

Anna Magdalena Bach's *Büchlein* (1725) as a Domestic Music Miscellany

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Anna Magdalena Bach has long fascinated musicologists and historians. Magdalena, Johann Sebastian's second wife, was her husband's loyal supporter and one of his most conscientious copyists. Recent scholarship has increasingly drawn attention not only to her role as a wife and mother but also to her musical persona as a singer and copyist in her own right.¹ Other than several personal and family documents, Magdalena's two *Klavierbüchlein* of 1722 and 1725 are among the few known musical documents directly related to her.² Only about a third of the earlier manuscript has survived in fragments.³ However, the later notebook is an intimate record of the place of music in the domestic life of the Bach household, revealing how it was compiled and used, and giving a picture of the musical and scribing skills as well as the musical taste of Bach's second wife. Yet little attention has been paid to the notebooks' significance as a woman's personal objects and their function as collections of music for domestic practice.⁴

¹ See particularly Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Zumahl'n da meine itzige Frau gar einen saubere Soprano singet...' in *Ich muss mich ganz hingeben können: Frauen in Leipzig*, ed. F. Bodeit (Leipzig, 1990); Maria Hübner, ed., *Anna Magdalena Bach: Ein Leben in Dokumenten und Bildern* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2004); and Yo Tomita, 'Anna Magdalena as Bach's Copyist', *Understanding Bach 2* (2007), 59–76. Recent non-scholarly biographical publications on Anna Magdalena Bach include Irma Hildebrandt, 'Nachruf auf eine Almosenfrau. Die Sängerin Anna Magdalena Bach, 1701–1760', in *Provokationen zum Tee: 18 Leipziger Frauenporträts* (München: E. Diederichs Verlag, 1998), pp. 45–56; and Eleonore Dehnerdt, *Anna Magdalena Bach* (Neukirchen: AUSAAT Verlag, 2001).

² *Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. Bach P 225 (1725) and P 224 (1722). Facsimile edition: Johann Sebastian Bach, *Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach 1725*, ed. Georg von Dadelsen (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988). Modern edition: *Die Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach (1722 und 1725)*, NBA v/4, ed. Georg von Dadelsen (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957). This essay focuses on the 1725 notebook, since the earlier manuscript's state of preservation does not allow its examination as a whole, complete notebook. Consultation of the original manuscript was kindly made possible by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

³ Roughly a third of the earlier manuscript, P 224 has survived. See Dadelsen, NBA v/4 *Kritischer Bericht* (1957), p. 9ff.

⁴ See David Yearsley, 'Death Everyday: The Anna Magdalena Bach Book of 1725 and the Art of Dying', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2/2 (2005), 231–49.

The preface to the first printed edition of the 1725 notebook, published in Munich in 1903, describes it as a 'musikalisches Haus- und Erbauungsbuch für die deutsche Familie'.⁵ This description might well reflect the ethos of turn-of-the-century Germany, where music was closely associated with moral edification and family values. However, it also captures an important aspect of the notebook's original domestic function. David Yearsley has argued convincingly that the notebook's vocal repertoire embodies the moral-religious Lutheran sensibilities of the Bach household, serving Magdalena daily in devotional meditation on death and reflecting a reality in which the presence of death was a concern addressed through a variety of meditative activities, including singing.⁶ Yet Dadelsen's passing remark in 1960 about the manuscript being a 'musikalische[s] Stammbuch und Tagebuch', an anthology of the owner's favourite pieces interspersed with her husband's and children's musical dedications, has not been further explored.⁷

This essay seeks to understand the significance of Magdalena's 1725 notebook both as a woman's personal manuscript and a representation of domestic musical practices in the Bach household. It explores the notebook, as both musical text and material object, in the context of music manuscripts owned by women in England, Germany and the Netherlands during the early-modern and baroque periods and the patterns this sub-genre of miscellany represents in terms of attitudes to women's engagement with music and constructs of female domesticity. I suggest that while Magdalena's notebook resembles this sub-genre in many respects, it also remains distinct. While such music manuscripts were usually owned by the young daughters of the upper and middle classes who received musical training as a luxury intended to enhance their virtue (and in the hope of improving their marriageability), Magdalena's notebook reflects her professional training as a singer and her position as a musician's wife, albeit one who merged her professional skills with her domestic duties and responsibilities as a mother.⁸

⁵ Quoted in Schulze, 'Zumahl'n da meine itzige Frau gar einen sauberen Sopran singet...Ein biographischer Essay', in *Anna Magdalena Bach*, ed. Hübner, p. 11.

⁶ See David Yearsley, 'Death Everyday'.

⁷ Georg von Dadelsen, 'Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach 1725', *Hausmusik* 24 (1960), 56. The term 'family album' is mentioned also in Robert L. Marshall, 'The Notebooks for Wilhelm Friedemann and Anna Magdalena Bach: Some Biographical Lessons', in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, eds. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), p. 197.

⁸ The limited scope of this essay does not allow discussion of other cases of professionally-trained female musicians or wives of professional musicians active in eighteenth-century Germany, a timely topic deserving further investigation. I am not aware of any other contemporaneous music manuscripts comparable with Anna Magdalena's *Büchlein* that were owned by early modern German women musicians or musicians' wives. On German women as professional musicians, see, for example, Samantha Owens, 'Professional Women Musicians in Early Eighteenth-Century Württemberg', *Music & Letters* 82/1 (2001), 32-50.

The place of music in the education of early modern women and Anna Magdalena's musical training

Following humanist intellectual traditions, the education of a person was fashioned according to that individual's designated social role. Women were destined to fulfil a domestic role as wives and mothers and consequently followed a different curriculum to that of men, who were destined to take up a place in the public domain. European educators from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century recommended a limited curriculum for women, directed towards keeping them absorbed in the private sphere.⁹ In German countries girls from the bourgeoisie and lower ranks of the aristocracy were taught mainly household skills and needlework, alongside reading, writing and languages, dance and music, an upbringing intended to immerse them in Christian belief and good works rather than intellectual pursuits.¹⁰ Music, a popular pastime among both the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, was included in the education of daughters of the middle and upper classes in Germany, as in other European countries such as England and the Netherlands, throughout the early modern period.¹¹

Very little is known about how women obtained musical training in Germany or elsewhere in western Europe, as the sparse documentation which exists relates only to the musical training of a few particularly talented girls, or daughters from a small number of royal and aristocratic families. A manuscript tutorial written as a systematic pedagogical course by George Frederick Handel in the 1720s and 1730s for his pupil Anne, the English Princess Royal, contains the rudiments of music and keyboard playing, figured bass exercises, and a comprehensive compositional training.¹² Evidence of the musical training of other exceptionally

⁹ This gendered division and its reflection in the education of children was a commonplace that, albeit with local nuances, characterised moral discourses across early modern Europe. Scholarship on this topic is vast; see, for example, Peter Petschauer, 'Eighteenth-Century German Opinions about Education for Women', *Central European History* 19 (1986), 262-92; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'What Difference Does Feminism Make to the Study of German Literature?', in *Gendering German Studies: New Perspectives on German Literature and Culture*, ed. Margaret Little (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 3; Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, eds., *A History of Women in the West, 3, Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), particularly the essay by Martine Sonnet, 'A Daughter to Educate', trans. Arthur Goldhammer, pp. 101-31.

¹⁰ See, for example, Daniel Chodowiecki's series of copper prints entitled *Occupation des Dames of 1781*, cited in Tobias Debuch, *Anna Amalia von Preussen (1723-1787): Prinzessin und Musikerin* (Berlin: Logos, 2001), p. 72.

¹¹ As Matthew Head points out, at least until the last decades of the eighteenth century, music was ascribed far less significance than other skills and proficiencies expected of women. With the emergence of enlightened attitudes towards women's learning and education, these attitudes became more favourable, although they still operated within the discourse that admonished female self-improvement not to transgress beyond the domestic sphere. See Head, '“If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch”: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Journal of American Musicological Society* 52/2 (1999), 218-19.

¹² David Ledbetter, ed., *Continuo Playing According to Handel: His Figured Bass Exercises* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 1. The practical and theoretical were taught in

talented (and exceptionally privileged) eighteenth-century women, such as Princess Amalie of Prussia or Duchess Anna Amalia, suggests a similar music curriculum which seems to have included keyboard and singing lessons, as well as basso continuo and possibly rudimentary compositional skills, including tune setting in four parts.¹³

The education and musical training of Anna Magdalena, like that of most early modern women, is not recorded in extant documents. Her training as a singer may have begun in Zeitz, where she was born in 1701.¹⁴ As the daughter of a family of court musicians, she would have been able to acquire musical skills, either formally or informally, from an early age. Her basic music education may have been less extensive and luxurious than that given to some daughters of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. However, it may well have been similar in including singing and keyboard skills, notational skills, continuo and fundamental composition.¹⁵ As with other girls of a similar and even higher social station, it is likely that greater emphasis would have been given to Anna's attainment of domestic skills, needlework, religious devotion and reading of the scriptures.

Anna Magdalena's vocal training continued in 1717 or 1718, when the family had moved to Weissenfels where she may have been taught by the famous court singer Christiane Pauline Kellner.¹⁶ While we cannot trace her musical education or the methods employed, we may speculate about its intensity, based on the extensive cultivation of music at the court of Weissenfels, and about its quality, based on Magdalena's early career as a singer that began at least as early as 1720, when she performed with her father at the court of Zerbst and was paid twice as much as him.¹⁷ In 1721 at the age of 19 she entered employment at the court of Köthen, where she became a highly acclaimed singer and was among the best paid musicians of that court.¹⁸

While Magdalena's musical training may have been completely undocumented, her notebooks attest to her musical skills, taste and the place of music practice in her daily life as a married woman and mother. The 1725 volume shows how music whether as compilation, arrangement, singing or playing was present as a practice, within the frame of Magdalena's domestic life.

parallel in the eighteenth century, as basso continuo and the tenets of compositional practice and counterpoint.

¹³ See Debuch, *Anna Amalia von Preussen*, p. 71; and Sandra Dreise-Beckmann, *Herzogin Anna Amalia von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach (1739–1807): Musikliebhaberin und Mäzenin* (Schneverdingen: K.D. Wagner, 2004), pp. 17–18.

¹⁴ Hübner, *Anna Magdalena Bach*, p. 25.

¹⁵ As Tomita points out, entries copied in Magdalena's hand in her 1722 notebook give evidence of her development of notational skills, including the correct writing of a c clef. See Tomita, 'Anna Magdalena as Bach's Copyist', 66–67.

¹⁶ Hübner, *Anna Magdalena Bach*, pp. 25, 33.

¹⁷ Anna Magdalena's salary suggests she was a talented singer, since payments to women singers employed at German courts were set according to the singer's abilities; particularly high salaries reflected a singer's virtuosity. See Owens, 'Professional Women Musicians in Early Eighteenth-Century Württemberg', 35, 39, 47.

¹⁸ Hübner, *Anna Magdalena Bach*, p. 33.

Women's keyboard manuscripts as domestic miscellanies

The association of keyboard music with female domesticity began around the turn of the seventeenth century. A *Frauenzimmer-Lexikon* from the first half of the eighteenth century contains entries on *Clavier-, Lauten- and Singe-Buch*, next to entries on housekeeping, cooking and needlework.¹⁹ Some collections of keyboard music in manuscripts used by women in England, Scotland, Germany and the Netherlands in domestic training and performance survive from as early as the late sixteenth century, providing solid evidence of women's domestic musical practices which are otherwise only represented in visual and literary sources. Printed anthologies of keyboard and vocal music explicitly intended for 'the fair sex' first appear in the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in Germany and England. These are both simple and technically unchallenging, reflecting the attitudes of the time to women's mental and physical nature.²⁰

Notwithstanding discrepancies in geographical origin, social station and taste, these manuscripts have certain elements in common which are described below.²¹

i) Physical characteristics

The manuscripts are small, folio-sized oblong or upright notebooks of pre-ruled paper, pre-bound in vellum or leather. The owner's name sometimes appears on the front cover or scribbled on the flyleaves.

ii) Ownership

The manuscripts were compiled for, and partly by, young, unmarried women and girls of the upper and middle classes. They record the events of music lessons taken in youth. While musical skills were evidently considered an essential part of the women's process of socialisation, most of the manuscript

¹⁹ Gottlieb Siegmund Corvinus [Amaranthes], *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Gleditsch & Sohn, 1715), cols. 359, 1139f and 1853. The lexicon was reprinted in 1739 and 1773. The description of the music books refers to 'zusammen geheftetes oder gebundenes länglichtes Buch, worinnen die musikalischen Stücken und Parthien [...] von [dem] Informatore und Lehr-Meister eingeschrieben stehen', suggesting that the use of manuscript notebooks, rather than printed anthologies, was common practice.

²⁰ For example, printed anthologies by C.P.E. Bach, Nichelmann, Wenkel and Reichardt. See also Head, "'Pretty Little Hand'", 206, 212.

²¹ This summary is based on an examination of extant manuscripts from the long seventeenth century in England, Scotland, the Netherlands Denmark and Germany: GB-Lbl 29485 (Netherlands/England ca. 1600), GB-Lml 46.78/748 (England, 1638), *Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book* (England, 1640s), (GB-Lbl 10337 (England, ca. 1650), GB-Och 92 (England, ca. 1640), GB-En 9449 (Scotland, 1640s), and DK-Kk Thott 292-8° (Denmark/Germany 1702). The musical contents of most of these manuscripts have appeared in modern editions. See Alan Curtis, ed. *Dutch Keyboard Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Vol. III, *Monumenta Musica Neerlandica* (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1961); Howard Ferguson, ed. *Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, 1638* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Virginia Brookes, ed. *Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book: A Collection of Keyboard Music for a Young Lady of the Seventeenth Century* (Albany: PRB Productions, 1993); Charles Cofone, ed., *Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book* (New York: Dover, 1975); Uwe Haensel, ed., *Das Klavierbuch der Christiana Charlotte Amalia Trolle, 1702* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1974).

owners seem largely to have neglected their keyboard playing following marriage and particularly motherhood.

iii) Contents

Typically, these manuscripts contain a cluster of simple and didactic pieces, fashionable dances and arrangements of popular tunes. Pieces are mainly written in C, D or G, as well as F and A. Most manuscripts include a page dedicated to the rudiments of music, reflecting the pedagogical context in which the manuscript was compiled, as do fingerings and possibly exercises. Some contain secular and possibly sacred solo settings for female voice and keyboard accompaniment. A volume might open with a technically challenging piece, possibly serving as a showcase entry. The owners are not recorded as composers, although some were responsible for tune arrangements. The pieces compiled in each manuscript reflect the owner's circumstances and taste, but above all the availability of exemplars that depended on access to printed sources or the tutor's mediation.

iv) Social conventions

The generally naïve character of such keyboard manuscripts, such as those of the Dutch Suzanne van Soldt of 1599, the English Anne Cromwell of 1638 or the German Christiana Charlotte Amalia Trolle of 1702, reflects the expectation that music appropriate for female performance should be simple.²² In other words, it should feature keys with few sharps and flats, homophonic, melody-centred textures, gradual changes of metre, tempo or register, and restricted artifice, as if to avoid what Castiglione reproved as 'those hard and often divisions that prove more cunning than sweet'.²³ As Johann Mattheson noted, this fashionable *galant* style was marked by 'noble simplicity', which makes it suitable for amateurs' pleasure.²⁴

The juxtaposition of light and secular pieces next to grave and sacred ones, all intended for edification, leisure and devotion, echoes contemporaneous and earlier recommendations found in treatises, such as Castiglione's *Courtier*, instructing women to familiarise themselves with a variety of conversational topics without appearing too sophisticated or becoming too proficient.²⁵ The inclusion of sacred music would have endowed secular genres with a measure of

²² GB-Lbl 29485, GB-Lml 46.78/748 and DK-Kk Thott 292-8° respectively. For an overview of the contents of these manuscripts, see Curtis, ed. *Dutch Keyboard Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*; Ferguson, ed., *Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book*; and Haensel, ed., *Das Klavierbuch der Christiana Charlotte Amalia Trolle*.

²³ Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1529) trans. by Thomas Hoby (1561), ed. W. H. D. Rouse (London & New York: Dent, 1948), p. 100. Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* was translated throughout early modern Europe and remained influential well into the eighteenth century. See Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

²⁴ Johann Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Kapellmeister* (1739), pt. 2, ch. 5, p. 140.

²⁵ Even during the Enlightenment period, in which women's *Bildung* was encouraged, women's frame of life continued to be defined by the domestic sphere. See Petschauer, 'Eighteenth-Century German Opinions', 268-69, 273-75.

legitimacy and underlined the edifying function of domestic musical pursuit as a whole.

v) Scribal hands

Manuscripts in this genre often feature several scribal hands: at least one experienced, although not necessarily neat, tutor's hand and possibly the neater yet inexperienced hand of the pupil. The tutor's hand is usually responsible for most, if not all, entries, particularly the more complex ones, as well as for pedagogical aids and corrections of the pupil's entries. Tutors, who were in most cases men, provided pupils with exemplars of music to which amateurs had no other access.²⁶ In some cases, the female owner's scribal participation is more clearly seen in non-musical entries, such as poetic or devotional verse and medical or cooking recipes. This kind of practical and personal text is found in many early modern domestic miscellanies owned and compiled by women, including recipe books and poetic miscellanies.²⁷ Adding texts that circulated in the domestic sphere of life, such as poetic and religious verse or recipes, allowed a female pupil to fashion her manuscript independently of male mediation. Unlike keyboard music, texts that circulated within family networks, such as devotional and technical writings, recipes or poetry were available in print and so more readily available to literate women of the upper and middle classes.²⁸

Early modern women's keyboard manuscripts thus reflect contemporaneous constructs of women's domestic roles and duties and contain music with a perceived function of moral and sometimes religious edification, as considered appropriate for women. In most cases, the musical clusters in these manuscripts resonate with the virtues and skills that a young woman was expected to possess in preparation for her role as wife and mother, such as being pious and graceful, as well as a charming conversationalist.²⁹

Anna Magdalena's *Büchlein*

The 1725 notebook largely resembles the patterns described earlier. However, Magdalena's social station and professional position sets her apart from early modern amateur women, to whom music was a privilege enjoyed in youth and

²⁶ In the early modern period, repertoires composed by professional composers generally circulate in manuscripts among professional musicians, excluding amateurs. See Stephen Rose, 'Music in the Market-Place', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, eds. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 70.

²⁷ On women's manuscript collections of technical writings, see Elizabeth Tebeaux, 'Women and Technical Writing, 1475–1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of Genre', in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500–1700*, eds. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp. 29–62.

²⁸ See, for example, Mark A. Peters, *A Woman's Voice in Baroque Music: Mariane von Ziegler and J. S. Bach* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 7–8.

²⁹ Even the manuscript of Amalia Trolle, who was a young nun at the time of its compilation, reflects the owner's aristocratic background and is not significantly different from other such collections. See also Haensel's Introduction to *Das Klavierbuch der Christiana Charlotte Amalia Trolle*, pp. 13–14.

directed towards improving their grace and virtue prior to marriage. Magdalena's notebook was created for a married woman and mother. It reflects music's intimate place in Magdalena's life, intertwined with her daily responsibilities, and is a record of the inner workings and distribution of roles within the Bach household.

The notebook is a small, oblong manuscript, pre-bound in vellum and made as Magdalena's personal item. Compiled over several years, it was carefully maintained and paginated throughout. The initials 'AMB' and the year written in Magdalena's hand on the front cover, were later completed by her stepson, Philipp Emanuel.³⁰ Of the forty-two entries, thirty are for solo keyboard, including early versions of Bach's third and sixth partitas in A and E minor (BWV 827 and 830, which were to appear in Bach's Opus 1 the following years), two French suites (BWV 812 and 813), a prelude in C major (BWV 846, originally from the *WTC I*) and an aria in G major (BWV 988, from the *Goldberg Variations*). The rest of the instrumental repertoire consists largely of light and fashionable dances in the *galant* style, some of which may have been copied out of printed anthologies. Other pieces, like many of Bach's compositions, were entered without attribution. However, these include compositions by François Couperin and contemporaneous court composers from central Germany with whom Bach was acquainted, among them Christian Petzold (organist at the court of Dresden), Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (Kapellmeister at the court of Gotha) and Johann Adolph Hasse (opera composer). The remaining twelve entries are vocal settings for female voice and keyboard, mostly by Bach and largely of sacred character, including chorale settings and arias compiled around 1730.³¹ Most of the vocal pieces are by Bach and are set for soprano and keyboard accompaniment. As Yearsley has shown, eight of the vocal pieces refer to death, and some are devotional meditations, reflecting Bach's moral concerns and religious sensibilities.³² There are no pieces attributed to Anna Magdalena.

While the level and quality of some of the pieces is exceptional by comparison with other early modern women's music manuscripts, the textual constitution of this notebook is typical of the genre, mixing light and fashionable pieces with more serious and challenging ones. The juxtaposition of sacred and secular, instrumental and vocal, is similarly typical. Chorales were sung as *Hausmusik* and served for domestic devotion in Lutheran German households, in the same way as psalm settings in England and the Netherlands.³³ Although there is no direct evidence of a pedagogical purpose, this notebook records a mentor-pupil relationship between Bach and Magdalena, and between her as a mother and the

³⁰ See Dadelsen, 'Afterword', *Klavierbüchlein* (1988), p. 11.

³¹ This dating is suggested in Schulze, 'Bibliographischer Essay', p. 17.

³² See Yearsley, 'Death Everyday', 235–36.

³³ See Head, "'Pretty Little Hand'", 215. On early modern women's domestic psalm singing, see Margaret Hannay, "'So May I With the Psalmist Truly Say": Early Modern Englishwomen's Psalm Discourse', *Write or be Written: Early Modern Women Poets and Cultural Constraints*, eds. Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 106–107; and Natascha Veldhorst, 'Pharmacy for the Body and Soul: Dutch Songbooks in the Seventeenth Century', *Early Music History* 27 (2008), 263, 274–75.

Bach sons. This is reflected in the distribution of roles between the different scribal hands that participated in the compilation, as discussed below.

Entries from Bach's large-scale keyboard compositions (BWV 827 and BWV 830) have been copied out in his own hand, probably when he gave the notebook to his wife. Pieces in the *galant* style have mostly been compiled by Magdalena,³⁴ reflecting her own taste and the popularity of this repertoire in early eighteenth-century Leipzig. Magdalena's hand is tidy, becoming increasingly confident – and increasingly similar to that of her husband – over time. Copying mistakes, which are particularly frequent at the beginning, are usually corrected. We can only speculate that Bach guided and inspected Magdalena's compilation process. Her copies of the Prelude in C major from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* I and the second French suite (BWV 846/1 and BWV 812–813) have been left incomplete; notwithstanding the possibility that Magdalena may have learnt to play these pieces, it is tempting to think that copying them into her notebook was primarily intended as a scribal-pedagogical exercise. At least two vocal settings, among them 'Erbauliche Gedanken eines Tobakrauchers', were entered by both husband and wife – the melody and text by Magdalena, and the bass by Bach.³⁵ Other vocal entries are Magdalena's arrangements of Bach's pieces, which she adapted for her solo voice. For instance, the chorale 'Dir, dir, Jehova' follows Bach's four-part setting of the same (BWV 299), entered by him on the opposite page.

Bach's intermediary role is also notable in the presence of pieces by other composers that were neither directly intended for amateurs nor circulated in print. Access to such exemplars would have been difficult for a woman to gain, being excluded from professional networks, and would have typically been enabled through the mediation of a tutor, father or indeed husband.³⁶

This division of scribal roles, in which Magdalena's hand was secondary to that of Bach, is typical of women's participation in the compilation of their keyboard manuscripts. It also corresponds to early modern gender roles, with the female pupil being a responsive recipient, subordinate to the masculine authority of the tutor. In this case, Bach appears to have provided access to substantial, challenging works, while the pieces that seem to have been chosen solely by Magdalena, including some of the sacred repertoire, are technically easier and mostly composed in the *galant* style, associated with amateur music-making and accommodating expectations regarding the musical style considered appropriate for women. In addition, she may have been expected to practise her scribal skills in becoming Bach's assistant copyist.

The jointly compiled vocal entries, both bearing religious significance, may be said to represent Bach's intellectual and moral authority, with a bass line that

³⁴ Yearsley, 'Death Everyday', 233–34.

³⁵ See Hans-Joachim Schulze and Christoph Wolff, eds., *Bach Compendium i/2* (Leipzig: Peters, 1987), p. 714.

³⁶ On early modern women's dependency on male mediation for gaining access to knowledge and texts that normally only circulated in professional (and hence male) networks, see, for example, Lynette Hunter, 'Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh', in *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500–1700*, eds. Hunter and Hutton, pp. 178–97; and Peters, *Mariane von Ziegler*, p. 7.

provides the fundamentals upon which Magdalena's voice could sing devotional and edifying texts set to his music. Bach's moral authority is reflected on the title page of Magdalena's 1722 notebook where he annotated, and perhaps recommended to her, the titles of three books he owned by the Lutheran theologian August Pfeiffer.³⁷

Several of the entries in the notebook are in the hands of two of the Bach sons. Philipp Emanuel has copied four of his pieces, probably among his earliest attempts in composition.³⁸ Johann Christoph Friedrich is thought to have attempted a scribbled exercise towards the end of the notebook and to have copied a text on continuo playing in the back of the notebook, next to a text on the same topic in Magdalena's hand ('Einige höchst nötige Regeln vom General-Basso' and 'Einige Regeln vom General-Baß' respectively).³⁹ A descending C-major scale jotted down by Magdalena on two staves might have been intended for instructing a child.

This pattern of mixed compilation distinguishes Magdalena's notebook from the early modern women's keyboard miscellanies described above. The notebook reflects Magdalena's diverse roles and responsibilities as a mother and sometimes music tutor, as well as one of Bach's assistants. As a skilled musician, she would have been able to assist her husband not only as his copyist, but also in overseeing the musical training of the Bach children.⁴⁰ Yet in contrast to the *Klavierbüchlein* prepared for the nine-year-old Wilhelm Friedemann by his father in 1720, which was a practical tool accompanying the boy's systematic training as a professional composer and organist, Magdalena's notebook does not offer its owner progress in skill directed towards a goal, but instead assumes a static, ritualised form of use.⁴¹

In conclusion, the textual and physical features of Anna Magdalena's notebook resemble those of contemporaneous women's music miscellanies. It contains a mixture of grave and challenging, or light and simple pieces; includes sacred and secular vocal entries; and its texts come either from printed sources or through male mediation. Magdalena's proficiencies as a professional singer and musician's wife and her role as a mother set her, and indeed her notebook, apart from upper- or middle-class female amateurs. Nevertheless, although initially able to continue her career after marriage, like most other German professional

³⁷ On the theology books in Bach's library, see Robin A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek. Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 1* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985). See also Yearsley, 'Death Everyday', 238.

³⁸ 'Solo per il cembalo' in E-flat major, an early version of the opening movement of Philipp Emanuel's keyboard sonata Wq. 65/7 was copied by Anna Magdalena. See Dadelsen, 'Afterword' to *Klavierbüchlein*, p. 15.

³⁹ Ibid. See p. 16 for hand identification.

⁴⁰ This is suggested also in Dadelsen, 'Klavierbüchlein', 58; and Tomita, 'Anna Magdalena as Bach's Copyist', 71-72.

⁴¹ This discrepancy is noted in Head, "'Pretty Little Hand'", 214; and, albeit uncritically, in Dadelsen, 'Klavierbüchlein', 56; and Marshall, 'The Notebooks for Wilhelm Friedemann and Anna Magdalena Bach', p. 195. The inscription on the inside front cover is in J. S. Bach's hand: 'Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. Angefangen in Coethen den 22. Januar Anno. 1720'. See introduction to facsimile edition by Ralph Kirkpatrick (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

female singers Anna Magdalena was compelled to retire from her musical career once in Leipzig, where professional women musicians could not sing in public.⁴²

Indeed, the notebook is more than a musical family book; the variety of musical and music-related practices represented in it underscores the complexity of Magdalena's daily domestic reality in the Bach household. As Yearsley has shown, songs that allude to, or summon, thoughts of death would not only have served for religious meditation and moral uplift in the Lutheran tradition but also as spiritual refreshment for Magdalena and the entire household over which she presided.⁴³ As a life-accompanying, personal object, the contents of the notebook encapsulate the responsibilities of Magdalena's daily life: devotional practice and self-improvement, the religious rearing and musical training of children, and contributing to her husband's compositional production.

It also illustrates the widely-accepted eighteenth-century attitude towards women's professional training described above. Even when, in the course of the century, attitudes towards learned women became increasingly liberal, women's education and training continued to be directed towards the domestic sphere in order to prepare them to raise and educate children rather than pursue professional, public roles.

⁴² See Schulze, 'Bibliographischer Essay', pp. 14–15. On attitudes to professional singers of church music in eighteenth-century German countries, see Owens, 'Professional Women Musicians in Early Eighteenth-Century Württemberg', 47–48.

⁴³ See Yearsley, 'Death Everyday', 236 ff.