The J. C. Bach – Mozart Connection

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“Few composers, Leopold Mozart apart, exercised a comparable influence on the boy or indeed the man.” (Stanley Sadie)¹

Johann Christian Bach (1735-82), eighteenth-century composer par excellence, was one of the most respected musicians of his time. Overshadowed by the achievements of the later Classical composers, and totally forgotten during the nineteenth century,² he reemerged as a composer of significant stature during the twentieth century.³ Focusing on his contribution to music history and his close relationship with Mozart, this renewed interest resulted in numerous scholarly studies, culminating in Ernest Warburton’s monumental 48-volume publication, The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach.⁴ Reflecting on these changing fortunes, we may ask ourselves what the factors were that led to a reassessment of Bach’s contribution to the Classical style; what ways these factors were related to Mozart’s high regard for Bach; and why modern Mozartiana has included a revival of Bach’s music. Addressing these issues, this article opens with a biographical survey, illustrating the context of Bach’s life and work. It then continues with a discussion of the Bach-Mozart connection, and concludes with brief comparative analyses of the first movements of Bach’s Symphony Opus 6 No. 6⁵ and Mozart’s Symphony K. 183/173dB, both in the key of g minor.

³ The first to recognize Bach’s importance in modern times was Hugo Riemann. In his essay, Die Söhne Bachs (Preludien und Studien) (1895-1900), he honored Bach as “one of the most eminent co-creators of the modern style of instrumental composition.” See Fritz Stein, Introduction to the Eulenburg edition of Bach’s Opus 9 No. 2. Other important early works devoted to Bach include: H.P. Schökel, Johann Christian Bach und die Instrumentalmusik seiner Zeit (Wolfenbüttel: G. Kallmeyer, 1926), which includes a thematic catalogue of the instrumental works found in German and Swiss libraries; Fritz Tutenberg, Die Sinfonik Johann Christian Bachs (Wolfenbüttel: G. Kallmeyer, 1928), with thematic catalogues of symphonies and concertantes; and Charles Sanford Terry, John Christian Bach, 2nd edn., ed. H.C. Robbins Lanon (London: Oxford University Press, 1967; revised reprint Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980, originally published in London, 1929), which presents a thematic catalogue of all the works.
⁴ Johann Christian Bach, published by Garland under the general editorship of Ernest Warburton, has 42 volumes of edited music and five volumes of librettos. The final volume no. 48 in this monumental study, is the Thematic Catalogue and Music Supplement. See review by Sterling E. Murray in Notes, 57, 3 (2001): 633-35.
⁵ This article draws on research in progress, devoted to Bach’s contribution to the development of the eighteenth-century symphony, which will appear in the volume edited by Mary Sue Morrow and Bathia Churgin devoted to the eighteenth-century symphony, for the series, “The Symphonic Repertoire” (in press, Indiana University Press).
Biographical Survey

Born in Leipzig on 5 September 1735, Bach moved to Berlin to live with his brother Carl Phillip Emanuel (1714-88) after their father’s death in 1750. Recognized immediately for his talents as an outstanding keyboard performer and composer, J.C. Bach left Germany for Italy in 1754. He studied in Bologna with the generous support of his patron, Count Agostino Litta of Milan, under the most distinguished music theorist of the period, Padre Martini (1706-84). Initially committed to composing sacred works for the Roman Catholic Church, Bach soon fell in love with the theater, and turned to composing operas for the world-famous opera houses in Turin (Artaserse, 1760), and Naples (Catone in Utica, 1761).6 Bach left Italy for London in 1762, where he was commissioned to compose two operas for the King’s Theatre. Soon thereafter, he was appointed music master to Queen Sophie Charlotte of England.7

On 29 February 1764, and for most of the remaining years of his life, Bach co-founded and managed, together with his partner, the composer and viola da gamba player Carl Friedrich Abel (1725-87), the Bach-Abel subscription concerts. From being a composer mainly of operas, he turned abruptly to the composition of instrumental music.8 These concerts took place on Wednesdays, and soon became known as the “Soho Subscription Concerts.” Attesting to their growing popularity, the first season featured six concerts, while the next increased to fifteen. The programs mainly consisted of Bach’s own music, primarily symphonies and keyboard concertos, along with overtures and the most popular airs from his operas.9

Bach was much respected and loved by his London audience, a relationship that he nurtured by composing works that aroused the admiration of his London audiences. The Londoners particularly appreciated the simple, cantabile melodies that permeated Bach’s symphonies, concertos and sonatas, as well as his popular songs, Scottish ballads, dances and pastorals. In addition, his highly expressive second movements, characterized by beautiful melodies and depth of feeling, were particularly admired by the British, who prided themselves on their good taste in the cultivation of the Adagio.10 Bach’s colorful

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7 Bach dedicated his Opus 1 concertos to Queen Charlotte, indicating that, by 1763, he enjoyed royal favor and patronage; within a year he was able to advertise himself as the Queen’s music master. See Ernest Warburton, “J.C.Bach,” Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy, and also Ernest Warburton, “Johann Christian Bach,” in The New Grove Bach Family (London: Papermac, 1983), p. 317.
8 Despite the fact that Bach’s opera, Orione, was a success, he was not re-engaged for the 1763-64 season by the King’s Theatre opera series. The opera managers, Mengotti and Giardini, preferred the Italian composer Matteo Vento (1735-76), a Neapolitan who lived in London from 1763 until his death. See Roger Fiske, English Theatre Music in the 18th Century (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 324.
9 The English used the term “overture” for music that preceded an opera and/or an independent symphony. An opera overture, however, differed from an independent symphony in that the first movement exposition never repeated, and there was no minuet and trio. The symphony overture was a vehicle for influences imported from Mannheim composers, who were admired particularly for their dramatic use of dynamics. Carl Friedrich Abel’s (1725-87) overture, “Love in a Village,” performed in London in 1762, reflects the Mannheim influence, and serves as the prototype of the English opera overture. See Fiske, pp. 287-93.
10 John Marsh related the three movements of Bach’s symphonies to the opera-audience taste levels: “The first or principal movements seem to be calculated for the meridian of the pit (where the critics generally assemble); the middle strain for that of the boxes (where people of more refined taste usually sit), and the
treatment of the orchestra was another strong communicative aspect of his style. Having at his disposal one of the finest orchestras in the world, he provided solo parts for a wide range of woodwinds—including clarinets (if sparingly). Finally, Bach’s clear structures provided a solid base against which he highlighted thematic contrast. At this time, the yardstick for originality was an inventive interplay of contrasting ideas, and, as noted by Burney, “Bach seems to have been the first composer who observed the law of contrast as a principle.”

In addition to their intrinsic musical value, the Bach-Abel concerts offered Londoners an enticing social milieu. The first subscription concerts took place in 1765-68 under the auspices of the renowned hostess and singer, Mrs. Teresa Cornelys. She transformed her home, Carlisle House in Soho, into “the most magnificent place of entertainment in Europe.” In 1768, Bach and Abel took over the concerts’ management, and transferred them to the larger Almack’s Assembly Rooms at St. James’s, and, in 1774, back to Soho Square. This move was to prove only temporary, for in June of that year they entered into partnership with Giovanni Andrea Gallini, the son-in-law of the Earl of Abingdon, for the erection of a new, lavish concert hall in Hanover Square (1775). While the concerts had already passed the peak of their popularity, they maintained their social prestige, and, as late as 1776, we read the following entry from the diary of Edward Piggot:

April the 16th 1776, Lord Fauconbery sent me a ticket for Bach and Abel’s Concert at the assembly room in Hanover Square. The performers were the two above mentioned, the second played a solo exceeding well; In all about 22

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11 Bach exercised flexibility in his choice of instruments, usually writing for instruments that were available. He initiated the use of clarinets in an opera orchestra (Orione, 1763), although the inclusion of clarinets in operas did not become a regular occurrence. See Ernest Warburton, *Johann Christian Bach*, in *The Symphony 1720-1740*, pp. xxiv-xxviii.


13 A contemporary description of the concert’s atmosphere reads thus:
Where Carlisle House attracts the light and gay,
And Countless tapers emulate the day,
There youth and beauty chase the hours along,
And aid Time’s flight by revelry and song;
There masques and dancers bound on footsteps light;
To Jocund strains that echo through the night'
Till morning rosy beam darts full on all
Who leave, tho’ loath, this gorgeous Festival;
Then worn with pleasure, forth the revellers stray,
And hail with languid looks the new-born day: -
They seek their homes; - there, weary with ennui,
Joyless and dull, is all they hear and see;
Spiritless and void, of every charm bereft,
Unlike that scene of magic they have left,
They chide the lingering hours that move so slow,
Till the night comes, when they again can go
And mingle in the enchantments of Soho.

musicians; this concert is reckoned the best in the world, everything executed with the greatest taste and exactness; a very fine room; very elegantly painted; it was almost full, everybody dressed; between the acts they go in another room underneath where you have tea; it is by subscription; it begins at about 8 and ends at 10. Everything is very elegant.  

While based in London, Bach maintained close ties with music centers on the Continent, especially in Paris and Mannheim. During the 1760s and '70s, Bach’s works appeared on the programs of the prestigious Concert Spirituel, the French capital’s most up-to-the-minute musical event, and, on 14 December 1779, Bach’s opera Amadis de Gaul was performed before Queen Marie Antoinette. The many printed editions of his works by the French publishers Sieber, Huberty, Chevardière and Leduc, attest to the immense popularity of his music in Paris.

Bach visited Mannheim several times, first in 1772, for the performance of his sumptuous opera Temistocle, in honor of the Elector of Mannheim’s name day, and again in 1773 for its revival. He returned to Mannheim for the less successful production of his opera, Lucia Silla, performed on 5 November 1775. Bach was welcomed to Mannheim by the city’s leading musicians, including Jakob Holzbauer, director of the Mannheim Opera, who was twenty-four years older than Bach, Anton Raaff, who sang the tailor-made arias in the title roles in Temistocle and in Lucia Silla, and the Abbé Vogler, who wrote, “We honor John Christian Bach as a great musician and love him as one of our compatriots.”

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14 Edward Piggot, diary, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn, f.c.80 (as quoted in Ian Woodfield, Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career (Ashgate, 2003). I would like to thank Simon McVeigh for this reference.

15 The opera did not succeed, as critics claimed that the music was not sensational enough. A 1983 revival of the opera by Helmut Rilling, church musician and Bach interpreter, was well received, however, indicating its lasting worth. Bach’s last opera, Omphale, was written for Paris. No music survives. Another successful modern performance of Bach’s Lucio Silla was organized by Fritz Tutenberg in Kiel in 1929. See Heinz Gärtner, John Christian Bach: Mozart’s Friend and Mentor, translated by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus, 1994), pp. 325-27, and Fritz Tutenberg, “Johann Christian Bach und seiner Oper ‘Lucia Silla’,” Deutsche Musikkultur 1 (1936-37): 283-85. Cited in Gärtner, p. 358 n. 28.

16 Bach’s melodies and allegro-style singing found a receptive public in France. Most of his works, Opus 1-18, were published in France and performed at the Concert Spirituel. Indeed, Bach’s first work to be published was the overture to his opera Artaserse, issued in Paris by Venier in 1761. Raaff performed Bach’s famous aria, “Non so d’onde viene,” from Bach’s Neapolitan opera, Alessandro nell’Indie, at his Concert Spirituel debut. Mozart attended this performance, and wrote to his father on 12 June 1778 that it was one of his favorite arias. See The Letters of Mozart and his Family, 3rd edn., ed. Emily Anderson (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 551. Mozart apparently heard the version inserted by Bach into his pasticcio Ezio, performed in London in November 1764. Mozart later composed decorations for it when he was in Paris (Fiske, p. 324).

17 The opera was not performed in November 1774, as is often documented. Mozart examined this score in 1777, and his letter of 13 November makes clear his high opinion of Bach in general, and of this opera. See The Letters of Mozart and his Family, p. 370. Other works performed in Mannheim include cantatas and Endimione, revised for performance in 1774.

18 Explaining the merits of Bach’s music, the Abbé Vogler explains that “There may be passages that sound bold and learned, in the German manner, but Bach employs these sparingly and judiciously, to provide effective contrast to the gentle moods.” This quote comes from a positive review of Bach’s cantata, La Tempesta, performed in Mannheim in 1776. Vogler’s publication about Bach transcends anything
As the composer of over 300 compositions, Bach is highly acclaimed for his keyboard works, and is credited as being the first to perform publicly in London on the fortepiano. Many of Bach’s 60 or so symphonies were published during his lifetime, and early editions survive in archives and libraries throughout England and Europe. In addition, numerous Italian collections contain manuscript copies of his orchestral music, attesting to its popularity.

The Bach-Mozart Connection

Mozart’s lifelong admiration for Bach began during the family’s first trip to London, 1764-65, when Mozart was only eight years old. This trip marked the beginning of an extraordinary relationship, documented in letters written by Wolfgang, Leopold and Nannerl. Mozart met Bach at the height of the latter’s fame, when he was completely at home in the active musical and social life of the metropolis. While in London, Mozart enjoyed a close relationship with Bach, and apparently composed under his tutelage the four-hand piano sonata K. 19d, which Leopold assumed was the first such work by any composer. Moreover, he probably attended a performance of Bach’s opera, Adriano in Siria, which premiered while the Mozarts were in London. After only one month, Leopold wrote: “What he had known when he left Salzburg is nothing compared with what he knows now; it defies the imagination … right now, Wolfgang is sitting at the harpsichord playing Bach’s trios.” Nannerl added in her diary, written after Mozart’s death: “Herr Johann Christian Bach, music master of the queen, took Wolfgang between previously written on the subject. He is the only one to have published a detailed review of the cantata, describing it as “the work of an inspired composer.” See Gärtner, pp. 275-81.

19 Bach appeared at a concert in 1768 on the fortepiano, and, from then on, continued to play this instrument in public. Warburton, The Symphony 1720-1740, p. xxiv.
20 While Bach published his first collection of symphonies, “Overtures of the subscription concerts,” Opus 3, in April 1765, these works probably date from his Italian period, and were republished by Hummel in Amsterdam, and Huberty in Paris. Bach’s symphonies were well known in his time. There are approximately 280 composers represented in the Breitkopf catalogues by symphonies (Parts I-VI, 1762-1765, Supplements I-XVI, 1766-1787) and only 8 have more symphonies listed than Bach (31 symphonies, but in fact 23, as some are mentioned twice). Moreover, Bach is the only composer in the group whose main residence was not in Austria or Prussia. Among the Opus 18 symphonies, only Nos. 2 and 6 are mentioned, perhaps indicating that these symphonies six were not well known on the Continent. See Niels Krabbe, “J.C. Bach’s Symphonies and the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue,” Festskrift Jens Peter Larsen, ed. Nils Schiørring, Henrik Glahn, and Carsten E. Hatting (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen Musik-Forlag, 1972), pp. 239-41.
21 Many movements or complete works in Bach’s orchestral oeuvre were recycled, often altering the original orchestration. Oboe parts are at times transposed for clarinets, or flutes and horns for trumpets. It seems that Bach used whatever resources were available to him. Moreover, as noted above, Bach contributed to the clarinets’ permanent position in the orchestra’s wind section, most notably in the orchestras for operas and at the Bach-Abel concerts. See Ann van Allen-Russell, “The Instruments not Intended: The Second J.C. Bach Lawsuit,” Music and Letters, 83 (2002): 24.
22 Wyzewa and De Saint-Foix believe that “… increasingly, until 1768 and beyond, [Bach’s influence] replaced the influence of the father and of Schobert, so that John Christian Bach became the only, the true teacher of Mozart.” See Gärtner, pp. 211-16.
23 Sadie, p. 67.
24 Gärtner, p. 206.
his knees. He would play a few measures; then Wolfgang would continue. In this manner
they played entire sonatas. Unless you saw it with your own eyes, you would swear that
just one person was playing.”

After leaving London, Mozart met Bach in Paris in 1778, where he attended the
performance of Bach’s opera, Amadis de Gaul. Mozart retained his love and respect for
his teacher, as he wrote to his father:

… Mr. Bach from London has been here for the last fortnight…. You can easily
imagine his delight and mine at meeting again; perhaps his delight may not have
been quite as sincere as mine—but one must admit that he is an honorable man
and willing to do justice to others. I love him (as you know) and respect him with
all my heart; and as for him, there is no doubt but that he has praised me warmly,
not only to my face, but to others, also, and in all seriousness—not in the
exaggerated manner which some affect. (Letters, 27 August 1778)

This respect endured, whether the two composers were physically together or
apart, and even when Bach’s esteem declined. This is evident from Mozart’s letter of 13
November 1777, from Mannheim, to his father, in which he bemoans Vogler’s poor
musicianship, and adds: “Why, he (Vogler) even belittled Bach to me. Bach has written
two operas here … with regard to Lucia Silla he [Vogler] stated, ‘Why of course, that
hideous aria by Bach, that filthy stuff.’ … I thought I should have to seize his front hair
and pull it hard…."

Still in Mannheim, on 28 February 1778, Mozart describes to his father his
attempts to make a new setting for Bach’s “Non so d’onde vieni.”

Just because I know Bach’s setting so well and like it so much, and because it is
always ringing in my ears, I wished to try and see whether in spite of all this I
could not write an aria totally unlike his…. But all in vain. I simply couldn’t
compose for the first aria kept on running in my head. So I returned to it and made
up my mind to compose it exactly for Mlle. Weber’s voice…. This is now the best
aria she has.”

Later, on Bach’s death, Mozart mourned his friend in the famous, often quoted passage
from his letter of 10 April 1782: “I suppose that you have heard that the English Bach is
dead? What a loss to the musical world!”

In identifying points of contact between Bach’s and Mozart’s music, we may note
general influences as well as more specific examples of modeling. While in London,
Leopold and Mozart seem to have realized that J.C. Bach’s music, in contrast to
Handel’s, represented the charm and grace of the new style, and that his style pointed to
the future. Moreover, Mozart was attracted to the main genres in which Bach

25 Ibid., p. 206, see note 2. This quote is also mentioned by Sadie, and is related to an occasion described by
the English composer and organist William Jackson, of Exeter, in his memoirs. See Stanley Sadie, pp. 66-
67.
26 See note 15.
27 The Letters of Mozart and his Family, pp. 496-99.
28 Ibid., p. 800.
29 Heinz Gärtner, p. 215.
excelled—keyboard sonatas, keyboard concertos, symphonies and operas. Bach’s singing-style themes, tasteful use of expressive motives, such as appoggiaturas, suspenseful harmonic ambiguities, and consistent thematic contrasts became permanent features of Mozart’s writing.30

More specifically, Mozart looked to Bach for guidelines in composing concertos. Among his first efforts in this genre, Mozart transcribed Bach’s three sonatas, Opus 5, into keyboard concertos.31 Bach’s influence on Mozart’s early symphonies is evident on many levels,32 including the latter’s choice of keys, tempo markings, scoring, musical character, and elegance of the slow movements. Among many examples, parallels are often drawn between the six symphonies of Bach’s Opus 3 and Mozart’s early symphonies K. 16 and K. 19.33 Later works that draw on Bach’s earlier compositions include the slow movement of the piano concerto K. 414, based on the central movement of Bach’s overture, La calamita de’cuori (before 1763), composed in tribute to Bach on his death, and arias composed for Mozart’s last Italian opera, Tito, which recall arias composed for Bach’s early operas Orione (1763) and Adriano (1765).34

In addition to these similar stylistic features, Bach and Mozart both highly valued close interaction with their audiences. Accommodating amateurs, who valued their musical experience despite limited professional knowledge, as well as connoisseurs, keners, well-versed in the deeper workings of the Classical style, they composed music that was accessible to everyone. Thus, certain listeners responded to the broad expressive vocabulary, gleaned from allusions to aspects of everyday life, while others followed structural designs that, while clearly conceived within the familiar language of the period, were full of nuances and surprises.

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30 Thus, we may compare between J.C. Bach’s Sonata Opus 2 No. 1 and the opening of Mozart’s K. 333. See Donald Grout and Claude V. Palisca, A History of Western Music, 4th edn. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), p. 606.

31 Mozart transcribed these sonatas into concertos in 1772, possibly in preparation for a planned trip to Italy during the autumn and winter, or as an exercise in concerto composition, in anticipation of writing some original works. These pieces are superior in musical quality to Mozart’s earlier concerto transcription, mostly because of J.C. Bach’s influence. Sadie questions why these concertos were never included, as the earlier four were, in the traditional numbering of Mozart’s keyboard concertos, and why they were not given independent Köchel numbers. See Sadie, p. 269. For a further comparison of J.C. Bach’s sonatas to Mozart’s concertos, K. 107, see my Ph.D. dissertation, “Mozart’s Early Concertos, 1773-1779: Structure and Expression” (Bar-Ilan University, 1994), pp. 69-71.

32 Mozart had many opportunities to become acquainted with Bach’s symphonies. He probably heard the overtures to Artaserse, Catone in Utica, Alessandro nell’Indie, Orianoe, and Zanaida. See Heinz Gärtner, p. 217.

33 De Saint-Foix and Wyzewa discuss these similarities in detail, comparing Mozart’s Andante in c minor with Bach’s slow movements in general, and with Opus 3 No. 2 in particular. Similarly, the finale of Bach’s symphony “… was surely its godfather,” ibid.

34 These similarities touch on matters of orchestration and ensemble writing (ibid., p. 223). Thus, for example, Bach’s opera La clemenza di Scipione (1778) included a remarkable aria, “Infelice, in van m’affanno,” with elaborate concertante parts for flute, oboe, violin and cello. Bach’s Sinfonia Concertante for the same four solo instruments was also written at this time. Mozart met Bach in Paris four months after the production of La clemenza di Scipione, and apparently used these works as models for the famous soprano aria in Die Entführung aus den Serail, “Marten aller Arten,” and later for the scoring of the solo instruments in his Sinfonia concertante, K. 364. See Fiske, English Theatre Music, pp. 324-25.
Bach's Symphony Opus 6 No. 6 and Mozart’s K. 183/173dB

A comparative analysis of Bach’s Symphony in g minor, Opus 6 No. 6 and Mozart’s K. 183/173dB, also in g minor, reveals certain aspects of this approach.

Bach’s g minor symphony, Opus 6 No. 6,35 dating from before 1769, was published by Hummel in Amsterdam in around 1770.36 While this is Bach’s only symphony in the minor mode, it joins a group of minor-key Classical works,37 including Mozart’s K. 183/173dB, which number among the masterpieces of the Classical Period,38 primarily because of their clear and straightforward dramatic character, most often referred to as the Sturm und Drang style.39

Reviewing the gross form of the symphony (see timeline, p. 15), we find that all three of the symphony’s movements are in the minor mode.40 This unusual harmonic uniformity complements the serious expressive character of the symphony, with its fiery, energetic outer movements, and its somber Andante.

The dramatic Sturm und Drang style is the most outstanding and obvious feature of the first movement. Complementing its fiery character, the crescendo and brilliant styles found in the primary, transition, and closing themes of the exposition, and in the development, permeate the movement’s serious expression. Only the singing style of the secondary theme offers contrast, conceived as a charming area of calm.41

35 Outstanding in Bach’s compositional repertoire are six works, as well as additional movements in the minor mode, perhaps reflecting the influence of his brother, C.P.E. Bach: one symphony; a sonata in c minor for “le Clavecin ou le Piano Forte,” Opus 5 No. 6; a second sonata in c minor, Opus 17 No. 2; and three concertos. In addition, he composed four symphonic slow movements in c minor—Opus 3 No. 2, C c C; Opus 6 No. 3, Eb – c – Eb; No. 5, Eb – c – Eb; Opus 9, Eb – c – Eb; and one minor slow movement for the overture, Astarto, Ri di Tiro, G – g – G.

36 The many entries of the symphony in the various eighteenth-century catalogues and the MSS themselves make it clear that all of these symphonies were composed prior to Hummel’s publication. Indeed, this symphony appears in the Breitkopf catalogue in 1769. While no date is available, we know that the entire Opus 6 was published in Paris by Le Duc and Huberty (B332; BB 232a). The works circulated widely in MS before they were published, making it difficult to know which MS score is the most authentic. Warburten, Thematic Catalogue, p. 89.

37 LaRue found that only two percent of Classical symphonies were composed in the minor mode, and that d, c, and g minor, respectively, were the most frequently used minor keys in Classical symphonies. For a comparison of preferred keys among English symphonists and their Continental colleagues, see Jan LaRue, “The English Symphony: Some Additions and Annotations to Charles Cudworth’s Published Studies,” in Music in 18th-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 216-17.

38 Indeed, Sammartini (1740s), J.C. Bach, Haydn, Vanhal (ca. 1763-66), Rosetti, Ordenez, and Mozart all composed a remarkable group of symphonies in g minor, all projecting a turbulent, personal expressive character. While some scholars regard these works as representative of a single dramatic period within Classical music, others view the Sturm und Drang (“Storm and Stress”) as an expressive style, found in varying degrees in works throughout the Classical period. For a discussion of this term and for the characteristics that characterize this style see Neal Zaslaw, Mozart’s Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 262-63.

39 As in Sammartini’s g minor symphony, J-C 56, Bach adopts the subdominant minor for his middle movement.

40 Topics and styles are defined by Leonard Ratner as subjects for musical discourse that allude to events, such as dances and marches, and musical styles, such as the brilliant virtuosic style of the singing style. For further explanations, see Leonard Ratner, Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style (New York: Schirmer
Reviewing Bach’s treatment of the musical elements, we may distinguish between accessible surface actions, mostly supporting the movement’s expressive character, and more complex inner workings, related to the structural design of the movement.

Among the elements that enhance the dramatic effect, we may note:

*Rhythmic Intensity:* Complementing a wealth of rhythmic values that invigorate the movement’s melodies, repeated, tremolo-like sixteenth or eighth notes in the inner voices maintain tension throughout most of the movement. This accompaniment drops out only in the secondary function, enhancing its more relaxed character.

*Dynamics:* Following the opening *forte* introduction, and stark *forte-piano* contrasts in close juxtapositions, Mannheim crescendos enhance the music’s suspenseful and mysterious effect. The development reiterates modulating repetitions of the opening Mannheim crescendo, functioning as an expressive climax.

Pointing to the inner workings of the music we may mention:

*Thematic Structure:* Asymmetrical phrases, typical of the early Classical style, help create tension and movement in the primary and cadential themes. By contrast, the symmetrical secondary function, featuring two four-measure phrases, enhances stability. The transition links backwards and forwards, as its effect, thematic content, and key align with the unrest of the primary theme, while its symmetrical phrase structure anticipates the secondary theme (Example 1).

**Example 1** Phrase structure of functions and articulations in J.C. Bach’s Opus 6 No. 6/I and Mozart’s Symphony K. 183/I

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<td><strong>Theme</strong></td>
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42 Throughout this study, I will be using symbols that indicate thematic functions: P for themes in the primary key area; T for transitional themes connecting the two main key areas; S for themes presented in the secondary key area; K for cadential or closing themes; Po for introduction; KT for transition that connects between the exposition and the development sections; a,b,c for musical phrases See Jan LaRue, *Guidelines for Style Analysis* (New York: Norton, 1970, 2nd ed. Warren, Michigan: Harmonic Part Kress, 1992), 153-72.
Harmony: While the conventional harmonic plan of the exposition modulates from $g$ minor to the relative major, $Bb$, quick and abrupt modulations recall the stark piano-forte dynamic contrasts. Thus, the transition concludes on $V/g$, and shifts chromatically to $V/Bb$ (m. 25), creating a bifocal cadence. The exposition concludes on $Bb$, before shifting chromatically to $V/c$ at the onset of the development. The transition and retransition share the same melodic material; in the transition, however, the modulation occurs at the end of the phrase, promoting surprise, whereas in the retransition it occurs at the beginning, augmenting the dramatic anticipation of the reprise.

Unusual modulations in the development include falling thirds, $c \rightarrow Ab \rightarrow f-V/g$, largely presented with a series of dominant chords. Balancing this unrest, symmetrical four-measure phrases derived from the primary theme constitute the modulating module.

Thematic Derivations: All the themes in the exposition, excluding the secondary function, derive from or include motives from the primary theme—a characteristic of the Sturm und Drang symphonies of Sammartini and Haydn as well. The primacy of the primary theme is further underlined by its articulation, an open cadence on I, followed by a rest. The remaining themes in the movement elide, promoting continuous motion. Motives from the primary theme are later varied and recombined, at times altering their original character. Thus, Po, which opens the primary theme, marks the climax of this theme, as two motives from Po, the half-note chords and the decorated repeated eighth notes occur simultaneously. While this same phrase introduces the transition, a contrasting piano dynamic and reduced texture totally alters the effect (Example 2).

Example 2  J.C. Bach, Opus 6 No. 6, I, mm. 12-14.

The climax of the primary theme is marked by a combination of two motives from Po in a forte dynamic. While this same phrase proceeds to introduce the transition, a contrasting piano dynamic and lower register articulate the theme.
Reprise: Comparing the concise reprise to the exposition reveals small but significant differences. Bach’s binary sonata form omits the primary and transition themes explored in the development, and presents the second cadential theme only once. Bolstering the dramatic nature of the section, added horns, melodic extensions, and harmonic surprises enrich the syntax. The momentary tonicization of c minor in the cadential area perhaps alludes to the key of the second movement, a common procedure in later Classical works. Most important, a rising phrase, derived from Po, replaces a similar but more static rise to the climax, followed by Pc and KT. The concluding juxtaposition of these phrases, both derived from Po and developed in the course of the movement, confirm their central function in the large-dimension plan of the movement.

Mozart’s Symphony K. 183/173dB

K. 183/173dB, Mozart’s masterpiece of 5 October 1773, was composed together with the symphony in Bb, K. 182/173d, soon after his return from Vienna on 26 September 1773. This symphony, sometimes called the “Little G minor,” distinguishes it from Mozart’s famous work of 1788, K. 550. Often regarded as a landmark in Mozart’s development, biographers and critics of Mozart’s music attribute its greatness to its impassioned tone. Among the many attempts to explain why Mozart chose to depart from conventional practice, and compose a symphony in the minor key, Landon mentions the possible influence of the minor-key symphonies of the late 1760s and early ’70s. Mozart may have encountered these symphonies in Vienna, or other places, including the g minor symphonies of Haydn’s No. 39, also scored for four horns, Vanhal, and J.C. Bach. In addition, Sadie questions the unusual application to instrumental music, and particularly to the symphony, of techniques and styles generally reserved for operas.43

The most obvious points of contact between Bach’s Opus 6 No. 6 and Mozart’s symphonies are their Sturm und Drang style and g-minor tonality. A closer comparison of the two works, however, reveals additional similar compositional procedures, alongside individual stylistic features.

The gross form of Mozart’s symphony differs in significant ways from Bach’s symphony (see timeline, p. 16). Mozart’s four-movement cycle reflects the later Viennese symphonic tradition, and the first, second and fourth movements are all organized as repeating sonata forms. Highlighting contrast, Mozart chooses the submediant major Eb for the second movement, and the parallel major G for the trio. The submediant major is a somewhat distant key, found earlier in two of Sammartini’s g minor symphonies, J-C 57 and 58, and later in Mozart’s fortieth symphony. It may be that Eb was chosen for its particularly expressive effect. Mozart’s orchestra calls for four horns, in two keys, Bb and

43 Einstein writes of Mozart’s “personal suffering,” while Wyzewa and De Saint-Foix link the symphony with the Sturm und Drang German literary movement of the mid-1770s. Sadie also reminds us that the ideas found in the symphony are the common coin of impassioned expression in the 1770s, including syncopated repeated notes, snapped rhythms, tremolando, large leaps, repeated phrases, and forceful passages of orchestral unison. See Sadie, pp. 327-30.
G, which enabled these primarily diatonic instruments to participate in some of the work’s chromaticism.\textsuperscript{44}

Mozart’s first movement, as in Bach’s symphony, is the longest and most structurally developed; however, the relative proportions of the symphonic cycles differ. In Mozart’s symphony, longer outer movements frame shorter second and third movements, whereas, in Bach’s symphony, the second and third movements share similar proportions, both shorter than the first movement.

Comparative Gros Forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bach: Mv Prop. I: 143 mm</th>
<th>II: 79 mm (55%)</th>
<th>III: 82 mm (57%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozart: Mv. Prop. I: 214 mm</td>
<td>II: 72 mm (34%)</td>
<td>III: 36 + 22 IV: 194 mm (90%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in Bach’s symphony, the expressive \textit{Sturm und Drang} style permeates the entire first movement, except for the secondary theme, cast in the more relaxed singing style.\textsuperscript{45} Here, too, brilliant dialogue and learned styles further enrich the movement’s dramatic affect (see timeline, p. 16).

While very similar in their expressive content, the first movements differ in their structural layout. Mozart’s symmetric themes (only K spans 9 measures) contrast with Bach’s asymmetric themes. Both movements, however, conclude with a dramatic restatement of the primary theme, confirming the central position of this theme within the movement’s thematic syntax.\textsuperscript{46} Most important, Mozart specifically requests repeats for both halves of the movement, contrasting with Bach’s non-repeating sonata form. A strong articulation at the end of the transition themes clearly divides the exposition in Mozart’s symphony into two sections. Within the second section of Mozart’s movement, the secondary and cadential themes elide (see Example 1).

Like Bach, Mozart highlights the structural and expressive potential of textural development. Thus, the entrance of the secondary theme is highlighted by a reduced texture. Moreover, the dialogue and learned styles in the transition and cadential areas enrich the dramatic quality of the music. This rhythmic activity resembles Bach’s perpetual sixteenth notes.

Similarly, much as the crescendos produce momentum in Bach’s primary theme, rhythmic accelerations create motion in Mozart’s main theme. Moreover, rhythmic vitality, as indicated by the \textit{Allegro con brio} tempo, maintains a brilliant, suspenseful effect from the movement’s beginning until the end. Syncopations, accelerations, numerous rhythmic values, and suspensions, arranged sequentially and simultaneously, intensify the concentrated rhythmic activity.

Mozart’s harmonies often create surprises, including abrupt modulations and juxtapositions of contrasting harmonies. Two of these modulations parallel similar procedures used by Bach: Modulating to the second key area, Mozart also shifts abruptly from V/g to I/Bb, creating a bifocal cadence. In Mozart’s symphony, this cadence occurs

\textsuperscript{44} Zaslaw, p. 263.

\textsuperscript{45} Sadie characterizes this as a buffa-like opera theme, whose character is totally transformed when it recurs in the minor in the recapitulation. See Sadie, p. 329.

\textsuperscript{46} This procedure is found in other symphonies of 1773 as well. See Sadie, p. 329.

\textsuperscript{48} See Bathia Churgin’s article, in this issue, n. 35, quoting Kirkendale, \textit{Fugue and Fugato}, p. 91.
at the end of the primary theme, harmonically linking the transition with the secondary theme; in Bach’s movement, however, the bifocal cadence occurs at the end of the transition. Similarly, an abrupt modulation, from B♭ at the end of the exposition to c minor, via a chromatic progression, marks the beginning of the development in both Mozart’s and Bach’s symphonies. The development section features modulations via the circle of fifths, which remains a favorite of Mozart.

Mozart builds most of his themes from a limited number of short, rhythmic motives. Presented in the opening measures of the movement, these motives include: a whole-note pattern, syncopated repeated notes, a rising broken chord, and falling sixteenth notes. Ensuing themes re-assemble these motives, often changing their original expressive character. Thus, for example, the opening whole-note motive contributes both to the energetic drive of the *Sturm und Drang*, and to a more pathetic, personal effect. Conveying the latter, the oboe presents this motive at the end of the primary theme, and again in the development. Outlining the scale degrees of I-V-VI-VII-I, including a characteristic leap of a diminished seventh between degrees 6 and 7, this motive follows a conventional Baroque formula, used for the expression of deep grief (Example 3).

Example 3  Mozart, K. 183, I, mm. 1-4. Opening whole-note motive outlines a conventional Baroque formula

![Oboe](image)

New motives introduced after the primary theme are also picked up and developed, as the snap motive, which permeates the transition themes, the concluding measures of the cadential themes (mm. 77-82), and the development (mm. 83-86, 101-108). In addition, the modulating motive, KT, at the end of the exposition, acquires a prominent position in the development and retransition. Leading into the development, the two-measure module repeats three times (mm. 81-86). Later, this same module appears altered, modulating from a minor to d minor (mm. 101-102), and from d minor back to g minor (mm. 107-108). In the retransition, leading into the reprise, the original module is shortened to a half-measure unit in dialogue, which repeats six times (mm. 109-115) (Example 4). This motivic contraction perhaps foreshadows the monumental development of Symphony No. 40, where a progressively shortened motive derived from the primary theme accelerates the approach to the recapitulation.

Example 4  Mozart, K. 183/173dB , I, mm. 107-111. The shortened cadential modulating motive anticipates the reprise
The reprise in Mozart’s movement begins with the primary theme, and not the secondary theme as in Bach’s movement. Following the reprise, a coda, based on the primary theme, concludes the movement. Clarifying the original harmonic ambiguity of the whole-note motive, the strings clearly stabilize $g$ minor. Thus, the reprise acts as an area of large-dimension resolution.

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In conclusion, we may generalize that while it is possible to identify similar passages or motives in Bach’s and Mozart’s music, additional affinities of composition transcend specific readings of individual works. Reflecting a meta-approach, which addresses amateurs and connoisseurs alike, both composers addressed their audiences via familiar expressive styles that coexisted alongside more complex designs of phrase structures, articulations, counterpoint, rhythmically complex figures, and derivations. During his lifetime, Bach enjoyed a good reputation, particularly as a composer of instrumental music. After his death, however, his music came to be regarded as simple, lacking in depth, especially when compared to Mozart’s monumental achievements. Mozart’s music, by contrast, was criticized for being too difficult, especially with regard to his harmonic language. Thus, while both composers sought to achieve an ideal balance between the “secret” inner workings and the more accessible outer surface of their music, their music was often criticized for being either too simple or too complex.49

Twentieth-century interest in these works, benefiting from a broader historical perspective, reflects a better understanding and appreciation of the delicate interactions between expression and structure that characterize this music. Indeed, today’s listeners are fascinated by the richness and deployment of the expressive language as well as the small-dimension nuances and surprises. While contemporary listeners apparently were not fully sensitive to these intertwined aspects of the music’s syntax, today’s listeners regard them as evidence of their composers’ genius.

49 Zaslaw, pp. 528-29.
J.C. Bach, Opus 6 Number 6

**Gross Form**

I. G minor, allegro, cut time, binary sonata form. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C, bassoon, violins I, violins II, viola, cello, contrabass, 143 mm.

II. C minor, Andante piu tosto Adagio, ¾, sonata form. Scoring: Strings with bassoon added by editor. 79 mm

III. G minor, Allegro Molto, 12/8, non repeating sonata form. Scoring: As in first movement. 82 mm

**Movement I**

Exposition: 67 mm. Development: 33 mm. Recapitulation: 41 mm.

**EXPOSITION**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Sturm+ Drang</th>
<th>brilliant crescendo</th>
<th>singing learned. dialogue</th>
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<th>(Po)</th>
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**DEVELOPMENT**

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**RECAPITULATION**

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W.A. Mozart, Symphony K. 183/173dB

Gross Form

I.  g minor, Allegro con brio, C, repeating sonata form. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, strings. 214 mm.

II.  Eb major. Andante, 2/4, repeating sonata form. Obbligato bassoons, 2 horns drop out. 72 mm.

III.  g-G-g. Menuetto, ¾, Trio, ¾, Scoring: Wind band, consisting of pairs of oboes, horns and bassoons. 94 mm.

IV.  g minor, Allegro, cut time, repeating sonata form. Scoring as in Movement I. 194 mm.

Movement I

Exposition: 82mm.  Development: 33 mm.  Recapitulation: 97 mm.

EXPOSITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sturm und Drang</th>
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singening

1S 1S1 1K
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DEVELOPMENT

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g - Eb – e -- v/g - g – V/d – d - V/d – V/g – g
Falling thirds circle of fifths

RECAPITULATION

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