

## The Context of the Tromba in F in J.S. Bach's Second Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1047

Bryan Proksch

The quantity, quality, and difficulty of J. S. Bach's trumpet parts are well known, as are the wide variety of trumpets for which he wrote. Indeed, Bach's multifaceted approaches to the instrument have been discussed at length by performers and scholars alike.<sup>1</sup> Bach's brass-instrument terminology has likewise been examined in minute detail, often in ways that highlight discrepancies between practical performance issues and historical accuracy. The notion that Bach's *tromba*, *tromba da caccia*, and *clarino* were different instruments, while appealing at first glance, can be problematic for practical performance purposes and a difficult quandary for historians.

Few works by Bach present the daunting problems of his Second Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1047 (1721). The difficulty of the trumpet part, rooted in no small part in his use of the unusual high-pitched *tromba* in F, has presented performers with a seemingly irresistible temptation to replace Bach's trumpet with a horn almost from the time of the composer's death. A set of mid eighteenth-century parts copied by Christian Friedrich Penzel compromised by allowing for the substitution of horn (*Tromba, ô vero Corne da Caccia*).<sup>2</sup> Some two hundred years later Thurston Dart similarly allowed that "horns and trumpets are more or less interchangeable" in eighteenth-century music because they were "luxuries" used as they were available.<sup>3</sup> The positions of Penzel and Dart are understandable given that it was only in 2009 that the first recording of the piece using an unvented natural trumpet appeared, and even then with an ensemble that had recorded the piece using a horn a decade earlier.<sup>4</sup>

Historians have supported the plausibility of brass substitutions in Bach's music generally, arguing that Bach more often than not was careless with his instrument names and simply intended "generic brass sounds," the specific name notwithstanding.<sup>5</sup> Christoph Wolff puts it most diplomatically in *New Grove*: "Bach did not always define instruments unambiguously." Naturally Bach knew which instruments he wanted, but unfortunately it is often difficult to discern his intentions with certainty. Nevertheless, the idea that Bach conflated his instruments generically has gained increasing acceptance, most recently in the work of Beverly Jerold, who argued that Bach was essentially ambivalent towards specific instrumentation.<sup>6</sup> That is, *tromba* might mean *corno* or vice versa, depending on the performer's skills, preference, and the key of the work to be performed. While this argument makes sense of the varied adjectives Bach uses to describe his brass instruments from work to work, it is not without its own problems, one of which is the attention to detail Bach shows in other aspects of his notation. Could Bach, an organist dealing with the subtleties of timbre on a regular basis, really have cared so little as to write horn when he meant trumpet? This indifference cannot be reconciled with others of his works



### The Trumpet in F and its Employment in Baroque Germany

There are few if any works by Bach for which the question of instrumentation is more crucial or more complex than the Second Brandenburg Concerto. Bach's manuscript clearly calls for *tromba* twice on the first page (once in the title and once next to the top staff) and a third time at the opening of the finale (see Example 1). This is where the simplicity of the work ends. The most significant complexities of the piece are that it is Bach's only work for the trumpet in F, that the instrument was rarely used in such a high key (especially as early as ca. 1720), and that it requires an unprecedented level of virtuosity both in range and endurance from the trumpeter. In sum, Bach's stipulation of *tromba* is awkward, problematic, and potentially inaccurate or mistaken.

The first step in determining the accuracy of Bach's designation is to assess the world of the F trumpet apart from BWV 1047. The majority of Bach's works for trumpet, like those of his contemporaries, use instruments in C and D, with occasional exceptions, such as B $\flat$  and one instance of a trumpet in G (BWV 75). This is not to say that the F trumpet did not exist: a number of compositions by Georg Philipp Telemann use it as do scattered works by lesser-known composers. A detailed list of known works for the Baroque-era F trumpet is provided in Table 1.<sup>7</sup>

Composer	Title	Year	Designation	Notes
Wilderer, J. H.	Opera: <i>Giocasta</i>	1696	Tromba alla quarta	Used in one aria; performed in Düsseldorf
Erlebach, P.H.	"Overt... ex F-Dur con Tromp. piccolo	Before 1714	Tromp. piccolo	Associated with Rudolstadt; Not extant except for a catalog entry of 1735;
Telemann, G. P.	Cantata: <i>Nun komm der Heiden Heiland</i> , TWV 1:1175	1714 or 1721	Clarino piccolo o Corno	Rettelbach states 1714, Grove and Cron date to 1721. Range to the 13 <sup>th</sup> partial.
Telemann, G. P.	Serenata: <i>Deutschland grünt und blüht im Frieden</i> TWV 12:1c	1716	Clarino piccolo	Includes up to three trumpets and three horns in both D and F. Perf. in Frankfurt; libretto from Darmstadt; range to the 13 <sup>th</sup> partial.
Bach, J. Seb.	Brandenburg Concerto no. 2, BWV 1047	1721	Tromba	Penzel's ca. 1755 score reads "Tromba" but his parts call for "Tromba ó vero Corne da Caccia."
Bach, J. Ludwig	Cantata: <i>Ich will meinen Geist in euch geben</i> , JLB 7	1726	Clarini piccoli ó Corni di Silva	J. S. Bach's score and performance parts refer only to horn.

Stölzel, G. H.	Six cantatas and two serenatas	1728-29	[unknown]	In tief Cammerton (i.e. played on a trumpet in D); continuo parts are consistently in D
Telemann, G. P.	Cantata: <i>Triumph! Denn mein Erlöser lebt</i> , TWV 1:1421	1724; likely after 1730	F-Trompetta	The trumpet parts are a later addition made by König, probably after 1730; range to the 13 <sup>th</sup> partial; includes separate horn parts in F.
Telemann, G. P.	Kapitänsmusiken of 1728	1728	Tromba piccola	Grove states as for trumpet/horn without justification for the horn.
Telemann, G. P.	Concerto Grosso TWV 51:F4	after 1740	tromba di caccia, tromba, tromba di caccia ò tromba ordinaria piccola	Undated, Rettelbach: "after 1740."
Telemann, G. P.	Cantata: <i>Gute Nacht, vergangnes Jahr</i> , TWV 1:704	after 1740	Trompetta ex F	Listed only in Cron; specific pitch of trumpets unknown.
Telemann, G. P.	Kapitänsmusiken of 1742	1742	Tromba	Listed only in Cron; specific pitch of trumpets unknown
Graupner, C.	Sinfonia in F, GWV 565	ca. 1746/47	Clarinen (two)	Associated with Darmstadt
Endler, J. S.	Sinfonia in F, no. 1 (F1)	1748	Clarino (two)	Associated with Darmstadt
Endler, J. S.	Sinfonia in F, no. 2 (F2)	1749	Clarino	Prominent solo in No. 1/iv; ascends to 16 <sup>th</sup> partial frequently
Telemann, G. P.	Cantatas: TWV 1:104, 109, 559, 704, 791, 822, 905, 1144; TWV 11:31; <i>Die Tageszeiten</i> , TWV 20:39; Kapitänsmusiken: TWV 15:23-25; Psalm: TWV 7:14	Each after 1750 or undated	kurze Trompete, Clarino piccolo, Trompetta, Trompete	"Der Morgen" of TWV 20:39 inc. two mvts. using the 6 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> partials. All listed in Cron, see also Rettelbach. Dahlqvist implies TWV 1:791 tpt listed in parts only.

**Table 1:** German works to ca. 1750 calling for a trumpet in F. <sup>8</sup>

The terminology used to describe a trumpet in F varied only slightly over the course of the eighteenth century, as is evident from Table 1. In this context, Bach's use of the unmodified *tromba* stands out as irregular. While this may be downplayed as a byproduct of ambivalence akin to his inconsistent instrument labeling generally, it more likely indicates his unfamiliarity with the scant terminology for F trumpets that was in use elsewhere. *Clarino piccolo* was in the widest use during the first half of the century. The *piccolo* modifier merely indicates a trumpet smaller than the one in regular use: since it was pitched in F above the usual D or C trumpet, the instrument would have been noticeably shorter. The only other term adopted with any regularity, *kurze Trompete*, uses the German word for "short" instead of the Italian. The German label is limited to Telemann, but may be confined to just one of his copyists much later in the era.

The nomenclature would come no closer to standardization in the second half of the century. In ca. 1800 Váckav Vincenc Mašek wrote a trumpet ensemble piece in D major calling for a *tromba piccola* in high A, a fifth above the other instruments, while in 1760 (published 1795) J. E. Altenburg referred to trumpets in F as "French" and those in G as "English."<sup>9</sup> Altenburg's geographical references are not found elsewhere, causing one to wonder if he was even aware that such instruments were in use in Germany. Nevertheless, as with earlier descriptions, he calls these instruments *kürzer* ("shorter") than "German" trumpets and also notes the Italian alternate *tromba piccolo*. Altenburg implies that these high-pitched trumpets were severely limited because clarino-range notes would be too "painful" for performers to execute. Given Altenburg's uncorroborated labels, his omission of illustrative repertoire, and the existence of a handful of virtuosic works for the instrument, his discussion of "short" trumpets can only be taken as factually inaccurate.

Examples of trumpets that could have been played in F major survive from the era. Baines mentions "some half dozen," including trumpets by J. W. Haas and M. Hainlein, unfortunately without citing specific dates.<sup>10</sup> These instruments may have been built prior to ca. 1720, as Haas died in 1723 and Hainlein in 1725, but dating the instruments is problematic because the names may indicate family-run workshops rather than a specific maker. A number of instruments inscribed "J. W. Haas," for example, were actually made by his son and grandson, both of whom flourished well after the 1720s.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, there are enough surviving instruments from Baroque Germany to demonstrate as plausible the notion that Bach, his eventual dedicatee Christian Ludwig, Margrave of Brandenburg, or their trumpeters had access to a trumpet in the correct key for the Second Brandenburg Concerto.

One might be tempted to think that Bach wrote BWV 1047 with the intention of having it performed in *tief Cammerton*, in which case the work "in F," an unusually high key for the trumpet, would in reality have been played on a standard trumpet in D. This is the case with the works by G. H. Stölzel listed in Table 1, for which the trumpet and other instruments are "in F," but the continuo parts are all notated in D. While playing the Second Brandenburg Concerto in *tief Cammerton* (i.e., transposing it to sounding D) solves one problem, it creates others. The most devastating of these is that transposing the lowest sections of the treble recorder part down a third places them outside of that

instrument's playable range and into a key not used by Bach elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> The recorder issue, combined with other circumstantial evidence such as the untransposed continuo part, indicates that pitch level and transposition are red herrings for BWV 1047 and that the work should be played in F, not D.

One disconcerting aspect of Table 1 is that the works prior to Bach's concerto are both few and geographically scattered. If anything, his work serves as a precedent in itself, as nearly all of the pre-1721 works are problematic in one way or another. Johann Hugo von Wilderer's (1670/71–1724) work appears to be an isolated case due to its early date, outlying locale, unique terminology (*Tromba alla quarta*), and singular use within an opera. Telemann's cantata TWV 1:1175 calls for either horn or trumpet, which makes the trumpet's use problematic at best. It may be that the trumpet was a copyist's later addition, as in the case of one of Telemann's later cantatas in Table 1, TWV 1:1421. The most intriguing work on the list, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's (1657–1714) overture is closely associated with Rudolstadt (only some twenty miles south of Weimar), but unfortunately is not extant. Our knowledge of it relies solely on a brief catalog entry from two decades after the composer's death. Fortunately, the catalog is authoritative for its locale and its description ("Overt... ex F-Dur con Tromp. piccolo") is unambiguous as to both key and instrument. However, of some 120 missing overtures by Erlebach included in the catalog, only this one work calls for an F trumpet. So while it may have been a unique work in many ways, it was apparently not typical of Erlebach's writing.

Closer to home, Johann Ludwig Bach's (1677–1731) cantata for the sixth Sunday after Trinity, *Ich will meinen Geist in euch geben*, JLB 7, composed in 1726, carries the parenthetical stipulation of *2 Clarini piccoli ô Corni di Silva* in the key of F.<sup>13</sup> Johann Sebastian's performance parts mention only the horn, while the option for *clarini piccoli* is indicated on the cover page.<sup>14</sup> J. S. Bach performed this work in Leipzig in 1726 using horns, as evidenced by an annotation in his copy of the score. The use of trumpets for the work likely originated with Ludwig, but that is the extent of our knowledge for this interesting work. The trumpeters are not required to play anything approaching the difficulty of the Brandenburg Concerto: they touch on the sixteenth partial briefly, but otherwise remain comfortably at or below the twelfth partial.

The largest corpus of works for the F trumpet are those of Telemann, who wrote some twenty multi-movement pieces for the instrument, many of which have no "or horn" option attached to them in any way. Most of these works are not published in modern editions and, for the same reason, have been addressed only recently in any detail.<sup>15</sup> Complicating the connection with Bach somewhat is—as even a cursory examination of Table 1 reveals—that Telemann's works post-date BWV 1047 by decades, with two exceptions.

Telemann's serenata *Deutschland grünt und blüht im Friede*, TWV 12:1c (1716), is a crucial work for our understanding of the development of the F-trumpet. While the surviving manuscript is not in the composer's hand, independent newspaper reports confirm that trumpets were included for the 1716 premiere in Frankfurt.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the trumpets play simultaneously with the horns in both D major (see no. 18) and F

major (see no. 31). This eliminates any possibility of conflated parts, scribal error, or that performers might have swapped instruments at their discretion. Telemann's composition additionally shows the use of trumpets in different keys within a single work (something Bach consistently avoided). In fact, only the three-measure recitative of no. 32 and rests in the opening of no. 33 stand between arias requiring a switch from F to D trumpets. In essence, TWV 12:1c single-handedly provides documented evidence for the use of F trumpets prior to 1721 by a composer Bach knew personally.

Telemann's scoring makes plain the difficulties imposed by the *clarino piccolo* compared to the more typical *clarino* in D or C. While his parts in D regularly ascend up to the sixteenth partial even in taxing slow-meter passages (e.g., mm. 16–26 of no. 1), Telemann's parts in F ascend only once to the thirteenth partial and generally do not exceed the twelfth partial in faster passages (see Example 2). In addition, he occasionally allows his D trumpets to play independent solo passages, whereas his F trumpets always play together as a unit. Even with these concessions, the performance of the work's first trumpet part by a single person throughout would have been an impressive feat of endurance.

The image displays a musical score for the opening of Telemann's serenata 'Deutschland grünt und blüht im Friede, TWV 12:1c'. It features two staves for Clarino piccolo I and II, both in the key of F. The Clarino piccolo I part is marked 'In Aria (trumpets only)' and 'In Aria (trumpets in unison)'. The Clarino piccolo II part is marked 'In the 4th and 5th measures (trumpets)'. Below the Clarino parts are two piano accompaniment staves. The piano part includes a 'Pizzicato (trumpets)' annotation. The score is written in treble clef and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

**Example 2:** F trumpet parts for the opening of no. 31 in Telemann's serenata *Deutschland grünt und blüht im Friede*, TWV 12:1c

The most challenging of Telemann's works for the trumpet in F is the Concerto Grosso TWV 51:F4 (after 1740), which calls for two *tromba di caccia* in the first, second, and sixth movements, two *tromba* in the third and fourth movements, and two *tromba di caccia* à *tromba ordinaria piccolo* in the fifth movement.<sup>17</sup> The reasoning behind the different descriptive terms used by Telemann is unclear: both the *tromba* and *tromba di caccia* make use of the clarino style in a high register. Their parts demand exactly the same

range as Bach's Second Brandenburg, as low as the fourth partial (written  $c^1$ ) and sparingly touching as high as the eighteenth partial (written  $d^3$ ). Telemann's first movement is easily playable, but the following *Allegrezza* movement quickly ascends to the sixteenth partial in an extended phrase that approximates the difficulty of Bach's writing (Example 3a). The ensuing *Scherzo* similarly tests both the endurance and range of the first trumpeter in an extended opening phrase that ascends to the eighteenth partial (Example 3b). The ca. 1740 date of the work validates the notion that during Bach's lifetime there were trumpeters capable of playing the trumpet in F in the clarino register at a virtuosic level.

Trumpets in F also appear in about a dozen cantatas by Telemann, however these reveal little beyond the observation that the *Serenata* TWV 12:1c was the start of a larger trend for the composer. The only Telemann cantata requiring both horns and trumpets in F which can be firmly dated, *Triumph! Denn mein Erlöser lebt*, TWV 1:1421 (1724), establishes that the specified *F-Trompetta* was indeed a trumpet and not just a mislabeled horn. Unfortunately, it would seem that Telemann's friend, copyist, and fellow composer Johann Balthasar König was in fact responsible for the trumpet parts in question.<sup>18</sup> It is possible to state definitively that F trumpets were used for at least one performance of this cantata prior to König's death in 1758, but they were probably not a part of the original version of the cantata written prior to the 1730s, when König started copying Telemann's parts.

a)

b)

13

**Example 3:** Telemann's Concerto Grosso in F major, TWV 51:F4.

- a) The trumpets in the opening measures of the *Allegrezza* movement.  
 b) The trumpets' opening phrase of the *Scherzo* movement.



Telemann's Advent Cantata TWV 1:1175, *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* (1714; *New Grove* states 1721), calls for *Clarino piccolo o Corno*, an ambiguity of terminology that, as with TWV 1:1421, indicates a later substitution of trumpets for horns.<sup>19</sup> Rettelbach believes that the use of the trumpet in F in this, Telemann's "French" cycle of cantatas, was a bow to the high pitch of French trumpets from the era as described by Johann Ernst Altenburg, although, as noted above, Altenburg's discussion is highly problematic. The cantatas of the 1750s as well as the various *Kapitänsmusiken* are clear in their use of the F trumpet, but their post-1750 dates of composition fall beyond the scope of this study. It should be noted that these later cantatas are, on the whole, far less challenging in range and endurance than Telemann's earlier works for the instrument.

Although there is no evidence that Bach knew of Telemann's use of the F trumpet, the Serenata TWV 12:1c, together with the Concerto Grosso TWV 51:F4, his other cantatas, and Ludwig Bach's Cantata JLB 7, at least establish a nascent use of the F trumpet within Bach's circle of close friends (Telemann served as C.P.E. Bach's godfather in 1714) and relatives. It is tempting to think that the Bach cousins were aware of a trend toward using the instrument and were demonstrating a cosmopolitan outlook by using it themselves, however there is no evidence of a broad use of the instrument until the 1740s, and even then its employment never spread beyond a very limited circle.<sup>20</sup> Telemann and the other composers seen in Table 1 notwithstanding, it seems highly unlikely that Bach would have been aware of any specific use of the F trumpet when he penned the dedication manuscript of the Second Brandenburg Concerto in 1721. What is more likely is that he knew of a recent development that allowed for the trumpet's use in a new key. This stance corresponds with the notion that Bach used the Brandenburg Concertos to explore unique instrumental combinations, a goal which a high-pitched trumpet would have furthered.<sup>21</sup>

### Bach's Trumpeters

It is one thing to say that Bach wrote the Second Brandenburg Concerto with little or no precedent, but quite a different one to say that Bach intended that a real trumpeter would actually play it, especially given its difficulty. To be sure, he composed virtually all of his Weimar/Cöthen works for immediate consumption. With a dedication score dating to 1721—in fact, Bach likely wrote it earlier than this—BWV 1047 is substantially earlier than his large-scale theoretical works, for instance the Mass in B Minor and the *Art of Fugue*.<sup>22</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that a trumpeter in Bach's circle was capable of playing the piece ca. 1721, or that the margrave's court had access to such a virtuoso, but, as will be seen, the evidence speaks to the contrary. There is little to suggest which specific trumpeter Bach had in his mind when he wrote the piece and, absent evidence from Bach's manuscripts, this inevitably leaves open the question of when and where (and perhaps even if) the work was heard during the composer's lifetime.

The Second Brandenburg Concerto not only represents Bach's most daunting writing for trumpet, but is in fact far and away the most difficult piece composed for that instrument

up to its date of composition.<sup>23</sup> To be sure, Bach wrote other difficult trumpet parts, and more difficult solo works exist as well. These include concertos written by Joseph Riepel (ca. 1750–70) and Franz Xaver Richter (ca. 1765), and a number of works written by Johann Melchior Molter (ca. 1734–43). Molter is the most tantalizing of this group of composers as he was only eleven years younger than Bach, was educated at the same school in Eisenach, belonged for a time to the Chorus Symphonicus founded by Telemann, was active as a composer of concertos by the 1710s, and had access to a superior trumpeter.<sup>24</sup> While all three of these composers worked in close geographic proximity to Bach, each of their works requires a natural trumpet in the traditional D major, and none of them apparently wrote a work for the instrument in F.

The colloquial response to the Second Brandenburg Concerto's "difficulty problem" is that Gottfried Reiche, Bach's most well-known trumpeter, possessed the virtuosity and range demanded by the concerto. However Reiche was a Leipzig trumpeter associated with Bach only after the latter moved to that city in 1723, whereas the 1721 manuscript date means Bach wrote the work in either Weimar or Cöthen. Even setting this aside, the Bach-associated documents that mention Reiche do not mark him as an outstanding player in any respect compared to his peers.<sup>25</sup> In essence, the invocation of Reiche ignores chronology and locale.

While Bach may have written an early non-extant version of the work during his time in Weimar, there is no evidence to support this assumption apart from the First Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1046, for which evidence of revisions survives.<sup>26</sup> In Weimar Bach had access to the best trumpeters that he ever would have, as evidenced by the writing in some of his cantatas from the period. Cantatas nos. 31 and 63, for instance, ascend to the eighteenth partial, while Cantata no. 172 includes lengthy obbligato passages. Yet none of these three works approaches the sustained virtuosity required of the Second Brandenburg.

Bach penned the dedication manuscript of BWV 1047 in Cöthen, so the possibility also exists that his Cöthen trumpeter was his intended original performer. While appealing at first glance, a Cöthen origin for the F-trumpet part turns out to be an unlikely scenario. After the disbandment of the Prussian court orchestra 1713, the Cöthen court musicians were among Europe's elite. Bach's Cöthen ensemble included a trumpeter in the person of Johann Ludwig Schreiber who, until recently, was presumed to be equally as talented as his colleagues. However, Don Smithers has determined that none of Bach's Cöthen-era works marked Schreiber as anything more than a mediocre talent.<sup>27</sup> In other words, if Schreiber really had outstanding talent, Bach only made use of it in the Second Brandenburg Concerto.

Some have argued that BWV 1047 may have been composed during Bach's tenure in Weimar or Cöthen but with performers from elsewhere in mind.<sup>28</sup> In this scenario, Bach may have written the concerto ca. 1713 when he visited Weissenfels, a stronghold of virtuoso trumpeters. It was Reiche's native city (he left for Leipzig in 1688) and the home of Bach's trumpet-playing father-in-law Johann Caspar Wülcken, as well as Wülcken's three brothers (all trumpeters and some holding titles suggesting superior talent).<sup>29</sup> Johann

Caspar Altenburg, the later leader of the Weissenfels trumpet corps, was likely a very good clarino-range player as well, except that in 1713 he was scarcely two years removed from his apprenticeship.<sup>30</sup> The 104 extant performance copies from the Weissenfels trumpet corps repertoire support the claim to their collective talents.<sup>31</sup> However, none of the surviving music includes a part for F trumpet, while there are twelve works preserved for horn in that key. In addition, Bach is not represented in the extant collection, which on the whole appears to post-date Bach by about a generation. This means, at the very least, that if Bach's work (or any other for F trumpet) was performed in Weissenfels, the parts were lost. The surviving evidence forces the conclusion that there was no significant use of the F trumpet in that town and that brass parts in F were generally performed on horn. This is notable given the later date of most of these works, taken from a time when the trumpet in F was in more common usage. There likely never was a performance of the Second Brandenburg Concerto in Weissenfels, at least not of the work as we now know it.

The final possibility relies on the dedication score: in sending the set of concertos to the Margrave of Brandenburg, Bach ostensibly presumed that his orchestra had access to a trumpeter capable of playing the part. That Bach was savvy enough to send his potential patron music that could have been readily performed is a reasonable assumption. There is, unfortunately, not enough extant information to substantiate this line of reasoning.<sup>32</sup> The holdings of the margrave's music library included a large number of concerti, indicating the presence of a core group of virtuosos, but the specific works within this collection are completely unknown.<sup>33</sup> More recently, Michael Talbot has noted that Bach's submission to the margrave was a speculative venture seeking a commission rather than a gift of pieces intended for his orchestra. He further argued that it is unlikely that any orchestra in the region was capable of playing the entire set of concertos with any proficiency.<sup>34</sup> If this was in fact the case, then the possibility of performance by the margrave's orchestra may not have been a concern for Bach when he penned the dedication score.

In sum, there is no compelling scenario that indicates the original trumpeter Bach had in mind for BWV 1047 or the work's pre-1721 history. There were trumpeters in the region, particularly in Weissenfels, with the requisite talent to play the work. However, in light of the Weissenfels repertoire, any now-lost ca. 1713 version of the Second Brandenburg would have more likely been for trumpet in D or for horn in F. A 1713 date places the work prior to anything by Telemann and makes the Concerto, if that version was written for a trumpet in F, a watershed moment for the instrument. With only a 1721 source extant however, this is little more than guesswork. We are left with the vague notion that it seems implausible that the Weimar/Cöthen-era Bach would have composed—let alone copied a prominent dedication score of—a piece of music that he had never heard performed as written.

### The Practical Bach's "Brass"

The scant evidence surrounding Bach's knowledge of the F trumpet and the presence of a trumpeter at his disposal capable of playing the Second Brandenburg Concerto lay at the crux of the problem for the work's instrumentation. The colloquial response has been to argue that Bach may have substituted a horn for practical purposes. This follows from ample evidence indicating that Bach altered the instrumentation of a number of his works based on practical considerations such as the presence or absence of a particular instrumentalist, as well as arguments that his instrument designations were careless on occasion. Such a line of thought leads to the possible conclusion that Bach preferred to use an F trumpet for BWV 1047 but would have readily moved the part down an octave to horn if no such trumpeter were present. In order to evaluate the plausibility of this hypothesis, especially in the case of a work with as clear an in-score trumpet designation as BWV 1047, an examination of Bach's brass substitutions is necessary.

The horn substitution premise stems from arguments that Bach wrote his instrumentations carelessly, which would be the case for BWV 1047 if he wrote *tromba* but meant *corno*. In practice, these arguments often rely on problematic evidence such as idiomatic writing, improbable difficulty, and inferences from potentially incomplete payment records. Stylistic arguments can also hide more relevant source problems. For instance, it has been argued that the *clarino* part of Cantata no. 24, *Ein ungefärbt Gemüte*, is so unidiomatic as to require performance on a horn. In this case the autograph score has no designation whatsoever, while Kuhnau's performance part calls for a *clarino*.<sup>35</sup> With an extant source, even of a later date, the idiom-based case for horn becomes somewhat problematic. While the Second Brandenburg's trumpet part is extremely difficult, it is idiomatic to the instrument, so debating the merits from this perspective reveals little. Similarly the dedication score, the only extant evidence from Bach's lifetime, calls only for trumpet. In addition, Bach calls for extraordinary levels of virtuosity from every instrument on a regular basis, so it seems more likely that he expected his trumpeter to find a way to play the part regardless of difficulty. In total, these make a quick swap of instruments from trumpet to horn unlikely for a ca. 1721 performance of BWV 1047.

The instances of Bach altering his orchestration for practical purposes include both works for the trumpet (especially the cantatas) as well as the Brandenburg Concertos (particularly the first work of the set). For the first performance of Cantata no. 10, *Meine Seel erhebt den Herren*, the surviving parts from 1724 indicate that a trumpet played the cantus firmus part, yet in the 1740s Bach discarded the trumpet in favor of unison oboes.<sup>36</sup> The same procedure occurred with the three trumpets found in Cantata no. 130, *Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir*, for which he replaced the trio with stringed instruments at a later date.<sup>37</sup> While Bach's motivation for these replacements probably varied (perhaps the presence or absence of a player, a change in liturgical occasion, or simply to make the work in question "better"), one significant aspect of these trumpet deletions has been overlooked: none show him in the act of replacing trumpets with horns. The most plausible interpretation of this substitution choice is that the same people played both

horn and trumpet and that those musicians were unavailable—requiring a switch to non-brass instruments. A 1730 document drawn up by Bach for his ideal church ensemble lists three trumpets but omits horns, likely for the same reason.<sup>38</sup> Another possibility is that he did not consider the horn an appropriate substitute for the trumpet, but rather saw the oboe or even violin as more suitable.<sup>39</sup>

While Cantatas nos. 10 and 130 drop trumpets from the original instrumentation, others of Bach's works add trumpets where none had been before. Cantata no. 207, *Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten*, which has been overlooked in the secondary literature concerning brass instruments, has trumpet parts replacing the horns of the First Brandenburg Concerto on which it is based.<sup>40</sup> The revision history of the First Brandenburg also includes a version which likely predates 1721 in the guise of the Sinfonia BWV 1046a.<sup>41</sup> BWV 207 is relevant to the problem of the trumpet in BWV 1047 because in this 1726 cantata, the latest of the three versions, Bach recycles and revises the second and final movements of the First Brandenburg Concerto to include trumpets instead of horns (Example 4).

Of particular import in BWV 207 is the change of key that takes place: the trumpets are used in the D major version while the Brandenburg version (BWV 1046) is in F major with horns. There are additional changes made for the new parts as well, showing Bach taking advantage of an opportunity for revision in a way that, according to Talbot, shows a long-term engagement with the material. The brass alterations are minimal but include new voice-crossings not in the analogous horn parts of BWV 1046 (compare measure 4 in Examples 4a and 4b). Here the trumpets work in a similar register and are not stratified in the way the horns had been in the concerto.

The most striking implication of BWV 207 for the Second Brandenburg Concerto is that Bach put in the effort to transpose and include trumpets in an ostensibly single-use cantata rather than simply recycle the older work with an F trumpet substitution. The cantata was performed in 1726, only five years after the writing of the BWV 1047 dedication score, which leads to a natural question: why not just keep the work in F and use the ostensibly available F trumpets? There are of course possible answers that have nothing to do with the brass instruments. Perhaps the range of the newly composed vocal parts worked better a third lower in the key of D major. Perhaps the change of key invited re-scoring rather automatically. Nevertheless, using F trumpets and keeping the original key would have been easier, unless Bach was compelled to change because he did not have access to F trumpets in Leipzig yet still wanted trumpets instead of horns.

BWV 207 offers exceptional insights into Bach's trumpet in a further way, as the cantata includes his only surviving example of a militaristic outdoor trumpet march (see Example 5). The movement is attached to the cantata, though its exact connection is unclear from the sources. The march provides a plausible explanation for the addition of a third trumpet and timpani to the later borrowings from Brandenburg No. 1: once Bach decided to include a full-fledged trumpet ensemble, he wanted to get as much use out of the additional instruments as he could. This movement also demonstrates Bach's knowledge of typical ensemble registers for his trumpet parts, as the piece is typical in

a) **CORO.**

The musical score is for the opening chorus of BWV 207. It features a variety of instruments: three trumpets (Tromba I, II, III), timpani, two oboes (Oboe I and II), flute (Flauto traverso I and II), violin (Violino I and II), viola, soprano, alto, tenor, bass, and continuo. The score is in 8/8 time and G major. The trumpets play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, while the other instruments provide harmonic support. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso) are currently silent, indicated by a horizontal line with a bar.

**Example 4:** Bach's revision of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, BWV 1046 into the cantata *Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten*, BWV 207 (1726).

- a) The opening chorus of BWV 207.
- b) The parallel opening of BWV 1046/ii.
- c) Trumpets reappear in an instrumental ritornello of BWV 207.
- d) The parallel section in BWV 1046/iv.

b) **Allegro.**

Corno I.  
Corno II.  
Oboe I.  
Oboe II.  
Oboe III.  
Fagotto.  
Violino piccolo.  
Violino I.  
Violino II.  
Viola.  
Violoncello.  
Continuo e  
Violone grosso.

c) **RITORNELLO.**  
(Mit dem Schlusssaccorde des voranstehenden Duettes einsetzend.)

Tromba I.  
Tromba II.  
Oboe d'amore I, II,  
e Talle.  
Violino I.  
Violino II.  
Viola.  
Continuo.

d) **Trio a 2 Corni e 3 Oboi all'unisono**

Corno I.  
Corno II.  
Tutte le Oboi.

every respect when compared to the ensemble works of his contemporaries and those of his son C.P.E. Bach.

**MARCIA.**

**Example 5:** The March that opens BWV 207 in militaristic fashion.

Cantata no. 207 has two contradictory implications for the F trumpet of the Second Brandenburg Concerto. On the one hand, a key facet of Bach's generic brass sounds can be laid to rest, at least for his ca. 1720 view of trumpets and horns. However indifferent or careless Bach might have been about the terms he used to describe instruments, he here went to great lengths to use trumpets when horns would have been demonstrably easier. This line of thought must lead to the conclusion that the tromba of BWV 1047, regardless of key, has to be a trumpet. On the other hand, Cantata no. 207 suggests that Bach did not have access to a trumpet in F in Leipzig, otherwise he could have made a more practical substitution for his horns. It is at least somewhat odd that he would have had access to the instrument earlier (in Weimar/Cöthen) when it was more novel, but not later when the instrument was in relatively broader use and in a city where he had outstanding trumpeters at his disposal.

If there is indeed a trend in Bach's brass revisions, it is that when omitting trumpets, as he did in Cantatas nos. 10 and 130, he retained the original keys and substituted non-brass instruments, but when he changed keys it was in order to include trumpets where they had previously been absent, as in BWV 207. From here it is only a short leap of faith



to the conclusion that F major was probably the original key of Brandenburg No. 2 and that there was no use of the horn in an earlier version. Had the trumpet been a latecomer substituting for the horn in the BWV 1047 ensemble, Bach likely would have transposed the work to D major as was his practice in the cantatas.

There is documentary evidence for the performance of the Second Brandenburg Concerto shortly after Bach's lifetime in the guise of a score and set of parts copied by Christian Friedrich Penzel. Penzel studied at the Thomasschule from 1749 to 1756 and lived in Leipzig until 1762. During his time there he copied out a number of Bach's works, including the First and Second Brandenburg Concertos. Penzel's copy of the Second Brandenburg Concerto does not offer a glimpse into an earlier version of that work, however his in-score *tromba* designation becomes *Tromba, ô vero Corne da Caccia* at the top of the soloist's part.<sup>42</sup> This has been interpreted as a bow to the declining art of the clarino player, especially since *Tromba* is centered while *ô vero Corne da Caccia* trails off toward the edge of the page as if written in as an afterthought. It seems likely that Penzel copied the *tromba* off of a now-lost Bach original only to later discover that he could not find a trumpeter capable of playing the piece for a performance around 1755.

A handful of modern performers have used Penzel's horn addition as a justification for performing the work on horn instead of trumpet.<sup>43</sup> Aside from the likelihood that Penzel substituted the horn only as a last resort years after the composer's death, this paper has presented evidence that such an exchange of instruments is contradictory to Bach's own practice. This would have been the only instance in which Bach replaced a trumpet with a horn, as well as a rare case in which he swapped brass instruments without also transposing the work to a new key. Penzel's proposed use of a horn instead of a trumpet provides an eighteenth-century precedent of its own, but one that stands at odds with what can be inferred from the composer's usual practice. The parts remain of interest nevertheless, as they offer the only tangible evidence of a Baroque-era performance of the work and provide information on its reception in the years immediately following Bach's lifetime. Penzel's parts also raise questions of their own, in particular: why did he have such trouble finding a trumpeter for the piece? Telemann was writing more music for the F trumpet in the late 1750s than he ever had before, so the instrument was, at least theoretically, at the height of its popularity at the very time Penzel performed the concerto. In this light, the substitution seems to be less a bow to the declining art of the *clarino* player and more a solution to a specific local concern.

Even after all of this discussion, the question remains: why would Bach call for a trumpet in F and not just in the usual D or C? The most convincing answer may only tangentially involve a trumpet. Had Bach written the Second Brandenburg Concerto in D major, the present essay might well have been on the oddity of his writing in that key for recorder. In fact there are no surviving instances in which Bach used a recorder in a D major movement.<sup>44</sup> His preferred keys, with occasional exceptions, were B $\flat$ , F, C, and G. Regardless of key, in the only other instance in which he wrote for both trumpet and recorder in the same movement, in the cantata *Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn*, BWV 119, he did so in C major using block antiphonal writing between the loud brass and the

quiet woodwinds. The result is that the two instruments play together sparingly in that cantata, typically only at final cadences and in brief *tutti* sections. In every other work that includes both trumpet and recorder, Bach used them in alternating movements. In the *Easter Oratorio*, BWV 249, for instance, the trumpets are always used in D-major movements during which the recorders are *tacet*, while the recorders appear only in G-major movements that exclude trumpets.

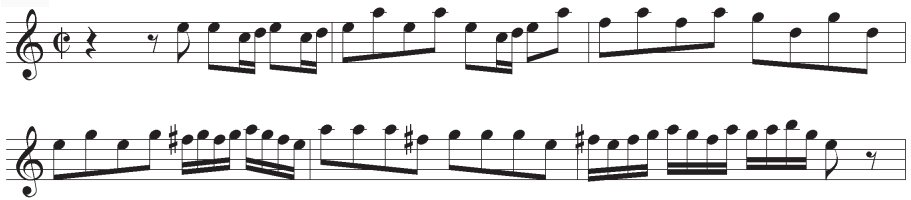
A variety of factors undoubtedly shaped Bach's general treatment of recorders and trumpets in alternation: even more so than key, balance issues and the traditional loud/soft division of instruments surely played a role. In dealing with the specific case of the Second Brandenburg Concerto, Bach had little choice but to compromise on these problems in order to create a concertino group including both instruments. By selecting F major, he settled on using a common recorder key but an unusual trumpet key, a seemingly more difficult solution than simply writing in C major (as he did in BWV 119) or in D major (which is not, after all, an impossible key for the recorder). The decision to use F major was informed by the recorder's range and its compatibility with the harmonic-series-limited trumpet in the themes he chose for his movements. Without exception, the recorder parts in both Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 2 and 4 (the other in the group using recorder) descend only to F natural on the staff, yet ascend well above the staff.<sup>45</sup> This is completely normal for a treble recorder part, as many Baroque recorders could play only as low as G, while F was considered the instrument's absolute lowest usable pitch. It may well be that Bach wanted the treble recorder in the Second Brandenburg Concerto set within an ambitus that allowed it to play the tonic pitch in its lowest octave, an important pitch tonally as well as a crucial note for a trumpet limited to the harmonic series (see Example 6). Since the treble recorder was incapable of accomplishing this task in a key lower than F major, this immediately precluded the use of all the typical trumpet keys. Without the means of playing tonic in its lowest octave, the recorder would have been incapable of playing even the opening bars of BWV 1047. Using D or C major would have forced Bach to place the recorder up an octave rather than in unison with the other solo instruments, a fundamental alteration of the work's texture.

The concessions made for the recorder's sake do not mean that Bach was insensitive to the problems of using a trumpet in F. For instance, he wrote the theme of the third

Only playable by treble recorder in keys from F upward

**Example 6:** The treble recorder using its lowest register in the opening ritornello of BWV 1047/i.

movement in such a way as to allow the trumpet not only to play it in the tonic but also in the relative minor (see Example 7). This required him to limit his idea to a tonic motif centered on scale-degree five that did not move stepwise below scale-degree three. Another concession he made for the trumpeter was to avoid using the third partial (written low G), which probably would not have been the most pleasant note to play or hear on such a high-pitched instrument. Bach therefore chose to dispense with the dominant-tonic accompanimental patterns typically assigned to trumpets.



**Example 7:** The trumpet playing the ritornello theme in the relative minor in BWV 1047/i, m. 88–93.

The intense interest in unusual scoring combinations shown in the six Brandenburg Concertos created a rather straightforward problem of orchestration, albeit one so original that it had never been encountered before. Rather than write the work for a treble recorder that used impossibly low pitches in an unprecedented key like D major, Bach compromised by using the *clarino piccolo* in F major, a relatively new and untested instrument. The result was, to paraphrase Altenburg, a trumpet part “too painful to play,” but one placed in as low a key as possible so that the recorder could use its lowest octave effectively. If this was indeed Bach’s train of thought, his improbable trumpet in F was the only solution to the practical problem of having a theme that that worked on both the Baroque-era treble recorder and the natural trumpet.

In conclusion, the trumpet seen in the Second Brandenburg Concerto was experimental only in the sense that Bach chose to write a work for two instruments that were rarely used together. As the preceding discussion makes clear, the F trumpet was a rarity in the 1720s, but was in occasional use by composers within Bach’s circle. While we do not know with absolute certainty that Bach had at his disposal a trumpeter capable of playing it, Telemann apparently did and so the idea is not farfetched. Even if a trumpeter were not available to play the work, it is unlikely that the horn would have been his chosen substitute. The F trumpet, which was almost certainly Bach’s intended instrument, was a practical compromise dictated by the intertwined problems of orchestration, the recorder’s range, the trumpet’s limitation to the harmonic series, and the themes chosen by Bach. In essence, Bach’s unique choice of ensemble forced him into making the piece even more singular by placing his trumpet in an improbable key.

*With thanks to the Historic Brass Society whose financial support by way of a Streitwieser Award is greatly appreciated, to Edward H. Tarr and the anonymous reviewers of this journal for their helpful insights, to Simon Rettelbach for providing me with access to the trumpet parts of Telemann's unpublished cantatas, to Joanna Biermann for her assistance with the F trumpet in Darmstadt and for providing me with transcriptions of Endler's Sinfonias using the instrument, to Stanley M. Baker, Barry Bauguess, Pierre Cerasi, and many others for their assistance in identifying works for the trumpet in F, and to H.M. Lewis, who many years ago provided me with research assistance.*

*Bryan Proksch is Assistant Professor of Music at McNeese State University in Lake Charles, Louisiana. In addition to articles on the history of the trumpet he has published extensively on Classical-era music, including Joseph Haydn's reception in the twentieth century. He also serves as a column editor for the International Trumpet Guild Journal, as the newsletter/website editor for the Historic Brass Society, and as a church organist.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> On Bach's trumpets see Werner H. Gosch, "Trumpet and Horn Music in 18th Century Weissenfels," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 17/1 (September 1992): 24–30; Richard Hofmann, "Die F-Trompete im 2. Brandenburgischen Konzert von Joh. Seb. Bach," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 13 (1913): 1–7; Elisa Koehler, "Bach Cantata Trumpet Parts: A Compendium," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 32/2 (Jan. 2008): 17–23; Thomas G. MacCracken, "Die Verwendung der Blechblasinstrumente bei J. S. Bach unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tromba da tirarsi," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 70 (1984): 59–89; Don L. Smithers, "The Baroque Trumpet after 1721—Some Preliminary Observations II: Function and Use," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 356–61; and Edward H. Tarr, "Response to 'Vivace'," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 9/3 (February 1985): 40–42. On Gottfried Reiche and Bach's trumpeters, see Timothy A. Collins, "Gottfried Reiche: A More Complete Biography," *Bach: Quarterly Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 19/3 (Fall 1988): 4–18; Don L. Smithers, "Bach, Reiche, and the Leipzig Collegia Musica," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 2 (1990): 1–51; and idem, "Gottfried Reiche's Ansehen und sein Einfluss auf die Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 73 (1987): 113–50.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Marissen, "Penzel Manuscripts of Bach Concertos," in *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmund Bach-Symposium 1996*, ed. Martin Geck (Dortmund: Klangfarben, 1997), 78–79. See also Malcolm Boyd, *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London: Hutchinson House, 1955), 69–70.

<sup>4</sup> Sigiswald Kuijken, dir., *J. S. Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos*, La Petite Bande with Jean-François Madeuf, trumpet, Accent Records (ACC 24224), 2009; and idem, *J. S. Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos*, La Petite Bande with Claude Maury, horn, Deutsche Harmonia Mundi-BMG (BMG 05472 773082), 1995. In the liner notes to his 2009 recording, Kuijken justifies his original substitution based on his displeasure with the "state of compromise" using vented instruments and notes his satisfaction with Madeuf's "compromise-less" success on trumpet.

<sup>5</sup> Don L. Smithers, "The Performing and Practice of Bach Brass, or When is a Corno not a Tromba,"

paper read at the American Musicological Society, Washington, D.C., November, 1974.

<sup>6</sup> Beverly Jerold, "The Tromba and Corno in Bach's Time," *Ad Parnassum* 6 (2008): 7–39.

<sup>7</sup> Many works in F commonly referred to as "for trumpet" were originally written for cornetto (for instance, Pietro Baldassare's sonatas). These are not included on Table 1.

<sup>8</sup> This list has been compiled using information gleaned from Reine Dahlqvist, "Pitches of German, French, and English Trumpets in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 33–34; Simon Rettelbach, *Trompeten, Hörner, und Klarinetten in der in Frankfurt am Main überlieferten "ordentlichen Kirchenmusik" Georg Philipp Telemanns* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2008); and Matthew Cron and Don Smithers, *A Calendar and Comprehensive Source Catalogue of Georg Philipp Telemann's Vocal and Instrumental Music With Brass* (Tallahassee, FL: International Trumpet Guild, 1995). On Endler, see Joanna Cobb Biermann, *Die Sinfonien des Darmstädter Kapellmeisters Johann Samuel Endler 1694–1762* (Mainz: Schott, 1996), 214–16; and idem, "Trumpets in 18th Century Darmstadt Symphonies," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 35/2 (January 2011): 75–76. On Graupner, see Bill Oswald and Christoph Groppietsch, eds., *Christoph Graupner: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke* (Stuttgart: Carus Verlag, 2005), 242.

<sup>9</sup> Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art* (1795), trans. Edward H. Tarr (Nashville: Brass Press, 1974), 12, 84, and 106. The "French" F may in fact be a reference to an instrument in E-flat. His "English" instrument in G likewise may be an instrument in F. Another possibility is that Altenburg is talking about tuning instead of transposition (essentially arguing that French- and English-made trumpets were sharp relative to German instruments). See also Dahlqvist, "Pitches"; and Albert Hiller, *Music for Trumpets from Three Centuries* (Köln: Wolfgang G. Haas, 1993), 144.

<sup>10</sup> Anthony Baines (*Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* [London: Faber and Faber, 1980], 124–29) identifies nearly a dozen extant trumpets of tube lengths from 150–170 cm., each potentially short enough to play a piece in F depending on the locale. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples (with manufacture date and current location, if listed) include those by Schnitzer (1581), M. Hainlein (1689, Vienna), Geyer (1684, Copenhagen), and J. J. Schmidt (Munich). Of the "some half dozen" extant eighteenth-century instruments, Baines specifically cites only those by Nagel (Vienna), J. W. Haas (Brussels), and M. Hainlein (Berlin).

<sup>11</sup> Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721*, 2nd edn. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1988), 63–67. Smithers includes a helpful table of the major instrument makers of the era and notes that Haas's son and grandson died in 1760 and 1792 respectively.

<sup>12</sup> On the ranges of Bach's recorders see Michael Marissen, "Organological Questions and Their Significance in J. S. Bach's Fourth Brandenburg Concerto," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 17 (1991): 14–15.

<sup>13</sup> Angela Maria Jaffé, "The Cantatas of Johann Ludwig Bach" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1957), 332. Jaffé's (62–69) discussion of instrumentation reveals that this is the only known cantata by this composer to use brass instruments. See also Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 434; Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, W.W. Norton, 2000), 281–82; and Dahlqvist, "Pitches," 34.

<sup>14</sup> Kristen Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, *Catalogus Musicus* 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 251–52.

<sup>15</sup> Rettelbach, *Trompeten*.

<sup>16</sup> See also the critical report in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musikalische Werke*, vol. 17, *Frankfurter Festmusiken Zur Geburt Eines Kaiserlichen Prinzen 1716, II: Serenata "Deutschland Grünt und Blüht*

*im Friede*,” ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), xiv–xviii.

<sup>17</sup> In facsimile; see Wolf Hohohm, ed., *Georg Philipp Telemann Konzert F-Dur für Violine und Orchester* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1980). For a critical edition, see Arnold Schering, ed., *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, vols. 29/30, *Instrumentalkonzerte deutscher Meister* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1907), 103ff. It is unclear why *New Grove*’s listing for this work specifies the instrument as “horn/trumpet,” since neither the manuscript nor Schering’s *DdT* critical report mentions the horn. Hohohm (*Konzert*, n. 12) cites scattered works for the *tromba da caccia* and *trompe pour la chasse*, though key was apparently not a determining factor for these labels (e.g., Alessandro de Rossi wrote a work in E minor including two *trombe da caccia*). Both Rettelbach (*Trompeten*, 37–38) and Kross (*Das Instrumentalkonzert bei Telemann* [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969], 139 and 164) provide additional discussion and note that the *tromba da caccia* in TWV 51:F4 is potentially related to the E♭ *tromba selvatica* used in TWV 54:Es1.

<sup>18</sup> Rettelbach (*Trompeten*, 41 n.) offers only a brief clarification of an opinion first rendered by Joachim Schlichte (*Thematischer Katalog der kirchlichen Musikhandschriften des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main* [Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1979]).

<sup>19</sup> Rettelbach, *Trompeten*, 44–45 and 245.

<sup>20</sup> That Bach was in tune with contemporary music from far afield despite his narrow geographic travels at the time is amply demonstrated by his extensive collection of music. For a detailed list, see Beißwenger, *Notenbibliothek*; for a general interpretation, see Wolff, *Learned*, 332–33.

<sup>21</sup> Boyd (*Bach*, 24–37) addresses instrumentation in the concerti as a group in detail.

<sup>22</sup> Dating the genesis of BWV 1047 prior to 1721 has proven elusive, in part because there is no surviving earlier version of it as there is with others of the concertos. For an overview of source chronology, see Boyd, *Bach*, 14–15.

<sup>23</sup> Smithers (*Before 1721*, 358–59) provides further context for BWV 1047’s level of difficulty: he used 1721 as the terminus of his monograph.

<sup>24</sup> Molter’s trumpet concertos (five for two trumpets and three for solo trumpet) are undated, but it would seem all were written between 1734–43 (see Klaus Häfner, *Der badische Hofkapellmeister Johann Melchior Molter (1696–1765) in seiner Zeit* [Karlsruhe: Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, 1996], 251). On his connections to Bach, which are admittedly tenuous, see Jeanne R. Swack, “On the Origins of the ‘Sonate auf Concertenart,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 407. Further afield in Vienna, a number of extremely talented trumpeters flourished in the 1730s and 40s, c.f. Edward H. Tarr, *The Trumpet* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1988), 118–20.

<sup>25</sup> Jerold, “Tromba and Corno,” 13.

<sup>26</sup> See Boyd, *Bach*, 59–74.

<sup>27</sup> Smithers, *Before 1721*, add. 47.

<sup>28</sup> Martin Bernstein, “The Chronology of the Orchestral Suites, BWV 1066–1069,” in *Report of the Eighth Congress of the International Musicological Society, New York 1961*, vol. 2, “Reports,” ed. Jan LaRue (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), 127–28.

<sup>29</sup> On the most prominent trumpeters associated with Weissenfels see Gosch, “Weissenfels” 24–30.

<sup>30</sup> Further see Gosch, “Weissenfels,” 25. It should be noted that Johann Caspar Altenburg’s reputation for high-register playing rests solely on the nostalgic and potentially biased view of his son Johann Ernst Altenburg in the latter’s trumpet treatise (Altenburg, *Trumpeters’ Art*, 60). Johann Ernst also includes a transcription of his father’s courtly contract.

<sup>31</sup> Gosch (“Weissenfels,” 26–27) provides an overview of the collection, listing 46 works for trumpet

in D, 12 in C and 1 in A; see also Smithers, *Before 1721*, add. 47.

<sup>32</sup> Boyd, *Bach*, 9–10. Philipp Spitta (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 2, trans. Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller Maitland [London: Novello, 1899], 129n) maintains that the margrave had the talent necessary, citing a gamba player as evidence, but does not address the trumpeters in Brandenburg.

<sup>33</sup> On the library, which we know held at least 177 concerti by various composers, see Heinrich Bessler, “Markgraf Christian Ludwig von Brandenburg,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 43 (1956): 18–35.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Talbot, “Purpose and Peculiarities of the Brandenburg Concertos,” in *Bach und die Stile: Bericht über das 2. Dortmunder Bach-Symposium 1998* (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1999), 256–57. Talbot bases his argument on Bach’s omission of the margrave’s orchestra in his correspondence and on his presentation of a score rather than a set of part books: “probably no orchestra in Germany—not excluding the Saxon *Hofkapelle*—possessed in 1721 all the requisite instruments and players to give a proficient performance of the complete set [of the Brandenburg Concertos] at one sitting.”

<sup>35</sup> MacCracken, “Verwendung der Blechblasinstrumente,” 82; Kristen Beißwenger and Uwe Wolf, “Tromba, Tromba da tirarsi order Corno? Zur Clarinostimme der Kantate ‘Ein ungefärbt Gemüte’, BWV 24,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 79 (1993): 91–101; Dürr, *Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 421.

<sup>36</sup> Dürr, *Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 679. The oboe-for-trumpet substitution also occurs in the revisions of Cantatas nos. 185, and 243a. The most ready access to substitution information is Edward H. Tarr, *Bach for Brass*, (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2002–). On the 1740s substitutions specifically, see Joshua Rifkin, “Notenformen und Nachtragsstimmen Zur Chronologie der Kantaten ‘Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes’ BWV 76 und ‘Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt’ BWV 68,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 94 (2008): 203–23.

<sup>37</sup> Dürr, *Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 697. Bach also replaced the trumpets in a later version of Cantata no. 43. In Cantata no. 30 he later omitted the trumpets entirely, probably for liturgical reasons.

<sup>38</sup> See Wolff, *Learned*, 346–47.

<sup>39</sup> This substitution is akin to what happened in many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century revivals of the Brandenburg Concertos, where clarinets substituted for the trumpet; see Edward H. Tarr, “The ‘Bach Trumpet’ in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in *Music of the Past: Instruments and Imagination*, ed. Michael Latham (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 19 and 32. The possibility of oboes as the preferred substitute for trumpets in English Baroque music has also been the subject of debate, see Smithers, *Before 1721*, 222–24.

<sup>40</sup> There are no references to BWV 207 apart from Boyd (*Bach*, 29–30 and 60–70) and a short footnote by Wolff (*Learned*, 360fn), who notes that the work is the sole surviving remnant of outdoor military trumpet ensemble music by Bach. Another interesting case of trumpets added to Bach’s music is the *Orchestral Suite No. 4 in D major*, BWV 1069, which likely had no brass whatsoever originally. In this case, however, the trumpets may not have been added by Bach at all (see Joshua Rifkin, “Klangpracht und Stilauffassung: Zu den Trompeten der Ouvertüre BWV 1069,” in *Bach und die Stile*, 327–45). On Bach’s other Leipzig revisions of Brandenburg movements, see Michael Marissen, “J. S. Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos as a Meaningful Set,” in *Musical Quarterly* 77 (1993): 22, n. 10.

<sup>41</sup> For further details on the surviving parts and documents, see Talbot, “Peculiarities,” 271–76; and Boyd, *Bach*, 59–74.

<sup>42</sup> Marissen, “Penzel Manuscripts,” 78–79; and Boyd, *Bach*, 30.

<sup>43</sup> Marissen (“Penzel Manuscripts,” n. 16) briefly surveys the use of the horn for the work in modern times and cites Thurston Dart (*Interpretation*, 69–70) as originally responsible for the trend.

<sup>44</sup> The closest he was to writing a D-major movement for recorder is a movement in D minor in

BWV 46. For whatever reason, D major was not a common key for the recorder in the Baroque generally, so Bach was not unique in this regard.

<sup>45</sup> This is true of the G-major Fourth Brandenburg Concerto in spite of the oddity of using F natural in that key. For more on the recorder in the Brandenburg Concertos, see Marissen, "Organological." The other concertino instruments used in the Second Brandenburg Concerto did not present a similar problem, as the oboe regularly descends to middle C and the violin much lower.