possible, as 'a roughly authentic reading (*eine annähernd authentische Lesart*) of the phrasing can only be achieved when one bases oneself exclusively on [Source] A.'⁵⁷ Therefore all legato lines in the score mirror Beißwenger's reconstruction of the phrasing in Anna Magdalena's copy. Broken legato lines mark 'reticently' either a supplement for parallel passages or the editor's alteration for reasons of performing practice.

This is a utilitarian system that should work easily and the editorial emendations are clearly distinguished as per Condition #3. In many cases, Beißwenger's alterations help the player to follow a sensible bowing and to observe the practical and comfortable 'rule of the down-bow', so it is surprising when her broken legato lines follow the logic of Anna Magdalena's questionable slurs and result in awkward bowing directions, as in Figure 5.10.

Figure 5.10: D major Suite, Courante, bars 1-9 in Beißwenger's edition

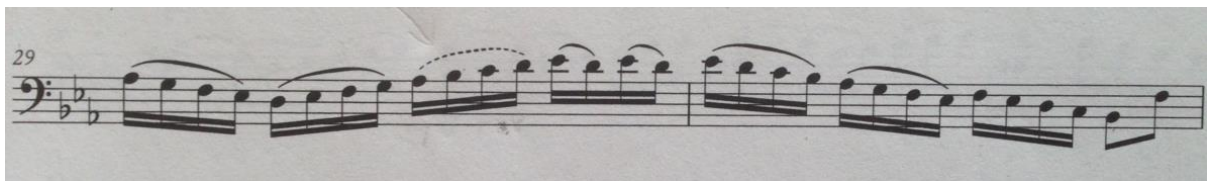


⁵⁶ These instances do not include Beißwenger's additional changes given in [] brackets, as they are accounted for in the Critical Report.

⁵⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," 79.

In her score, the broken legato lines replace the customary down- and up-bow markings commonly used in performing editions to indicate an unexpected bow change. This can be seen as an advantage, since the absence of bowing markings simplifies the reading of the score. Figure 5.11 shows another example, when the editorial addition upsets an otherwise well working slurring and instead of making it even smoother, it can result in a reverse bowing; the dotted slur intervenes unnecessarily and breaks the symmetry of articulation between bar 29 and 30.

Figure 5.11: E^b major Suite, Allemande bars 29-30 in Beißwenger's edition



Finally, there are numerous occurrences where the editor changes the clearly written articulation in Source A without marking the emendation with the expected dotted legato. Irrespective of the perceived added value of the new bowings, the reader assumes the unbroken legatos to have originated in Anna Magdalena's copy rather than as part of the editorial changes, for example, in bar 56 of the Prélude of the D minor Suite.

Figure 5.12: D minor Suite, Prélude, bars 53-63 in Anna Magdalena's copy and bars 54-63 in Beißwenger's edition



Notwithstanding all of the above, Beißwenger produced one of the most usable editions of the Suites. Its readability, larger-than-average font size, smartly designed page turns, well-judged lack of fingerings, tempo markings, metronome numbers, dynamics and various other paraphernalia that very few professional cellists desire to have in such editions, contribute to a genuinely user-friendly publication. However, its 'selective faithfulness' to the chosen source, the essential items of information missing from the critical commentary, and the regularly appearing contradictions between the editorial principles (set out in an exemplary fashion in the scholarly introduction) and the published musical text make this edition problematic. As the alternatives taken from a source other than Anna Magdalena's copy are not always clearly identified and some of the editorial additions remain unidentified, should Beißwenger's work be measured against the criteria outlined earlier, it would not pass two of the four conditions. Therefore, while it would not be appropriate to call this a 'critical edition' in the sense described above, it fits into another category, that of 'Edited replicas of an original source' (as mentioned at the end of Chapter 4) much better.⁵⁸

This creates an interesting conundrum: had the editor's professed editorial principles been meticulously adhered to, the users of the score would read a detailed, reliable critical edition of the Suites. After all, in general, it seems to be possible to follow these editorial principles and comply fully with the four set conditions. On the other hand, had she been consistent in applying this method, the practical use and artistic value of the edition would have been significantly lessened by the weaknesses of its single source.

Ironically, even Beißwenger and other editors who are firmly committed to Anna Magdalena's copy as the principal source and are thus prepared to view the Suites exclusively through the distorted prism of Source A, do not seem to have been able to resist (frequently undocumented) editorial emendations. These emendations are either arbitrary or follow one of the other primary sources, almost always Kellner's copy. Ulrich Leisinger is one of the few scholars to comment on this problem concluding that 'it is therefore not helpful to present

⁵⁸ This is not to suggest at all that 'Edited replicas of an original source' are unsuccessful attempts at a critical edition. They represent a completely different editorial attitude, common with critical editions by being based on a primary source but different, as this approach allows for significant editorial liberties which may or may not be fully explained in a preface, explanatory or footnotes.

strictly the text of any of the extant sources'.⁵⁹ He has applied a new approach to the editorial problems; the examination of his conclusions should accordingly come next.

Critical editions, case study 3: Leisinger's edition (Wiener Urtext, 2000)

The German scholar, Ulrich Leisinger, is probably equally well known for his academic interest in Bach studies and his research of two late-eighteenth-century masters of the Classical Era, Haydn and Mozart. Having completed his PhD (*Die Entwicklung des klassischen Klavierstils bei Haydn (1760-84)*, Heidelberg), he undertook post-doctoral studies at Harvard University, which were soon followed by work at the Bach Archive in Leipzig and later, as Executive Director of the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe and the Digital Mozart Edition, at the International Mozarteum Foundation in Salzburg. In 2000, he was an obvious choice for Wiener Urtext as editor, when the Austrian publisher decided to join the extremely strong field of the editions of the Bach Suites, along with Bärenreiter, Henle and Breitkopf Urtext.

The juxtaposition of Leisinger's edition with that of Beißwenger is revealing even before the respective volumes are opened. While Beißwenger's cover page stylishly features the first six lines of Anna Magdalena's copy and the definitive term '*mit Faksimile*' (with facsimile) is actually included in the title, Leisinger's Commentary in a separate volume announces on its title page that it is 'edited from the sources...' – a pointed, immediate reference to the multiplicity of the sources.⁶⁰ Leisinger's notes are just as detailed as Beißwenger's but with a rather different – and at times starkly opposing – content to those of his colleague. The scholarly arguments proposed in the Preface are logical and arresting,⁶¹ even if ultimately unable to escape the realms of hypothesis.

Like others before him, Leisinger divides the four manuscript copies into two groups and introduces 'the sources of the earlier version' (*die Quellen der älteren Fassung*) and the

⁵⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, Ulrich, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, Commentary," (Wien: Wiener Urtext Edition, 2000), Commentary 16.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Commentary, title page.

⁶¹ ...once the reader gets used to the parallel German-English columns in the Commentary (reading only either the left or the right side of the page can become confusing) and the perilous combination of a small font and small line spacing (Wiener Urtext manages to squeeze almost twenty more lines on one page than Breitkopf).

‘sources of the younger version’ separately, before – unlike anyone else before him – coming to a new, almost revolutionary conclusion by proposing that ‘given the history of transmission, it seems adequate to base our new edition primarily on the younger sources’.⁶² While a few earlier editors mentioned Source C on equal terms for example with Source B (Markevitch 1964, Rubardt 1965), the only previous publication that was based on Sources C and D together was Epstein’s second version (published in the same volume as the first, NBA VI/2, 1988). Leisinger’s opinion of this attempt is dismissive: ‘a complete parallel print of both versions as offered by the Neue Bach-Ausgabe seems to be unnecessary’.⁶³

Leisinger’s exact reasons however for choosing Sources C and D as the basis of his edition are not clearly explained. It is undoubtedly true that ‘the younger sources represent a different stage characterized by diverging principles of notation, added ornaments and a few changes within the musical text’,⁶⁴ and the transmissions of Sources C and D do offer valuable insights into late eighteenth-century performing practice, but these are details; important, but unrelated to the foundation of a conclusive argument. According to Leisinger’s hypothesis, the common model of Sources C and D may have been the manuscript described in C. P. E. Bach’s estate as ‘*Von Johann Sebastian Bach. ... 6 geschriebene Suiten für Violoncell ohne Baß. Eingebunden.*’, which also could have been the ‘*précieux manuscrit*’ found in Germany by Norblin, on which the first edition was later based.⁶⁵ If this were true then the manuscript listed in the 1790 estate inventory could conceivably be identical with the now lost autograph; a suggestion questioned by Beißwenger, who observed that authorial manuscripts in that inventory are usually accompanied with the comment of ‘*in originellen Handschrift*’.⁶⁶ As discussed in Chapter 3, Figure 3.14 shows that the exemplar that Sources C and D copied may have been modelled on the unrevised autograph that Anna Magdalena had at her disposal between 1727-1731. While the shared errors between Sources C, D, E and Source A make it possible (though unsubstantiated) that C, D and E were copied from a third autograph, it is more likely that those three sources were second generation copies.

⁶² J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, “Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, Commentary,” 3-5.

⁶³ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 14-15.

⁶⁶ J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, “Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012,” 78.

Founding a new edition on Sources C and D is a new concept and, apart from one of the two alternative versions of Eppstein, without parallel in the edition history of the Suites. Leisinger's thorough understanding of the subject is evident from the fact that his edition is one of the few that satisfies all criteria (set out at the beginning of the Chapter) for a critical edition. He considered all available primary sources before identifying the 'younger sources' as the basis of his edition, which also includes a critical commentary. The only problematic areas are the structure of his emendations and the inclusiveness of the Detailed Notes (*Einzelanmerkungen*).⁶⁷ Leisinger informs the reader of two ways of reporting, though it turns out to be a fair bit more complicated than that: significant discrepancies between his musical text and Sources A, B, C and D appear mostly in footnotes at the bottom of the page,⁶⁸ whereas what in his estimation are alternative versions of less importance are described in the Detailed Notes. This is a rather bewildering method for a practicing musician who will notice and take into account the numerous footnotes but may not investigate further (in the back of the volume) due to the relative frequency of the footnotes: 40 out of the 68 pages list a total of 61 footnotes. A clear understanding of this system is not helped by the fact that while some of the footnotes explain the problem and give alternatives, others simply refer the reader to the Detailed Notes, thus creating a 'crossover' between the two editorial methods. Furthermore, unlike Beißwenger, Leisinger does not distinguish between the primary and secondary parameters; as a result, in the Notes, divergent notes are freely mixed with conflicting articulations.⁶⁹

The defence against any possible objections to unidentified and thus unmarked emendations hides in the very last paragraph of the Critical Notes. Ostensibly talking about individual readings in the first edition and the authorial lute transcription (BWV 995) of the C Minor Suite – but he could have included all the primary sources as well – Leisinger claims that 'it is beyond the scope of the present edition to list all of the individual readings. The Detailed

⁶⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, Commentary," 18-24.

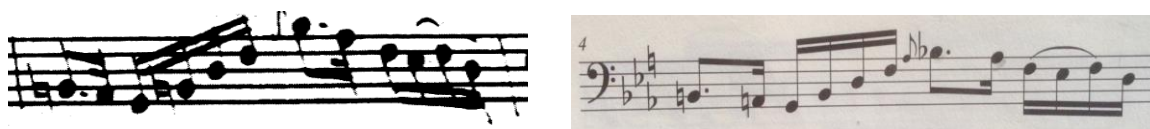
⁶⁸ As his edition is based on Sources C and D, these emendations mostly refer to Sources A and B. Sources C and D, however, do not always agree and this is when their differences are notated in a footnote.

⁶⁹ Further still, in the Detailed Notes, English and German notices are not separated anymore (again contrasting with Beißwenger's more transparent method), apart from a flimsy forward slash (/) sign. Although the copious amount of abbreviations is translated at the very beginning, later they are given only in German. Unfortunately, 'US' for someone reading in English means irrevocably United States and not lower voice, 'OS' signifies operating system, rather than upper voice.

Notes do therefore not intend to be complete, so that it were possible to deduce every single detail of the extant sources.⁷⁰

The Detailed Notes are indeed not complete. A total of 24 alternative pitches and rhythms, deemed 'significant' by the editor, are marked in the footnotes and about 180 'readings of less significance are reported in the Critical Notes only.'⁷¹ This may be in line with Leisinger's claim that listing every alternative reading is not his objective. As his work is founded on the transmission by Sources C and D, only those instances which are different between these two sources have to be listed or when the editor elects to use the reading of another source. This reduces the editorial task considerably, while at the same time makes the selected discrepancies between his work and Sources A, B and E more symbolic than anything else. The incongruities between these three sources and Leisinger's score are only occasionally noted and the reasons behind that decision are not explained. Therefore, the Detailed Notes are nearly comprehensive but only as far as the edited text's agreement with Sources C and D is concerned. This makes what is left out all the more frustrating. How is the reader to know the reasons behind unmarked changes in the six cases where Leisinger's printed musical text silently deviates from both Sources (C and D), for example, in the following case where the delicious augmented second in the first beat (B - A^b) has been amended?⁷²

Figure 5.13: C minor Suite, Allemande, bar 4 in Source C and Leisinger's edition



A significant proportion of the divergences listed by Leisinger relate to articulation.⁷³ Excluding these, there remain around 250 alternative readings of the pitches and rhythms listed in the Notes and this is approximately correct – at least according to Leisinger's methodology, as he does not claim to list all divergences between the four manuscript sources. However, it is worth noting that there are a total of forty-five readings in the pitches

⁷⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Leisinger, "Suites for Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, Commentary," 16.

⁷¹ Ibid., 6.

⁷² Bach's own lute transcription (BWV 995) does write an A natural in this place but if that was the editor's reason for the change, it is undocumented. The A natural has been taken over by a handful of editions (for example, Stade, Grützmacher, Salter, Hausmann etc.)

⁷³ Again, the list of divergences regarding articulations is not complete.

and rhythms of the edition which – against the editor’s claim – are either not based on Source C or D, or (in six cases) are based on C *or* D, as there is a divergence between them, without this being noted in Leisinger’s edition. The editorial emendations may well be the result of carefully considered scholarly decisions and thus justifiable; nonetheless, as the reader is not fully informed about these changes, Condition #2 is not fully met, with the result that these emendations can and will become sources of confusion.

The evidence of these three editions shows that the problematic nature of the critical editions can originate from two main sources: firstly, how clearly their methodology is established and explained and secondly, how rigorously that methodology is being applied. It appears that not even the most stringent critical editions comply fully with the four conditions detailed above. Their editors formulated their own rules regarding methodology and these rules were – as can be expected – not always the same.⁷⁴ All of them contain a detailed critical commentary (Condition #4) but, for example, Wenzinger did not consider all of the available sources, whereas the other two editors did (Condition #1). The editions of Beißwenger and Leisinger differ from each other, not just because they chose different principal sources (which Condition #2 allows), but also because their emendations based on and taken from the *other* original sources vary and more importantly, these emendations (and sometimes their own) are not always clearly marked (against Condition #2). The alternatives caused by the various editorial methodologies make competing editions justifiable; however, the *inconsistent* application of those methodologies, particularly as far as the distinctive notation of the emendations is concerned, is not in line with Condition #3.

While anyone preparing a critical edition could claim the right to apply whatever definition they consider appropriate to the task, in the three case studies described above (and several others)⁷⁵ two problems can be detected: none of the three editors outlined their definitions fully and unambiguously, and none of them followed whatever principles they laid out in their critical comments with complete consistency.

In principle, the full observation of the editor’s own guidelines should make it possible to create a version that meticulously follows the set conditions (whatever they are), but even if

⁷⁴ The problems outlined regarding the Wenzinger, Beißwenger and Leisinger editions recur in similar ways in other critical editions as well.

⁷⁵ These include the editions of Filippini (1987), Eppstein (1988) and Voss (2000).

such an edition were to exist, it may not serve practical purposes well due to the inadequacies of the sources. No matter what is chosen as the 'best text', it will not be able to represent the lost autograph completely. A large number of decisions regarding competing variants still have to be made and the reader should be informed about every instance when the default 'best text' is altered in any way. While consistently applied conventional methods of notating all details of hundreds of variants may carry the danger of overly extensive critical comments, the rapid progress of digital technology offers more practical solutions and firmly points to a future of customisable online editions as a solution to this problem (see Chapter 9).

Chapter 6

Editions based directly on original sources II – Facsimile editions, edited replicas of an original source and unmarked editions

Critical editions play a principal role in the scholarly interpretation of the available sources, notwithstanding their varied methodologies and somewhat imprecise definition. They are, however, not the only category that is based directly on original sources. The examination of the editions of the Bach Suites makes the need for three further categories apparent in order to provide a complete taxonomy of the Suites. These are:

- Facsimile editions
- Edited replicas of an original source
- 'Unedited' or unmarked editions

The common link between the first two categories (facsimile editions and edited replicas of the original notation) is that both of them attempt to transmit an original source accurately, by presenting it with minimal changes or none at all in a published version. The main difference between them is the extent and type of editorial intervention. These two categories have been discussed in the books of Feder and Grier, albeit the edited replicas were named 'edition of the corrected text' by Feder who interpreted that category slightly differently from Grier. The third category is not mentioned in their lists of categories, nor does Fuchs mention it, but it features in Solow's categorisation, under the contentious name of 'unedited editions'.

Facsimile editions (found in twelve editions of the Suites)

A facsimile edition is a photographically or digitally reproduced print of an original source and, being an exact copy of its model, it is faithful to it in as much detail as possible (to the limits of technology). Such editions are more common in scholarly publications. The evident advantage of a facsimile is that it offers easy access to an original source;¹ at the same time, it can be exceedingly difficult to read.

Ideally, a good facsimile edition reproduces the size and colour of the original identically, containing every page of its model, including its cover, back and empty pages. The benefits of reproducing the *codex unicus*² in an unaltered version are obvious, even if for financial considerations, the measurements are often reduced (without any change in the proportions), empty pages remain unprinted and the volume might be issued in black and white only.³ Before the dawn of the digital age, facsimile editions offered the only practical opportunity to examine these sources, as the manuscripts were mostly kept in library vaults and private collections in various parts of the world and were thus difficult to access.

A unique feature of a facsimile edition is the almost complete avoidance of editorial intervention: what there is consists mainly of basic commentary inserted before or after the facsimile pages. The research value of a facsimile is substantial in cases, where the composer's fair-copy manuscript is available; a good example for this is the autograph of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas. However, for lack of any autograph document, a facsimile edition of the Cello Suites can only be based *on a copy* of the lost original. This is a contentious issue, particularly as the manuscript selected for this purpose has almost always been Anna Magdalena's highly problematic copy on its own; in all but two of the facsimile editions, it was published without the other manuscript copies. Such a facsimile therefore means an edition reproducing all features of a manuscript in the hand of Bach's wife (whether they are correct or not), rather than what the composer himself wrote. While this information is never kept

¹ A mostly redundant advantage in the digital age when more and more facsimiles can be viewed online.

² The *codex unicus* is the 'unique and most original version, having a key influence'. Thomas A. Green, *Folklore : an encyclopedia of beliefs, customs, tales, music, and art* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997), 787.

³ However, in the case of the Suites, where the authorial original is missing, the facsimile of a copy carries a less 'unique' value.

from the readers, the act of offering (with the mentioned two exceptions) a facsimile of *only* Anna Magdalena's copy as a source strongly implies an authority that this manuscript simply does not have.⁴ It does not help matters that reverential references are commonly made to the 'facsimile edition of the Bach Suites' amongst cellists, generally without any apparent notice taken of the specific source. Sporadic dissenting voices notwithstanding,⁵ support for Source A has been vocal and ongoing (the Preface of the Wiłkomirski edition stated even as recently as in 1977 that '...recent research has shown that [Anna Magdalena's] manuscript of the Suites is no copy, but the original'),⁶ and the solitary transmission of her copy in facsimile for many decades allowed it to appear as the respected *codex unicus*.

A facsimile of a primary source will normally assist the understanding and interpretation of many ambiguous markings. However, a lot of visual information, crucial to the valuation of an autograph, has to be regarded with care if read from only one of four different copies of the original. The questions raised in Chapter 3 regarding the significance of Kellner's copy and the proposed re-evaluation of that manuscript underline the argument that the almost exclusive transmission of Anna Magdalena's copy in facsimile and its uncritical promotion can lead to misleading and incorrect conclusions. The research value of Source A is best explored in combination with the other three manuscript sources.

The traditions of publishing a facsimile in itself or in a dual edition of Bach's works for solo strings, comprising the facsimile as well as its edited version, go back to the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1908, the Violin Sonatas and Partitas were first issued with Bach's original manuscript printed underneath the annotated version, as a collaborative effort between Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser. Then, in or before 1929, Diran Alexanian published his in many ways revolutionary edition of the Cello Suites which started with an extensive Preface, followed by Anna Magdalena's copy in facsimile and finally, the edited version.⁷ Since then, a facsimile of Source A has been published as part of another eight annotated editions (Grümmer, 1944; Stogorsky, 1957; Wiłkomirski, 1958; Eisenberg, 1975,

⁴ The precise, if rather clumsy, name for such a publication would be: a facsimile edition of Anna Magdalena's copy of the Bach Suites.

⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Markevitch, Dimitry (1st edition), "Six Suites for Solo Cello, BWV 1007-1012," (Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010, USA: Presser, 1964), iii.

⁶ J. S. Bach, ed: Wiłkomirski, Kazimierz, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso," (Krakow: PWM Edition, 1972), 4.

⁷ The dating and other details of the Alexanian edition will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Kurtz, 1984; Bylsma, 1988; Beißwenger, 2000; Schwemer/ Woodfull-Harris, 2000), and three times independently (the twin editions of Reinhardt and Peters, 1950, and Bärenreiter, 1991). Only the latter publications could be called ‘pure’ facsimile editions as they were printed on their own, rather than as a preface or appendix to an annotated version of the Suites. For this reason, the other nine editions will be categorised according to the characteristics of their edited musical text; for example, Edmund Kurtz’s innovative version will be discussed later in this Chapter, as an edited print of a manuscript copy.

The only two editions presenting the four manuscript sources together in facsimile are two Bärenreiter publications from 1991 (the NBA companion volume) and 2000. Of these, the 2000 publication, edited by Bettina Schwemer and Douglas Woodfull-Harris, addressed the problem of source inclusion outstandingly.⁸ Its seven, separately bound volumes incorporate the four eighteen-century copies (Sources A, B, C, D) and – for the first time in printed version since its original appearance – the first edition (Source E) in facsimile, an unmarked edition complete with a critical report and a forty-page long essay elaborating on many details of performance practice and textual traditions. Despite confusing referencing and several curious wrong notes in the musical text (presumably more a shortcoming of the proof-readers than the editors),⁹ this publication represents an excellent combination of a critical and facsimile edition.

Edited replicas of an original source – exemplified in the editions of Stogorsky, Kurtz, Grümmer and Bylsma

A facsimile edition does not invalidate the need for reproductions of an original manuscript source in modern notation. Depending on the level of editorial intervention, two smaller categories can be identified in the editions of the Suites. As the differences between these two sub-categories bear no great significance for the categorisation of the Suites, they will be discussed together under the umbrella name of ‘edited replicas of an original source’.

⁸ J. S. Bach, ed: Schwemer, Bettina; Woodfull-Harris, Douglas, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso, BWV 1007-1012," (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2000).

⁹ See Chapter 5, footnote 26.

Firstly, a ‘diplomatic edition’ is a typographically transcribed faithful reproduction of a manuscript source, retaining its significant features without any alterations.¹⁰ These features include all of the orthographic information of the edition’s source, including all obvious errors, but also pagination, abbreviations, marginalia, rubrication, punctuation, capitalization, the layout of every page and line and other similar details.¹¹ Doubtful variant readings are kept but can be explained in the critical comments and their interpretation is the subject of editorial text criticism.¹² Secondly, Grier’s ‘edited print that replicates the original notation’, strongly resembling an ‘edition of the corrected text’, as Feder named his third category, is similarly a faithful and typographically recorded transcription of the original, but – at this point, Feder’s usually clear distinction is more than a little ambiguous – it includes editorial emendation of obvious errors.¹³ As in the case of a facsimile edition, neither of these editions can be prepared without an original source and, due to the purposefully minimal editorial intervention, it can only be as reliable as its model – an important caveat.

In a diplomatic edition, the inclusion of various minutiae may be useful, or indeed essential where the transcript is of a medieval manuscript; however, in the case of the Bach Suites such precision would be of limited use. Recording the details of the musical text faithfully might suffice, but even this task would almost certainly need some level of editorial intervention, as manuscripts can be notoriously difficult to read. A legato line may cover three or four notes; a note head may be written too large for it to be instantly recognisable; a worn-out quill pen might leave unwanted blotches of ink on the paper. Georg Feder cautiously describes the diplomatic edition, his second category, as ‘a facsimile-like reproduction of the correctly interpreted text of a source (with inclusion of the author’s corrections)’.¹⁴ The accurate interpretation, however, must be restricted to dependable handling of the notational ambiguities in the manuscript – a problematic condition, since editorial criticism with regard to corrected variant readings can easily become indistinguishable from the same with regard

¹⁰ Georg Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, ed. Societies American Council of Learned (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2011), 140.

¹¹ http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic453618.files/Central/editions/edition_types.html, accessed on 15 May 2015.

¹² A typical, if only partially successful, example for such an edition of the Suites is Alexandr Stogorsky’s publication (1957).

¹³ Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, 141.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 140.

to textual emendations. Both are based on the expert, albeit subjective judgment of the editor and – given the indistinct nature of handwritten copies at the best of times, let alone when they are made of unknown sources – ultimately any such corrections are founded on conjecture. Deciding where a corrected error (permissible according to Feder’s definition of the diplomatic edition) becomes an editorial ‘improvement based on educated guesses’ (expected only in an edition of the corrected text, a different category altogether in Feder’s system)¹⁵ is essentially a matter of interpretation, which is why the definitions of Feder’s second and third categories are so precariously close to each other. The latter is ‘like the diplomatic edition, but with emendation of obvious errors’,¹⁶ and is described in Feder’s terminology as an ‘edition of the corrected text in modern notation’.

James Grier chose not to regard the diplomatic editions as an independent group and strongly emphasised the fundamental difference between Feder’s second and third categories, claiming that a printed replica of the original notation (Grier’s second category) ‘allows editors the opportunity to revise and correct the text according to their critical investigations of the work and its sources. Therefore, it is a critical edition.’¹⁷ Unfortunately, this emphatic assertion is not followed with any explanation, which makes it unclear why in that case this group is not part of the ‘critical editions’ category. Taking the deductions of these two excellent scholars to the extreme, one could argue that if (in Feder’s opinion) a diplomatic edition is rather similar to an ‘edition of the corrected text in modern notation’, which (according to Grier) is a critical edition, then it follows that both categories could ultimately be regarded as sub-categories of the critical editions.

Grier’s opinion notwithstanding, the dividing line between Feder’s second and third categories can be all but undetectable as in both cases there is room, indeed need, for occasional editorial intervention. The difference lies in the degree of the intervention and this difference can be so delicate that it can all but obliterate a clear distinction between the two categories.

¹⁵ Ibid., 141.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The overlap between categories, already observed in Fuch’s work, can be traced here as well. James Grier, *The critical editing of music: history, method, and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 148.

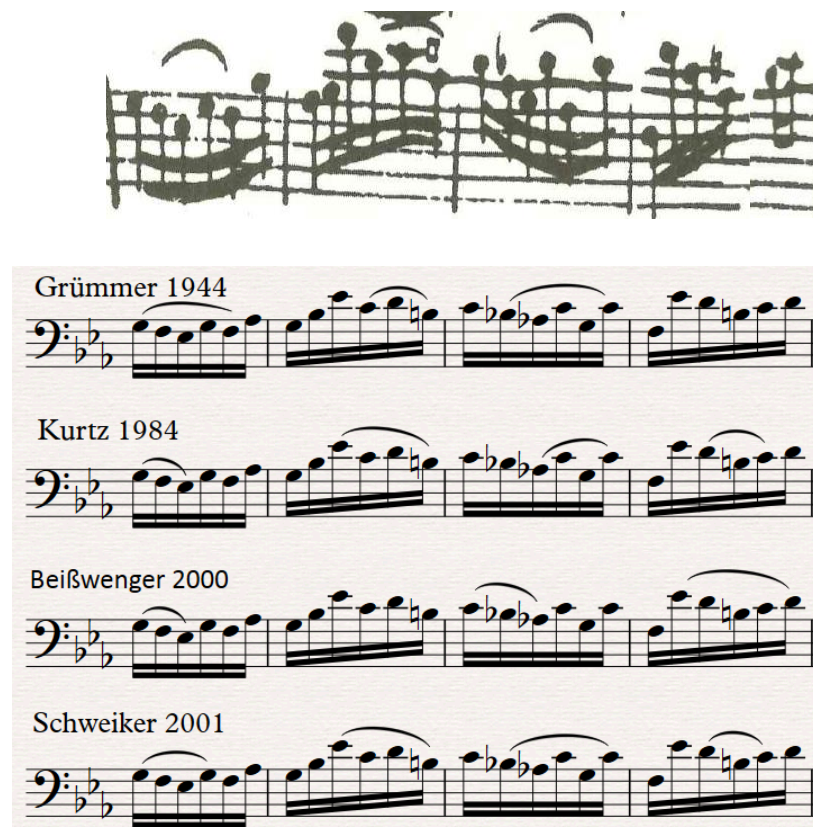
For the purposes of this examination, the category of ‘edited replicas of an original source’ covers all editions of the Bach Suites which directly transmit an original source in modern notation. This includes two characteristic, though contentious cases of diplomatic editions (case studies 1 and 2), showing strong affiliation with Feder’s second category, and two examples to demonstrate the consequences of following a single source faithfully, yet with a certain amount of editorial emendation (case studies 3 and 4). Without exception, all editions that belong to this category carry the marks of editorial emendations to varying degrees, yet they attempt to adhere as much as possible to the model’s musical text, including its slurs and other articulation markings. Underlining one of the major problems throughout the edition history of the Suites, their model is unfailingly one and the same manuscript copy (which is used in several cases without consideration of any other possible models): Source A. Given the notorious vagueness of Anna Magdalena’s placing of notes and legatos in general, editorial text-criticism is constantly needed in order to provide a modern notation, but in these editions it is generally limited to the interpretation of exactly where Anna Magdalena’s slurs start and finish, while devoting less attention to the problematic pitches and rhythms. In several editions (including some of the critical editions, as was shown in the previous chapter) there is only partial information revealed regarding the editor’s otherwise practical desire not only to fulfil the requirements of the down-bow rule (and accordingly, read Anna Magdalena’s legatos with a bias), and also to make the legatos idiomatic, ‘cello-friendly’ from a player’s point of view.¹⁸ Figure 6.1 demonstrates the multiple possible interpretations of the slurs in Anna Magdalena’s copy with four bars from the C minor Prelude, first in Source A, then in the transcriptions of four different editors.¹⁹ The aspiration of these versions is to render Source A playable with the least possible alterations. The inherent problem with this attempt is that these editions constantly arrive at different conclusions while reconstructing Anna Magdalena’s defective representation of the lost autograph.²⁰

¹⁸ The inevitable clash between purely presenting the articulations as closely to the manuscript(s) as possible and interpreting them for a modern audience is one of the main reasons why this thesis focuses mostly on the problems of the deviant pitches and rhythms between the primary sources and their effect on later editions.

¹⁹ The C Minor Suite is written in scordatura, with the A string of the cello tuned down to G, as notated in Source A. The four edited versions show this example in modern tuning.

²⁰ Even the most fervent admirers of Anna Magdalena and her copying output admit the problems of accuracy in her copies.

Figure 6.1: C minor Suite, Prélude, bars 163-166 in Source A and the editions of Grümmer, Kurtz, Beißwenger and Schweiker



The obvious discrepancies in the above example are all the more significant, as the editors of these publications all sincerely attempt to produce a faithful transcript of Source A; in fact, in 1944, Grümmer makes a point in the Preface to his edition about 'transcribing the original bowings into modern notation' (*eine Übertragung in moderne Notenschrift ... der originalen Stricharten*)²¹ and proudly introduces the inclusion of the facsimile of the autograph, without mentioning that 'the original bowings' of 'the autograph' refer to Anna Magdalena's copy.²²

²¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Grümmer, Paul, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello allein, BWV 1007-1012," ed. Müller von Asow Paul Grümmer, Erich Hermann (Wien: Doblinger, 1944), Zur vorliegenden Ausgabe (Preface).

²² Many other editors claimed to base their work on Anna Magdalena's copy but, while drawing their own conclusions regarding its idiosyncrasies, editorialised its content to such an extent that Source A was in danger of becoming a device to assist the editors to complete their individual plan.

Case study 1: Stogorsky's edition (Muzgysz, 1957)

The most interesting example for an attempt to create a diplomatic edition of the Suites came from the Soviet cellist, Alexandr Stogorsky (the younger brother of Gregor Piatigorsky), who reproduced Anna Magdalena's copy faithfully in his edition, including all its questionable notational features. The commentary to the edition, written with scholarly care, reflects a largely uncritical acceptance of the primacy of Source A – in fact, it insists on the wife's script being the husband's – while the detailed performance instructions of the score add to the edition's interest.

Living under the oppression of the Soviet Union would have made reliable research extremely difficult, and this might explain why the editor consulted only one manuscript source (although he was aware of the existence of Sources B and C). Nonetheless, it is somewhat startling that, as is explained in the Preface, Stogorsky reached the conclusion that this Source had to be regarded as the autograph, although he was aware of the academic consensus that the aforementioned source was in Anna Magdalena's hand.²³

In his loyal adherence to Anna Magdalena's (or as he would have it, Johann Sebastian's) script, he ignored the discrepancies between Source A and the other known sources altogether, and reproduced virtually every questionable note, rhythm and slur. This included even the most obvious copying errors: for instance, he loyally followed Anna Magdalena's mistake by inserting an extra bar in the C major Gigue.

Figure 6.2: C major Suite, Gigue, bars 97-101 in Stogorsky's edition (Stogorsky counts upbeats as complete bars throughout his edition, resulting in misleading bar numbers.)



The rare occasions when he deviated from his model are both unexplained and puzzling; they certainly establish that Stogorsky may have been loyal but not slavish in his observance of his source. Whatever the reason for these variants, they suggest a certain amount of

²³ J. S. Bach, ed: Stogorsky, Alexander, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello sollo [sic!]," (Moscow: Muzgysz, 1957), III.

independent text-criticism on Stogorsky's part, demonstrating that the editor on occasion followed his own instinct, rather than a set of predetermined criteria.²⁴

Although Stogorsky correctly identified that according to the early eighteenth-century practice accidentals are notated differently from our modern conventions, he used this principle in an extremely rigid manner: not only did he misinterpret the contemporary practice but also occasionally created truly odd results. The third note of the lower part in Figure 6.3 is notated without a flat sign in Anna Magdalena's copy which Stogorsky interpreted as an implied natural sign, and marked it accordingly, although in brackets.

Figure 6.3: D minor Suite, Sarabande, bar 13



Stogorsky's version has been little used and largely dismissed by the cello community on account of its many (dutifully copied!) errors. Yet ironically, many of the same errors have been readily accepted by cellists and editors of the Suites as part of an 'authentic source' when Anna Magdalena's copy was being checked.²⁵ Even more ironic is the fact that, by following her script obediently, Stogorsky in fact became one of the most dependable editors; his editorial purpose was clear not just from the detailed Preface of his edition (filling twenty-four pages in the English translation) but from the score as well, and he delivered the goods with remarkable consistency. He uniformly followed Anna Magdalena's idiosyncratic notation (with very rare exceptions), including her legato lines to which he added his own proposed slurs in a clearly differentiated manner by crossing them (see Figure 6.4). His strict adherence to his model's presumed bowing instructions, coupled with his own emendations results in a concept rarely used before in publications for the cello: the clear differentiation between editorial additions and what the editor considers as the authentic musical text. This is one of the fundamental – if often disregarded – conditions of a critical edition, discussed in detail in Chapter 5, but in practice before Stogorsky's edition only Wenzinger (1950) differentiates

²⁴ For example, E^b Suite, Courante, the sixth note in bar 3 is correctly given as A natural in his edition, whereas the same note in Source A is clearly B natural.

²⁵ Two samples taken from Mainardi's edition: G Major Suite Allemande in bar 23, note 3, B flat instead of B; C Major Prélude in bar 27, note 12, F instead of E.

between source and editorial notation, and even afterwards only a few editors have employed this elucidating technique consistently in the editions of the Suites.

Figure 6.4: G major Suite, *Prélude*, bars 1-4



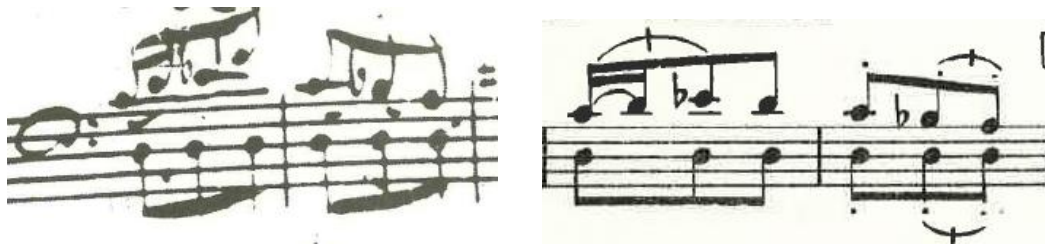
The assumption that he was working from Bach's autograph, led Stogorsky to make a whole string of further dubious deductions, elaborated in the extensive Preface, in which he also gave a detailed overview of the early editions, as well as the history of the Russian editions of the Suites. The editorial comments at the end of the volume are not so much text-critical observations, but numerous, if rather haphazardly chosen examples from his model (Anna Magdalena's script) compared with analogous passages taken from a large number of sources: eleven editions, the written-out version of the Casals recording and the 1944 PhD dissertation of one B. V. Dobrokhotoy. The consideration of these sources, the extensive knowledge of previous editions, and the length and scholarly attention demonstrated in both the Preface and the comments resemble the scholarly apparatus of a critical edition closely. Unfortunately, despite the obvious editorial care, the numerous erroneous references (among others, to Probst being the publisher of the first edition, the false assumption that the single [sic!] manuscript being available was the autograph and incorrect publication details, for example, Magrini's edition dated to 1916 instead of 1918) diminish the credibility of the commentary.²⁶

Looking at the musical text itself, Stogorsky's work is remarkable as he attempted to amalgamate a purist – if flawed – diplomatic transcript with a performing edition. Stogorsky's professed aim to transmit Anna Magdalena's script verbatim determines the approach of his edition. However, he broke the self-imposed rules on various occasions, leaving the philologically inclined reader scratching his head in bewilderment: did he really follow Source

²⁶ J. S. Bach, ed: Stogorsky, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello sollo [sic!]," III-IX.

A faithfully or did he not? Not in every case; according to the evidence shown in Figure 6.5, for example, he did revise Source A occasionally, and corrected the fourth note in bar 37 from F to D in the C major Gigue.

Figure 6.5: C major Suite, Gigue, bars 37-38 in Anna Magdalena's copy and Stogorsky's edition



Stogorsky's work offers an easily readable, almost unerringly faithful transcription of Source A and this is its greatest strength, even if (like nearly all of the other editions) it has significant faults in execution. The strict adherence to its chosen source makes it less practical to use for performances, despite the copious dynamic and articulation markings, metronome numbers and fingerings. This awkward compromise between the diplomatic and the performing edition demonstrates that if there is no reliable (that is, not defective) model to work from, a diplomatic transcription cannot serve as a useful performing score. At the same time, had Stogorsky removed the obvious errors of Source A (as most of the other editors did when working on an original source-based edition), he would have produced a critical edition, notwithstanding the many errors of his critical commentary.

His score remains to this day unequalled, demonstrating a case for multiple editorial purposes in the editions of the Suites: it shows characteristic signs of a performing as well as a diplomatic edition, with the addition of somewhat inaccurate critical notes. While it is a fascinating editorial sleight of hand, it fails to produce a satisfactory outcome for any one of those efforts. The mostly precise transcriptions of the inaccuracies in Anna Magdalena's manuscript make his score problematic to be read from directly; on the other hand, his occasional editorial emendations make his efforts to produce a diplomatic transcription flawed.

Whether adding the comprehensive performance instructions was his idea or whether he was obliged to do so, is a moot point; after all, it is more than possible that in one of the darkest years of the communist era, a Soviet edition of any music lacking detailed performing

instructions would have been seen as elitist, and its editor in danger of not serving the interest of the People.²⁷

Case study 2: Bylsma's edition (Guglielmo Zanibon, 1988)

The only other edition showing characteristics of a diplomatic transcript was prepared by the eminent Dutch cellist, Anner Bylsma, who penned an endearingly personal and thought-provoking essay²⁸ in which he – not unlike his titular hero, Bach, the fencing master – drew his sword in defence of Anna Magdalena. Bylsma's objective was to convince his 'dear reader' that those aspects which appear to be inconsistent, incorrect, or even lacking fundamental musical insight in *her* copy, are actually proof of the brilliant composer trying never to repeat *himself* by applying a most elaborate plan of articulation. Bylsma's book is openly provocative and passionate. His renowned artistic integrity radiates through every sentence and every page; it more than compensates for the book's want of academic style and argument. Despite the fact that the book lacks any type of scholarly apparatus, his elaborations gain credibility by virtue of the extraordinary musicianship evidenced by his two sets of recordings. Yet despite the exemplary playing there, his critics were quick to point out that Anna Magdalena's chaotic bowings – which Bylsma promotes and follows almost verbatim (playing with admirable proficiency!) – are neither practical from a purely instrumental point of view, nor easy to execute.

The book touches on a wide range of peripheral subjects, ranging from a cello arrangement of the Allemande of the first French Suite (BWV 812) to discussions of Jean Louis Duport's '*Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet*' (1806), while circling constantly around the difficult elucidation of the idiosyncrasies in Anna Magdalena's copy. According to Bylsma's argument, the Suites were bowed by the composer in the Italian tradition, 'as it comes'. Therefore, following the correctly interpreted slurs, there is no need for re-takes of the bow (that is, a down-bow followed by another down-bow). The result is a highly eccentric

²⁷ Although I do not have direct evidence to prove this point, the 20-30 Soviet editions of various items of the cello repertoire in my possession are certainly consistent with it.

²⁸ Anner Bylsma, *Bach, the fencing master: reading aloud from the first three cello suites*, trans. Gé Bartman (Amsterdam; Basel: Bylsma's Fencing Mail, 1998).

but internally consistent bowing structure which ignores most known and practical conventions, such as playing chords whenever possible on a down-bow or starting a new movement on an up-bow when it begins with an upbeat.

As an important appendix to the book, the author provides the reader with transcriptions of the first three Suites for viola and violin; however, there is no explanation offered why the book itself does not contain an edited and printed version of the same works for cello. The fact that several movements from the E^b major and C minor Suites are analysed makes the exclusion of the last three Suites in any edited form even more peculiar.

Bylsma's simple and innovative method to offer his suggestions to cellists is different from the tidy and readable violin and viola transcriptions. A facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy of the first three Suites is embedded into the main text (movement by movement, at various sections of the book) but with enough space above every line for Bylsma's shorthand recommendation regarding the legatos in questionable places. As he believes this copy to be an all-important source, he does not change any of Anna Magdalena slurs, not even when their practical value is minimal. His interpretation of Anna Magdalena's bowings is often questionable though; for example, in bars 13 and 20 in Figure 6.6 where Anna Magdalena's slurs are reduced by one in each case in Bylsma's transcription. His handwritten clarifications suggest some rather controversial bowings that many cellists would find unidiomatic. As a result, the rule of the down-bow is (deliberately) unheeded, whenever more than one reading of the manuscript is possible.

Figure 6.6: D minor Suite, Menuet II, bars 9-23 with Anner Bylsma's bowing suggestions



Case study 3: Kurtz's edition (International Music Co., 1984)

A few years before Bylsma offered the literal transcription of Anna Magdalena's manuscript in his book, the edition of Edmund Kurtz was published, attempting to achieve the same goal in a different way, with the addition of player-friendly editorial corrections.

Kurtz was born in St Petersburg in 1908. His family migrated to Germany in 1917, the year of the Russian Revolution, where Kurtz learned cello from Julius Klengel and later in Paris from Diran Alexanian (other editors of the Suites). He worked as an orchestral musician and soloist in Europe and the USA; his 1945 recording of the Dvořák Cello Concerto was conducted by Arturo Toscanini and is still occasionally re-released. He also premiered new compositions by Ernest Krenek (Suite for Unaccompanied Cello Op 84), Alberto Ginastera (Pampeana No 2) and Darius Milhaud (Elegie and Concerto No 2). At the age of seventy, he started to work on his edition of the Bach Suites, an undertaking that took him four years to finish.

Kurtz's edition introduced a remarkable new format. For easy comparison he presented Anna Magdalena's photographic facsimile on the right hand side of every double page, with his reading of the same music (and therefore the same number of bars) mirroring the manuscript on the left hand side. While others have provided a facsimile of Source A before, Kurtz's juxtaposition of the two versions made it possible to follow the facsimile while playing from the modern edition concurrently. This concept closely resembles the principle outlined in Feder's 'Historical and critical edition' category, according to which the 'versions are published in parallel print [on opposite pages] or as separate texts.'²⁹

Kurtz attempted to follow his model closely, and that often meant the transmission of an obviously wrong note. Figure 6.7 shows one such example where Anna Magdalena's probable error is to be found only in Kurtz's and Stogorsky's editions; the correct notes of the first chord are shown from Rubardt's (1965) critical edition.³⁰

²⁹ Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, 150.

³⁰ As another indication that Source A shared its model with Sources C and D (see Chapter 3), the practically unplayable and unidiomatic D octave occurs also in the late eighteenth-century copies as well. Only Kellner's copy gives the harmonically richer and technically executable B^b in the chord which has been taken over by all but the mentioned two editions.

Figure 6.7: E^b major Suite, Prélude, bar 60 in the editions of Kurtz and Rubardt



In the above Figure, Kurtz's faithful copy of Anna Magdalena's inaccurate copying looks feasible for example from the point of view of a keyboard player, but – despite the proposed modern fingering – the error is quite obvious to any cellist who would attempt to play an octave on the low strings and a fifth on the top two.

Another simple but effective innovation in this edition is an 'x' sign printed above certain notes to draw the reader's attention to their controversial or questionable nature. This could potentially have become a powerful editorial tool, if it had been used consistently to highlight editorial emendations of errors in the source. Kurtz does use this method often enough to correct errors of the musical grammar but in several cases, as shown in Figure 6.8, he actually marks the error without exercising his editorial right (or duty?) to correct it.³¹ This reduces the potential of the 'x' from warning of an essential correction to a generic editorial exclamation mark: check the source, potential mistake!

³¹ Another example is last bar of the E^b major Gigue, where the E^b major triad is somewhat spoilt by Anna Magdalena replacing a G with an A^b, an error followed by a very few editions (Grümmer, Stogorsky, Starker and Kurtz).

Figure 6.8: G major Suite, Menuet I, bars 20-22 in Kurtz's edition with the erroneous D marked with the 'x'



Sources B, C and D and most later editions follow the sequence of bar 21 with a last note of E in the next bar; apart from Source A, only Kurtz, Bylsma and Stogorsky present a D instead. In doing so, the latter two demonstrate the unquestioning nature of their 'diplomatic' transcript.

Kurtz attempted to follow his source to the letter generally speaking but not without some corrections in various aspects of his work. He explained his attitude regarding the legatos in the Preface of his edition:

I used as many of the notated bowings as I possibly could, although it was quite impossible to follow them throughout, and one is forced to make amends. Yet the idea of her spasmodic notations had to prevail, and every adjustment has been made to preserve everything to sound as close as possible to what Bach had intended.³²

Apart from the problematic nature of knowing 'what Bach had intended', the editor used these sentences to justify following the bowing instructions of Anna Magdalena extremely carefully in some cases (in the D minor Courante, he added altogether two legatos in bars 30 and 31, following the sequential logic of bar 29 perfectly), while at other times he used his imagination liberally. For example, in Bourrée II of the C major Suite (Figure 6.9), he added ten extra slurs to the eight bar long first section, several of which are the result of his editorial freedom.

³² J. S. Bach, ed: Kurtz, Edmund, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012: with facsimile of the autograph manuscript," (New York City: International Music Co., 1984), unpaginated preface.

Figure 6.9: C major Suite, Bourrée II, bars 1-10 in Anna Magdalena's copy and 1-9 in Kurtz's edition



As these legatos are not distinguished in any way from the correctly transcribed slurs in Source A, they diminish the chance of Kurtz's edition obtaining the elusive title of a 'facsimile-like reproduction'.³³

Case study 4: Grümmer's edition (Doblinger, 1944)

In the same movement and elsewhere, Paul Grümmer's version is consistently closer to the same model, Source A, regarding both the primary and secondary parameters, while hardly ever losing any of the idiomatic qualities of easily playable legatos

Figure 6.10: C major Suite, Bourrée II, bars 1-7 in Grümmer's edition



³³ Feder, *Music philology: an introduction to musical textual criticism, hermeneutics, and editorial technique*, 140.

Grümmer (1879-1965) is yet another editor whose work neatly fits into two different categories. Similarly to most other editors who prepared replicas of an original source, he included a facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy, which he followed with utmost care. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, one of his students, commented that 'he attempted to be "correct up to [the point of] craziness," measuring the articulation markings down to the tenth of a millimetre.'³⁴

A student of Julius Klengel and Hugo Becker (both of them earlier editors of the Suites), Grümmer had a stellar career in the first half of the twentieth century. After many years of concertising and touring, he settled in Vienna as principal cello in the city's Opera House orchestra and, perhaps even more importantly, as cellist in Adolf Busch's Quartet. He had teaching positions in Cologne (where August Wenzinger, another editor of the Bach Suites was amongst his students) and Berlin, as well as in Vienna. It was in the most unlikely environment of the war-torn, half demolished *Kaiserstadt* where he prepared and published his edition of the Suites, less than a year before World War II ended.

To rid the Suites of arbitrary articulation markings which had accumulated over the decades, Grümmer had decided to go back to Anna Magdalena's manuscript (which he, similarly to Stogorsky, believed to be the autograph) and founded his edition entirely on that basis. Unlike his Soviet colleague, thirteen years later, Grümmer did not want to create an uncritical, diplomatic transmission. In order to alter any detail that he found unsatisfactory in Source A, he sporadically turned to other models, typically notes and rhythms taken from the first edition (most likely conveyed in the easily accessible edition of Dotzauer). He also followed singularly interesting exemplars on occasion: in bars 19-20 of the Allemande of the G major Suite, Norbert Salter (1897) had suggested first (followed by Klengel, Pollain, Bazelaire and others) the notes following the two trills as appoggiaturas to be written out, which Grümmer (perhaps inheriting from his teacher, Klengel's, edition) put in his edition as well.³⁵

³⁴ Paul R. Laird, *The baroque cello revival: an oral history* (Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 94.

³⁵ This suggestion did not prove to be popular, with only Pollain (1918), Liégeois (1920), Bazelaire (1920) and, much later, von Tobel (2004) taking it over.

Figure 6.11: G major Suite, Allemande, bars 19-20 in Anna Magdalena's copy and Grümmer's edition



Another perplexing deviation from Source A – or for that matter, from the other three manuscript copies as well – occurs in the C minor Gigue, where in bar 34 Grümmer transmits an A^b as the second note (instead of the commonly played G), first published so in Wilhelm Stade's little-known cello-piano transcription in 1864.³⁶ The solution of the puzzle may again be the power of habits and influence: the edition made by his respected teacher, Klengel, which Grümmer most probably learned from and later used with his own students, took over the odd-sounding but possible A^b, and Grümmer may have played it accordingly all his life.³⁷

Nonetheless, these examples are relatively rare and serve as exceptions. In general, Grümmer did an excellent job in making Anna Magdalena's error-ridden copy as playable as possible, while – and this is the point on which his version is fundamentally different, for example, from the overly loyal transcript of Anner Bylsma – never deviating from the rule of the down-bow for any longer than absolutely necessary. This resulted in some astute interpretations of his model's ambiguous slurs: often unorthodox, but still adequate bowings, closer to a verbatim transcription than the work of some of his colleagues with similar ambitions, yet admirably conforming to his contemporary playing traditions (Figure 6.12).

³⁶ Only a few later editions took over this alteration: Grützmacher, Klengel, Liégeois, Grümmer and Starker.

³⁷ Stade's unlikely inspiration may be also behind the changed notes in bar 25 of the Gigue of the E^b major Suite, evident (apart from Stade and Grümmer) only in the editions of Schröder (1888) and Malkin (1918).

Figure 6.12: G major Suite, Courante, bars 28-30 in Anna Magdalena's copy



In the edition of Grümmer:



In the edition of Kurtz:



In the edition of Schweiker:



In summary of this fascinating category, all edited replicas of an original source are marred by the same difficulties of how to interpret the source material. The ambiguities and outright errors of Source A make an entirely literal transmission practically impossible. While making an effort to mirror Anna Magdalena's notes, rhythms, slurs and other articulation marks to the letter, these editions often end up transmitting those elements selectively and very differently. Despite their editors' common goal their methodologies vary; but what modifies their final output even more is the range and amount of text-critical emendations which – surprisingly, yet uniformly – none of them acknowledges exercising but all of them do. Grier's suggestion, that these publications should be regarded as critical editions (see footnote 17), is not without a certain logic but shows too much leniency with regard to the necessary criteria as far as a critical edition is concerned. It is also possible that our commonly used terminology is unclear and the broad maxim according to which '[all] editing is critical' would

be best kept distinguished from the more specific definition of a 'critical edition'. As the discussion of the critical editions in Chapter 5 showed, their differences from this current group are numerous.

Firstly, all of the editors whose work was discussed in this category at the very least knew of other original sources but there is little evidence supporting the idea that they actually considered them as valid alternatives. When they have deviated from Source A and used an alternative source (often Kellner's reading, transmitted probably through Dotzauer's edition), they did so almost always without referencing it appropriately. The more this happens, the less reliable their pledged commitment to Anna Magdalena's copy will become. Chapter 3 presented evidence suggesting that Kellner's copy may be of more value than previously assumed. One implication of this would be that the edited replicas of Anna Magdalena's copy were founded on an erroneous base. This does not negate the scholarly approach that these editors have taken, but some of their conclusions may not withstand close scrutiny.

Secondly, the level of scholarly apparatus and critical notes varies greatly between these editions but in general, with the exception of Stogorsky, it can be said that providing detailed notes was not a priority for these editors. Again, this does not diminish the value of their contribution to the edition history of the Suites but separates this category from that of the critical editions.

Finally, and acknowledging that this criterion is rarely completely met even within critical editions, it might be assumed that in their work these editors would clearly distinguish between editorial additions and what they consider as the authentic musical text, but this is in fact seldom the case. Bylsma's edition would fulfil this condition, had it not been transmitted in its unconventional double form of facsimile plus handwritten additional bowings (see Figure 6.6). Grümmer's edition comes closest to an intelligent transcript of Anna Magdalena's slurs but even in his edition, there are numerous examples for the arbitrary bowing instructions against which he so carefully warned the reader of his edition.

‘Unedited’ or unmarked editions – exemplified in the editions of Kurth, Vandersall, Anastasio and Ko

Here is an unedited copy – minus all slurs, ties, expression marks, embellishments, etc. It will enable the mature artist and teacher to prepare an exact presentation of the bowings, fingers, phrasing, and dynamics that he wishes his students to follow. All confusion between printed and pencilled directions can be ended.³⁸

In 1970, Daniel Vandersall introduced his edition of the Cello Suites with these words. The term ‘unedited edition’ is problematic as the only published edition that could be called truly ‘unedited’ is a facsimile version of the original. As soon as the slightest alteration of the model occurs in the reproduction, it will become different and thus will be edited. For this reason, Daniel Vandersall’s description of his edition as ‘unedited’ cannot be accepted as accurate, even if the name sounds catchy and an edition without slurs or articulation marks is commonly called that.

So far, seven editions have presented the Suites in an unmarked format, with varying results. They form a separate group and will be called ‘unmarked’ – perhaps a less familiar but more fitting name. In an unmarked version of the score, the editorial intervention is still important but in a reverse way. In order ‘to enable the mature artist and teacher to prepare an exact representation’ of all desired articulations and dynamics, the score consists of the pitches and rhythms of the ‘best text’ of the editor’s choice. It should follow then that the musical text of the score is taken from a respectable source. However, this is not always the case; for example, Vandersall conflated his sources whatever they may have been, without providing any information about his reasons.

The term may have not often been used before but the underlying principle itself was not new; half a century earlier, in 1921, Ernst Kurth (1886 – 1946), the Swiss music theorist, issued a volume containing the twin sets (the Violin Sonatas and Partitas and the Cello Suites) void of any articulation signs.³⁹

³⁸ J. S. Bach, ed: Vandersall, Daniel, "Bach suites for violoncello solo : BWV 1007-1012," (Hackensack, N.J.: Vandersall Editions, 1970), unpaginated preface.

³⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: Kurth, Ernst, "Sechs Sonaten und sechs Suiten für Violine und Violoncello Solo," (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1921).

Kurth was the first non-cellist to edit the Suites since the organist and librarian Alfred Dörffel (BGA, 1879). Being a musicologist, Kurth had studied with Guido Adler and later became a highly regarded music theorist with influential works on Wagner, Bruckner and various theoretical subjects. His 1917 book, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts; Bachs melodische Polyphonie*, laid the foundations for a new theoretical principle regarding linear counterpoint in Bach's oeuvre.⁴⁰ Kurth's idea of polyphonic thinking as 'melodic energy' in a single line composition inspired Diran Alexanian's ground-breaking analytical edition of the Bach Suites a few years later;⁴¹ it is interesting therefore, that he chose not to publish his own analytical edition but an unmarked one.

With its lengthy Preface touching more than once on the notion of linear counterpoint, Kurth's double edition appeared in an unusually small format, looking more like a paperback novel than a substantial collection of all the string solos by Bach. This suggests a targeted audience of sophisticated, enquiring readers, probably scholars rather than instrumentalists, as practicing cellists would have found it difficult to follow the small print and, in any case, did not have much use for a copy of the violin solos. Kurth's bold move to get rid of all markings in order to avoid any suggestion of a romanticised performance was an unprecedented feature of his edition. The editor purged the multifarious legato signs of all previous sources and editions, with the exception of those slurs that connect identical notes, in other words, ties that affect rhythm rather than articulation – a most sensible decision. Apart from that, the edition is restricted to the primary parameters (pitches and rhythms) which in Kurth's well-judged opinion include the trills as well. Kurth's most probable model of the musical text may have been Dörffel's edition (1879),⁴² as evidenced by the exact agreement of the placement of trills and the dynamic marks in the D Major Suite's Prélude

⁴⁰ Ernst Kurth, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts: Bachs melodische Polyphonie* (M. Hesse, 1917).

⁴¹ Ingrid Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1981), 822-825.

⁴² There are also a few shared but unusual divergent notes between the editions of Dörffel and Kurth, for example the fourth note being a C[#] rather than the customary E in bar eight of the D Major Suite's Gigue. Dörffel adopted Kellner's version in this case and Kurth is the only later edition sharing it. As there are no exclusive common errors between Kellner and Kurth, it appears likely that Kurth based his choice on Dörffel's edition. Another case demonstrating Kurth's adherence to unique musical solutions taken from Kellner via Dörffel is the trill on the eighth bar of Bourrée II in the C Major Suite.

(the sole movement in both editions with dynamics).⁴³ There are some curious discrepancies though, suggesting a possible second source for Kurth. This additional source may have been, based on their frequent agreements, one of Dotzauer's later reprints (such as the one from 1866).⁴⁴

As can be seen from its introduction, Vandersall, unlike Kurth, aims at the perceived needs of the 'mature artist and teacher' by wiping the engraving plates free of any articulations whatsoever. This includes the rhythmically important ties over identical notes, trills and dynamics present in the manuscript sources. This approach is less helpful than Kurth's musically minded inclusions, but the even more contentious issue is calling an edition unedited because in it all articulation signs are eliminated. This highlights one of the ongoing problems in the edition history of the Cello Suites: the focus of the editorial attention appears to concentrate far too often on matters of articulations. This approach clearly does not pay enough attention to the hundreds of discrepancies between the four surviving manuscript sources with respect to the primary parameters of pitch and rhythm. Vandersall *expressis verbis*, others implicitly claim that just because the legatos are not there anymore, the edition can be regarded as unedited.

In fact, this is not quite true. Whether slurs are present or absent, Vandersall (like all editors) had to make choices when the observed original sources or any number of previous editions did not agree about a certain pitch or rhythm. On occasion he avoided this responsibility and, rather uniquely, decided to hedge his bets; for example, in the opening bar of the C Minor Suite, he elected to provide two different versions for the fourth written note.⁴⁵ In the original

⁴³ Although there are some dynamic marks in Sources A, C and D, their placement is not always consistent. Dörffel's edition made these markings more logical and Kurth copied them verbatim.

⁴⁴ That Kurth's source could not have been the original Dotzauer edition but a later print can be established from the evidence of bar 25 in the D Minor Prelude, where the eighth note was written universally as a B^b until Stade's 1864 piano-cello arrangement. Stade's change of that note to B natural became popular in the next few decades, taken over by a slightly altered reprint (1866) of Dotzauer's edition, Grützmacher, Salter, Malkin, Pollain, Liégeois, and eventually, Kurth himself. There are only a few divergences between Dotzauer's 1826 original and the 1866 reprint, and this is one of them. It is not known who applied these amendments, and when or why they did so.

⁴⁵ Given the unusual playing technique with the authorial scordatura, many editors chose to provide two different versions: one in that original notation but also one which transcribes that to normal tuning.

notation (with scordatura),⁴⁶ he suggested an A^b, whereas in the transcription for normal tuning, inexplicably, he wrote an A natural.⁴⁷

Figure 6.13: C minor Suite, *Prélude*, bars 1-3 in Vandersall's two versions



Choosing an A^b as the fourth note is a brave decision; this reading puts Vandersall with all the primary sources, Dotzauer, Grützmacher and a few others, but against the overwhelming majority of later editions. Hedged or not, the choice to take something out (for example, the articulations) is an editorial one in itself, just as much as changing or adding something would be. These decisions make Vandersall's work edited indeed.

There are not many editions for which it would be as difficult to identify the editor's preferred model as in Vandersall's version. He seems to have taken ideas from the three manuscript copies then available, the first edition and probably from several earlier editions in almost equal measures. As a result of that, the primary parameters of his edition – which, being unmarked, explicitly excludes the use of the secondary ones – form a somewhat odd combination compiled from several earlier publications. This is not only problematic in Vandersall's edition but is true for several other unmarked editions: the significant disagreements regarding the bare musical text between the primary sources are often unaccounted for, as (with the exception of Schwemer/Woodfull-Harris and Yokoyama) the

⁴⁶ The rest of the discrepancies in the two versions are due to the scordatura writing and its modern transcription and the do not affect the sounding notes.

⁴⁷ Vandersall is not the only editor who showed an A^b in the original notation and A natural in the normal tuning. Although the reasons for this are nowhere explained, the same occurs in the edition of Wenzinger (1950), whereas Wiłkomirski's 1961 print offers the A^b and the otherwise identical reprint in 1971 shows the A natural.

editors provide little if any details about the used sources, or about the reasons for that choice.

Nonetheless, the interest in unmarked editions has not shown any signs of abating: in 1996, Jeffrey Solow (who did not seem to be familiar with Ernst Kurth's edition) described only one edition of the Suites as 'completely unedited',⁴⁸ but at the time of writing there are seven of them, spanning across almost a hundred years (Kurth, 1921; Vandersall, 1970; Anastasio, 1998; Schwemer and Woodfull-Harris, 2000; Ko's Music edition, 2000; Pricope, 2001; and Yokoyama, 2013). As unmarked editions, all of them avoid the problematic issue of articulations and show only pitches and rhythms, and this can be expected; perhaps less so the thought-provoking notes accompanying the musical text of several of them.

Kurth's scholarly essay has already been mentioned, as has (in an earlier chapter) the informative booklet supplementing the Bärenreiter 2000 critical edition, overseen by Schwemer and Woodfull-Harris. The Anastasio edition is noteworthy as it combines an unmarked text with a parsing (syntactic) analysis of polyphonic relationships simply by the unique beaming of the notes. Its introductory notes provide an explanation of the musical syntax with graphic indications of the syllables and making a distinction between tensive and cadenced notes. Anastasio's version therefore belongs not only to the category of the unmarked editions but also to the analytical editions.

Figure 6.14: C major Suite, Bourrée I, bars 1-3 in Anastasio's Introduction



Equally interesting is the supplementary material provided by a little-known edition, published online by Ko's Music.⁴⁹ It's Preface is a grammatically awkward translation of an unidentified original; however, the musical text is neatly organised with attention to easy page-turns. In it, an asterisk informs the reader every now and then about an alternative note,

⁴⁸ Jeffrey Solow, "Cello Forum: Bach's Cello Suites - A Guide for the Editionally Perplexed," *American String Teacher* 46, no. 1 (1996).

⁴⁹ J. S. Bach, ed: Ko, "Six suites: cello solo," (n.p.: Ko's Music Edition, 2000).

rhythm or ornament that can be checked in a comparative table at the end of the volume. This table contains only the selected bars, but shows every one of them in fifteen different versions: in the extant original sources, followed by the editions of August Wenzinger, Hugo Becker, Enrico Mainardi, Pierre Fournier, Jacqueline du Pré, Julius Klengel, Frits Gaillard, Diran Alexanian, Paul Tortelier, and Janos Starker; finally, Ko's own version of the selected bar can be seen as well (see a sample page in Figure 6.15). The selection of the editions does not follow any particular logic and there are numerous errors in the table; nonetheless, the concept of comparing different valid alternatives and offering the reader the choice among them is remarkable in its simplicity and usefulness.

Figure 6.15: Ko's Music edition, page 88, comparative table

	Prelude		Allemande			
	M 22-2	M 26-3	M 5-3	M 8-1	M 12-1	M 14-2
Anna Magdalena Bach / Staatsbibliothek Preussischer	1					
J.P.Kellner / Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz,Berlin (Original)	2					
unknown Copist / Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz,Berlin (Original)	3					
unknown Copist / Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz,Berlin (Original)	4					
A.Wenzinger / Barenreiter (1950)	5					
H.Becker / *Peter's *International	6					
E.Mainardi / Schott's (1966)	7					
P.Fournier / International (1972)	8					
J.de Pre / Stainer & Bell (1981)	9					
J.Klengel / Breitkopf (1985)	10					
F.Gaillard / Schirmer's (1939)	11					
D.Allexanian / Salabert (1922)	12					
P.Tortelier / Stainer & Bell (1966)	13					
J.Starker / Peer International (1971)	14					
Ko's Music Edition (2000)	15					

Chapter 7

Editions focusing on performance I – Interpretative editions with two sub-categories: pedagogical and performing editions

The second large group of the editions of the Bach Suites, the editions focusing primarily on the final product, the performance, includes three main categories (interpretative editions; analytical editions; and transcriptions and arrangements). All of these categories provide a wide range of editorial suggestions to assist and shape future performances, albeit using different methodologies to arrive at their conclusions. Understandably, such an approach has a broad appeal, as it perpetuates the artistic vision of a known musician in print as closely as possible – a concept that otherwise may only survive in fading memories of erstwhile listeners – and thus it tends to put greater weight to an ‘authentic’ performance (on account of the editor’s artistic worth) and less to an ‘authentic’ source (on which the artist may have based his musical ideas).¹

The most extensive category within this group is that of the interpretative editions, which is in some ways diametrically opposed to the critical editions. A few exceptions notwithstanding, editors and musicians interested in the content and philosophy of an interpretative edition would most likely find critical editions of lesser value and vice versa. The occasional attempts by editors to blend the two methodologies have seldom been satisfactory.² In principle, an ideal edition might aspire to provide a scholarly text with overlaid performing instructions but the success of such an approach depends greatly on the use of an unambiguous marking system that clearly shows every instance where one type borrows characteristics typical of the other, for example, expressive (editorial) instructions

¹ Clearly, different meanings of the word ‘authentic’ is being used here, see also Footnote 3.

² One of the notable examples for such an endeavour is the edition of Dimitry Markevitch (1964).

appearing in a critical edition.³ From time to time critical editions attempted to include ostensibly distinctly marked suggestions to define performing details; likewise, some performing editions were based on what their editor considered to be an authentic source and expanded that with their performance-related markings.⁴

The potential benefits of creating a bridge between the two approaches had already been recognised in the nineteenth century. Felix Mendelssohn, preparing an edition of Handel's *Israel in Egypt* for the London Handel Society in 1844-5, declared his editorial credo by announcing:

... I think it of paramount importance that all my remarks should be kept strictly separate from the Original Score, and that the latter should be given in its entire purity, in order to afford everyone an opportunity of resorting to Handel himself, and not to obtrude any suggestions of mine upon those who may differ from me in opinion.⁵

Despite the obvious advantages in such a well-articulated editorial philosophy, Mendelssohn's thoughts did not attract enough attention to become widely followed. It is also true that the printing technology at the time was simply not sophisticated enough (or else, it would have been prohibitively expensive) to distinguish clearly between original source material and additional editorial intervention.

In more recent times though, there have been some notable attempts in the editions of the Suites to achieve some differentiation: Werner Thomas-Mifune (1997) employed a two-colour printing method to demonstrate the linear and polyphonic structure of the Suites more clearly,⁶ and the Henle edition (similarly to many other Henle Urtext publications) offered two separate versions of the Suites within the same volume: a critical edition with its musical text being based entirely on Source A, as well as an identical part with added fingerings and other

³ As explained in Chapter 5, even some of the most distinguished editions can be criticised for a lack of clear distinction between what is derived from the original sources and what is the artistic contribution of the editor.

⁴ The distinction becomes even more problematic when terms such as 'authentic' or 'original source' are used indiscriminately. For example, the preface to Mischa Maisky's recording and CD-ROM editions of the Bach Suites refers to the artist as 'An Authentic Romantic'.

⁵ Clive Brown, *A portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 41.

⁶ J. S. Bach, ed: Thomas-Mifune, Werner, "6 Solo-Suiten für Violoncello," (Adliswil; New York, NY: Edition Kunzelmann, 1997).

editorial markings.⁷ While the Henle publications are known to be first and foremost scholarly editions, the second version might appeal to those players who prefer to have performing instructions included in their score and who will now also own a critical edition for reference.⁸

In order to group editions with similar methodologies together with a degree of confidence, it is necessary to qualify as closely as possible what the term performing edition means. The definition provided by Carl Dahlhaus in his article *Klangvorstellungen der Gegenwart* in the *Riemann Musiklexikon* is effective and concise:

In general, an interpretative [or 'performing'] edition is an edition that applies changes to the original text (e.g. the pianos might be differentiated to become pp, p or mp) or gives additional performing instructions which are not based on philological or historical grounds but on an attempt to bring it closer to contemporary sound ideals of the editor.⁹

Both points made by Dahlhaus are crucial: during the preparation of an interpretative edition 1) the original text (whatever it may be) itself will undergo certain changes and 2) in addition to the edited original text, a further layer of editorial suggestions might be provided. As an important distinction, the purpose of the latter is not to expand on implied historical traditions (that is, to provide explanations to certain performing practices, perhaps self-evident at the time of the publication but unclear to the modern reader), but to appeal to 'contemporary sound ideals', to modernise the score, with the understanding that 'contemporary' refers to the editor's era, and not to the composer's or, indeed, the reader's. The difference is particularly significant when we are discussing an edition of the distant past since – as Dahlhaus points out – at the time of any publication the edition is current and what is current, is modern. Substantial variations between performing editions with a similar

⁷ J. S. Bach, ed: Voss, Egon & Ginzel, Reiner, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (München: G. Henle, 2000). The second volume includes also additional slurs shown in brackets, a version for a traditionally tuned cello of the C minor Suite and recommendations for the execution of chords in the D major Suite.

⁸ Having two, seemingly very similar copies of the same composition in the same volume is somewhat confusing though, and purposes behind the two versions are not explained with optimal clarity. In my teaching praxis I have observed that, while the brand name of Henle appeals to many, very few students take advantage of the possibilities offered by this method.

⁹ Unter ... Interpretationsausgabe ist im allgemeinen eine Edition zu verstehen, die den Originaltext verändert (z. B. die p-Vorschriften in pp, p und mp differenziert) oder durch Zusätze ergänzt, die nicht philologisch oder historisch, sondern in dem Versuch begründet sind, ein Werk den Klangvorstellungen der Gegenwart (des Bearbeiters) anzugleichen. Carl Dahlhaus, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, and Hugo Riemann, *Brockhaus-Riemann-Musiklexikon: in 2 Bd* (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1978).

artistic approach but from different times frequently occur because, while all of them rightfully claimed to be contemporary at a particular time, that time varies from edition to edition.

By definition, interpretative editions are normally prepared by musicians who perform, that is interpret and/or teach the composition in question. The editor's musical vision and performing style manifests itself in their work, and this helps to explain why interpretative editions are so often highly and intentionally individual in their approach. However, no matter how unique an artist's performing or teaching style eventually becomes, it is without exception the result of an evolutionary process. His talent has to develop over a period of time; it is nurtured by teachers (passing on contemporary performing traditions), assisted by sources available at the time (pre-existing editions fixating performing traditions of the past), and stimulated by performances of other musicians in live concerts or recordings. The influence of this multilayered historical information (aural and written, contemporary and past) is undeniable, even if parts of it may have been ignored or rejected by the student/player/future editor during the process of developing a new idiomatic concept. The result of that development might help to create a new performing practice, opening another cycle some time later, when yesterday's students become tomorrow's teachers.

The living (that is, contemporary) tradition of how to perform the Suites, or any other repertoire for that matter, is passed on from one generation to the next in the course of the interaction of teacher and student, and through the edition(s) used. Richard Sturzenegger, one of the editors whose work is being discussed in this chapter, asserted that his interpretation is

... based on studies with my former teachers ..., on listening to prominent interpreters, on a critical examination of numerous editions and on my personal experience gained in concerts and in practical instruction.¹⁰

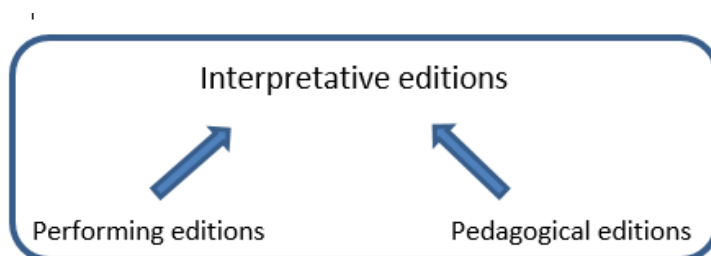
Certain performing traditions and certain performing editions have been popular for long periods of time. Changes occur, and when a (typically outstanding) player learned and absorbed a cultural legacy but later modified parts of it according to his musical taste, a new, 'modernised' performing style was born, and this was sometimes manifested in a new edition.

¹⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Sturzenegger, Richard, "6 suites: Violoncello solo," (München: Reinhardt, 1950, 1957), 3.

Not all traditions have been realised in a published form, and conversely, there are some editions that are not in any obvious way grounded on long-established traditions. Nonetheless, it remains true that editions in general reflect the Dahlhausian ‘contemporary sound ideals’ and therefore serve as a valuable tool to understand performance practice of their own historical era, while at the same time recording aspects of some renowned cellists’ individual artistic ideas. There are also examples of editions which, while claiming to be based on certain performing schools, in fact, alter that tradition retrospectively and perhaps even unwillingly. There are five different editions, starting with Rosanoff’s (1963) to von Tobel’s (2004) publications, offering the way Pablo Casals was supposed to play the Suites and all five are significantly different, not only from each other, but often even from the way Casals is seen and heard in his recordings.

The personal approach, the mark of the editor’s individual concept is recognisable in more than half of the editions of the Suites. However, as can be expected in such a large category, it is far from homogenous. Although all publications within the interpretative editions comply with the concise definition set out by Dahlhaus, my examination suggests that two different types of editorial methodologies and therefore two sub-categories should be established. The acknowledgment of the differences helps to distinguish between two main targeted reader groups: *performing editions* aim primarily to satisfy the perceived needs of experienced players to help them with future performances, whereas *pedagogical editions* offer assistance with their safe, middle-of-the road instructions for students, focusing mainly on bowings, fingerings and articulation.

Figure 7.1: The category of interpretative editions



Performing and pedagogical editions share fundamental principles while representing diverse views regarding certain objectives. Within the interpretative editions category, these two main editorial concepts (representing the two subcategories) face each other from opposite

ends of the spectrum, with some publications positioned in between them, employing some, but not entirely committed to either set of characteristics *in toto*.

The majority of artist-editors considered teaching the Suites as an essential way to pass on their acquired knowledge of them.¹¹ However, while some of these musicians were still primarily recognised as touring, performing artists (for example, Tortelier, Fournier, du Pré), others became equally or even better known as teachers (Klengel, Alexanian, Eisenberg to name but a few). There are also a number of editors of the Suites who were recognised and appreciated primarily as pedagogues (Dotzauer, Sturzenegger or Kaboff), even if their regular appearances as performing artists are amply documented. For each of them, the balance between performing and teaching appears to have influenced their philosophy during the creation of their edition.

Subcategory #1: Pedagogical editions

The performing editions may be the most recognisable and commonly discussed part of the broad category, identified in this thesis as 'interpretative editions', which, however, incorporates another significant subcategory. Far less exciting or acknowledged, yet for many, a most useful path towards a successful performance is to be found on the opposite side of the editorial spectrum, in the pedagogical editions. Editors who have contributed to this group appear to feel more responsibility to the perceived needs of a select group of readers, primarily students of the score, than about the minute details of their own artistic vision. Teaching value and practicality is often emphasised as a recognisable trademark of these editions; for example, the title page of Klengel's work announces a 'clearly marked edition for teaching and practical purposes' (*Genau bezeichnete Ausgabe für Unterricht und praktischen Gebrauch*).¹² The emphasis is more on the expected technical improvement than on the inspirational value of their edition which is therefore aiming at the performers' future progress instead of relishing the editors' past grandeur. With remarkable clarity, the preface

¹¹ See, for example, J. S. Bach, ed: Tobel, Rudolf von, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," ed. Rudolf von Tobel - after the interpretation of Pablo Casals (Stuttgart: Carus, 2004), 5.

¹² J. S. Bach, ed: Klengel, Julius, "Sechs Sonaten (Suiten) für Violoncell allein," (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900), title page.

in Martha Gerschefski's edition (1996) cautions against over-emphasising the personal expression, as it can be 'often leading too far afield from the source' and recommends her publication 'to the modern cellist'.¹³ The importance of correctly identifying the source materials is often mentioned in these editions, although with nowhere near the consistency of a critical edition. Thus the text criticism and editorial philosophy in general fit better the role of a teacher than that of a performer, hence the name for this subcategory: 'pedagogical editions'.

The most noticeable difference between pedagogical and performing editions is in the method of their editorial assistance: a pedagogical edition typically offers more help with the technical execution of the Suites (fingerings, bowings, trills, staccato, tenuto, and other articulation markings, as well as suggestions for chord execution/break direction and so on) than with projecting the underlying individual, artistic ideas of the editor. The markings are thus mostly of practical use, aiming at a lower (if not the lowest) common denominator, and therefore their execution is rarely overly demanding, bearing optimum textual and technical accuracy in mind. Generally speaking, they are far less effusive than those in performing editions. 'I have tried to express my own interpretation with as few signs as possible', commented Richard Sturzenegger, an editor whose work will be examined as a case study.¹⁴ As an important contrast to most performing editions, pedagogical editions of the Suites do not often feature shaded dynamic instructions, their editors being perhaps sensitive to the guidance – or lack thereof – found in the primary sources.¹⁵ It is also common for these editors to provide a detailed explanation of their guiding principles in their preface (for example, Alexanian, Sturzenegger, Banda), sometimes even with specific comments regarding their pedagogical purpose.¹⁶

Numerous unique characteristics notwithstanding, the distinction between pedagogical and performing editions is not always apparent. It has to be emphasised again that the categories set up here are useful ways to understand various editorial concepts and artistic tendencies;

¹³ J. B. Bach, ed: Gerschefski, Martha and Mueser, Barbara, "Six suites for violoncello solo," (Atlanta, GA: Chez harmonique, 1996), i.

¹⁴ J. S. Bach, ed: Sturzenegger, "6 suites: Violoncello solo", 3.

¹⁵ This in itself indicates a certain awareness of the significance of those sources.

¹⁶ See J. S. Bach, ed: Banda, Ede, "Six suites for solo violoncello BWV 1007-1012," (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1993), 8.

however, it is generally not an editor's task or aim to match the requirements of a pre-established category. The editors of the Suites were highly qualified, individually thinking musicians, guided by any number of artistic principles. The purpose of this examination is not to hold them responsible for whatever creative direction they have represented but to recognise, as much as possible, the consistencies (or lack of them) within their work, the trend-creating similarities between various editions, deliberate or accidental deviations from their sources and the artistic notion that the editorial work presents to its readers. The following four case studies present examples for some of the most characteristic tendencies.

Pedagogical editions, case study 1: Dotzauer's edition (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1826)

Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer (1783-1860) was at the zenith of his career when his edition of the Bach Suites was published by Breitkopf und Härtel (Leipzig) in 1826. He was an influential teacher, successful soloist, chamber musician, orchestral player and composer whose various musical activities complemented and often assisted each other. This multidimensional artistic lifestyle was not unusual amongst highly talented cellists (and other musicians) of the time: Grützmacher, Klengel and Becker, all to become editors of the Suites later, followed similar paths.

Dotzauer started his professional life at the Meiningen court chapel, before becoming a member of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. While living in Leipzig, he formed a string quartet which gave some of the earliest recorded public string quartet concerts. He moved to Dresden to the Court Orchestra in 1811, where ten years later he was promoted to become principal cellist. In his new job, he played under the direction of some of the greatest conductor-composers of the time, including Carl Maria von Weber, Richard Wagner and Hector Berlioz. As a composer, Dotzauer is best known for his numerous collections of cello etudes and exercises, many of which are still used today. His comprehensive treatise on cello playing (*Méthode de Violoncelle*) appeared in print around 1825.¹⁷ Through the teaching of

¹⁷ J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de Violoncelle* (Leipzig: E. Schuberth & Co, 1825).

many prominent cellists over five decades in Dresden, Dotzauer became one of the founding fathers of the 'Dresden School' of cello playing.

His edition of the Bach Suites (1826) appeared in print in close proximity to Louis-Pierre Norblin's first edition (or Source E, 1824) and its almost verbatim reprint by Heinrich Probst (Leipzig, 1825). Whether Dotzauer had access to the French or the German print, is a moot point. What is of much more interest is the fact that this was not the only source available to him. It has been argued that 'the text of his [Dotzauer's] edition of the Bach Suites appears to derive from a source that is no longer extant, but which was considerably more reliable than the earlier Janet et Cotelie [i.e. Norblin] edition.'¹⁸ While the possibility of a 'source that is no longer extant' cannot be excluded, it appears to be more likely that Dotzauer had one of the still extant four original sources at his disposal, as well as Norblin's or Probst's edition.¹⁹ Careful examination of his edition reveals that this other source seems to have been Kellner's manuscript or a (now lost) copy of it.²⁰ There are at least seventeen instances where Dotzauer's edition shows exactly the same musical text as Kellner's copy, without those notes or rhythms appearing in any other source prior to 1826. Figure 7.2 shows a single bar from the Allemande of the D minor Suite in Dotzauer's edition, which agrees with Kellner's copy, showing the provocative diminished fifth (D[#] - A) in the third beat in print for the first time. That interrupted cadence is absent from the other three manuscript sources and the first two editions, all of which show only the D[#].

Figure 7.2: D minor Suite, Allemande, bar 9 in Dotzauer's edition



¹⁸ Duncan Druce; Clive Brown, "The Evolution of Annotated String Editions," University of Leeds, School of Music, Chase, <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/the-evolution-of-annotated-string-editions-clive-brown/>. Accessed on 2 November, 2014.

¹⁹ Eppstein already flagged this possibility, without, however, providing any evidence. Hans Eppstein, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012, J. S. Bach: Kritischer Bericht*. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie VI, Kammermusikwerke; Bd. 2 (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 1990), 34.

²⁰ There is only sketchy information available regarding the whereabouts of Kellner's manuscripts after the organist's death. It seems likely that they stayed in his family's possession for some time, before Ferdinand August Roitzsch (1805-1889) donated the copy to the Berlin *Königliche Bibliothek* in 1889.

Dotzauer's (and therefore, Kellner's) version of this bar was taken over by most later editions, unlike another example, involving an alternative rhythm (see Figure 7.3). Yet again, this version was unique to Kellner's manuscript before Dotzauer incorporated it in his edition. The dactyls in the first beats of bars 42-43 appealed to a few editors up until 1918 (Stade, Salter, Pollain, and Magrini) but not at all thereafter. Most later editors, such as Gerschefski (1996), have restored the anapaest rhythm, which is how most cellists play these bars.

Figure 7.3: E^b major Suite, Bourrée I, bars 42-43 in Dotzauer's and Gerschefski's edition



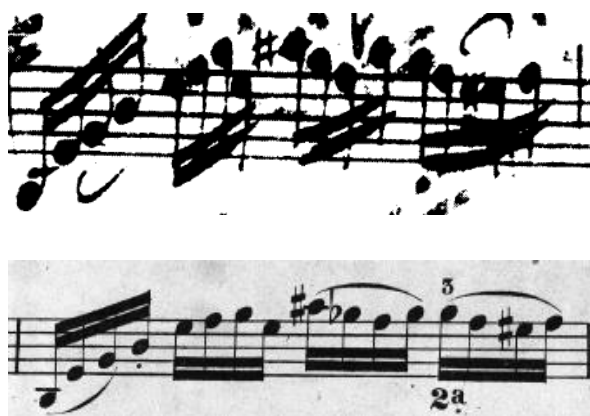
Apart from these striking agreements of the primary parameters of the score, there are also several descriptive markings in Dotzauer's edition that are only to be found previously in Kellner's manuscript, such as the unusual 'Presto' marking heading the C major Prélude or the same Suite's Bourrée I named as 'Alternat'.

There is also ample evidence demonstrating that, apart from Kellner's manuscript, one of the previous two editions served as Dotzauer's model. More than thirty examples verify that Dotzauer followed Norblin's lead (or, more likely, that of Probst, which was printed in Leipzig), while disagreeing with the other original sources (including Kellner). One of these instances (see Figure 7.4) is a probable error in Source E (Norblin), taken over by Probst, Dotzauer and reprinted in dozens of edition up to today.²¹ Most later editions agree with Sources A, B, C, and D that the tenth note in bar 26 of the G major Prélude should be a B instead of a B^b, even if the twelfth note is a B^b.²²

²¹ This persistent probable error is still printed in the editions of, for example, Mifune (1991), Ko's (2000) and Schweiker (2001).

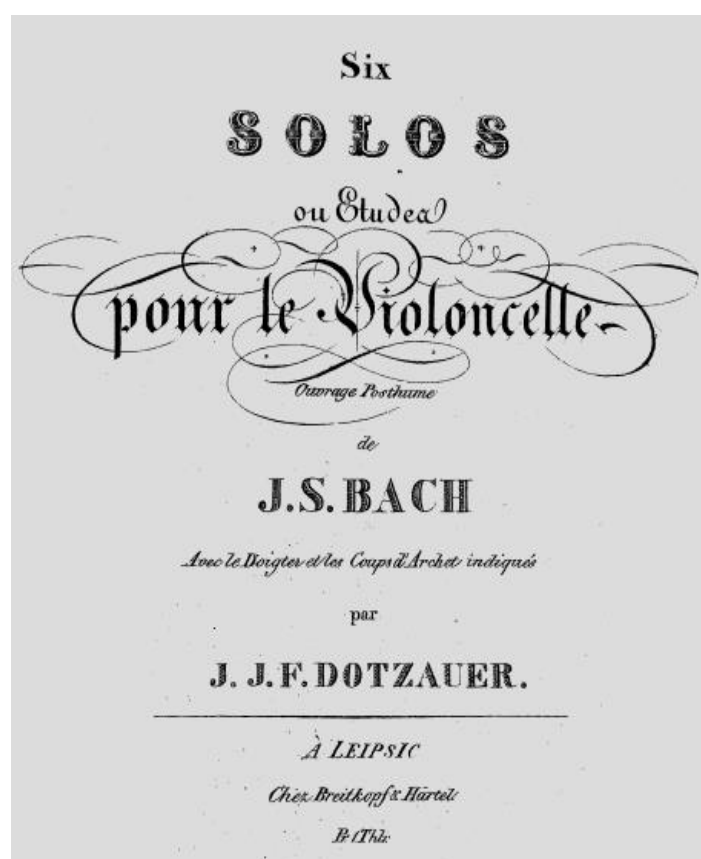
²² Which of the two versions appeared in Bach's autograph is irrelevant in this case, particularly as the chances of that manuscript ever to surface are minuscule. The important question here is to establish the stemmatic relationship with the help of common errors (or divergent notes).

Figure 7.4: G major Suite, Prélude, bar 26 in Source B (identical with Sources A, C and D) and Dotzauer's edition.



The title page of his publication not only retained Norblin's innovative name of 'Etudes' but also proudly announced that this is a fully annotated edition, that is, provided with bowings and fingerings (*'Avec le Doigter et les Coups d'Archet indiqués'*).²³

Figure 7.5: The title page of Dotzauer's 1826 edition

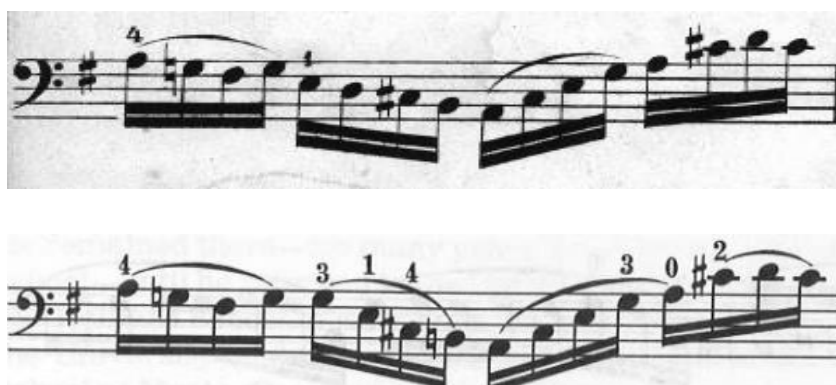


²³ This was similarly true for Norblin's publication, but Dotzauer's edition is infinitely more practical, largely free of errors and can be seen still in use today.

Dotzauer maintained most of the added tempo indications from his printed source, and modified a few; apart from an unsuccessful attempt to spell the title of the first movements (Prélude) consistently, he re-titled Norblin's curiously named Loures in the C major and E^b major Suites as Bourrées, and all of the Correntes as Courantes. Other changes also prove that he did not follow Source E without a critical eye. He *must* have had at least one other source, otherwise he could not have restored the five bars (62-66) missing from Norblin's version of the D major Suite's Prélude. This other source could only have been Kellner's script as some of the errors in Dotzauer's edition are common to Source B and are not found in any other original source.

It appears likely therefore that Dotzauer used his own judgement to decide on a case by case basis which of his sources he would accept. Yet he did not follow them unconditionally: in over fifty cases, his edition contains notes not to be found in *any* previous source. While some of these can be assumed to be copying errors (made before the plates went to the printers), in most cases, these alterations are more likely to be intentional amendments on his part. A typical example of this is the repeated occurrence of an augmented second in a melody line that Dotzauer seemed to be particularly partial towards (see Figure 7.4, as well as D minor Prélude, bar 56 notes 9-10, or the same Suite's Sarabande, bar 4 notes 1-2). As his edition became extremely popular (and is available in reprints even today), these amendments were taken over by generations of cellists. Another example can be seen in the very next bar after the one shown in Figure 7.4. There are two notes (5-6) in bar 27 of the G major Prélude, first to be found in Dotzauer's edition but taken over later by at least five other editors: Grützmacher, Salter, Klengel, Pollain, Magrini, and Kurth (see Figure 7.6, which also shows the same bar in Maurice Eisenberg's edition for comparison)

Figure 7.6: G major Suite, Prélude, bar 27 in the editions of Dotzauer and Eisenberg (1975)



Even more influential was his re-composition of the harmony at the beginning of bar 25 in the Allemande of the C minor Suite. Although all the primary sources write a G as the bass of that harmony, in Dotzauer's version (and in more than half of all later editions), this note has been amended to a B^b (see Figure 7.7)

Figure 7.7: C minor Suite, Allemande, bar 24-25



Dotzauer had thus combined readings recognisable from at least two earlier sources with his own substantial editorial inventions when creating the second *new* edition of the Suites. The stemmatic origin of his work is of particular importance as numerous later editions, including the BGA publication, edited by Alfred Dörffel in 1879, lists it as one of their major sources. Robert Schumann based the cello part of his transcription for cello and piano (lost, with the exception of the C major Suite) almost completely on Dotzauer's work. Most importantly, however, many textual alternatives found only in Kellner's copy made their way into (mostly unacknowledged) public consciousness as a result of Dotzauer incorporating them in his edition first.

Despite the copying errors mentioned before, Dotzauer's editorial contribution was commendably progressive. He modernised the usage of accidentals, putting them out only once in a bar. The articulation markings in his edition are considerably more consistent than in the first edition; his legatos, often longer than those in the manuscript sources, are interspersed with staccatos (entirely Dotzauer's initiative) in a varied and musically intelligent manner. The addition of staccatos as regularly recurring alternatives to legatos and unmarked notes is significant as a representation of Dotzauer's concept, whereas the staccatos (written as 'wedges') in the first edition happen relatively rarely and they do not seem to follow a recognisably obvious musical logic.²⁴

²⁴ In the manuscript sources, there is only the occasional appearance of staccato dots, for example, in the G major Suite's Gigue.

Dotzauer's bowing directions often copy a previous source but correct it (as with the assistance of the additional slur in bar 1 of the C major Prélude) when the existing direction does not work well for the cello. His slurring is not overly sophisticated but relatively easy to execute in the technical sense, as can be expected from a pedagogical edition. The legatos are comfortable and work almost without exception. (This could be a logical pre-requisite in any edition of string music, yet surprisingly often poses problems in a number of the Suites' editions, most obviously in those case where the editor uncompromisingly follows his chosen source.²⁵) Single note upbeats are taken on an up-bow as a matter of course and are thus unmarked. However, in the few cases when this could cause confusion (such as in the Gavottes of the last two Suites), the pedagogically minded editor put a helpful, if grammatically inaccurate '*tire*' marking under the up-beat notes (only to change it to the correct '*tirez*' in the 1866 reprint).

Judging from some of his demanding fingerings (for example, D minor Menuet I, bars 1-2), Dotzauer's left hand must have been larger than average. In general, though, his fingerings are practical (contrasting yet again with those in Norblin's edition) and most of them suit playing styles even today. On occasion, though, he employed portamento and other expressive fingerings popular in the nineteenth century but seldom used today (see Figure 7.8, in which the F[#] and E^b are connected by the same third finger, specifically recommended by the editor).²⁶

Figure 7.8: D minor Suite, Sarabande, bar 15 in Dotzauer's edition



In summary, careful examination of Dotzauer's editorial decisions suggests that he generated an intelligent amalgamation of one of the printed sources (most likely Probst) with Kellner's manuscript (or a copy of it) and his own substantial artistic input. Dotzauer's edition is of particular importance as it offers for the first time a practising cellist's view on various

²⁵ Bylsma's edition is a prime, but by no means, sole example for this phenomenon.

²⁶ Portamento covers an even larger – by today's standard, an almost parodistically distant – span in bar 8, Menuetto II of the G major Suite.

technical problems of the Suites (*pace* Norblin). This is a significant and curiously singular step ahead; that kind of hands-on guidance by a professional cellist would not be repeated again for almost sixty years until Grützmacher's second edition (c1885) and thus had a long lasting effect on the perceived 'Bach style' and the performing practice of the Suites.

Starting with Probst's (1825) and Kistner's (1831) reprints of the first edition²⁷ and Dotzauer's pragmatically useful pedagogical edition, the epicentre of the publication history of the Bach Suites rested firmly in the German territories for the rest of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1900 when the Suites were again published outside of Germany, by the influential professor of the Paris Conservatoire, Jules-Léopold Loëb, who probably used his own edition in the teaching of his many famous students, like Maurice Maréchal, Paul Tortelier or André Navarra. With that edition, the spell of German hegemony on the Suites' publication was broken. In fact, not one of the editions of the next two decades was published in Germany.

After the end of World War I, a renewed interest in making editions of the Suites became apparent. Seven different versions from five countries came out in rapid succession between 1918 and 1921.²⁸ The choice between the available styles of editions expanded year after year. Innovative editorial directions started to captivate learners of the Suites. In 1921, Ernst Kurth produced the first unmarked edition with no fingerings and no bowings; within a few years Diran Alexanian published the first analytical edition (1929 or earlier) and in 1950, August Wenzinger energised students and performers of the Suites with his thoroughly researched version of the Suites, prepared with scholarly care and provided with the most comprehensive Preface and critical notes to date. The same year, 1950, was particularly prolific for the editions of the Suites: for the very first time, a facsimile of Anna Magdalena's manuscript copy was published as an independent volume simultaneously by Peters in Leipzig and the Munich/Basel based boutique publisher, Edition Reinhardt.²⁹ Finally, still in 1950,

²⁷ Kistner bought out Probst in 1831, thus the identical reprint was not burdened by copyright issues.

²⁸ Joseph Malkin (New York), Fernand Pollain (Paris) and Giuseppe Magrini (Milano) in 1918; Percy Such (London) in 1919; Cornelis Liégeois (Paris) and Paul Bazelaire (Paris) in 1920; finally, Ernst Kurth (Munich) in 1921.

²⁹ Earlier facsimiles of Anna Magdalena's copy were always published as part of a new edition of the Suites.

Reinhardt brought out yet another set of the Bach Suites, this time, edited by the professor of the Bern Conservatorium, Richard Sturzenegger.³⁰

Pedagogical editions, case study 2: Sturzenegger's edition (Reinhardt, 1950 and 1957)

Richard Sturzenegger (1905 – 1976) lived and worked most of his life in his native Switzerland. He was born in Zurich, studied cello in Paris at the *École Normale de Musique* under the tutelage of Diran Alexanian and Pablo Casals, and theory in Nadia Boulanger's class; he also spent some time in Berlin, learning from Emanuel Feuermann. Although active throughout his adult life as a soloist, orchestral and chamber musician and composer, his most recognised musical activity was his teaching. For almost three decades, between 1935 and 1963, he taught at the Bern Conservatorium (during the last nine years of that period, he also worked at the Zurich Conservatorium) and in 1963 he was appointed as Director of the Bern Conservatorium, a position he held until his death.

Uniquely, his edition of the Cello Suites came out in two volumes, with seven years in between them.³¹ In the Postscript of the second volume, objections against his 'too modern' concept of Bach performance are candidly mentioned, as transpiring from the directions given in the first volume. However, instead of using the opportunity to address any such criticisms, the author merely reiterates his ideas from seven years earlier; instead of clarification he refers to 'the timelessness of its [the Suites'] spiritual content'.³²

The Preface of the 1950 first volume is succinct, easy to read, and explains Sturzenegger's pedagogical concept with lucid simplicity. He is the first amongst the few editors who recognised and clarified the fact that for lack of an authorial manuscript a historically true version of the Suites is not possible to create. Therefore, the editorial focus is elsewhere; he aims with a pedagogical mind 'to present a text in conformity with modern taste and modern

³⁰ Sturzenegger had an ongoing relationship with Edition Reinhardt and he edited various concertos by Vivaldi, Boccherini and Haydn as well.

³¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Sturzenegger, "6 suites: Violoncello solo".

³² Ibid., Vol. II, 32.

instrumental technique'³³ – perhaps the clearest description to date identifying the subtle differences between pedagogical and performing editions. A pedagogical edition looks towards a future generation of student readers, proposing a score for both contemporary ('modern') taste and technique, whereas a performing edition by definition epitomises an artistic vision (with far less restrictions) of the artist-editor.

Sturzenegger identifies Anna Magdalena Bach's copy, as the sole original source (without mentioning Sources B and C, which were also known, if not readily available, at the time), yet declares in unexpectedly vehement terms that it is 'incomplete, inaccurate, inconsequent, and partly primitive and inconvenient'.³⁴ Unlike his teacher, Diran Alexanian, Sturzenegger refrains from any type of polyphonic analysis in order to make the score easily readable, nor does he offer dynamic markings. There are metronome numbers included in his edition though, only to assist with choosing the 'fundamental tempi', presumably meaning a middle-of-the-road tempo. The second part of the Preface articulates his ideas about certain methodical issues, such as the execution of trills, arpeggios, voice leading and broken chords. This is most enlightening, particularly since the otherwise extremely detailed instructions of many other editions do not usually cover such technical problems. Figure 7.9 demonstrates how the chordal writing of a brief section from the G major Sarabande is printed and should be played according to Sturzenegger.

Figure 7.9: G major Suite, Sarabande, bars 9-10 in Sturzenegger's edition and its proposed execution in its Preface



³³ Ibid., Vol. I, 3.

³⁴ Ibid.

Despite his distinctly negative feelings regarding Source A, Sturzenegger's score mostly follows it, even on occasions when Anna Magdalena's copy is in contradiction with the other original sources or Dörffel's critical edition, with which Sturzenegger was familiar (for example, in the C major Suite, Gigue, bar 105; C minor Suite, Prélude, bar 19). Nonetheless, he appears to take the lead of sources such as Dotzauer or Dörffel intermittently, and on at least one occasion, his version is identical with the lesser known French edition by Jules-Léopold Loëb,³⁵ published fifty years earlier: the open C string, at the beginning of bar 24 in the Allemande of the C minor Suite, as shown in Figure 7.10, is included in no other edition:³⁶

Figure 7.10: C minor Suite, bar 24 of the Allemande in Sturzenegger's edition



Interestingly, there are several other cases where the editor, purporting 'to conform to modern taste', reaches back to stylistic tools from half a century or more before his own time. Numerous portamenti, sounding archaic by the nineteen-fifties, are marked clearly with the proposed fingerings of the score, none as pronounced and demonstrative as bar 8 in Menuet II of the G major Suite:³⁷

Figure 7.11: G major Suite, Menuet II, bar 7-8 in Sturzenegger's edition



A particularly prominent and educationally interesting feature in the edition history of the Suites is a new concept, introduced by Sturzenegger, regarding articulation in general, and its bowings in particular. As the editors of the Suites were almost without exception professional

³⁵ J. S. ed: Loëb Bach, Jules-Léopold, "Six suites pour violoncelle ou trombone," (Paris: Éditions Costallat, 1900).

³⁶ As a single incident, this agreement could also be a coincidence in which case the additional bass note would be the product of Sturzenegger's creative fantasy.

³⁷ As it was demonstrated earlier in this chapter, that type of fingering was more characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century (see Figure 7.8).

cellists, the creation of sensible, yet individual bowings was always one of the recurring challenges. A notable exception was Norblin's first edition with its inconsequential slurs and, more often than not, its lack of recognisable musical reasoning. Dotzauer, however, established a bowing tradition in 1826 with two essential and distinctive features: on the one hand, the old but extremely resilient 'rule of the down-bow' prevailed whenever possible, whereas on the other hand, the slurring instructions of the score became playable without practically any further editorial interference, observing the conventions of the day. Upbeats as a matter of course started on an up-bow, while final notes of major sections arrived comfortably on a down-bow and so on.³⁸

This practice was rarely challenged in the edition history of the Suites until the middle of the twentieth century when two contemporaries and well-known cello teachers, Enrico Mainardi and Sturzenegger introduced, seemingly independently from each other, a new concept of bowings. Whether the two men knew each other or had even any professional contact is unknown, though it seems unlikely that they did not. The parallels of their lives are telling though: they both started their long-lasting teaching careers around the same time (Mainardi became professor in Rome at the Academy of St. Cecilia in 1933, only two years before Sturzenegger started his tenure in Bern), and they both continued teaching until their death within months from each other in 1976.

This concept of articulation had not been tried in Bach Suites editions before, although in the more progressive editions of the Violin Sonatas and Partitas it had been tested at least since Henry Marteau's edition in 1922. The concept's radical, if somewhat controversial, innovation is that it frees up the editorial suggestions for articulation from the shackles of bowing conventions.³⁹ This represents a fundamental break from the dogmatic (and largely Teutonic) rules of the past which always asserted that for stringed (that is, bowed) instruments, legatos

³⁸ This concept of bowing directions being playable with only a minimum amount of interference was generally characteristic to editions of nineteenth and early twentieth century string music. Duncan Druce; Clive Brown, "Bowling and Fingering Instructions in String Music during the 18th and Early 19th Centuries," <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/bowling-and-fingering-instructions-in-string-music-during-the-18th-and-early-19th-centuries-duncan-druce-clive-brown/>, accessed on 6 May, 2015.

³⁹ To my knowledge, the contentious nature of this editorial invention has not been publicly debated or challenged. Arguably, it also acts as a 'get out of jail card' of string playing conventions, while it allows unrestrained freedom of articulation. If the bowing directions, so inherent to the natural pulse of any bowed instrument playing, do not work, this can now be artificially fixed with the addition of an extra legato or up/down-bow sign. Naturally, this freedom can be (and far too often is) exploited.

in the score refer to two things simultaneously: practical bowing instructions and proposed markings for the phrasing. The traditional way of bowing the Suites (evident since Dotzauer's edition) forced considerable restrictions on the performance. If the editor wanted to elongate a slur by even one single note for reasons of articulation, this had immediate bowing consequences for the rest of that section: up-bows became down-bows and vice versa. Mainardi in 1941 and Sturzenegger even more so a decade later liberated this by introducing possibilities of bowings hitherto unknown in the history of the editions of the Bach Suites to maintain the framework of traditional bowing without losing the freedom of articulation whenever necessary. Figure 7.12 shows the first two bars of the C major Allemande, first with Dotzauer's forthright bowings, then with Sturzenegger's five emendations to the slurs. The ramifications of this idea are significant: in the whole movement – admittedly one of the more extreme cases – Sturzenegger changed the naturally following order of the bowings 27 times.⁴⁰

Figure 7.12: C major Suite, Allemande, bars 1-2 in the editions of Dotzauer and Sturzenegger



The direct implication of this essentially technical innovation is that the sequence of up- and down-bows ceases to be a hindrance. When the editor, following his musical imagination freely, arrives at an inconvenient bow direction, he simply puts in the correcting bowing sign. Sturzenegger, in fact, uses three different ways of applying this technique, expressing principally the same musical proposition, as shown in Figure 7.13.

1. He puts in an additional up- or down-bow sign correction, called a 'hooked bow', two bow strokes in the same direction with a slight stop between them.

⁴⁰ Mainardi applied 17 changes to bowings in the same movement, interestingly almost always in different places from those of Sturzenegger.

2. Elsewhere he inserts an extra, longer legato over a smaller one, indicating a slight separation under the same bow direction
3. Finally, he adds a legato over some of the staccato notes, altering the bow direction again but not the articulation itself.

Figure 7.13: Examples for the three different techniques in Sturzenegger's edition to change bow directions from the C major Suite, Courante: bars 59 (which starts with an up-bow), 48 and 6



There is no indication in the score or in its Preface proposing that an audible distinction would be necessary or desired when employing these technical tools. This implies therefore that their execution should remain a technical solution, a 'trade secret' without influencing the performance or being noticed by the audience.

The new concept effectively discarded the old principle that down- and up-bows always take turns, so prevalent in nineteenth-century German publications for stringed instruments, and became a popular if contestable editorial method in the twentieth century. Several later editors of the Suites used it extensively, including Gino Francesconi (1954), Rocco Filippini (1987) and Tim Hugh (2005).

Subcategory #2: Performing editions

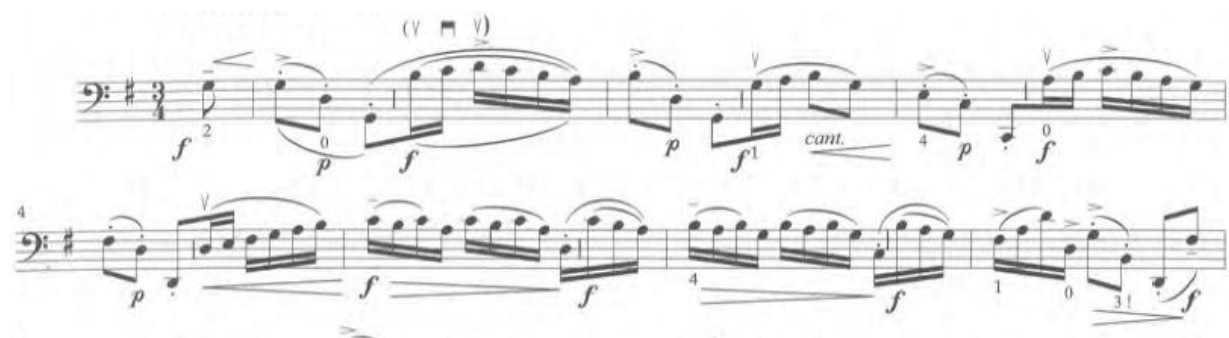
Given that the overwhelming majority of the editions of the Suites were intended mainly for performance, it is not surprising that 'performing editions' constitutes the largest category among them. These editions are distinguished by a range of editorial markings that serve as guidance for future players. As Fournier writes in his Preface, the markings are mostly distilled from 'the result of personal experience in concert performances...' ⁴¹ and preserve the tried and proven artistic concept of the artist/editors. The main emphasis in such an edition thus

⁴¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Fournier, Pierre, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012," (New York: International Music Co., 1972), Preface.

usually shifts from perceived fidelity to the chosen source material to a distinctive style of performance, with a strong focus put on expressive effects and meticulous instructions for dynamics, articulation and sometimes even the technical execution of those instructions.⁴² Bowings, one of the most recognisable hallmarks in an edition for a string instrument, tend to be idiosyncratic in such editions, showing a preference towards uncommon solutions (exemplified in the editions of Igor Markevitch or Jacqueline du Pré). The notated suggestions, in their effort to demonstrate the editors' fantasy and art, tend to be challenging. Their work is characterised more by their intention to articulate their artistic vision than any concern regarding the practicability of that vision for future players.

Performing editions often signify an attempt to construct a never-before-tried set of instructions for the interpretation and consequently offer a glimpse not only into the artistic mind of a highly regarded musician, but also into the performing principles of a particular time and place. In order to be unambiguously clear, this approach frequently produces extensively detailed annotations. In extreme cases, the level of detail can be overwhelming to an extent that would all but deem any artistic decision on the reader's part unnecessary. A prime example for this phenomenon is the von Tobel edition, demonstrated in a brief excerpt in Figure 7.14:⁴³

Figure 7.14: G major Suite, Courante, bars 1-7 in the edition of von Tobel



In other cases, the purpose of extensive markings may not be the precise description of artistic ideas but rather cautionary explanation, sometimes merely pointing out the obvious. Such editorial suggestions risk over-marking, mixing the performer's vision with overly pedantic, pedagogical overtones. In the following example, all up and down-bow instructions

⁴² The model for such an edition may be one of the primary sources, but more often a previous edition seems to be chosen.

⁴³ J. S. Bach, ed: Tobel, "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012."

would be clear from the legato marks alone and even most of the fingerings could be taken out without any chance of confusion.

Figure 7.15: D minor Suite, Allemande bars 17-18 in the edition of Tim Hugh⁴⁴



Instructions encompassing all nuances may not appeal to all, yet they can be one of the most attractive and, at the same time, most controversial features of a new edition. The editors, almost always actively performing musicians, for whom an emotional and personal approach is not only possible but virtually unavoidable, cannot be blamed for feeling a certain pride in their artistic views, articulated and crystallised usually over a very long period of time before they were committed to paper. The reason why this may become problematic is the sequence of events; for the artist-editor, his well-established interpretation feels natural and convincing and may ultimately materialise in a new edition. However, this process happens in reverse order for later readers of that score: they need to decipher, that is, construe the instructions for themselves, ordinarily without the benefit of personal consultation with the editor, before creating their re-interpretation of the editorial interpretation. The often extremely thorough performance instructions notwithstanding, the chances of misunderstanding the editor's instructions are considerable. It could be argued though, that even if the reader of a meticulously marked performing edition does not fully appreciate the meaning of certain markings or, having understood them, knowingly changes them, this would constitute another evolutionary step in the performing history of the composition.

What we know about this history, can mostly be inferred from contemporary tutors and editions. Looking back at the earliest editions of Bach's works for solo string instruments suggests that these compositions were considered to be not much more than venerable technical challenges; skillfully written studies, to be practised before one would work on the 'real' concert repertoire, for example, the title of Dotzauer's edition in 1826 announced '*Six Solos ou Etudes pour le Violoncelle de J.S. Bach*'. It was not until the 1890 reprint of this edition

⁴⁴ Bach, J. S., ed: Hugh, Tim. "Cello Suites ": (n.p.: Kevin Mayhew Ltd., 2005).

when the title page was printed in German and without the reference to studies: '*Sechs Sonaten für Violoncell*'.⁴⁵ In 1897, when referring to the Violin solos, the Austrian violinist Eugene Gruenberg opined in his tutor that 'these sonatas, in spite of their high artistic rank, may, as most valuable studies, well be mentioned here.'⁴⁶ Markevitch goes even further, stating that 'until Casals succeeded in bringing acceptance to these works [the Cello Suites], ... these pieces were considered etudes used for didactic purposes, and only isolated movements were played in concerts.'⁴⁷ Thus it seems to be clear that as sets of unaccompanied movements, Bach's string solos were seldom thought to be suitable for concert performance, with the exception of individual movements being played, possibly as an introductory, 'warm-up' item at the beginning of a recital or perhaps as an encore at the end of it. Therefore, it was probably not accidental but a well-considered marketing strategy of the first editors (Norblin, Probst, Dotzauer and Kistner) to provoke interest from their target audience when they included the word 'etudes' in their respective titles.

Public performances of the Suites were unheard of until the second half of the nineteenth century. It was most probably Friedrich Grützmacher who can be credited with the enterprising endeavour of programming a complete Suite for the first time.⁴⁸ His edition from 1866 signalled the advent of a new editorial methodology with highly individual musical suggestions, where the artistry of the performer develops into the main recognisable feature and, importantly, the selling point of a new edition. Editing and interpretation in the second half of the nineteenth century became inseparable entities, as a faithful reproduction of an original source often gave way to expressions of poetic lyricism. This is, in Manfred Windfuhr's words,

... by its very nature, an aesthetic phenomenon and it is subject in its representation to the specific conditions of an aesthetic consciousness. Changes in the literary appreciation of a particular period or author leave their imprint on the smallest detail

⁴⁵ Bach, J. S., ed: Dotzauer, J. J. Friedrich. "Six Solos ou Etudes pour le Violoncelle." (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1826).

⁴⁶ Eugene Gruenberg and Edward Breck. *The violinist's manual: a progressive classification of technical material, études, solo pieces, and the most important chamber-music works, as well as a short synopsis of the literature of the viola; to which is added Hints for the violinist.* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1896), IV.

⁴⁷ Dimitry Markevitch. *The solo cello: a bibliography of the unaccompanied violoncello literature.* (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1989), 10.

⁴⁸ I did find a concert announcement from Dresden in 1867 about the performance of a 'Suite, for, Violoncello, Bach'; the details – without identifying either the Suite or the performer – are sketchy. *The American Art Journal (1866-1867)*, Vol. 7, No. 8 (Jun. 15, 1867), 119.

of a literary work, as they also change one's opinion about the best presentation, the best wording, the best variants. The editor's involuntary subjectivity and variation in aesthetic conception cannot be excluded from the outcome.⁴⁹

The value of notating the 'aesthetic conception' of an eminent performer comes with certain inherent problems. An edition fashioned to incorporate the editor's individual artistic and technical suggestions will now be played by a different person attempting to identify with the editor's ideas. Idiosyncratic, colourful musicians transmit their artistic vision into idiosyncratic and colourful editions; it is probably not far-fetched to suggest that the more distinctive these editions are, the better they will sell. Mercenary considerations aside, these editions will be unique (and sell well!) if they epitomise the artist-editor's personal interpretation which in the same person's own performance would probably sound persuasive. Yet, in a written-down form, these inspired ideas can look and, if performed verbatim, sound excessive rather than exciting, and may even intrinsically lack stylistic credibility. Another common feature, noticeable only in this subcategory, is that some of the more recent editors, sensitive to our market-conscious era, have recognised the promotional potential of such publications and included a biography or other profile-raising material in the preface (for example Maurice Eisenberg, David Starkweather, Tim Hugh or Zuill Bailey).

Performing edition case study 1: Friedrich Grützmacher's *Konzert Fassung* (Peters, 1866)

The unaccompanied violin and cello compositions were largely neglected during the first decades in the nineteenth-century Bach revival. There was a logical reason for this: the appearance of a solo string instrument on the concert podium was so unusual as to be practically unacceptable. 'This may explain why Mendelssohn and Schumann, who recognised the greater musical value of these works, added piano accompaniments to turn them into "serious" music.'⁵⁰ The Bach string solos were therefore mostly published with the main

⁴⁹ Although Windfuhr refers to literary works here rather than music, his words are valid nonetheless. Wim Van Mierlo and Scholarship International Conference of the European Society for Textual, *Textual scholarship and the material book* (Amsterdam; New York, N.Y.: Rodopi, 2007), 38.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Field, "Performing solo Bach: an examination of the evolution of performance traditions of Bach's unaccompanied violin sonatas from 1802 to the present." PhD diss., (Cornell University, 1999), 5.

purpose of supplying technical challenges for studious and daring players. The only possibility to perform these works publicly seemed to be to provide them with discreet and generally rather dull piano accompaniments. Robert Schumann, Wilhelm Städe, Carl Grädener and others composed piano parts for the Cello Suites; many of these arrangements also appeared in print and enjoyed some popularity during the nineteenth century (see more on the category of transcriptions and arrangements in Chapter 8).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a violinist or cellist playing without accompaniment was considered to be working on technical issues, which was thought of as a private affair, not to be witnessed by an audience. Even Schumann, the enthusiastic promoter of Bach's music, sounded somewhat patronising when he recommended movements from the Violin Solos to Breitkopf & Härtel for publication:

I found a quantity of pieces which would be considerably improved by a piano accompaniment and thus become accessible to a larger public. Of course, this is no easy task, but the challenge fascinates me.⁵¹

When Bach's string solos in their original format started to become part of the concert repertoire, it was mostly due to the fame and interest (not to mention the consistent, dogged efforts) of a few outstanding artists, for example, the violinists Ferdinand David or, a generation later, Joseph Joachim. Both of them knew well and performed often with the cellist Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig Grützmacher (1832-1903), another champion of Bach's solo string music.

David was a highly-regarded soloist, editor, chamber musician and concertmaster at the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig. He recognised the extraordinary talent of the young Grützmacher as soon as they met in 1849, and immediately recommended him for the position of principal cello in his orchestra; he also invited Grützmacher to join his string quartet. The following year, with the resignation of Bernhard Cossmann, a cello professorship became vacant at the Leipzig Conservatoire, and Grützmacher was appointed in his place. In 1860, he was offered the position of principal cello at the Dresden Hofkapelle and, in 1866, a professorship in the city's Conservatoire, where he remained until his death. His teaching

⁵¹ J. S. Bach, transcribed by Schumann, R. "Suite III C-Dur für Violoncello solo BWV 1009; for cello and piano," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), 7.

work continued and expanded the Dresden School of cello playing, which had been developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Friedrich Dotzauer.⁵² Like his predecessor, Grützmacher was interested in providing his students with teaching material suited to his style and regularly composed studies for them (and of course, for later generations), such as the 'Twenty-four etudes op 38', named *Technology of Violoncello Playing*, covering a whole range of technical difficulties. In order to propagate selected etudes by earlier masters, he published a collection of them under the title of '*High School of Violoncello Playing*', still favoured by many cello teachers today.⁵³ The circle of his students included Hugo Becker and Diran Alexanian (both of whom later became editors of the Suites), as well as his younger brother, Leopold, his nephew, Friedrich (who premiered Don Quixote by Richard Strauss in Cologne in 1898),⁵⁴ Wilhelm Fitzenhagen, Josef Werner and Johannes Klingenberg.

Grützmacher's reputation as a teacher was equalled by his fame as a touring artist and before long, as editor and arranger of previously composed repertoire. This was of historical significance at the time as it brought back rarely played or completely forgotten compositions by Geminiani, Tartini, Handel, C. P. E. Bach and others from oblivion into the repertoire. The list of his publications is too long to cover here but it includes editions of concertos (often provided with his own cadenzas) by Romberg, Haydn, Boccherini and Schumann; cello sonatas by Romberg, Boccherini, Beethoven⁵⁵ and Mendelssohn; and transcriptions for cello of violin sonatas by Mozart, Beethoven, Rubinstein and Schumann and so on.⁵⁶

Among the editors of the Bach Cello Suites, Grützmacher holds a unique place, as the only person to publish two completely different editions. While fulfilling his orchestral and teaching duties in Dresden, he managed to maintain a busy concertising schedule that took him to various German cities, as well as England, Holland, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and even as far as Russia. From the reviews he had received, we are informed *inter alia* that he had performed, 'a whole Suite without any accompaniment, no. 5 in

⁵² Grützmacher's cello teacher was Karl Dreschler (1800-1873), himself a Dotzauer pupil.

⁵³ Friedrich Grützmacher, "Hohe Schule des Violoncellspiels: Werke berühmter älterer Meister zum Unterricht und praktischen Gebrauch; für Violoncell und Pianoforte," (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891).

⁵⁴ Contrary to wide-spread misinformation, it was the nephew and not the uncle premiering Don Quixote.

⁵⁵ In fact, he edited the Beethoven cello sonatas not once but twice: first c.1868 (plate no. 4901) and later c.1894 (plate no. 7984). Both editions were published by Edition Peters.

⁵⁶ Ludolf Lützen, "Die Violoncell-Transkriptionen Friedrich Grützmachers" (PhD diss., 1974), 158-217.

Dotzauer's edition' (*eine ganze Suite ohne alle Begleitung, Nr. 5 der Dotzauer'schen Ausgabe*) in Halle, as well as unidentified Bach Suites in Dresden and in Meiningen.⁵⁷

Evidently though, Dotzauer's edition did not satisfy his needs for long, and he prepared his own first edition in 1866 as evidenced by the announcement in the Hofmeister Catalogue.⁵⁸

Figure 7.16: The Hofmeister catalogue, 1866 December. The last notice at the bottom of the page alerts potential purchasers to Grützmacher's first edition of the Bach Suites

D e c e m b e r 1 8 6 6.

Musik für Orchester.

Beethoven, L. v., Militair-Marsch (D). f. Orch. Stimmen. Vollst. krit. durchges. Ausg. Leipzig, Br. u. Härtel 18 *fl.* n.
 — 12 Menuetten f. Orch. Stimmen. Vollst. krit. durchges. Ausg. Ebend. 1 *fl.* 15 *fl.* n.
 — 12 deutsche Tänze f. Orch. Stimmen. Vollst. krit. durchges. Ausg. Ebend. 1 *fl.* 18 *fl.* n.
 — 12 Contretänze f. Orch. Stimmen. Vollst. krit. durchges. Ausg. Ebend. 24 *fl.* n.

Brizzi, E., Italienische Kriegshymne. Ged. v. A. Brofferio f. Blechmusik arr. Biel, Lauffer u. B. 10 *fl.* *n.

Deutschland (das tanzende). Ball-Tänze f. kleines Orchester. H. ft 4. Frankfurt a/O., Massute 1 *fl.* n.

Esser, H., Op. 75. Suite No. 2 (Am). f. gr. Orch. (Introduzion. Allegretto (Bourrée). Thema c. Variazioni. Finale.) Part. 8. 6 *fl.* 36 *fl.* Orchesterst. 12 *fl.* Mainz, Schott.

Bülow, H. v., Op. 20. Nirwana. Symphon. Stimmungsbild. f. gr. Orch. Part. 8. Leipzig, Heinze 2 *fl.*

Gung'l, Jos., Op. 212. Jou-Jou-Quadrille f. Orch. Berlin, B. u. Bock 2 *fl.*
 — Op. 218. Rheinsagen. Walzer f. Orch. Ebend. 2 *fl.* 20 *fl.*
 — Op. 219. Souvenir de Francfort. Polka und G. Piefke, Herwarth-Marsch f. Orch. Berlin, B. u. Bock 2 *fl.* 24 *fl.*

Haydn, J., Abschieds-Sinfonie, f. Orch. Part. 8. Offenbach, André 54 *fl.*

Orchester (das) Sammlung von Tänzen und Märschen f. Orch. Heft 1, Steffens, J., Op. 193. Lincoln's Tod. Trauermarsch. Zopffiker, Op. 66. Revisions-Polka. Biel, Lauffer u. B. 20 *fl.* *n.

Piefke, G., Königgrätzer-Marsch f. Militairmusik. Part. Berlin, B. u. Bock 1 *fl.* 5 *fl.*
 — Königgrätzer-Marsch und F. Zikoff, Glöckchen-Polka f. Orch. Ebend. 2 *fl.*
 — Kriegerische Wiegenlieder. Marsch u. H. Mendel, Für Deutschland. Preuss. Sturmgalopp f. Orch. Ebend. 1 *fl.* 25 *fl.*

Stasny, L., Op. 83. L'Adieu. Polka-Mazurka. } f. gr. od. kleines Orch. Mainz, Schott 3 *fl.*
 — Op. 120. Facanapa-Polka. }
 — Op. 117. Joujou-Polka-Mazurka } f. Orch. Ebend. 3 *fl.*
 — Op. 124. Pipelè-Polka }

Musik für Streich- und Blasinstrumente.

Afanasieff, N., Le Volga. Quatuor p. 2 Viol., Alto et Velle. Part. 8. 1 Thlr. Stimmen 1 *fl.* 15 *fl.* Leipzig, Senff.

Apollo. Opéras fav. arr. f. 2 V. p. J. G. Busch u. G. Wichtl. No. 66. Meyerbeer. L'Africaine. Potpourri. Offenbach. 1 *fl.* 8 *fl.*

Bach, J. S., 6 Sonates ou Suites p. Violoncelle seul. Edit. nouv. revue et arr. p. Fr. Grützmacher. No. 1 (G). No. 2 (Dm). No. 3 (C). No. 4 (Es). No. 5 (Cm). No. 6 (G). à 10 *fl.* Leipzig, Peters 1 *fl.* 15 *fl.*

With this publication, one of the most remarkable editions of the nineteenth century saw daylight. It was a 'new edition' in more than one sense of the word, in that it was 'revised and

⁵⁷ AmZ [Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung], 5 (1865), 355; AmZ, 5 (1867), 178; Anon., 'Musical and Dramatic Gossip', Athenaeum, 2082 (1867), p.377, accessed on 25 May, 2014.

⁵⁸ Hofmeister Catalogue, <http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/index.html>, accessed on 2 September 2014.

arranged for concert performance' (*édition nouvelle, arrangée pour être exécutée aux concerts*). Grützmacher's regular correspondence with his friend, one of the senior partners at Edition Peters at the time, Dr Max Abraham (1831-1900),⁵⁹ reveals a lot of significant information about this project. In a letter in 1884, Grützmacher explained his concept about editorial work in general:

Some great masters like Schumann and Mendelssohn have never taken the time to notate all the indications and nuances necessary, down to the smallest detail. ... My main purpose has been to reflect and to determine what these masters might have been thinking, and to set down all that they, themselves, could have indicated. ... Regarding this activity, and relying on my long musical experiences, I feel I have more right than all others to do this work.⁶⁰

In his extensive soliloquy Grützmacher is ostensibly referring to his contemporaries, Schumann and Mendelssohn; however, his edition clearly reveals that he felt just as confident about deciding what Bach 'might have been thinking'. As the edition shows, he added his own tempo markings to all of the movements, and these descriptions – though not particularly ground-breaking, suggesting mostly moderate tempi – are markedly different from those in previous editions. It seems that he identified various movements with certain tempo characters: for example, he named four out of six *Préludes* as *Allegro moderato*, all *Courantes* as *Allegro non troppo* and all *Sarabandes* as *Lento*.

Other major changes occur through Grützmacher's somewhat idiosyncratic accents, articulations, bowings and fingerings, evidently representing his never-ending search for a unique soundscape. Movements often start with instructions such as 'molto marcato', 'energico' and 'con grandezza' – not excessive perhaps in Grützmacher's own time but most unusual when applied to Baroque string solo works. The density of his expressive markings is indeed consistent with the age of Tchaikovsky and Wagner; their notation an explicit departure from any concern with preserving the original appearance of the editor's sources. The scholarly problem with this approach is that the editor's and the composer's intentions become almost entirely conflated from the reader's point of view. Further evidence of the

⁵⁹ He became the sole owner of the company in 1880.

⁶⁰ The letter is reproduced fully in: Lützen, "Die Violoncell-Transkriptionen Friedrich Grützmachers," 226-29, translation in Dimitry Markevitch, *Cello story*. (Princeton, N.J.: Summy-Birchard Music, 1984), 62

somewhat heavy-handed Romantic influence is provided by the frequent and explicit appearance of Brahmsian hemiolas in places where Bach's music could not possibly imply any, and even starting on an off-beat (see Figure 7.18).

Figure 7.17: C major Suite, Courante, bars 77-80 in Grützmacher's Konzert Fassung



Even more extensive and interesting are his alterations to the musical text itself. Both the melody lines and the accompanying chords are freely altered to accommodate the editor's musical taste. Some of these changes can be explained as slight variations in a repeated section or as a more explicit way of expressing the contrapuntal texture. However, a significant number of the alterations seem to be arbitrary, for example, in the Prélude of the E^b major Suite where Grützmacher 'relying on his musical experiences' evidently 'felt himself to have the right' to introduce chords and change the melody line altogether. (Figure 7.19 shows the first twenty bars in this extraordinary edition and, for comparison, the same bars in Alfred Dörffel's scholarly edition for the Bach Gesellschaft, published thirteen years later, in 1879.) The even bars are no longer precise repetitions of the previous odd bars instead they reverse the descending arpeggio. The dynamic markings are, as throughout this edition, elaborate and often extreme (both in quantity and degree of strength), and the duplication of sforzato (sfz) and accents (>) in bars 3, 5, 7 and so on is not explained anywhere.

Figure 7.18: Prélude of the E^b major Suite, bars 1-20, in Grützmacher's 1866 and Dörffel's 1879 edition

Allegro maestoso. J. S. Bach.

Prélude.

The image displays two musical editions of the Prélude from J.S. Bach's E-flat major Suite. The top edition, by Grützmacher (1866), is a four-part setting for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. It features complex textures with many double accents and dynamic markings including *sf*, *sfz*, *p*, and *dimin.*. The bottom edition, by Dörffel (1879), is a single-bass transcription of the same piece, showing a different texture with fewer double accents and no dynamic markings.

The Gigue of the D minor Suite is similarly equipped with these double accents which often appear in the most unlikely places, mostly on the last quaver of the bar. Apart from the sforzati, frequent dynamic changes make Grützmacher's musical world even more varied, and extra notes are also introduced. All in all, the movement sounds significantly different once the editorial changes are taken into account. As an illuminating comparison, the first section of this movement is shown in Figure 7.20 in two nineteenth-century editions (Grützmacher's *Konzert Fassung* and Dotzauer)

Figure 7.19: The first section of the Gigue in the D minor Suite Grützmacher's Konzert Fassung and Dotzauer's edition

The image displays two musical staves for the first section of the Gigue in the D minor Suite. The top staff is Grützmacher's 'Konzert Fassung' (concert edition), marked 'Vivace.' and 'senza ripetizione.' It features a complex, dense texture with many accidentals and dynamic markings such as *f*, *sfz*, *dimin.*, *p*, and *cresc.*. The bottom staff is Dotzauer's edition, marked 'Allegro' and 'GIGUE.' It is a more straightforward, single-line version of the piece, with fewer accidentals and dynamic markings, and includes fingerings and a '2da' (second ending) marking.

Manifestly relying on his own excellent technique, Grützmacher introduced and repeatedly employed a number of other technical tools in this edition, such as flying staccatos, stylish in and familiar from other contemporary bravura pieces, but not in keeping with the style of the original here and therefore drastically changing its effect (C major Suite, Prélude, bars 1, 6, 18 etc), passages played an octave higher than usually (G major Suite, Gigue, bar 1; C minor Suite, Gavotte II, bars 1-2) or extra double stops or chords added throughout a whole movement, giving the impression of almost keyboard-like harmonic texture (for instance, in the D minor Suite, Sarabande).

A few sections, like bars 20-24 in the Allemande of the D minor Suite, and indeed, some complete movements (for example, the Courante of the C major Suite) are altered to the extent where the original melodies are hard to recognise. The most extreme cases of recomposition took place in the last three Suites, where Grützmacher reduced the length of several movements considerably, none more than the Prélude of the C minor Suite which became a mere 190 bars long instead of the original 223, once he completed his cavalier 'editorial' work.⁶¹ Grützmacher also transported the D major Suite, which was originally written for a five string instrument, down a fifth to G major, probably to make it more playable on a four string cello.

His excessive editorialisations notwithstanding, it is important to recognise that by re-writing and publicly performing the Suites he elevated the generally accepted status of the Suites from etudes to genuine performance pieces, while, at the same time, promoting his own rise amongst nineteenth-century virtuosos. Scrutinizing the ways with which he blended tools of expression characteristic of the Romantic era (such as extreme dynamics, hemiolas or unexpected accents) with music written a century and a half earlier enhances our understanding of nineteenth-century performance practice. Grützmacher's first edition therefore cannot be ignored but rather should be valued in different ways. It could be argued that he did the very best he could in order to make Bach's name and compositions better known. He published and played the Suites in a version that he thought would appeal to the largest part of his audience on account of its extreme passion, dynamic changes and technical difficulties which made these compositions genuine 'bravura pieces'. Of course, if in a less generous disposition, we could be outraged at his arrogance, and lack of fidelity to his sources, whatever they were, at least as far this edition is concerned. After all, in the same letter, quoted before, he also wrote:

⁶¹ To be sure, such recomposition was not uncommon in the nineteenth century.

Figure 7.20: Post-script of Grützmaker's letter to Max Abraham on 17 September 1884⁶²

Dresden,
d. 17. Sept. 1884.

Grützmaker

Mein von Ihnen mit vorläufiger Conductur-
bearbeitung der Bach'schen Suites kann
mir auf mich zum Musikwerke gewor-
den, da ich dabei ja den angestrebten
(aber conductanten) Zweck erfolgreich
aufzuheben habe, denn ich habe mich
der Aufführung der alten großen ge-
folge versucht, was ich nicht
ganz Original musical guten war.

My concert version of the Bach Suites, which you likewise mention, cannot also be a subject of reproach since, in editing them, I not only tried to follow the same intentions of which I have just spoken but I succeeded at it. I have reaped much success in presenting this edition in concert, something that would have been impossible with the bare original in its primitive state.⁶³

Post-script: Grützmaker's second edition of the Suites (Peters, c1884-88)

Grützmaker's copious amendments in his first edition lifted the Suites into the realm of acceptable concert repertoire, while at the same time, out of reach of playability for most contemporary cellists on account of their extreme technical demands. The extreme editorialisations of his Konzert Fassung also restricted outside interest in it on stylistic grounds. It is probably safe to assume that while it may have served his personal and professional purposes over many years, it was not a commercial success: it was rarely

⁶² Lützen, "Die Violoncell-Transkriptionen Friedrich Grützmakers," 229.

⁶³ Markevitch, *Cello story*, 63.

reprinted after 1866⁶⁴ and never gained enough popularity to attract the attention of recording artists.

Some years after the publication of the *Konzert Fassung*, his second version of the Suites was published, also by Peters. In this edition, Grützmacher adopted a completely different, far more conservative approach than with the first one. Freed from the excessive technical demands of the *Konzert Fassung*, it became one of the most popular editions for cellists for many decades.⁶⁵

The reasons for Grützmacher's decision to prepare a second version of the Suites (not to mention Edition Peters' approval for its publication) are hard to ascertain with confidence. The editor may have come to the realisation that the 'bare original in its primitive state' is a master piece after all, or perhaps Max Abraham convinced him of the benefits of a more marketable edition of the Suites. Another motive could have been Grützmacher's desire to prepare a practical edition that would guide and advise his current and future students about the performing difficulties of the Suites; in other words, a pedagogical edition.

Opinions differ enormously as to the date of publication for this second edition and some of the available information is plainly erroneous. Unfortunately, publishers had inconsistent ways to keep track and inform users about the date and other details of their publications. The year of the publication could be disclosed in all new editions in a *colophon*, similarly to standard practice in book publishing, yet this simple solution occurs with surprising rarity.⁶⁶ Editorial prefaces can carry a date (of the editorial work but not of the publication, which may be different), however that is purely at the discretion of the editor. Many publishing houses use plate numbers (following mostly, but not without fail, a chronological order), others prefer edition numbers. It also happens frequently that an edition is provided with *both* plate and edition numbers – each following its own sequence.

Grützmacher's influential second edition has been referred to by several later editors and scholars, most of them providing different dates for this publication. This is not surprising, as

⁶⁴ But at least once, c1900.

⁶⁵ Coincidentally, this was also the edition that the young Pablo Casals found in an antique shop in Barcelona, introducing him to his lifelong passion of the Bach Suites.

⁶⁶ The colophon is a brief summary of the publisher's name, the place and date of the publication, possibly plate and edition number, usually to be found at the *verso* of the title page.

a result of the near conspiracy of ambiguous publication dates that music publishers inflict upon their readers.⁶⁷ Kazimierz Wiłkomirski disputes even the order of the two Grützmacher versions in the 'Editor's Note' to his own edition, without giving his reasons for doing so.⁶⁸ Bradley J. Knobel, in his otherwise excellent thesis on the accompanied versions of the Suites, provides the plate numbers in the wrong order – the Konzert Fassung's correct plate number is 4546, whereas the second edition's plate number is 4962.⁶⁹ Laura E. Kramer gives the year of publication as 188-,⁷⁰ George Kennaway suggests c.1867,⁷¹ while the database of the usually reliable website, www.cellist.nl, puts it as late as 1900.⁷²

In cases of identifying the publication date of a German edition, Hofmeister XIX, the online version of the *Hofmeister Monatsberichte* for the years 1829-1900, is generally an invaluable help, but the second Grützmacher edition cannot be found there.⁷³ Hofmeister provides some useful information though: another Peters score was announced in December 1870 with sequentially the next plate number, 4963: '*Potpourri. Dame blanche de Boieldieu. Potpourri en forme de Fantaisie. Pour Piano et Violoncelle*' by Hector Ollivier.⁷⁴ This in itself would suggest a possible publication date of 1869 or early 1870.⁷⁵ Although the order of plate numbers cannot be considered as indisputable evidence, it could be argued that a reputable publisher like Peters would not commonly lose its chronological sequence in assigning plate numbers.

However, Hofmeister proves that the first edition was published in 1866 (see Figure 7.14) and, given the limited interest that either the solo cello repertoire in general or specifically the Bach Suites could have been expected to generate at the time, it seems highly unlikely that

⁶⁷ Similar problems mar the exact dating of several other editions, including those of Becker, Klengel and Alexanian.

⁶⁸ J. S. Bach, ed: Wiłkomirski, Kazimierz, "6 suites a violoncello solo senza basso," (Krakow: PWM Edition, 1972), 4.

⁶⁹ Bradley James Knobel, "Bach Cello Suites with Piano Accompaniment and Nineteenth-Century Bach Discovery: A Stemmatic Study of Sources" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2006).

⁷⁰ Laura Elizabeth Kramer, "Articulation in Johann Sebastian Bach's Six Suites for Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012): History, analysis and performance" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1998).

⁷¹ George Kennaway, "Friedrich Grützmacher: an overview," <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/friedrich-grutzmacher-an-overview-george-kennaway/>, accessed on 16 November 2015.

⁷² <http://www.cellist.nl/database/showcellist.asp?id=123>, accessed on 10 October 2015.

⁷³ <http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/index.html> see http://imslp.org/wiki/Edition_Peters, accessed on 12 October 2015.

⁷⁴ Hofmeister XIX, December 1870, 182.

⁷⁵ 1867, as Kennaway proposed, is probably too close temporally to the publication date of the Konzert Fassung.

Peters would have published the same set of pieces close to the time of the first edition. Grützmacher's 1884 letter to Max Abraham is also significant, not just in what it tells us, but also in what is missing from it. It seems unlikely that he would have written such strong words to the sole proprietor of Edition Peters (see Figure 7.17), if the two of them had already collaborated on the second edition, which was devoid of the cellist's editorial interpretations as to what Bach 'might have been thinking'. In fact, the letter does not have the slightest reference to any other editions apart from the *Konzert Fassung*, which makes it improbable that the second edition did exist at the time. The vehement tone of the letter suggests Grützmacher's firm belief in the validity of creating a concert version. Temperamentally, it seems unlikely that he would have prepared a more sedate second edition with a pedagogical angle but ignore the subject completely in an extensive letter mostly devoted to discussing his editorial beliefs. Conversely, if the purpose of the first edition was *expressis verbis* to present the Suites in concerts, then there can hardly be any other but pedagogical reasons behind the conception of the second edition. This again suggests a temporal distance between the two versions.

This hypothesis is supported further by the fact that among the four copies of the second edition (plate no. 4962) that I have physically examined, I have found none with the engraving design indicating it would have been published pre-1880.⁷⁶ All of them give on the imprint of the title page the publishing city as 'Leipzig', suggesting a date from 1880 onwards,⁷⁷ and a footnote on its first page refers to the Bach Gesellschaft edition, suggesting that it post-dates 1879.⁷⁸ Peters' 1894 catalogue⁷⁹ on the other hand includes the Suites under the title of the later edition (*Sechs Suiten*), so it must have been printed in 1894 or earlier.⁸⁰ This timeframe is supported by one further argument. The unique editorial suggestions of Grützmacher's second edition were taken over by later editors with some frequency. His minute, even bracketed alteration of a mordent shown in Figure 7.22 was repeated by at least three later

⁷⁶ An original first print of any edition from the latter part of the nineteenth century would be rare but still possible to find.

⁷⁷ The imprint was given as Leipzig and Berlin from Nov. 1867 - March 1880, see http://imslp.org/wiki/Edition_Peters, accessed on 17 November 2015.

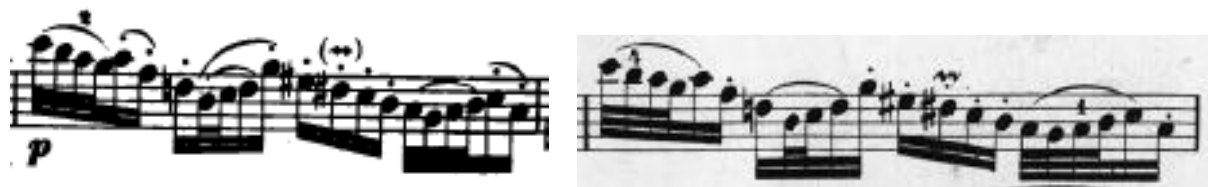
⁷⁸ However, this note, as well as the modernised imprint of the title page, could have been added to the original plates during the preparation of a later re-print.

⁷⁹ <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009014132>, accessed on 18 November 2015.

⁸⁰ I would like to thank Stacey Krim of the Special Collections and University Archives at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) for her arduous help in tracing the possible date(s) of Grützmacher's second edition.

editors, including Alwin Schröder whose publication came out in 1888. Schröder copied several other alternatives to be found for the first time in Grützmacher's edition, while never coming up with similar unique modifications on his own. This suggests that Schröder's edition might be the later one of the two, implying that Grützmacher's second edition would have pre-dated 1888.

Figure 7.21: C Major Suite, Allemande, bar 14 with a shared mordent on the F# in the edition of Grützmacher and Schröder



The above points provide only circumstantial evidence, however, based on their concurrence, the probable date of publication of Grützmacher's second edition appears to be between 1884 and 1888. The musical text of this version has been the model for later editions on numerous occasions, including several other cases, where Grützmacher added extra ornaments or even notes on his own. Figure 7.23 demonstrates the unnecessary double stop in the third beat of bar 15 in the D minor Menuet I as a case in point; despite the awkward parallel fifth between the first and third beats, the extra C in the lower voice was taken over by a number of later editors, including Salter, van Lier, Starker and von Tobel.

Figure 7.22 : D minor Suite, Menuet I, bars 9-16 in the editions of Grützmacher and Dotzauer



Performing edition case study 2: Jacqueline du Pré's edition (Hansen, 1981)

The nineteen-seventies and eighties brought a substantial increase of activity in producing new editions of the Bach Suites. In the first half of the seventies alone, six editions were published just in the United States (Vandersall, 1970; Starker, 1971; Fournier, 1972; Freed, 1972; Eicher, 1974; Eisenberg, 1975). As a sign of the interest spreading all over Europe as well, in four countries the Bach Suites were published for the first time between 1972 and 1981 (Wiłkomirski in Poland, 1972; Nagy in Yugoslavia [in the part that today is called Croatia], 1974; Iarosevici in Romania, 1976; du Pré in Denmark, 1981).

The fact that instead of a major English publishing house, a lesser known Danish music publisher had decided to bring Jacqueline du Pré's (1945-1987) version of the Suites to the market is almost as curious as the first edition of the Suites having been published in Paris instead of somewhere in Germany some 160 years earlier. The timing is no less interesting: du Pré had been forced to give up performing publicly due to her severe illness by 1973. By the time Wilhelm Hansen's publication of her edition appeared in 1981, the motoric movements of the artist's hands were almost completely incapacitated. Her edition was prepared under extreme circumstances: while most cellists embarked on the task of fixing their artistic concept in the form of an edition at the summit of their artistry, du Pré had to conserve her way of playing the Suites (due to her medical condition) based on motoric memories and markings made in her personal copies many years earlier, presumably in combination with her then current artistic ideas. These ideas unfortunately could not have been properly tested in front of an audience; in fact, it is even uncertain that the artist-editor had the physical strength in the privacy of her home to try them.

Just how committed du Pré was to the learning and performing of the Bach Suites is evident from the fact that in 1962, when she was only seventeen, one of the first recordings she ever made was of the G major and D minor Suites. We also know of several performances of the C minor Suite in London around that time, one in Wigmore Hall in 1961, and another three years later in Westminster Abbey, where it was reviewed by *The Guardian*.⁸¹ Even if a recording of the complete cycle never eventuated, there is no question that the Suites played a pivotal

⁸¹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Jacqueline du Pré: her life, her music, her legend* (New York: Arcade, 1999), 63 and 123.

role in du Pré's life. Nonetheless, as her life went through profound changes, her way of thinking about the Suites must have transformed as well. The recordings of the adolescent du Pré and her way of notating the Suites almost twenty years later differ considerably. In considering her legacy in relation to the Suites, her edition is therefore probably best treated separately from her recordings.

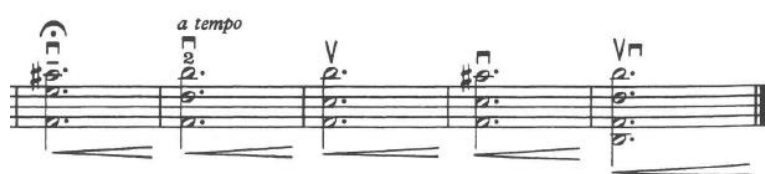
Like Grützmacher's *Konzert Fassung* more than a century earlier, it is an extremely detailed edition in which her thoughts regarding bowings and fingerings, dynamic and tempo changes, characters and articulation are explained with great care. The meticulousness of the markings leaves little doubt as to the way the artist suggests these works should be played. At the same time, following du Pré's score without the thorough understanding of her incomparable musicianship, one can easily miss the intended effect and misinterpret her generously expressed musical suggestions into a verbatim reading of the markings, and as such, into a forced and easily exaggerated performance.

Despite many elaborate instructions, du Pré does not provide metronome numbers or tempo markings (with the single, unexpected and unexplained exception of the Courante of the C minor Suite which is marked Allegro). The idiosyncratic way of spelling 'Bourée' in the middle two Suites is similarly without explanation.⁸²

Du Pré's playing style was legendary for being impassioned and expressive. This highly emotional artistic attitude is evident and one of the strongest features in the edition. Her individuality does not seem to care much about performing conventions; her markings openly assert their excesses. These (for many a modern reader of her score) unusual instructions are most noticeable in three areas: 1) dynamic instructions, 2) bowings and 3) articulations regarding changes in tempo.

1) Du Pré favours applying a crescendo on last notes of major sections, including the last notes of movements. Occasionally, she instructs this last note to be played with a diminuendo the first time but with a crescendo on the repeat. In fact, at the end of the Prélude of the D minor Suite, all the long chords have an individual crescendo assigned to them.

⁸² Curiously, while the four manuscript sources spell the word with a single 'r', Source A and B do not provide any accents (Bouree), C and D put the accent on the second 'e' (Boureé). Werner Icking's 1997 edition alone of all the other editions matches du Pré's spelling, Bourée.

Figure 7.23: D minor Suite, Prélude, bars 59-63⁸³

Earlier in the same movement, fortissimo and mezzo forte follow each other in rapid succession several times and it is also worthwhile to observe her distinctive choice of placing a series of tenuto notes under a slur and marking it fortissimo.

Figure 7.24: D minor Suite, Prélude, bars 43-48



2) The bowing markings seem to confirm the editor's preference of musical ideas over technical difficulties. In fact, du Pré frequently turns to unparalleled bowing solutions, for example, in the first half in the Prélude of the E^b major Suite (see Figure 7.26) where she proposes most of the bars containing quavers only (for example, the first forty-eight bars) to start with two notes on repeated down-bows and finish on two on up-bows. This highly individual proposition is unique to her edition. The even flow of the quavers might become difficult for most cellists with this bowing and for a lack of any recordings by du Pré, her underlying technical or musical reasons are hard to assess.

Figure 7.25: E^b major Suite, Prélude, bars 1-4

Many of her bowing suggestions go against conventional wisdom as well as the practical comfort of the old down-bow rule, which would suggest that emphatic or important notes

⁸³ Figures 7.24-7.29 are all taken from du Pré's edition.

should whenever possible fall on down-bow. This is often not the case in this edition. In six movements, the first bar of the movement is marked as an up-bow even where it occurs on a downbeat,⁸⁴ while movements starting with upbeats are to be played with a down-bow in five movements (resulting in up-bow for the beginning of the first bar).⁸⁵ The final note in four of the six Préludes is rather unconventionally to be taken on two bows (beginning on up- and finishing on down-bow). Although several times there are indications suggesting du Pré's acute awareness of historical playing conventions (see below), the rule or the mere logic of the down-bow seems to be almost meaningless to her: according to her markings, for example, every one of the first five bars in the G major Sarabande should start on an up-bow.

Figure 7.26: G major Suite, Sarabande, bars 1-7



Although the Menuet I in the same Suite begins with a straightforward bowing in her edition, a variant of that first bar introducing the second section (bar 9) is marked differently. This means, together with the last note of the first section, that three consecutive up-bows are marked and so to be played.⁸⁶

Figure 7.27: G major Suite, Menuet I, bars 1-9



3) Du Pré's naturally expressive, always clearly articulated performing style is demonstrated

⁸⁴ G major Sarabande, D minor and C major Prélude, C and E^b major Sarabande, C major Bour[r]ée I, C minor Prélude.

⁸⁵ G major Gigue, C major Allemande and Courante, E^b major Bour[r]ée I, C minor Courante.

⁸⁶ Three consecutive up-bows are also implied in the Courante of the E^b major Suite, bar 13.

frequently by a pause (˘) or a comma ('). She favours the effect of a *ritenuto* followed by *a tempo*, using it eight times in the Prélude of the C minor Suite alone.⁸⁷ In her reading, towards the end of a movement, there is often a pause, and then *a tempo* to the end, where the last note of the movement receives her customary boisterous crescendo. Performing the final note of a movement with increasing volume could sound refreshingly new as a special musical proposition but advocated with such frequency (for example, three movements out of six in the D minor Suite), it might be considered tedious.

The phrasing of the musical lines in the D minor Allemande is assisted regularly with the help of a comma. While these markings are helpful in better understanding the editor's musical ideas, writing them with such frequency risks overmarking the score. Two of the commas are even placed between notes connected by a slur. Assuming that legato in general means a smooth, uninterrupted connection in between notes while a comma suggests a brief interruption, the two instructions concurrently create a contradiction, which is not explained or resolved in this edition.

Du Pré's instructions are elaborate elsewhere as well, at times almost parodistically so. The first two notes of the Gigue of the D minor Suite are accompanied by no less than nine performing instructions.

Figure 7.28: D minor Suite, Gigue, first two notes only.



So many instructions in such proximity to each other, despite individually making musical sense, are problematic from the point of view of a practising cellist for two reasons: firstly, they are overwhelming in their quantity and because of that, and secondly, they tend to restrict artistic thoughts instead of inspiring them.

On a few occasions, the editor takes certain, previously untried, liberties with the musical text. Bar 29 in the D minor Gigue separates the traditionally played double stop quaver into

⁸⁷ This type of rubato playing occurs in performances in general as a matter of course. Notating it precisely into the score is problematic only because it solidifies an otherwise flexible artistic process.

two single semiquavers; note 9 in bar 30 of the C major Prélude is changed arbitrarily from F to B, as is the first note in the D major Courante, bar 48 from an E to a C#. Notes (present in all of the manuscript sources) are left out with some frequency as well,⁸⁸ and some re-composition is evident in the added chord in bar 3 of the G major Sarabande or the change of order of the notes in the penultimate bar of the C minor Suite's Gigue.⁸⁹

New movements are often introduced with the editor's specific tempo or performance annotations, mixing English with Italian freely. In mid-movements, her instructive comments are in danger of becoming obstructive, particularly when repeated three times (D major Courante, bars 60, 61 and 62: 'conserve bow'). Du Pré was obviously aware of the playing traditions of previous times, and employs some of them in her edition, albeit without noticeable consistency. For example, she occasionally recommends starting a movement or a new section near the tip of the bow (*nel punto*) which is somewhat unusual and perplexing, particularly as the underlying musical ideas of the instruction are not explained. While it is true that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries string players frequently performed light, short strokes on the upper half of the bow,⁹⁰ and they were regularly instructed to do so by the Italian term '*punta d'arco*', these off-the-string bowings were generally reversed by players performing on modern bows in the last century. The antiquated expression seems to be particularly odd when it precedes legato passages (D minor Allemande, bar 13) or is combined with instructions in English: 'longer bow strokes *nel punta*' (C major Courante, bar 41). Alternatively, it is conceivable that it was Du Pré's personal preference to start a movement with 'heavy spiccato, near the point' (G major Courant), however, were that the case, it would have benefited from some clarifying notes. Most cellists would find a 'heavy spiccato' extremely difficult to execute at any part of the bow, and nearly impossible at the point, particularly in a movement where notes with slurs and tenutos vastly outnumber those with staccato markings on them.

⁸⁸ Missing notes: D minor Suite, Sarabande, bar 9, second beat, D; D minor Suite, Menuet I, bar 2, first beat, E; E^b major Suite, Sarabande, bar 6 first beat, E^b; C minor Suite, Prélude, bar 2, first beat, F.

⁸⁹ In other cases (for example D minor Prélude, bar 12 last note), she seems to follow alternative notes introduced first in Dotzauer's edition.

⁹⁰ John Butt, *Bach interpretation: articulation marks in primary sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 162.

The fingerings favoured by du Pré are similarly distinctive. She seems to give preference to shifts of one note with her first or fourth finger (1 – 1 or 4 – 4) far more than with the middle two, favouring these small shifts to changing strings or moving to more distant positions. Her meticulously detailed fingering of the opening bars of the D major Suite reveals a complete reversal of the roles between the two implied musical lines: the D pedal note – unlike in any other edition that I have checked – is now relocated as a stopped note on the G string, whereas the notes of the melody are played exclusively on the D string: a delicately fine musical idea, although far harder to execute than any of the commonly employed fingerings.

Du Pré's edition might well be considered eccentric, but without doubt, it was produced with a lot of care. Although it would be a worthwhile experiment to record the Suites following her instructions consistently to ascertain their artistic merits, to my knowledge, that has not happened yet. Some of her odd suggestions might preserve aspects of performance practice of the period, or at least, of her circle; others may have been notated the way they are simply because the incapacitated cellist was unable to try them out. Among the many peculiar performing suggestions, there are certainly some quirky and stimulating ones as well.

The examples of performing editions introduced here, demonstrate both the musical vision of cellists of impeccable technique and an extremely vivid artistic imagination. These editions reflect many respected and closely followed performing traditions of their era but at the same time, express the artists' ideas down to the smallest nuances regarding technical details, articulation, dynamics, and perhaps most importantly, phrasing, without any sign of compromise. The commitment to transfer highly individual and ultimately transcendent musical notions to notes and putting them on paper is admirable in its sincerity and offers invaluable help to later generations to understand performing practices of the past. Arguably, pedagogical editions such as Dotzauer's are considerably easier to follow, understand and play, but ultimately, very little is revealed in it about how the founding father of the Dresden School thought about the subtleties of the Suites.

The prefaces of some of the interpretative editions also mention the original sources occasionally but, judging from the result of their work, this is more often lip-service than a genuine effort to follow an original source. With very few exceptions (for example, Markevitch in 1964, who was among the first to suggest that Anna Magdalena's copy should

be cross-checked with Kellner's copy in order to get better results),⁹¹ the source remarked on in these cases is Anna Magdalena's copy.

Despite the divergent philosophical approaches, aesthetic values and artistic priorities that they represent, performing and pedagogical editions (and also the analytical editions and the transcriptions and arrangements, to be discussed in the next Chapter) are linked firmly by one essential attribute: they invariably represent a historical period, as they reveal substantial information about their contemporaneous performance practice. This feature is all the more notable as it is almost completely absent from any of the scholarly editions based on original sources. The value of those editions becomes no less, but of a different kind, as it reflects the editors' allegiance to the primary sources.

⁹¹ J. S. Bach, ed: Markevitch, Dimitry (1st edition), "Six Suites for Solo Cello, BWV 1007-1012," (Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010, USA: Presser, 1964), iii.

Chapter 8

Editions focusing on performance II – Analytical editions, transcriptions and arrangements

The interpretative editions are probably the most widely known category among the editions focusing on performance, but there are two more categories waiting to be discussed, belonging to the same large group. Firstly, there are the analytical editions in which the editor sacrifices the clean, easy-to-read image that one customarily expects of a page of sheet music in order to provide his motivic analysis of the movement;¹ and secondly, the transcriptions and arrangements, that is, all published versions of the Suites for an instrument or instruments other than cello. This includes both transcriptions for other solo instruments and arrangements for any instrument with accompaniment.

Analytical editions (six editions)

After the hegemony of the German editions of the Bach Suites throughout the nineteenth century (with the curious exception of the very first edition, published in Paris), the first two decades of the twentieth century were dominated by editions originating in cities as far apart as Vienna (van Lier, 1907), Petrograd² (Malmgren, c1917) and New York (Malkin, 1918). There was also an unprecedented interest in the Suites in Paris, where in between 1900 and 1929 five different editions saw the daylight (Loëb, 1900; Pollain, 1918; Liégeois, 1920; Bazelaire, 1920; Alexanian, c. 1929). Credit has to be given to the entrepreneurial courage of Francis Salabert, the owner of Edition Salabert for publishing Alexanian's version of the Suites after

¹ In principle, this could also be a different type of analysis, for example, Schenkerian or harmonic, even if these have never occurred in the case of the Suites.

² Today called St Petersburg.

four other, recent French editions, but then, it took by far the most innovative approach of all of them.³

Analytical editions, case study 1: Alexanian's edition (Salabert, 1929)

Diran Alexanian (1881-1954) was born in Constantinople⁴ of Armenian parentage. At a very young age, he became an accomplished cellist in Leipzig under Grützmacher's nurturing tutelage. His talent was widely recognised: not only was he given a chance at the age of barely seventeen to perform Don Quixote, Richard Strauss's tone poem with the composer conducting, but also Brahms and Joachim thought highly enough of his abilities to play chamber music with him. At the turn of the twentieth century, Alexanian moved from Germany to Paris where he met and befriended Pablo Casals, and later became his assistant at the École Normale de Musique from 1921 to 1937. It was during this time that he published his comprehensive treatise, a 'dictionary of technique' as Casals wrote in the Preface, the *Traité théorique et pratique du Violoncelle* (Theoretical and practical treatise on the violoncello, published in 1922, but written between 1910 and 1914).⁵ A few years later, around 1929, he brought out his edition of the Bach Suites.⁶

As is the case elsewhere in the edition history of the Suites, the exact timing of this publication is not easy to establish. There are at least three different possible dates proposed by various sources without being supported by evidence. The Prefaces of the Wenzinger, Selmi and Valdettaro editions suggest 1927; the catalogue of the substantial Mayhall collection near Cleveland, United States, states 1922; whereas most commonly available editions carry 1929 as the year of publication on the bottom left corner of first page of the score (see Figure 8.1).

³ J. S. Bach, ed: Alexanian, Diran, "Six Sonates ou Suites pour Violoncelle seul," (Paris: Salabert, 1929).

⁴ Today called Istanbul.

⁵ Diran Alexanian, *Traité théorique et pratique du violoncelle* (Paris: A.Z. Mathot, 1922).

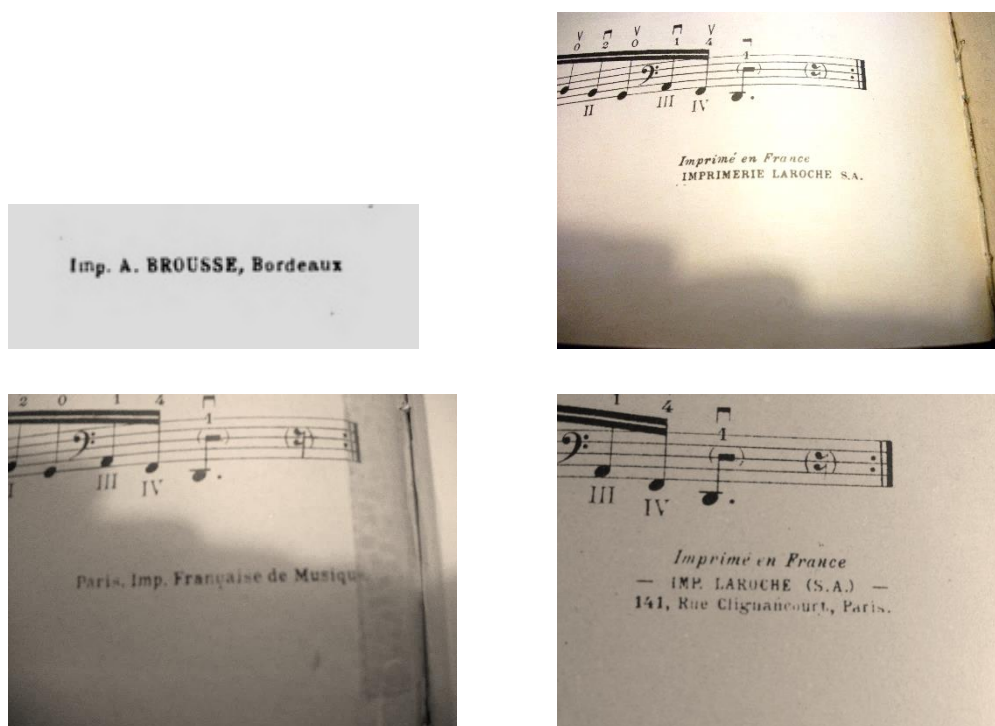
⁶ There is a curious and not necessarily coincidental parallel between Alexanian and Dotzauer; the latter also published the Suites shortly after writing his comprehensive treatise on cello playing.

Figure 8.1: Copyright notice on page 1 of the Alexanian edition

Copyright MCMXXIX by Francis Salabert.
 Collection A. Z. Mathot.
 EDITIONS FRANCIS SALABERT, 22, Rue Chauchat, PARIS.

The last page of the edition is also worth examining, even if the imprint information carries relatively little scholarly weight. Each of the four copies of Alexanian's edition that I was able to examine personally, contains different imprint information (see Figure 8.2). Unfortunately, there are no dates supplied in them but their differences indicate a number of imprints, which in turn suggests that the edition enjoyed considerable popularity.

Figure 8.2: Four different imprints from page 84 of the Alexanian edition



Le Violoncelle, a monthly newsletter of the Union of Cellists, and popular reading for teachers and amateurs in the nineteenth-twenties, advertised Alexanian's *L'enseignement du violoncelle* (the shorter title of the treatise, see Figure 8.3) in every month in 1922 without any mention of the editions of the Suites. As Alexanian was the editor of the newsletter, this suggests that at least at this time, his edition of the Suites did not yet exist. Nogue's *La littérature du violoncelle* in 1925 (Figure 8.4) mentions Alexanian's treatise again, but nothing about a Bach edition. Regarding the 1929 date, it has to be noted that 1929 could be a copyright date, rather than a publication date, and therefore it is possible that the years of

1927 and 1929 refer to the same edition, that is, the edition being published in 1927 and copyrighted in 1929. Although that would be a major delay between publication and its legal protection, nonetheless, it is possible. Had there been mention of the Suites in an advertisement or review that year, 1927 could have been confirmed; however, I have found no such evidence. This makes 1929 the most probable year of publishing.

Figure 8.3: Cover page of *Le violoncelle*, November 1922

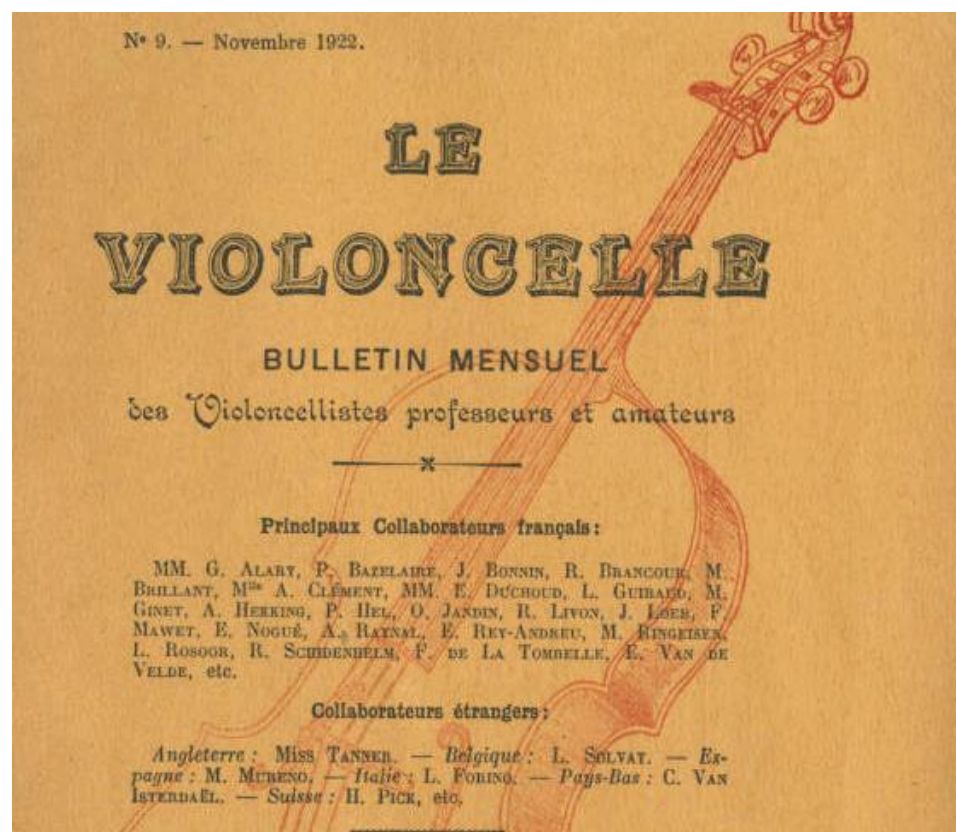
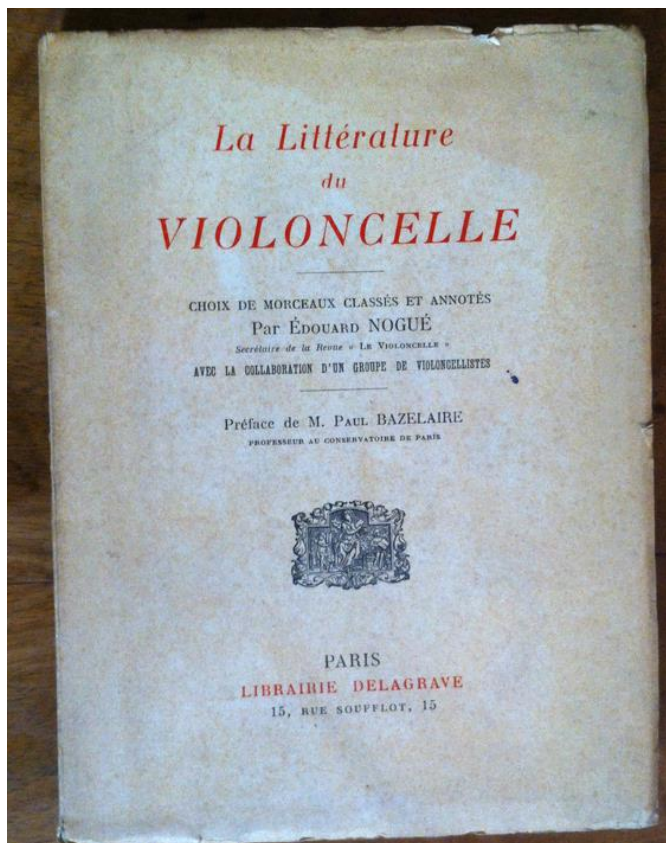


Figure 8.4: Édouard Nogue's *La littérature du violoncelle* (1925)



Returning to the complex interconnections between the editors of the Suites, another such connection was that the German translator of Alexanian's extensive Preface was one of his students, Richard Sturzenegger, whose own edition appeared in 1950. Other famous cellists, such as Gregor Piatigorsky, Emanuel Feuermann and Antonio Janigro also learned from him. Two further students of his Parisian years, Maurice Eisenberg and Pierre Fournier, not only became well-known artists in their own right but also created their own editions of the Bach Suites. In 1937, Alexanian was invited to teach at the Peabody Institute in Baltimore (USA), and later at the Manhattan School of Music in New York City.

As an inspired initiative, copied by eleven later editors, Alexanian included a facsimile of Anna Magdalena Bach's manuscript in his edition. He based the pitches and rhythms of his edition on this facsimile with some changes shown in brackets, as an attempt at a scholarly approach. The extensive Preface of the edition lists with fastidious care the pre-existing editions known to him; it is thus all the more interesting that he does not even mention Kellner's name, whose copy had been noted by Dörffel (1879) and Hausmann (1898) and had been kept in the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin since 1889.

Alexanian's artistic input can be seen through extensive additional articulation and ornamentation markings. *'Interprétation musicale et instrumentale'* – announced its title page, hinting at more than just technical instructions. The inside cover discloses more information about the editor's purpose: 'Analysis of the art of phrasing, fingering and bowing'. Ingrid Fuchs argues against the validity of this wording, claiming that when Alexanian says phrasing, he really means articulation and the two are not the same.⁷ No previous edition placed the 'art of phrasing' under scrutiny and Alexanian achieved his claimed purpose with methodical precision. He examined the polyphonic structure hiding behind Bach's essentially single voice writing in the Suites, and articulated the theory about 'linear counterpoint' for the first time amongst the editors of the Cello Suites.

The main innovation of his edition is its idiosyncratic notation. Alexanian's methodology follows a clear but complicated logic, explained in three languages (French, German and English) in the Preface. His almost scientific approach to the harmonic and melodic structure of the Suites is explained there, dressed up with his characteristic expressions, such as 'inferior or superior melodious embroidery' or 'regular or periodical disjunction'. In the score itself, Alexanian convincingly elucidated his analysis through a unique notation, demonstrated in Figure 8.5:

Figure 8.5: D minor Suite, *Prélude*, bars 1-6 in the Alexanian edition



According to his method, identical note values, if they proceed in a uniform direction, should be considered as one musical syllable (for example, bar 1 last three notes, F-E-D in the above Figure), and connected accordingly. The name given to the relation between syllables is

⁷ Ingrid Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1981), 824.

‘melodic attraction’. In Alexanian’s edition, the direction of stems and beams (called tails and strokes in his Preface) of individual notes is most significant, as this forms part of the graphic description of the musical structure. This system is logical and helps a type of analysis of the movements but due to its complexity, the sequence of syllables is not easy to follow for the practising cellist. The densely drawn web of double legatos, Roman and Arabic numbers referring to fingerings and strings, beams going in different directions and other markings makes reading the score extremely difficult; at times the instructions are in danger of collapsing under their own weight (see Figure 8.6).

Figure 8.6: G major Suite, Allemande, bars 9-12

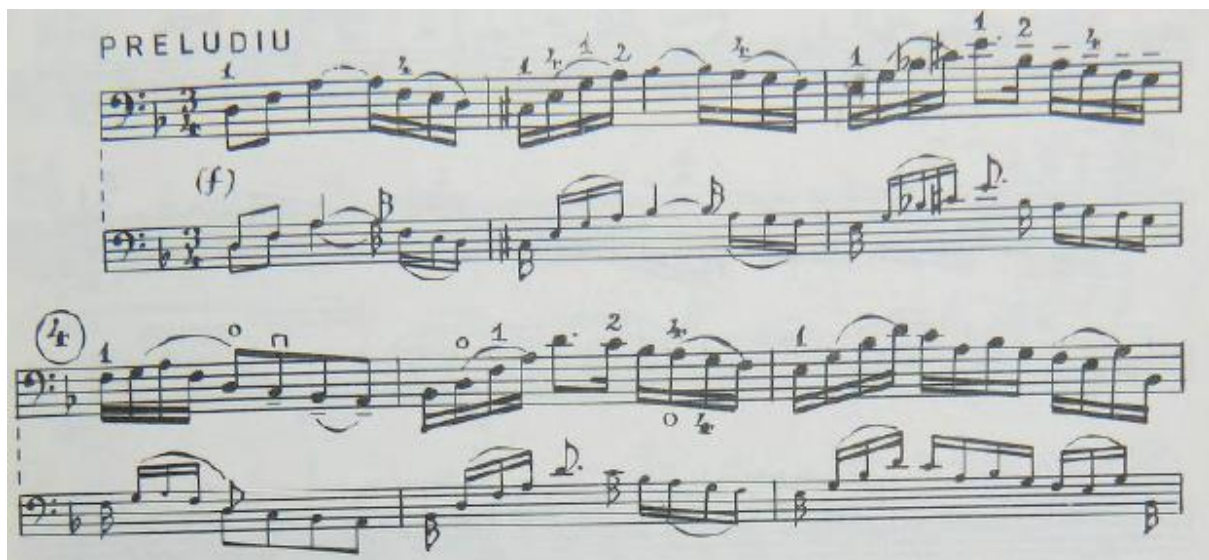


This method of analysis, expressed through meticulous performance markings, gained popularity and went through various modifications in the editions of several later cellist-editors (Mainardi, 1941, rev. 1961; Tortelier, 1966, rev. 1983; Iarosevici, 1976; Thomas-Mifune, 1997; and Anastasio, 1998). As an indication of the similarities and differences between their work and Alexanian’s, here are the earlier cited opening bars (see Figure 8.5) of the Prélude of the D Minor Suite as they appear in two of the other analytical editions (Mainardi and Iarosevici) notated in a similar way but with subtle differences:

Figure 8.7: D minor Suite, Prélude, bars 1-5 in the Mainardi edition



Figure 8.8: D minor Suite, Prélude, bars 1-6 in the Iarosevici edition



Mainardi (1941) called the linear counterpoint the ‘formative principle’ of his edition and explained that the purpose of his bowings and fingerings is to make this principle as clear as possible.⁸ Both Mainardi and Iarosevici constructed their edition in two, parallel systems: the upper line shows a performing edition, complete with fingerings, bowings and (in the case of Iarosevici) dynamics, while the lower line demonstrates the same musical text with his

⁸ J. S. Bach ed: Mainardi, Enrico, "6 Suiten für Violoncello-Solo," (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1941), Introduction.

musical analysis.⁹ Mainardi's Preface also informs the reader of regular corrections of 'several ostensible errors and obscurities in the [Anna Magdalena] manuscript'.¹⁰

Alexanian's presentation of the musical text was entirely new, although the underlying concept of linear counterpoint was not his invention. As detailed in Chapter 6, the Swiss music theorist, Ernst Kurth (who prepared not an analytical but an unmarked edition of the Suites) published an influential book in 1917, in which he outlined his theory about the polyphonic thinking in a single line composition.¹¹ Whether Alexanian was directly or only indirectly inspired by Kurth's theory, remains unclear; in either case, Alexanian's edition provided a practical manifestation of the theory, and his methodology aroused broad interest. It pointed towards a path previously unexplored by professional cellists, or indeed by musicians of any level, students, teachers or scholars. A new approach to the structure of the Bach Suites was presented here, aiming at a harmony- and phrasing-based understanding of the score. This hitherto unprecedented challenge was at the core of its educational value. Alexanian's edition, along with later publications of the Suites following the same editorial philosophy, is aiming at a better 'musical and instrumental interpretation', without being directly committed to the approach of either pedagogical or performing editions.

Alexanian's work was used and much admired for most of the twentieth century, although its popularity gradually faded in the last few decades. The edition was often criticised for its poor readability, yet its way of visually clarifying the linear counterpoint is an essential part of its unique, analytical approach.

Transcriptions and arrangements

The transcriptions and arrangements embrace some of the most curious publications of the Bach Suites. This is a voluminous category; however, as the main purpose of this study is to examine the genesis and the edition history of the cello suites in their original form as solos

⁹ Fuchs also suggests that an analytical edition can concurrently be a critical or a practical (interpretative) edition. See Fuchs, "Die sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo (BWV 1007-1012) von Johann Sebastian Bach. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Stellung, Aufführungspraxis und Editions-geschichte," 805.

¹⁰ J. S. Bach, ed: Mainardi, "6 Suiten für Violoncello-Solo," Preface.

¹¹ Ernst Kurth, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts: Bachs melodische Polyphonie* (M. Hesse, 1922).

for cello, to treat it comprehensively falls outside the scope of the thesis. A brief overview is nonetheless important as the transcriptions for other instruments and the arrangements that provide the original solo works with an accompaniment of other instrument(s) provide important context for the examined editions in this category. All of the arrangements that I have examined retained the original cello part and added a piano accompaniment.

Transcriptions and arrangements were an inseparable part of the nineteenth-century efforts to disseminate lesser-known compositions as widely as possible and thus they played an especially significant role in the Bach revival during the Romantic period. The origins of transcriptions and arrangements go back several centuries, and they mostly came about for simple practical reasons: when someone liked a piece and wanted to play it on another instrument or whenever the performance of a composition was not easy or outright impossible in its available (original?) format, it was altered to suit the available resources. Parts were played on different instruments from what was originally described, or even cut out altogether when there were not enough performers. Instrumentation, tonality and text (literary or musical) were changed freely when perceived to help another performance. The 'parody technique' – although it often went beyond a simple transcription by involving some degree of recomposition – allowed already performed repertoire to be played again as a 'new composition' with a few changes in the key signature and instrumentation; choral works were frequently performed with a different text and sometimes even in a different language. Bach himself regularly re-composed his earlier works and also, made arrangements of other composers' pieces. He transcribed various movements and even some complete compositions for solo stringed instruments, as shown in the next Table.

Table 8.1: Bach's transcriptions of his original solo string works

Original	Transcription
G minor Violin Sonata BWV 1001 Fugue	Organ D minor BWV 539
G minor Violin Sonata BWV 1001 Fugue	Lute G minor BWV 1000
A minor Violin Sonata BWV 1003	Harpsichord D minor BWV 964 (not original? - transcription possibly by W. F. Bach)
C major Violin Sonata 1st Mvmt BWV 1005	Harpsichord C major BWV 968 (not original?)
E major Partita BWV 1006	Lute Suite (or Harp) E major BWV 1006a
E major Partita BWV 1006 Preludio	Cantata BWV 29 D major
E major Partita BWV 1006 Preludio	Cantata BWV 120a D major <i>Trauerkantate</i>
C minor Cello Suite BWV 1011	Lute Suite G minor BWV 995

These transcriptions, apart from serving their probable practical purposes, may have helped the dissemination of the original compositions. While it is true that in the first half of the nineteenth century, Bach's choral and keyboard oeuvre gradually became better known, and was more often published and performed, for a long time his compositions for solo violin and cello seemed to be acceptable on the concert podium only when accompanied by keyboard or an orchestra. This explains the proliferation of various non-authorial transcriptions of the Bach string solos with an additional piano part.

One of the earliest recorded examples of this phenomenon was a recital reviewed by the editor of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Robert Schumann, in which Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (on piano) accompanied Ferdinand David in a performance of the of the D Minor Partita's Chaconne (BWV 1004) at a Gewandhaus concert in Leipzig on 8 February 8, 1840.

With his ever-fresh mastery Mendelssohn also played Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue as well as his Five-part Fugue in C-sharp minor. And, accompanied by

Mendelssohn, Concertmaster David in his most admirable manner gave us two movements—priceless as compositions—from Bach's sonatas for violin alone. Though it has been said that "an addition of other parts to them is unimaginable," this statement was most emphatically contradicted by Mendelssohn who so adorned the original with further parts that it was a delight to hear.¹²

Transcriptions and arrangements, case study 1: Schumann's transcription

Schumann was probably the first composer to provide both sets, the Violin Sonatas and Partitas and the Cello Suites, with piano accompaniment. After the publication of his transcription of the Violin Solos, he also offered his arrangement of the Cello Suites to Kistner on 17 November 1853:

Perhaps you already know that my arrangement of Bach's violin sonatas is going to be published by Breitkopf and Härtel (in 6 volumes); I have arranged the violoncello sonatas in the same manner and am ready to offer them to you on the same conditions as to Härtel. These are the most beautiful and important compositions ever written for violoncello.¹³

The arrangement of the Violin Solos survived,¹⁴ although it has lost its appeal to the audiences of the twentieth or twenty-first centuries. Of the Cello Suites, Schumann's version of the C Major Suite was copied by hand by Julius Goltermann (1823-1876) in 1863; his manuscript was found in the *Landesbibliothek* in Speyer (Germany) in 1981, and published by Breitkopf & Härtel four years later, in 1985.¹⁵ Apart from that one Suite, it is commonly understood that the manuscript of the Cello Suites with his piano accompaniment has not survived.¹⁶

This may not be so, however. Bradley James Knobel found surviving evidence of at least one further Suite in Schumann's arrangement, that of the G Major Suite, performed in 1879,

¹² Robert Schumann and Fanny Raymond Ritter, *Music and musicians: essays and criticisms* (London: W. Reeves, 1875), 229.

¹³ Quoted from B. J. Knobel, "Bach Cello Suites with Piano Accompaniment and Nineteenth-Century Bach Discovery: A Stemmatic Study of Sources" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2006), 43.

¹⁴ J. S. Bach, Schumann, R., "Sechs Sonaten für Violine solo, arr. für Violine und Klavier," (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1853, second edition 1920).

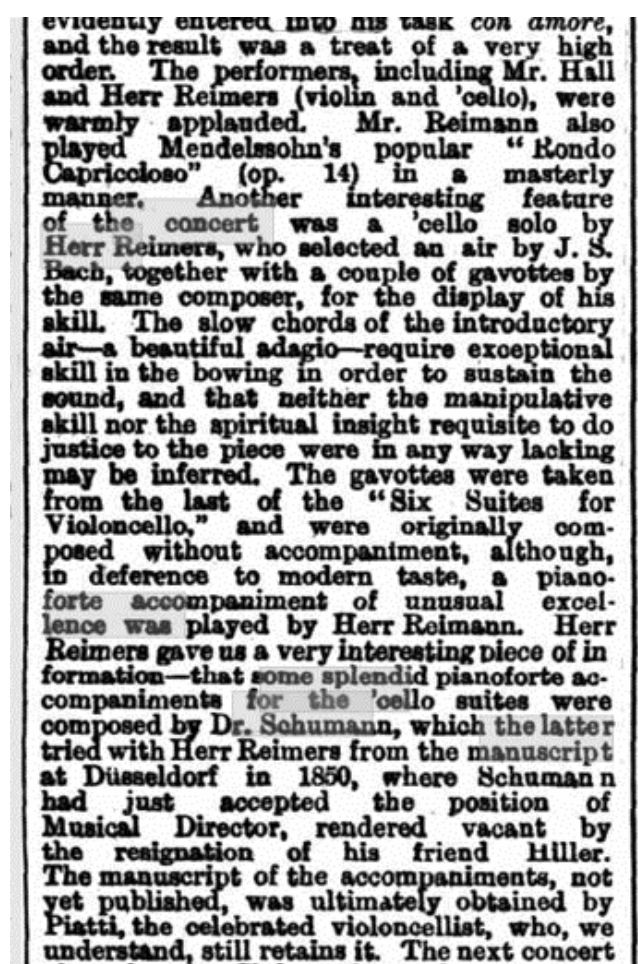
¹⁵ J. S. Bach, transcribed by Schumann, R "Suite III C-Dur für Violoncello solo BWV 1009; for cello and piano," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), 8.

¹⁶ Ibid.

played most probably from another (now lost) copy of the original Schumann manuscript.¹⁷ Even more interesting is the report from the Evening Journal from Adelaide, Australia, from 25 September, 1884 (see Figure 8.9), according to which an air and two gavottes were performed by Christian Reimers, who

...gave us a very interesting piece of information – that some splendid pianoforte accompaniments for the 'cello suites were composed by Dr. Schumann, which the latter tried with Herr Reimers from the manuscript at Düsseldorf in 1850, where Schumann had just accepted the position of Musical Director ... The manuscript of the accompaniments, not yet published, was ultimately obtained by Piatti, the celebrated violoncellist, who, we understand, still retains it.¹⁸

Figure 8.9: Review in Evening Journal from Adelaide, Australia, 25 September, 1884



¹⁷ Knobel, "Bach Cello Suites with Piano Accompaniment and Nineteenth-Century Bach Discovery: A Stemmatic Study of Sources," 50.

¹⁸ I would like to thank Paul Blackman and Steven Isserlis for sharing Christian Reimers's story with me and answering my repeated enquiries patiently.

Christian Reimers (1827-1889) was an eminent German cellist, who knew Brahms well enough to travel with him to visit the ailing Schumann in 1854.¹⁹ He had met Schumann a few years previously, and had played with him in 1850 according to this article. Schumann also wrote the Cello Concerto for him.²⁰ If Reimers performed some of the D major Suite's movements in Schumann's arrangement in 1884, then it is possible that his source is still in existence.

Returning to the arrangement of the C major Suite, Schumann was not interested in editing the cello part but used the commonly available Dotzauer edition almost verbatim, with one glaring exception: he changed the last note in bar 14 of the C Major Prélude from F to F[#].²¹ He kept the piano part consistently in the background; thus it provides hardly more than a harmonic backdrop and support.

Transcriptions and arrangements, case study 2: Stade's edition (Heinze, 1864)

Several further arranged versions followed after Schumann's cello-piano transcription. The first published version of the Suites with piano accompaniment was prepared by the organist and composer, Friedrich Wilhelm Stade (1817-1902), *Hofcapellmeister* in Altenburg, Saxony. Oddly enough, the Suites were printed in seven volumes by the Leipzig publisher Gustav Heinze in 1864: the first contained all the Sarabandes, followed by six further volumes devoted to the six Suites. The whole set was published again in a slightly re-edited form and in one volume in 1871.²²

It is worth noting here that in addition to composing the accompanying piano part, Stade thoroughly edited the cello part and thus he became the editor of what was only the third

¹⁹ Peter F. Ostwald, *Schumann: the inner voices of a musical genius* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985), 278.

²⁰ Johannes Brahms and Styrax Avins, *Johannes Brahms: life and letters* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 17.

²¹ The only later edition following this example was that of Stade (1866), yet the impact of this change was long-lasting: dozens of later editors put out a cautionary natural sign in front of the F.

²² In this revision, for the first time in the history of the Bach Suites' editions, rehearsal letters made finding any particular place easier.

newly created edition of the Suites.²³ It is therefore not surprising that his sources appear to be the earlier published editions of Norblin (or, more likely, one of its German reprints: Probst or Kistner) and Dotzauer; accordingly, whatever he took over from Kellner's copy, it was via Dotzauer's edition. In any case, he must have had access to more than just the first edition or its reprints; otherwise he could not have restored the five missing bars in the D Major Suite's *Prélude*. Like Norblin in the first edition, he changed the names of Suites to 'Sonatas', he also copied Norblin's tempo markings and movement titles loyally and that included the mystifying renaming of the Bourrées in the C Major and E^b Major Suites as 'Loures'. He kept Norblin's often idiosyncratic additional grace notes, but liberally altered his model's bowings and added staccatos and accents. New features of this edition are Stade's detailed fingering and bowing instructions. Their confident frequency suggests some assistance from an unnamed cellist collaborator (there is no record of Stade ever playing the cello), yet from a practical point of view, they often suggest awkward solutions.

In the same year as the revised version of Stade's edition was published (1871), another cello-piano arrangement also became available. This version was prepared by Karl Grädener, cellist and composer, and came out in two volumes containing the separate cello and piano parts, but without a full score. A number of well-known cellists also made cello-piano transcriptions of some of the Suites later, including Grützmacher (1903), Alfredo Piatti (1905) and Carl Schröder (1911), but this type of arrangement went out of fashion by the beginning of the twentieth century as the Suites gradually became fully accepted into the concert repertoire and therefore there was no longer any perceived need to 'popularise' them.

On the other hand, transcriptions of the Suites to other instruments do not seem to have lost their appeal in the nineteenth century. For pedagogical purposes, Ferdinand David transcribed the Suites for violin (1866),²⁴ followed within a couple of years by Joachim Raff's arrangement for solo piano (1870).²⁵ By the mid-twentieth century, players of a spectacular range of instruments could claim to have published editions from which to play the Bach Cello Suites, including piano, organ, violin, viola, double bass, recorder, flute, clarinet, saxophone,

²³ After Norblin's first edition (1824), Dotzauer published the second new edition (1826). All other publications up until 1864 were reprints or arrangements without a newly edited cello part.

²⁴ J. S. Bach, ed: David, Ferdinand "Sechs Suiten: für die Violine solo," (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1866).

²⁵ J. S. Bach, ed: Raff Joachim, "Sechs Sonaten für Violoncell arr: Piano solo," (Leipzig: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1870).

French horn, trumpet, trombone, tenor banjo, guitar, lute and so on. There are no less than sixteen editions for viola to date²⁶ and over thirty versions of whole Suites or individual movements transcribed for piano.²⁷

The various arrangements and transcriptions probably outnumber the traditional editions and for reasons of quantity, if for no others, they have to be acknowledged in a survey of the editions of the Suites. They serve as evidence of an altogether different musical context and purpose; they are still created for performance but with the involvement of different instruments and with a new audience in mind. The editors of all these alternative versions attempted to make the Suites sound as idiomatic in their new format as possible, but used their sources with liberty. Investigating what sources these editions chose and how they used them is beyond the scope of this thesis, but would be an interesting topic for future research.

²⁶ The list of viola editions is to be found in Thomas Tatton, "Bach Violoncello Suites Arranged for Viola: Available Editions Annotated," *Journal of the American Viola Society* 27(2011 Summer): 5-27.

²⁷ <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/NVD/PT-BWV-6.htm>, accessed on 23 March 2015.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The Solo Cello Suites by J. S. Bach have long enjoyed a canonic status within the cello repertoire; yet there is very little known about the early history of the Suites. We do not know of any performances of them in Bach's lifetime and they did not even appear in print for over one hundred years after their composition. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the perception of the Suites slowly changed; they shook off their initial status as mere 'studies', and became a regular part of concert programmes. As their popularity soared, so did the number of editions brought to the market by enterprising publishers.

Considering the iconic nature of these works, however, it is surprising that the cello community at large is still uncertain about various pitches and rhythms, let alone the contentious articulation of the Bach Suites. To put it bluntly: whichever edition we use, we are inevitably playing wrong notes in the Suites – although we may not always know which ones. This naturally leads to the question of whether it is possible at all to establish what the correct musical text of the Suites is. The diverse range of the editions (apart from the facsimile prints) suggests that this is not simple, in which case, what possible paths can future editors follow to improve the situation?

My examination of the sources suggests that Kellner's copy should be regarded as the most authentic surviving representation of the lost autograph – notwithstanding its undeniable copying errors. Accordingly, the longstanding scholarly opinion proposing Source A, Anna Magdalena Bach's copy, to be the most reliable copy, has to be revisited. The traditional argument liberally mixes the evidence of her domestic situation (that she was Bach's wife, looking after their household and many children, who found the time and energy to make

copies of her husband's compositions) with a professional premise (that just because they lived under the same roof, she *must* have had Johann Sebastian's counsel and supervision). It is based on an assumption which may have been true on some other occasions; indeed, there are examples showing that Johann Sebastian and Anna Magdalena worked together on a score.¹ However, crucially, this was clearly not the case with the Cello Suites, where missing notes, wayward slurs and other copying errors remained uncorrected in Anna Magdalena's copy. Nonetheless, later editors have generally agreed on the primacy of Anna Magdalena's copy.² Source B has been seldom taken into account, and its importance as a possible equal or even superior to Source A has never been considered.

It has to be emphasised that there are numerous copying errors in all the four manuscript copies; therefore, the reason why later editors have overwhelmingly chosen Source A as their model seems to have more to do with Anna Magdalena's relationship with Johann Sebastian rather than with the dependability of her copy. It is curious that despite the absence of evidence, editors have repeatedly referred to Source A as 'the most faithful copy of a Bach autograph'.³ Kellner's influence remains mostly unacknowledged in the editorial prefaces, even if his alternative readings have been taken over on many occasions by Dotzauer (1824), who in turn, was one of the cited sources for Dörffel's influential BGA edition (1879). Later editors who modelled their work either on Dotzauer or Dörffel, may have therefore disseminated some of Kellner's alternative readings without even being aware that they were doing so. On the other hand, as the detailed case studies in Chapters 5-8 testify, many of the weaknesses in individual editions and discrepancies between them can be explained by the editors trying to make the best of Anna Magdalena's ambiguous notation.

Every one of these case studies represents a unique editorial approach: they show how scholarly editions deal with the problems of Source A, how performing editors imagined the Suites could be best conveyed to their contemporaneous audiences, and how others again expressed their personal agendas when approaching the score with a romantic, or analytical,

¹ See, for example: J. S. Bach, ed: Schulze, H-J, "Sonate G-Dur für Violine und Basso continuo (BWV 1021); Präludium Cis-Dur (BWV 848/1) - facsimile," (Frankfurt & Leipzig: C.F. Peters; Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 5.

² This consensus may have been guided by Dörffel's easy to misunderstand comment from 1879 regarding the '*Originalvorlage*', see Chapter 3, footnote 8.

³ J. S. Bach, ed: Schweiker, Hans-Christian, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo (BWV 1007-1012)," (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 2001), Vorwort.

or even modernist mindset. The examination of the case studies allows us to learn about cultural pressures and editorial standards at different times and places, and how these factors result in contrasting editorial objectives and approaches. When we compare and contrast these objectives, we can learn more about the cultural contexts of these editions and, importantly, about the performance practices of the time.

The influence of Anna Magdalena's copy is all-pervading, even if not always immediately acknowledged in editions; it is, however, specifically identified in editions that were prepared with scholarly care. The examination of the case studies of three critical editions and of several of the closely related edited replicas of an original source shows that even when editors openly disclose their editorial methodology, in practice they usually deviate from it in various ways. It appears that depending on several factors, among them commercial considerations, the publishers' recommendations, and the individual editors' background and editorial concepts, different editors (scholars and performers) have formed different opinions regarding what a critical edition is and thus what it should achieve. Notwithstanding the fact that there is a considerable overlap between the resultant individual definitions, the lack of a generally accepted definition of such a fundamental category creates a unique situation which was well worth investigating, particularly as all other categories of Cello Suites editions are determined with reasonable clarity.

There was thus a compelling argument to re-visit the pre-existing editorial principles as listed by Feder, Grier and others as they apply to the Suites, and I have proposed to set up four conditions that modern editions would need to meet in order to qualify as 'critical' – even if the editors obviously could not have known about or agreed to fulfil them. It is worth stating them again here:

- #1. A modern critical edition will consider all of the reasonably available primary sources.
- #2. If the edition is based on more than one source, a principal source may be identified and any changes derived from the other source(s) have to be clearly marked.
- #3. Based on a critical examination of the source(s), such an edition might suggest variants or other emendations; however, it would clearly differentiate between

editorial additions and what the editor considers to be the original of the primary source.

#4. Such an edition will provide a critical commentary.

These conditions help to establish a particular type of scholarly rigour and set a potential benchmark. The examination of the editions of the Suites that appear to be critical shows that several of them do not consider Sources B, C and D (breach of Condition #1); or, when they do, they take over alternatives from Source B without disclosing these changes (breach of Condition #2); or, most commonly, that they fail to distinguish between their suggestions and the chosen source (in contravention of Condition #3). Reassuringly, all of these editors provide some kind of commentary (complying with Condition #4), but even this can be problematic when, for example, all of the arguments put forward in a commentary are founded on the erroneous assumption that Anna Magdalena's copy is, in fact, the authorial manuscript (Stogorsky).

The four conditions have been introduced in this thesis to create clarity and help our understanding of how textual criticism of the sources of the Suites does, or could, or indeed, should work. At the same time, the application of this set of conditions also raises two inherent questions. Firstly, how is one to classify the commonly occurring problem of an edition which appears to be critical but fails to meet some of the conditions; and secondly, would rigorous fulfilment of the conditions necessarily achieve the optimal result and produce the 'ideal' edition?

The conditions are not exceedingly strict and they seem to comply with scholarly expectations in general. Yet, when those editions of the Suites that in their methodology appear to be critical are examined, surprisingly few of them pass all four conditions. As the analyses of the case studies have indicated, the most common problem seems to be the lack of consistent distinction between the editorial amendments and the original source(s). Among the rare exceptions are the editions of Rubardt (1965), Leisinger (2000) and Voss (2000); they reflect the intention of clear marking, but even these editions are inconsistent at times regarding the alterations they disclose and how they go about it.

This leads to a conundrum: as was mentioned during the analysis of the Beißwenger edition in Chapter 5, in many cases when the editor deviated from her own editorial principles, her

text criticism produced an inconsistent but overall better and more playable version. Had she been fully consistent in following Anna Magdalena's copy (as she professed to do), a reliable critical edition of the Suites would have been created, yet the practical value of her work would have been diminished considerably.

Even the most rigorous critical edition can be only as dependable as its sources. This highlights one of the most important issues in the edition history of the Suites: as long as an edition is based primarily on Source A, it cannot be anything else but a critical edition of Anna Magdalena's defective copy of the Suites – an essential, if seldom mentioned, caveat.

Naturally, the same objection would apply to any critical editions based on Source B, C, D or E; however, if Kellner's model was indeed a better quality autograph, then the consequences are significant. We have to consider Source B as the principal source, because an edition based on that copy might result in a reading which is closer to what Bach had intended. Kellner's copying errors have to be checked and corrected with the help of the other three sources, in much the same way as the errors of Source A have been amended in the past. There will inevitably be discrepancies which cannot be definitively resolved and for that reason a new methodology has to be considered for the future; nonetheless, I contend that selecting Kellner's copy rather than Anna Magdalena's manuscript as the principal source would offer a more dependable default version for future editions.

Historical evidence suggests that the alternative is to repeat the efforts of the past with minor differences. As long as the nearly universal consensus is that Anna Magdalena's 'musical text most likely reproduces the readings of the autograph quite faithfully',⁴ new editions cannot be more than variations on any number of earlier ones. It has to be remembered that the pitches and rhythms in Source A differ from one or more of the other original sources in over two hundred cases,⁵ therefore the designation 'quite faithful' has to be regarded with some caution. It is even more important to step beyond the much-debated issue of 'who made the most mistakes?' The crucial question is not whether Anna Magdalena's copy is the most

⁴ The original German text is probably a lot closer to what the editor wanted to express: '*Abgesehen von einigen Kopierfehlern ... dürfte der Notentext die Lesarten des Autographs getreu wiedergeben.*' J. S. Bach, ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten, "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012," (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000), 65, 77.

⁵ To put this number into perspective, it is higher than the number of divergences of Source C and D, but somewhat less than Source B.

faithful to its exemplar (which, incidentally, it probably is not), but whether it is possible that Kellner's model was a better quality autograph (it probably was). Re-reading the edition history in the light of the unfounded reliance on the primacy of Anna Magdalena's copy provides a new basis for evaluating all of the different editions, irrespective of their varied intentions and purposes. This in turn provides the foundation for future editorial decisions, suggesting new methodologies to most usefully present the Suites to cellists and scholars.

The path towards critical editions of the future

The re-evaluation of Kellner's script is an essential and overdue step towards a better understanding of the stemma of the ancestry of the Bach Suites. While it might be tempting to simply base future editions on Source B, such an attempt would in itself fall into many of the same traps as an edition following the exclusive guidance of Anna Magdalena's copy. The examination of the surviving sources of the Suites shows that although all of them contribute individually in significant ways to our better perception and reading of the Suites, none of them are fully reliable. Notating the copying mistakes has traditionally been a contentious issue in relation to the critical editions. A reasonable argument against marking every single deviation from the chosen sources could be that it would make the commentary overly long and convoluted.⁶ While future – traditional – editions could improve significantly in the clarity and ease of use of their critical apparatus, marking every single variant would almost inevitably become cumbersome. The developments in digital technology over the last few decades point towards fundamentally new possibilities to gather, analyse and disseminate information. Similar to other disciplines, scholarly editing will also be transformed by these new methods. Therefore, when examining such a complex set of sources as that of the Suites, the new technology offers more practical solutions and firmly points to a future of customisable digital editions. Similar ideas have been suggested already at the dawn of these disciplinary transformations; for example, Yo Tomita proposed a text-critical database of the second volume of the Well-Tempered Clavier in 2002. There have also been several projects

⁶ This is one of the reasons why this thesis focused on the discrepancies of the primary parameters and largely avoided discussing questions of articulations which seem to be of lesser importance.

experimenting with similar ideas from the Online Chopin Variorum Edition to Bärenreiter's Study Score Reader App and recently, the arrival of the Henle Library app.⁷

Given the complex genealogy of the Bach Suites, there is a need for a specific and technologically advanced tool to assist readers in making informed decisions about alternative versions in the digital age. This electronic score would encompass the divergences of the existing sources and possibly those of select editions as well (pending copyright rules), while showing merely an unmarked score to start with. From the evidence of the early chapters of this thesis it seems to be apparent that this digital edition should be based on a critically revised version of Source B, with corrections based on the other manuscript copies. Since, as established before, no single reading can be definitive, this digital edition has the capacity to show all of the alternative readings. The divergent pitches and rhythms of the various sources would be transparently overlaid, thus visible only on demand. The alternatives could be colour coded and so easily recognisable, to be identified, for example, by hovering the mouse over the marker and used by drop-down menus. The reader could select any of the alternatives, thus creating a unique score, suitable to their own needs, yet collated from authentic sources. Depending on the reader's preferences, these alternatives could still adhere primarily to any one source, or could be chosen from all the available models. This level of customisation would place hitherto unexplored responsibilities on the user who would effectively become the editor, while being assisted with evidence-based guidelines from the critical commentary. The database identifying the over seven hundred discrepancies between the four manuscript sources and the first edition could be part of the critical apparatus, helping further informed choices.

Such a digital score would provide an informed, yet individually edited reading. When successful, it would be flexible and could be updated with immediate effect as new emendations become necessary. As a significant bonus, such electronic editions could be tailored to a whole range of expectations. They would also be much cheaper to produce and purchase, in addition to mitigating the environmental impacts of printing, storage and delivery.

⁷ Other examples include the Caron Website or WLSCM produced by the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music.

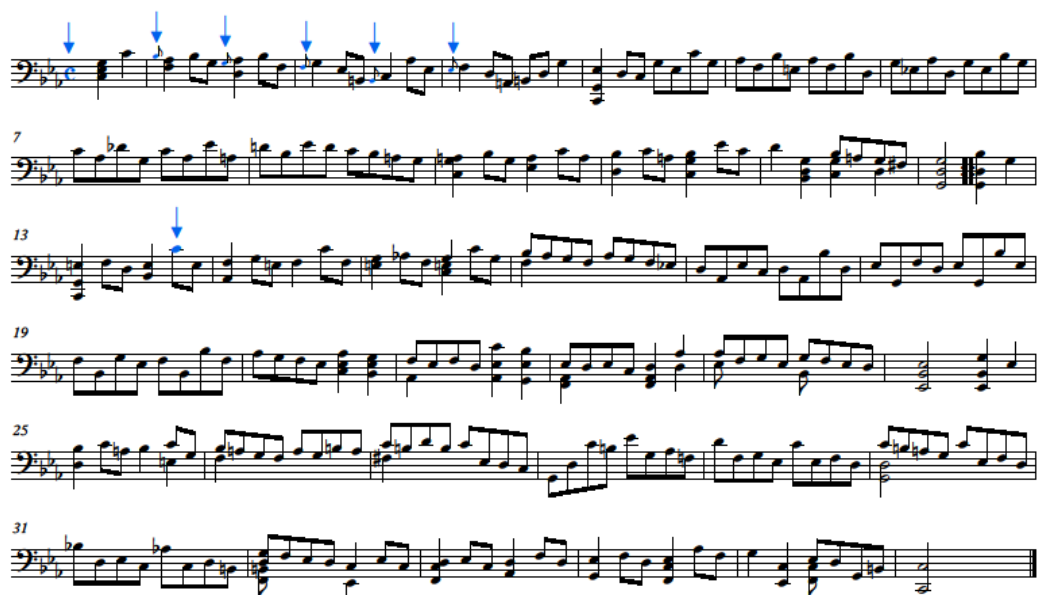
A digital edition could easily demonstrate the discrepancies between the primary sources and make the choice between the alternatives easy and well-informed. Figure 9.1 is not an image taken from the perceived digital version, but a simulation of one single movement (chosen because of the numerous and colourful alternatives within the four manuscript sources and the first edition) demonstrating the numerous discrepancies between the readings of the five primary sources, including the first edition, overlaid onto an unmarked 'default' version.⁸ Blue arrows show where Sources C and D (mostly in agreement) offer alternatives. On the second example, Kellner's unique readings are added in green; on the third, those of Anna Magdalena in red, while on the last one several more unique changes are shown derived from the first edition.

⁸ Kurth's (1921) unmarked edition was used as the default version.

Figure 9.1: C minor Suite, Gavotte I (without scordatura) in a blank score with the textual alternatives of Sources C & D and B and A and E

1) Sources C & D combined

C Minor Suite BWV 1011 Gavotte I (without scordatura)



2) Sources C & D and B combined

C Minor Suite BWV 1011 Gavotte I (without scordatura)



3) Sources C & D and B and A combined

C Minor Suite BWV 1011 Gavotte I (without scordatura)

Musical score for C Minor Suite BWV 1011 Gavotte I (without scordatura). The score is written in bass clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The piece consists of 31 measures. Fingerings are indicated by colored arrows: blue for Source C, red for Source D, and green for Sources B and A combined. The score is divided into six systems, with measure numbers 7, 13, 19, 25, and 31 marked at the beginning of their respective lines. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the 31st measure.

4) Sources C & D and B and A and E combined

C Minor Suite BWV 1011 Gavotte I (without scordatura)

Musical score for C Minor Suite BWV 1011 Gavotte I (without scordatura). The score is written in bass clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The piece consists of 31 measures. Fingerings are indicated by colored arrows: blue for Source C, red for Source D, green for Sources B and A combined, and yellow for Source E. The score is divided into six systems, with measure numbers 7, 13, 19, 25, and 31 marked at the beginning of their respective lines. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the 31st measure.

The investigation of the original sources and the later editions of the Bach Cello Suites will continue, as there are still questions remaining, and perhaps there always will be. Reappraising the significance of Johann Peter Kellner's manuscript will impact on the creation of future editions. The common understanding that we have 'facsimile editions' or 'Urtext' editions of the Bach Suites suggests something which is simply not true. All such editions are faithful facsimiles or divergent 'Urtexts' of Anna Magdalena's defective copy of the Suites and never of the autograph. The large number of editions based on Source A have to be looked at in light of two problems. Firstly, their interpretation varies to a great extent as it struggles to find a meaningful interpretation of a problematic manuscript copy; and secondly, in the critical editions, the absence of a universally accepted standard means again great variation in what information is disclosed to the reader and how that is done. As the main focus of the interpretative edition is not a faithful reflection of whatever source it is based on, those editions offer a colourful range of highly individual performing or pedagogical approaches. All of these factors will continue to apply in the future and even though many of the mistakes and failings in current editions could and should be fixed on the basis of thorough scholarship, in the absence of an autograph, no one edition can be definitive. A digital edition, encapsulating the principal sources and selected later editions, could offer an educated, yet individual choice for future readers of the Suites.

Appendices

Appendix A: It presents a catalogue of the published editions of the Cello Suites from 1824 until 2016 in chronological order. It provides the year and the city of the publication, the name of the editor and the publisher and occasionally, brief comments about any particular characteristic of the edition.

Appendix B: This Appendix demonstrates the usefulness of the index of divergent notes and rhythms between the five original sources in just one of the six Suite, the E^b major Suite, BWV 1010. (The complete index will be part of a forthcoming publication.) In order to maintain clarity and to avoid clogging the index, certain inaccuracies, particularly those of the secondary parameters are not listed in this list, for example, misspelled words, missing rests at repeat signs or end of movements (resulting in an incomplete bar), varying lengths or types of appoggiaturas, chords where one note is marked shorter than the other because of a missing dot in the manuscript, notes which are accidentally written too large or otherwise corrected and which therefore could possibly be misread, divergent names of movements, divergent dynamic or tempo markings and any unclear signs of articulation and so on. In a literary study, theoretically these should be part of a catalogue listing all mistakes. However, hardly any of the above would cause confusion in reading and interpreting the musical text of the Suites. It has to be noted though, that the dividing line between a critical error and one without major consequences often appears to be blurred and, as a most vital caveat, it is undeniably subject to individual judgments.

In Appendix B, the regularly occurring ‘inst’ is an abbreviation of ‘instead’.

Appendix A: The catalogue of the editions of the Cello Suites by J. S. Bach

Editions of the Solo Cello Suites by J. S. Bach				
Year	City	Edited by	Publisher	Comment
1824	Paris	Louis-Pierre Norblin (1781-1854)	Janet et Coteille	First edition.
1825	Leipzig	none mentioned	Heinrich Probst (1791-1846)	Almost exact copy of Norblin's Janet et Coteille.
1826	Leipzig	J.J.F. Dotzauer (1783-1860)	Breitkopf & Härtel	Second new edition. Reprints in 1866, 1890, 1896 etc.
1827	St Petersburg		Richter?	Yet to be found.
1831	Leipzig		Fr. Kistner	Reprint of the Probst edition.
1853	Wiesbaden	R. Schumann, ed.: Joachim Draheim: <i>Suite 3 for Violoncello and Piano</i>	Breitkopf & Härtel	Published in 1865. Cello part very similar to Dotzauer.
1864	Leipzig	Friedrich Wilhelm Stade (1817-1902)	Gustav Heinze	Arranged with piano accompaniment in seven volumes. Volume one: all Sarabandes (1860?), then cello and the first viola transcription with the same plate numbers (G.86, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97)
1866	Leipzig	Fr. Grützmacher (1832-1903)	Edition Peters	Konzert Fassung. D major Suite is transposed to G
1871	Hamburg	Carl Grädener	Hugo Pohl	In two volumes, arranged with piano accompaniment.
1871	Leipzig	Friedrich Wilhelm Stade (1817-1902)	Edition Peters	1864 edition revised.
1879	Leipzig	Alfred Dörfel (1821-1905)	Breitkopf & Härtel	Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe, Band 27.1, reprinted in 1988 by Dover.
c1880		Anonymous, unidentified.		
c1885	Leipzig & Berlin	Fr. Grützmacher (1832-1903)	Edition Peters	Probably the one Casals found in 1890 in Barcelona.
1888	Leipzig	Alwin Schröder (1855-1928)	Fr. Kistner (& Siegel)	
c1890	Leipzig	Hugo Becker (1863-1941)	C.F. Peters	
1897	Berlin	Norbert Salter (1868 - 1935)	Simrock	
1898	Leipzig	Robert Hausmann (1852-1909)	Steingraber Verlag	Revised by Walter Schulz in 1935.
1900	Leipzig	Julius Klengel (1859-1933)	Breitkopf & Härtel	In six volumes.
1900	Paris	Jules-Léopold Loëb (1852 - 1933)	Costallat	"Six Suites pour violoncelle ou trombone".
1907?	Vienna	Wilhelm Jeral (1861-1935)	Universal	Same plate number as van Lier (1541).
1907	Vienna	Jacques van Lier (1875-1951)	Universal	Same plate number as Jeral (1541).
1914	Petrograd, Moscow	Evgeni Malmgren (Ereknia Marhmpren)	Jurgenson (П. Юргенсон)	Almost verbatim copy of Becker's edition.
1918	New York	Joseph Maitkin (1879-1969)	Carl Fischer 1841	
1918	Paris	Fernand Pollain (1879-41.1955)	A. Durand & Fils	
1918	Milano	Giuseppe Magrini	Ricordi	Based on Dotzauer's edition, acknowledging his name.
1919	London	Percy Such	Augener	
1920	Paris	Cornelis Liégeois	Lemoine	
1920	Paris	Paul Bazelaire (1886-1958)	Eschig	
1921	München	Ernst Kurth (1886-1946)	Drei Masken	
1923	Milano	Luigi Forino (1868 – 1936)	Ricordi	First unmarked edition.
1929	Paris	Drian Alexanian (1881-1954)	Salabert	First analytical edition, with facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1935	Leipzig	Robert Hausmann (1852-1909)	Steingraber Verlag	Revised by Walter Schulz.
1939	New York	Frits Gaillard (1875-?)	Schirmer	


Appendix A: The catalogue of the editions of the Cello Suites by J. S. Bach (cont.)

Editions of the Solo Cello Suites by J. S. Bach				
Year	City	Edited by	Publisher	Comment
1941	Mainz	Enrico Mainardi (1897 – 1976)	Schott Musik	
1944	Wien	Paul Grümmer (1879-1965), E. H. Müller von Asow	Doblinger	With facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1947	Moscow	Semion Kosolupov	Muzgiz	
1950	Kassel	August Wenzinger (1905-1996)	Bärenreiter	First critical edition since Dörfel's BGA edition.
1950	München/Basel	Richard Sturzenegger (1905 - 1976), volume I.	Reinhardt	Suites I-III.
1950	London	Verkleinerte Facsimile-Ausgabe nach der Handschrift von Anna Magdalena Bach (1701-60)		same as Edition Reinhardt (1950), small size copy of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1950	Basel/München	Verkleinerte Facsimile-Ausgabe nach der Handschrift von Anna Magdalena Bach (1701-60)	Edition Reinhardt	same as Edition Peters (1950), small size copy of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1954	Milano	Gino Francesconi	Suvini Zerboni	
1956	Leipzig	Walter Schulz	Pro Musica	
1957	Moscow	Alexander Stogorsky, brother of Piatigorsky	Muzgiz	With facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1957	München/Basel	Richard Sturzenegger, volume II.	Reinhardt	Suites IV-VI.
1958	Cracow	Kazimierz Witkowski (1900-1995)	PWM	With facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1963	New York	Lieff and Marie Rosanoff	Galaxy	
1964	Bryn Mawr, PA	Dimitry Markevitch (1923-2002)	Presser	Four times reprinted, all with different Prefaces.
1965	Leipzig	Paul Rubardt (1892-1971)	Peters	Utrecht edition.
1966	London, New York	Paul Tortelier (1914-1990)	Augener	
1966	Mainz	Enrico Mainardi	Schott Musik	Revised version of the 1941 edition.
1968	Milano	Giuseppe Selmi	Carisch	Introduction and extensive preface in Italian. Includes detailed discussion of each suite.
1970	Hackensack, NJ	Daniel Vandersall	Vandersall (Boonin)	Unmarked edition.
1971	New York	Starker Janos (1824-2013)	Peer International	Revised in 1988.
1971	Kiev	Vladimir Sergeyevich Tcherov (1930-2011)	Muzicna Ukraïna	Only 1400 copies printed.
1972	New York	Pierre Fournier (1906-1986)	International Music Co	Revised in 1983.
1972	Salt Lake City	David B Freed	Campus Editions	"Bach is love : the six suites for violoncello solo"
1974	Zagreb, Croatia	Milan Nagy	Prosvjetni Sabor Hrvatske (PSH)	
1974	Pittsburg	Eugen Eicher	Volkwein	
1975	Neptune, NJ	Maurice Eisenberg, Michael Masters (preface by P. Casals)	Paganiniana	With facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1976	Bucharest	George Iarosevici		
1977	Cracow	Kazimierz Witkowski	Polonius Sheet Music (PWM PU 140)	Litografia Conservatorului "Ciprian Porumbescu". Revised edition with facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
1979	London	George Pratt & Bernard Gregor-Smith	Stainer & Bell	
1981	Copenhagen	Jacqueline du Pré (1945-1987)	Wilhelm Hansen	
1982	Mainz, Tokyo	Maurice Gendron (1920-1990)	Zen-On, Schott Musik	
1984	New York	Edmund Kurtz	International Music Co.	Facsimile and modern transcriptions parallel on opposite pages.
1984	Paris	Marcel Bitsch, Klaus Heitz	Alphonse Leduc (AL27099)	In three volumes, "présentation strophique".
1985	Milano	Bruno Vitalli	Curci	
1986	Ann Arbor, MI	Madelaine Foley, David Soyser	Continental Publishing	"Edited by Pablo Casals".

Appendix A: The catalogue of the editions of the Cello Suites by J. S. Bach (cont.)

Editions of the Solo Cello Suites by J. S. Bach				Comment
Year	City	Edited by	Publisher	
1987	Milano	Rocco Filippini	Casa Ricordi - BMG	
1987	Padova	Giambattista Valdettaro	Giulietto Zanibon	
1988	Amsterdam	Anner Bylsma	Bylsma's Fencing Mail	Suites I-III only
1988	Kassel, New York	Hans Eppstein	Neue Ausgabe Sämtliche Werke, Bärenreiter NBA VI/2	Includes two versions: the first edited from the Anna Magdalena Bach/Johann Peter Kellner copy, the second from two anonymous manuscript copies from the second half of the 18th century.
1988	Kassel, New York	Hans Eppstein	Neue Ausgabe Sämtliche Werke, Bärenreiter	The four manuscript sources in one volume.
1988	New York	Alfred Dörfel, Daniel Vandershall	Dover	Reprint of the 1878 BGA edition; C minor and D major Suites edited by Daniel Vandershall.
1990	Paris	Michel Tournus	Gerald Billaudot (UMP7713)	In two volumes.
1993	Budapest	Banda Ede	Editio Musica Budapest	
1996	Atlanta, Ga	Barbara Mueser & Martha Gershetski	Chez harmonique	Inspired by & dedicated to the memory of Luigi Silva ¹ .
1997	Adliswil, Switzerland	Werner Thoms-Mifune	Kunzelmann Edition	In six volumes.
1997	Siegburg	Werner Icking	Werner Icking	
1998		Richard Anastasio, 1916-	[S.I.] : R. Anastasio	In six volumes.
1999		Mischka Maisky	DGG + Schott	CD + music
2000	Wien	Ulrich Leisinger	Wiener Urtext	With separate volume of commentary.
2000	Leipzig	Beißwenger, Kirsten (foreword by Jaap ter Linden)	Breitkopf & Härtel	With facsimile of Anna Magdalena's copy.
2000	Kassel, New York	Bettina Schwemer, Douglas Woodfull-Harris	Bärenreiter	Seven volumes, including facsimile of the four manuscript copies and the first edition, detailed text volume and an unmarked edition.
2000		Blöndal Erling Bengtsson	Internet only	Pay by page online edition.
2000	München	Egon Voss (Reiner Ginzel)	G Henle Verlag	Two versions included.
2000			Ko's Music edition	
2000, 2006			Novato Music Press	Download only.
2001	Chicago	Andrei Pricope (Romania)	Amati Music - MyEdition	Unmarked edition.
2001	Berlin	Hans-Christian Schweiker	Ries & Erler Verlag	
2004	Stuttgart	Rudolf von Tobel	Carus	Two volumes with detailed commentary according to Casals's interpretation.
2005	Buxhall, Suffolk, UK	Tim Hugh Performing Edition	Kevin Mayhew Ltd MAY3611866	
2005	USA	John Kaborff		"Based on adapted from the original score and notations from William Pleeth".
2009	New Jersey	Mark Schuster	Performer's edition (PE)	
2009	Greensboro	David Starkweather	Latham Music Enterprises	
2010?	Möckmühl	Hartwig Röhm, Adele Völker	Atelier-Editionen Röhm	D major Suite transposed to G Major
2009	Milano	Enrico Dindo	Carisch	
2013		Shin-Itchiro Yokoyama	Yokoyama Shin-Itchiro's Sheet Music Library	
2014	Florida, USA	Zuili Bailey	Ludwig Masters	

Appendix B: Index of divergent notes and rhythms between the five original sources in BWV 1010



Movement	Bar/beat	Note	A. M. (A)	Kellner (B)	Westphal (C)	Traeg (D)	Norblin (E)
E^b major Suite BWV 1010							
<i>Prélude</i>			cut time	cut time	common time	common time	common time
	6.3	6		2 notes (A ^b , C)			
	9.1						F inst G
	10.2	3				D inst E ^b	
	11.3	7				F inst G	
	16.1, 3	2,6	D ^b	D	D ^b	D ^b	D ^b
	23.3	5					F inst G
	31.2	4	B ^b inst A				
	32.2	4		F inst E ^b			
	34	3,5,6,7					A ^b , F, A ^b , C inst G, G, B ^b , D
	40.4	8	A ^b inst G				
	49.2	2					½ rest missing
	50.1	2	A ^b	A ^b	A ^b	A ^b	A ^b
	50.3-4	12,14,16					A ^b
	53.4	8		A ^b inst A			
	58.4	15,16		G, F [#] inst F [#] , E			
	59.1	1	C in tenor	A ^b in tenor	C in tenor	C in tenor	A ^b in tenor (A [?])
	60.1	1	D inst B ^b in tenor	B ^b in tenor	D inst B ^b in tenor	D inst B ^b in tenor	B ^b in tenor
	60.1	2					E ^b inst C
	64.2	7			F inst G		
	70	1-5					
	71.2	4		A inst A ^b			
	75.1	2	C inst C ^b				
	77.2	7				G inst G ^b	
	77.3	10		B ^b inst C			
	80.3-4	6,8,					B ^{2b} inst B ^b
	81.3	9			tr	tr	tr
	82.1	1	C inst E ^b				
	90.1	1					no tr

Appendix B: Index of divergent notes and rhythms between the five original sources in BWV 1010 (cont.)

Movement	Bar/beat	Note	A. M. (A)	Kellner (B)	Westphal (C)	Traeg (D)	Norblin (E)
<i>Allemande</i>							
	2.4	13-14	cut time tr on B ^b	cut time no tr	common time tr on A ^b	common time tr on A ^b	cut time tr on A ^b
	6.3	9					tie missing
	8.3	10-11		A ^b , B inst A, B ^b			tie missing
	12.3	9-10					tie missing
	20.2	5-9		extra note (A), changed			
	21.2	8					E ^b inst E
	22.3	5-6		tie missing			
	23.3	9, 11					A inst A ^b
	24.2	7					A inst A ^b
	30.2	14	G inst F				
	39.2	11-12		tie missing			
	40.1	4	D or F				
<i>Courante</i>	1.1	2			C inst B ^b		
	2.3	9		A ^b inst A			
	2.1, 4.1	1			appog	appog	appog
	3.3	6	B inst A				
	4.2	3	no tr				
	4.2-3	2-4	triplet				
	9.2			F inst G			
	10.1	1		tr	appog	appog	appog
	12.1	1		tr			
	11.1	1		A ^b inst A			
	18.1 (see	1	no tr	tr	tr	no tr	
	25.2	3		tr			
	30.2	4		A ^b inst A			
	32.1	2				B ^b inst A ^b	A inst A ^b
	33.3	6					A inst A ^b
	34.3	6	D	D ^b	D ^b	D ^b	D ^b
	35.2	2		A ^b inst B ^b			
	47-48						different notes
	53.3	8	B ^b inst A ^b				
	55.2-3	4-5			A, B inst G ^b , A		no tr
	56.1 (see						
	59.2	3		tr	tr	tr	
	63.2	3	no tr	tr	no tr	no tr	no tr
	63.3			F inst E ^b			

Appendix B: Index of divergent notes and rhythms between the five original sources in BWV

1010 (cont.)

Movement	Bar/beat	Note	A. M. (A)	Kellner (B)	Westphal (C)	Traeg (D)	Norblin (E)
<i>Sarabande</i>	1.2; 3.2;	2		tr	tr	turn (gruppetto)	
	2.2; 4.2;	3			appog	appog	appog
	8.2	2		tr			
	10.1						E ^b inst D
	11.3	6			appog	appog	appog
	15.1	1		B ^b inst C			
	17.1-3	1,2,3			appog	appog	appog
	19.2	3	no tr				
	22.2	4	A ^b inst F				E ^b missing A ^b inst G
	23.1	1					
	26.1	2					
	28.2	6	A ^b inst G				
	28.1-2	3,5					C,C inst B ^b , B ^b
	30.1	1		A ^b inst F			
<i>Bourrée I</i>			cut time	cut time	cut time	common time	common time
	6.2	3,4				G,F inst F, E ^b	
	38.3-4	6-10					F,E ^b ,D,C,B ^b inst E ^b ,D,C,B ^b ,E ^b
	42.1, 43.1	1-3		 inst 			
<i>Bourrée II</i>			common time	cut time	common time	common time	common time
	5.2-3,9.2-3	2-3				tie missing	
<i>Gigue</i>	13.4	12				B ^b inst D	
	15.3						E ^b inst F
	17.2	6		F inst G			
	19.3	9		D inst C			
	20.3	9					F inst F [#]
	24.1	1		B inst A			
	25.3	7,9			F [#] , D inst D, E	F [#] , D inst D, E	F [#] , D inst D, E
	35.4	12				E ^b inst D ^b	E ^b inst D ^b
	36.2	6		A ^b inst G			
	42.2	5	A ^b inst G				

Sources of Score Examples Used in the Figures

(A complete catalogue of the published solo cello editions of the Suites is provided in Appendix A)

Primary sources of the Cello Suites:

Source A: *6 | Suites a | Violoncello Solo. | Senza Basso. | composée | par | Sr. J. S. Bach. | Maître de la Chapelle* - SBB-PK, Signatur: Mus. ms. Bach P 26, copied by Anna Magdalena Bach

Source B: *Sechs Suonaten / Pour le Viola de Basso. / par Jean Sebastian Bach: // pos. / Johann Peter Kellner* - SBB-PK, Signatur: Mus. ms. Bach P 804, copied by Johann Peter Kellner

Source C: *Suiten und Preluden / für das Violoncello / von / Joh. Seb. Bach* – SBB-PK, Signatur: Mus. D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 289, Faszikel 10, copied by 'Anonymous 402', whose name was identified by recent research as Schober.

Source D: *6. Suite. / a / Violoncello Solo / Del Sigl: Joh: Bach* – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna ('Stammhandschrift' A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5007 – copied by 'Kopist Traeg-Bach 34'.

Source E: *Six | SONATES | ou Etudes | Pour le Violoncelle Solo | Composées | par | J. SEBASTIEN BACH. | Œuvre Posthume. | Prix 12.f | a Paris, | Chez Janet et Cotelie* - first edition. Single known copy kept in Stockholm, Statens Musikbibliotek.

Editions of the Cello Suites (in alphabetical order of the editor):

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- Bach, J. S., ed: Banda, Ede. "Six suites for solo violoncello BWV 1007-1012." Budapest: Editio Musica, 1993.
- Bach, J. S., ed: Becker, Hugo. "Sechs Suiten (Sonaten) für Violoncello Solo BWV 1007-1012." Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1890.
- Bach, J. S., ed: Beißwenger, Kirsten. "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo, BWV 1007-1012." Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000.
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- Bach, J. S., ed: Dotzauer, J. J. Friedrich. "Sechs Sonaten für Violoncell." Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1826.
- Bach, J. S., ed: du Pré, Jacqueline. "Suites, violoncello, BWV 1007-1012." edited by Jacqueline du Pré. Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1981.
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- Bach, J. S., ed: Grümmer, Paul. "Sechs Suiten für Violoncello allein, BWV 1007-1012." edited by Müller von Asow Paul Grümmer, Erich Hermann. Wien: Doblinger, 1944.
- Bach, J. S., ed: Günter Hausswald, Rudolf Gerber. "Drei Sonaten und drei Partiten für Violine allein, BWV 1001-1006." Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 1958.
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- Bach, J. S., ed: Markevitch, Dimitry (3rd edition). "Six suites for solo cello, BWV 1007-1012." Bryn Mawr, Pa., 19010, USA: Presser, 1985.
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